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**UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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Women and Political Science: The Movement into the Academy

**A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of
the requirements for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Political Science

by

Janni Linda Aragon

March 2003

Dissertation Committee:

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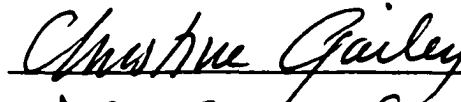
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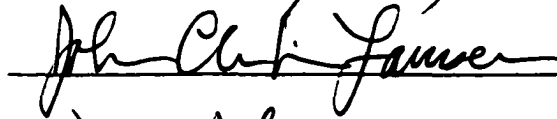
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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Women and Political Science: The Movement into the Academy

by

Janni Linda Aragon

**Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate Program in Political Science
University of California, Riverside, March 2003
Dr. Juliann E. Allison, Chairperson**

This dissertation offers an investigation into the discipline of American Political Science and how the discipline has changed with the movement of women into the field. This research is most concerned with the movement of women into the academy, in particular into a discipline that studies the multiple aspects of politics. Through a combination of intellectual history, genealogy and historiography, I examine what has happened in Political Science when women and research about women have become an integral part of the field.

Previous research has alleged that women Political Scientists are discriminated in terms of publication rates, tenure rates and other issues regarding their academic careers. There is a burgeoning field of feminist histories, oral histories, memoirs, and the like that examine women in academia. There is also a large area of research that examines women's successes in different areas of society that is not necessarily focused on

feminist issues nor utilizes a feminist analysis. However, to date, there have been no exhaustive studies of the second wave feminist movement and its influences in Political Science. Therefore, I present a discussion of the second wave feminist movement and the connections to Political Science. I also include a discussion of the important formation of the Women's Caucus for Political Science as part of a support network developed by women political scientists. I demonstrate the importance of support networks, committees and other grass-roots mobilization efforts. I offer an overview of the research from the Women and Politics research section and a discussion of research by and for different women: women of color and lesbians. I end noting that change is still needed in the discipline in order to best meet the needs of women and others who are seemingly disenfranchised within Political Science departments and research.

Women and Political Science: The Movement Into the Academy

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Chapter One

On a theoretical level, I always have been puzzled by the assumed separation or even opposition between 'theory and practice,' 'scholarship and action.' Activism and intellectual engagement have been intertwined and inseparable in my life for some fifty years. Berenice Carroll (12-13).¹

This dissertation offers an investigation into the discipline of American Political Science² and how the discipline has changed with the movement of women into the field. This research is most concerned with the movement of women into the academy, particularly into a discipline that studies the multiple aspects of politics. Like a prism, there are multiple angles to this research and the way the storied history of women³ in Political Science is considered. Previous research has alleged that women Political Scientists are discriminated against in terms of publication rates, merit rates, tenure rates, and other issues regarding their academic careers. Clearly, looking at statistical data across disciplines (including Political Science) we see that

¹ "Three Faces of Trevia: Identity, Activism, and Intellect" Berenice A. Carroll 12-28 in Eileen Boris and Nupur Chaudhuri. 1999. *Voices of Women Historians: The Personal, The Political, The Professional*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

² I define the discipline of Political Science as more than the study of politics, but also such that it includes departments of Political Science, Government, Politics and Society, Public Policy, and similar iterations. The professional organizations at the national and regional levels are also discussed and included as part of the discussion of the rubric of Political Science.

³ I borrow feminist historian Joan Wallach Scott's (affiliated with the Institute for Advanced Study in New Jersey) definition of gender that she employs in *Gender and the Politics of History* (1988, 1999). Scott explains that the category of gender is understood as rich category for analysis in history and is a political construct. Her work was one of the first to maintain that gender provides an additional means to better understand woman as an "active agent of history" (18). Scott's work as a social historian was crucial to acknowledging that the history of women is also a history of gender-social mores and social constructs based on sexual difference.

women predominate at the bottom rungs of the academic ladder.⁴ There is a burgeoning field of feminist histories, oral histories, memoirs, and foundation or government sponsored reports that examine women in academia. A large area of research discusses women's successes in different areas of society, yet this research is not necessarily focused on feminist issues and does not use a feminist analysis. In response to this lacunae, I present a genealogy⁵ of Political Science. I explore Political Science's formation, connections with women's entry into higher education, and women's activism and the manner that the discipline has changed as a result.

To date, there have been no exhaustive studies of the feminist movements and its influence on *Political Science*⁶ study and the demography of scholars. In order to examine women in Political Science, it is necessary to look into the field's founding and how the founding affected scholarly inquiry and knowledge formation. Women's engagement in Political Science, much like other fields in higher education, has been one embodied by the

⁴ Data from the Department of Education and the American Association of University Professors illustrates that women are predominantly found at the adjunct, lecturer, and assistant professorships in the United States.

⁵ I use this term in the Foucauldian sense. Michel Foucault's genealogical expositions were about institutions and the important socio-historical influences concerning patricide, prisons, Christianity, the clinic, sexuality, or knowledge. Foucault expanded our understanding of different institutions. Most of his writings surround the construction of power in history. Foucault explored the way that institutions, and therefore the theories that came with them, were each indebted to cultural mores that influenced them. The history of Political Science is imbued with the entanglement of power between scholars in the professional field and the cultural mores of the day.

⁶ One recent publication has made this connection between feminist activism and the discipline of history. See *Voices of Women Historians: The Personal, The Political, The Professional*, edited by Eileen Boris and Nupur Chaudhuri, 1999.

connections between theory and practice (Carroll 1980). This research sheds light on the importance of activism in the academy and its consequences. We have witnessed, at times, the strengthening of the bridge between activism and academia. The issue of feminist activism is a major characteristic of feminist research and pedagogy. Whereas this relationship has been integral to the field of Women's Studies, it has varied in intensity for women in Political Science. Early Political Science departments and leaders in the discipline attempted to divorce the discipline from the practice of politics and any partisanship. I discuss how some women scholars have strengthened the bridge between feminist theory and practical activism within their professional networks and scholarly work. This division still affects the discipline today. The integration of women into higher education provides a key piece of what I refer to as the Political Science puzzle: the connection between the Women's Movement and Political Science.

Backdrop: Women in Political Science

I came to my research project with both personal and professional interests. This history is important to acknowledge at the outset of this research. My undergraduate training and most of my work at the graduate level prior to Political Science was in Women's Studies and Political Theory, particularly Feminist Theory. My scholarly travels prior to Political Science were subsequently dedicated to interdisciplinary projects and interdisciplinary education. During my time (or while doing my time) in Political Science, I

knew that my goal was to work as a feminist Political Scientist and teach Political Science and Women's Studies. To use Maria Lugones' words, I've been "world-traveling" in Political Science. Because graduate school or higher education in Political Science is anything but diverse, my areas of specialization have caused me to see Political Science from the margins.

This initial research stemmed from part of my work in Political Science or my traveling in Political Science. The moment I first walked through the halls of the department, I discovered the idea for my dissertation. My dissertation topic really crystallized at the 30th Anniversary dinner celebrating the founding of the Women's Caucus for Political Science.⁷ The dinner itself was not memorable; however, the comments touched me to my core. I was most struck by the words from Georgia Duerst-Lahti (Beloit College) and Mary Haweksworth (Rutgers University). Together, they both explained that women in Political Science should not get complacent with how far they have come. Instead, they noted that there is more work to be done. Their comments embraced me and welcomed me into the folds of the discipline. I also realized from their comments and the previous speakers' comments that there was a story to be told about women and Political Science. I present a story of women and Political Science.⁸ I am a Political Scientist. I will not romanticize this story or offer a hagiography of the discipline. Instead, I offer

⁷See Appendix B for the evening's program.

⁸ Presumably, this is only one of many stories about women and Political Science. I do not assume that I offer the definitive story of women and Political Science.

a critical analysis and an intellectual history, which I believe is crucial for institutional memory and for the future.⁹

This dissertation is organized in the following manner. The first chapter paints the historical background for women in higher education in the United States, specifically in Political Science. I also include a short discussion the reasons for pursuing this research. I narrow the historical analysis by investigating its relevance to Political Science by examining the formation of the Women's Caucus for Political Science and cross-collaboration with the Women's Movement and later Women's Studies. The second chapter explores the founding of the discipline in the United States with the first graduate program in Political Science, and the professionalization of the field. This chapter also unpacks the scope and method debates and the invisibility of women in early Political Science research and departments.¹⁰ The third chapter reviews the ideas or epistemological concerns for women in the field of Political Science and in higher education. Therefore, this chapter has more of an emphasis on political theories, which are relevant to Political Philosophy and Political theory sub-fields in Political Science. The fourth chapter examines the relationship between women's advocacy and "movement" into the discipline of Political Science. Here, I will explore the founding of different professional organizations in Political Science. The fifth chapter examines

⁹ To be clear, this dissertation is not about me or my own personal experience in Political Science.

¹⁰ Scope refers to substance of study within Political Science research and method refers to the methodological tools that are used in the research.

what happens when more women are scholars in the discipline of Political Science. I delve into a discussion of the similarities and differences that women of color¹¹ and lesbians encounter in Political Science because their travels in the field are influenced significantly by issues of race and sex. The sixth chapter is the conclusion and will discuss the importance of the study to Political Science, and present best practices in higher education that are key to Political Science.

Methods

To date, most examinations about women have usually employed a quantitative analysis with reference to survey results (numerical and not ethnographic). Although quantitative analyses could be used exclusively in this dissertation, this approach would be incomplete. More specifically, quantitative data does not allow for a rich representation of research about women and politics permitted by an intellectual history. While quantitative data often presents a "story" in terms of statistical "proof," an intellectual history, genealogy, or historiography, offers a different approach to research about women in Political Science. This is not to say that statistical data is not relevant at all to study of feminist activism and women in Political Science. In fact, in the latter part of the dissertation, I do refer to tabular data culled from the Department of Education and other sources. Thus, the

¹¹ I define people of color in the discipline as: Chicana/o, Latina/o, African-American, Native American, Asian, and other underrepresented groups in the United States.

use of multiple methods in this dissertation makes this research presented here unique.

Methodologically, in the first two chapters of the dissertation, I present an intellectual history of women in the discipline. In the second chapter, I present an intellectual history of the discipline itself. The third chapter offers a genealogy of epistemology in Political Science and the conversation that women have added. Theories of knowledge are the foundation to any field and are consequently important to Political Science as well. With chapter four, I move to a historiography of women in the discipline. Uncommon in Political Science, historiography may be understood as a meta-history or history of history (Bentley 1997). A historiography provides an opportunity to investigate the ways that women as political participants are studied. Furthermore, historiography is a useful method of analysis in that it offers some continuity in the examination of the varied manner in which "women" have been studied in Political Science. Historiography is the method of choice here due to its fruitfulness for looking at one topic over time, instead of merely looking at each era, sub-field, and the research by women scholars. Therefore, historiography used as a method of inquiry here will allow for a more multi-dimensional investigation into the historical timelines for the discipline and its sub-fields and for the timeline of research by women scholars.

In this respect, historiography will inevitably not only include some of the troubled engagements that have arisen during the course of the research

process, but also include some of the more interesting and complicated debates that have arisen in Political Science. Examining some of the significant works in the field about women using this method can offer a better understanding of the importance of this work to examining scholarly work about women.¹² Michael Bentley, editor of *Companion to Historiography* (1997) explicates:

Indeed the sad and brutal facts are these: historiography cannot be effectively taught or learned without a prior interest in epistemology; and no one is likely to take the trouble with challenging philosophical problems of that kind until he or she has come to appreciate that history is a theoretical subject (xiii).

This research fills a gap within the field, as some are familiar with parts of the history of Political Science. However, few have presented a historiography of Political Science.

Chapter five returns to an intellectual history discussion. The last chapter is the conclusion and provides both a summary of the research and a call to where future research is needed.

Political Science: An Important Case Study

Political Science is understood as the discipline that looks at who gets what, when, and how much. So why look at Political Science? Political Science offers an important case for study in the context of this dissertation due to its status as a social science discipline suited to the study of women in

¹² The same struggles repeated by new cohorts of women in the field repeatedly arise. We need to understand that an institutional memory or history is worth preserving in order to learn from past struggles.

politics and society. Yet Political Science as a discipline has been grossly understudied. Most studies about higher education delve into the Humanities instead, and not into the Social Sciences. Organized Political Science in the United States is more than 120 years old. During that time, there have, of course, been eras when scholars have been particularly vocal about their dissension regarding the professional organization or attendant concerns. However, critical examinations of the discipline epistemologically or heuristically offering a cause and effect examination have been underrepresented in the field.

Political Science and Women's Studies: Sticky Connections

Why do I include Women's Studies in my discussion of Political Science? I aim to re-evaluate the connection between activism in Political Science as part of the activism inherent during the time. The relationship between Women's Studies and Political Science is crucial to this end. The Women's Studies departments and programs founded in the early 1970s (and later) sought to change the academic landscape in the United States. The feminist "foremothers" wanted to make space for the scholarly study of women and women's lives. Their intention was to offer a more progressive and objective lens for studying women as subjects worthy of study. Many of the early essays, books, and memoirs note that the founding of Women's Studies was a political project. This activism led, on some campuses, to the formation of Women's Studies departments and programs. Furthermore, the

culmination of the various social movements during the 1960s and 1970s fostered support for women in the academy. The professional networks and engagements between women in Political Science and women activists in Women's Studies is important to investigate. There has been overlap and cross-pollinating for scholars in both fields. Frankly, we still see that at times there is a fluid border between some of the work in these two disciplines.

Women's Studies is often understood as the academic arm of the Women's Movement. However, today it is more often viewed as a field that centers its inquiry and research from women's lives or women's points of view. Furthermore, any discussion about women in higher education during the last century must include a discussion of the Women's Movement. The Women's Movement has been instrumental to activism on and off university campuses. With the omission of Women's Studies, I would be able to provide only an ahistorical examination of women in Political Science. It makes common sense that we might see some Women's Studies work within the field of Political Science. In this research, I explain that the feminist movements have contributed to the increase of women in higher education and specifically in Political Science.

Though all feminists do not embrace the metaphor of waves, and recent dialogue on feminist lists includes advocates of "no wave" feminism,¹³ the discussion of women's movements must still first address what is

¹³During the last thirty years, there has been the occasional call to a Post-Feminist era. However, this assertion usually comes from within popular press based on a reaction to a situation comedy or new popular press book.

commonly understood as "waves" or era of activism within women's history. Proponents of the wave metaphor explain that the waves help distinguish both the timeline and different struggles. I discuss the various "waves" of women into higher education. In the United States, the first "wave" of women took place during the Progressive era in the 1830s and culminated with the attainment of suffrage in 1920 with the 19th Amendment. The next wave was post-WWII, specifically during the Civil Rights era, peaking during the late 1960s and 1970s. The third wave has occurred during the last thirty years. The Second Wave Feminist Movement was instrumental to women's entry into the academy as students, and later as academics; the general fervor of the Second Wave Feminist Movement and its timely politics drew women into higher education. Feminist activism in- and outside of the academy supported the first wave of women into higher education. Moreover, the influx of women into academia during the past thirty years constitutes a movement. It is no coincidence that the peaks in women's access to higher education happen simultaneously with increased social awareness and activism. This connection is key to examine in this research, since the nexus between practical activism and scholarly participation in higher education are inextricably linked. This dissertation explores the impact of the feminist movement in the discipline of Political Science, in particular, thereby contributing an analysis of women Political Scientists, their work, and their perception of the field as measures of the importance of the Feminist Movement to women academics, in general.

The relationship between feminist activism and the Women's Movement during the late 1960s and early 1970s was key to women's advocacy and activism in the discipline of Political Science. However, this research looks to the founding of the discipline during the latter part of the 19th century. The formation of the discipline is critical to understanding the "gendered" formation of the discipline and how women were impeded in scholarly inquiry on multiple levels in the field and higher education. By gendered I refer to the manner in which gender systematically refers to women. Within Political Science gender was something avoided in the early research and women as scholars were conspicuous absent. Thus, the gendered formation of Political Science was informed by the invisibility of women as topics of research and as scholars. Given the debate regarding scope—what is considered to be rightly Political Science--and method or how Political Science is studied--have existed since the initial founding, this dissertation presents a systematic investigation of the multiple "states" in which the discipline has found itself.

My expectation is that an assessment of the state of the discipline can encourage Political Scientists to welcome more interdisciplinary research—research that actively crosses disciplines and allows the fusion of theory and practice. As a result of this research, Political Scientistw will be better able to ally themselves with different methodologies and not feel constrained within one methodological camp. The alternative, epistemologically narrow lens of

research merely encourages scholars to continue asking the "wrong" questions. I am particularly concerned with the manner in which women are "framed" within the discipline and how these examinations do not take the founding of the discipline and the modern Women's Movement into account together.

Contributions

The dissertation contributes to Political Science and the sub-fields of feminist theory, women and politics, social movements and the discipline of Women's Studies by telling one story regarding women and higher education. Some are vaguely familiar with the history of the discipline. This research provides a multi-layered examination of this storied history and the consequences of the founding on women and other marginalized groups. This research also includes discussion of the scholarly activism exhibited by women and others. Previous research has not made this key connection between Political Science, women, and the women's movement.

The Women's Movement was, and is, a social movement that reached into the academy. Like other forms of activism, the women's movement offers a rich area for analysis. Scholars have examined the impetus for activism and participation, and the consequences of political and social action. Marco Guigni (1998) suggests that social movements do not *transform* society, but rather help push for the transformation, and may ultimately become a multi-pronged effort involving various institutions,

governments, private industry, and stakeholders to institute the change and transformation.¹⁴ Thus the women's movement may be regarded as one part of the push for change and transformation in society, and other enclaves, like most academic disciplines.

The social movement literature, in particular, provides a framework for discussion of the Feminist Movement and its repercussions in the academy. Ann Costain's *Inviting Women's Rebellion* (1992) provides a useful model for examination. Costain examined the development of women's activism at the height of the Second Wave Women's Movement through its peak and subsequent descent by interviewing stakeholders in the movement (lobbyists, activists) and conducting research. As part of her study, Costain also conducted an analysis of abstracts of news stories using the *New York Times Annual Index*. Costain's analysis of the Women's Movement as a social movement affords this project a theoretical backdrop. Costain examined the impact of the Women's Movement politically, while this research is concerned with the impact of the Women's Movement in the academy, specifically in Political Science.

At this point, I refer to two particular books that have been instrumental to this research. The first is Janet Flammang's *Woman's Political Voice* (1997). Flammang explains that during the early stages of the Women's Movement, the discipline of Political Science began to consider the

¹⁴ The Civil Rights Movement and the Civil Rights Acts (CRA) provide a good example of a multi-pronged effort to instill change in society. Clearly, the various CRA's, Executive Orders, and societal acceptance in concert helped make change.

importance of the Women's Movement to politics.¹⁵ The second text, Kathleen Staudt and William Weaver's *Transforming the Discipline* (1997), provides a historical glimpse into the discipline of Political Science. Staudt and Weaver illustrate the ways in which women have attempted to integrate or transform the discipline. Both texts offer an examination of how women have affected the study of politics and integrated or changed the field of Political Science.¹⁶ This dissertation builds on their studies and I will give a short review of each work below.

Flammang presents a strong, critical analysis of some of the endemic problems within Political Science research. Her survey extends from the field's inception to the present. To begin, she posits that it was the absence of women in Political Science departments that caused the overall absence of women and "women's issues" in Political Science research. Her acknowledgment is a critical one, as she asserts that this absence of women provides a better way of understanding Political Science research deficiencies. She then offers that it was not only the invisible numbers in department faculties, but also the modes of research that were problematic in the field. Historically, when women were involved in the discipline they

¹⁵ Martha Ackelsberg and Irene Diamond note how many feminist political scientists have explained that the manner in which war and politics was examined really did not discuss women or women's issues related to war and politics. See "Gender and Political Life: New Directions in Political Science" 504-525 in *Analyzing Gender: A Handbook of Social Science Research* edited by Beth B. Hess and Myra Marx Ferree, Sage Publications 1987.

¹⁶ There are many other scholars who have contributed to the activism and scholarly inquiry that I benefit from and I thank them for their hard work and activism.

tended to fill the positions of lower prestige, including placement at primarily teaching colleges or part-time lectureships. Flammang explains how the bifurcation of the field between the *Political Scientists* and *political theorists* further placed women at odds within the field.

Flammang (1997) explains that during the early stages of the Women's Movement, the discipline of Political Science began to consider the importance of the Women's Movement to politics. She cites that Martin Gruberg's early text stated that three events caused Political Scientists to pay attention to women's politics: 1) President Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women (1961); 2) the publication of Betty Friedan's book, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963); and 3) Senator Margaret Chase's candidacy for president in 1964 (5). However, there is still no exhaustive study of the connection between the Women's Movement and the discipline of Political Science. Furthermore, studies that have examined women and politics often do not make a concerted effort to examine the particular position of women of color, and in some quantitative studies scholars merely add an additional variable for "race."¹⁷ Many scholars are critical of some of this research, based on the perceived lack of theory to substantiate the use of a race

¹⁷ For a multidimensional examination of gender, race, and class in Political Science, see Cathy Cohen, Kathleen Jones and Joan Tronto eds. *Women Transforming Politics: An Alternative Reader*. NY: NYU Press, 1997.

variable.¹⁸ The feminist or woman's lens provided a different way of understanding politics. Flammang explains,

For feminists, meanings were best obtained through the use of ethnographic, qualitative methodologies. It did not occur to male political scientists to conduct domestic ethnographic studies of women's culture, because male culture was assumed by them to be all there was, be 'normal' for everyone, until feminists demonstrated that it was in fact male (13-14).

To be sure, it is not the case that feminists are looking for a new story of political origins. Instead, feminists seek a way of thinking that does more than merely include them as an additional variable or add them to the current issue. However, some scholars are indeed exploring new stories of political participation and political resistance.

One of the many problems was that research in Political Science was predominantly biased and dealt within the rubric of Enlightenment dualism of rationality and reason, which are considered to be male traits, while emotion and irrationality are understood to be female traits (5). Flammang, therefore, includes women as part of the constituencies affected by the scope and method debates. Women Political Scientists did not necessarily offer an immediate, concerted effort to change the discipline's core, but rather to impart that they were missing from the research.

Flammang explains one way that the styles of research of women Political Scientists typically fall under:

¹⁸ Race is an interactive variable and needs additional examination. Race is also a value-laden variable that is influenced by cultural mores that make it a complex area of analysis. For an interesting discussion about this topic see Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction*. NY, NYU Press, 2001.

Typically, accommodationist feminists were political scientists, trained in the quantitative methods of behavioral research, and transformational feminists were political theorists, schooled in the classic texts of political philosophy. When women entered the discipline in increasing numbers during the 1970s, they had to 'choose sides' in graduate school as an understandable response to a bifurcated profession (13).

Thus, women at this time had the choice of pursuing Political Theory or American Politics, which typically included Institutions, Law, Public Administration and Behavior. Obviously, there are more chances for employment with the latter choice. Flammang refers to Joan Tronto's support of the transformationalist approach:

Transformationalists, in contrast, advocated a more profound alteration of the discipline's boundaries. First, Tronto said, political science needed to move in a radically democratic direction . . . second, political science needed to look more closely at the context within which politics appeared, specifically the interrelationship between private and public life, the place of morality in politics, and a definition of power as empowerment (33).

The accommodationist approach has seen more gains within the field of Political Science. Therefore, it is no exaggeration when Helen Silverberg wryly states, "The discipline of political science has not yet fully recovered from these formative years" (178). There have been moments, though, where women and others have made some impact. Has it made a difference? Flammang and Staudt and Weaver offer a critical look at Political Science and the disparate manner in which women Political Sciences have reacted to the discipline through scholarly work. As the authors suggest, the next steps that were taken were usually more radical, in terms of methods or theoretical standpoints.

Kathleen A. Staudt and William G. Weaver's illuminating discussion in *Political Science & Feminisms: Integration or Transformation?* (1997) concerns the founding of the discipline with each sub-discipline's treatment of women and women's issues providing a backdrop for this study. They explain how the discipline has from its founding not integrated or included women as scholars or subjects. They disaggregate the discipline into the following sub-disciplines: Public Administration, Comparative Politics, Political Theory, American Politics, Law, and International Relations. Ultimately, they argue that we have witnessed more integration than transformation in some of the sub-fields, such as Public Administration or American Politics. Whereas in International Relations or Comparative Politics the research is not as integrated.

Women = *Partisans* ≠ Scholars or Why Women Did Not Suffer Physics Envy

Why begin this sub-section with a sarcastic heading? The point is that women scholars were viewed as merely partisan and therefore not scholars. The designation of partisanship meant that the research or participation was void of scholarly value. Women's participation in politics during the 19th century was viewed as "volunteering" or "charity" work and not viewed as scholarly research participation in the field. The sarcastic heading also refers to the use of language in academic research. Brian Easlea, a physicist, refers to this phenomenon as "The Masculinity of Physics," in his essay, "Patriarchy,

Scientists and Nuclear Warriors." Easley asks why Physics is called a "hard" science and other disciplines called "soft" sciences.¹⁹ He explains that the metaphors of penetration and dominance proliferate throughout scientific studies. He notes that Herman Kahn, a strategist, is known for coining the term "wargasm," in reference to an "orgasmic spasm of destruction" (66). Emily Toth similarly notes that in the discipline of English that, "Men in literature give enormous attention to deciding who is a 'major' or 'minor' author; they continually discuss how writers measure up against one another—comparing the 'thrust' of one versus the 'seminal' and 'penetrating' qualities of another" (43).²⁰ The use of language and metaphor within any field is interesting and it can help explain how accepted biases become normalized. The relevant biases within in the study of Political Science regard the invisibility of women in research and as scholars. Political Science exhibits this bias with the incomplete painting of the women's participation in politics.

Historically, political science has not been receptive to feminist concerns or, for that matter, to women in general. Women either are invisible as political actors or they are seen to be political actors of a peculiar—often deviant—sort. Nancy C. M. Hartsock (231).²¹

¹⁹ See Easley in the Michael Kaufman edited *Beyond Patriarchy* (1987) Toronto: Oxford. Richard Sennett also used the term "physics envy" in a 1995 essay (1995, 28).

²⁰ See her essay in *The Academic Handbook*, edited by A. Leigh Deneef and Craufurd D. Goodwin, Durham: Duke University Press, 38-46.

²¹ See Hartsock's essay, "How Feminist Scholarship Could Change Political Science" in *Contemporary Empirical Political Theory* edited by Kristen R. Monroe. Berkeley: University of California Press, 231-248.

Hence, the early debates within Political Science did not include discussion of the absence of women or other disenfranchised groups. Rather, the debates usually focused on the scope and method of the discipline or the latest coterie of scholars who define Political Science.

Columbia: Sexism and Racism in Early Political Science²²

The scope and method debates were of concern during the early formation of Political Science graduate education in the United States. During the latter 19th century, women became more interested in the field and inquired about enrolling at Columbia.²³ The Dean of the Department of Political Science at Columbia, John W. Burgess, was adamantly opposed to co-education for multiple reasons. Historian Rosalind Rosenberg's paper, "'The Woman Question' at Columbia: From John W. Burgess to Judith Shapiro", sheds light on the extent to which Burgess and others not only opposed women, but certain types of women. Specifically, Rosenberg states that Burgess and others on Columbia's Board of Trustees were anxious that some of the "Boston Type" women would infiltrate the university. At first glance, this might be a euphemism for feminist. However, further dissecting their comments, Rosenberg notes that it becomes evident that their concerns

²² In the second chapter, I speak more to the founding of the first graduate program in the US, which was at Columbia. Today, Columbia remains one of the top ten ranked Political Science departments in the US. The history of women at Columbia is an important one to share.

²³ To be sure, during the latter part of the 19th century elite women increasingly sought higher education.

were two-fold: they were fearful that Boston Marriage types—*lesbians*—would enroll at Columbia.²⁴ Secondly, the Boston types were also believed to be Jewish, or at the very least, not Episcopalian or Presbyterian (Rosenberg 2). They were also concerned that women in the greater New York City area might not have the proper religious affiliation. Rosenberg quotes Burgess's desire that Columbia not become a "Hebrew female seminary" (Rosenberg 2, from Burgess *Reminiscences*, 242). Therefore, the formation of the first graduate program in Political Science was one that specifically sought to exclude women—women who might be lesbians, Jewish, and other women not of the "proper" religious belief.²⁵ It is no exaggeration to say that the foundation of the graduate program at Columbia was not only one based on a gendered formation of Political Science, but one also built upon racial, ethnic, religious, and sexual orientation biases.²⁶ With these biases, Columbia set the tone for who could conduct research in Political Science and what research would be deemed valuable.

The trustees, president and faculty at Columbia were completely opposed to co-education at Columbia; however, the concession was the founding of Barnard College in 1889 for the undergraduate education of

²⁴ A Boston Marriage refers to women who lived together as partners, admittedly the actual term lesbian was not uttered, instead it was masked or a euphemism was used. Boston Marriages did not connote a sexual relationship, but rather a committed relationship between the two women.

²⁵ Political Science research does not detail this shameful part of the discipline's history. Rosenberg is a well-know historian and not a Political Scientist.

²⁶ We can surmise that these actions were practiced at other universities at the same time.

women. Harvard's founding and affiliation with Radcliffe²⁷ surely helped Barnard's establishment. Moreover, the establishment of Barnard would temporarily allay their concerns about women students at Columbia. However, this would not last forever.

Rosenberg notes the manner in which Burgess was "duped" into allowing women into graduate level courses in the department. The department was given funds for a new professorship with the stipulation that women be allowed to enroll in courses, with the professor's approval. It was not until later that it became known that the college president had funded this professorship in order to expedite graduate co-education at Columbia by enticing Burgess and other faculty with the professorship. During his tenure (1880-1911) in the Department of Political Science, Burgess never allowed women into any of his graduate courses. Like many men of his generation, he believed that women did not have the physical strength to sit in class for hours or the mental acuity for graduate training.²⁸ The marriages of women graduates certainly fed into this impression that education was wasted on women. The age old irony is that men were expected to find a suitable wife; however, when a woman graduate of Columbia married, their behavior somehow played into the sexist, albeit, timely trope of domesticity.²⁹ This

²⁷ In 1879, Radcliffe was founded as a women's college affiliated with Harvard and referred to as the "Harvard Annex." In 1943, the undergraduate classes merged and in 1963 the graduate schools merged. Today, Radcliffe maintains several research institutes and libraries.

²⁸ See also Mary G. Dietz and James Farr, "'Politics Would Undoubtedly Unwoman Her': Gender, Suffrage, and American Political Science" in Silverberg (61-85).

²⁹ Men getting married was not viewed as a waste of their education.

further proved to the faculty that graduate education was "wasted" on women, since they "inevitably" married and became housewives. Linda Nicholson (1994, 77) explains that during the nineteenth century, the demarcation of the sexual spheres increased, whereby politics was coded as a masculine endeavor. In much the same way, education was also marked by sex, race, and class.

Women in Higher Education

The history of organized higher education and women in the United States is one that spans less than 200 years, whereas elite men have had access to higher education for upwards of 400 years since the founding of Harvard and other elite institutions on the East Coast. Because the discussion of women in Political Science above concerns just one discipline in higher education, the history of women in higher education provides a better glimpse into the resistance that women felt in baccalaureate college classes and later the attainment of graduate education. Examining the next layer, we find that all women have not had access to higher education, as it was usually elite women who attended college. Therefore, the history of women and higher education is marked by the race and class differences that have characterized this country.³⁰ In general terms, women gained increased

³⁰ Therefore, when I refer to women and higher education, I am cognizant of issues of accessibility and affordability. I make no assumptions that all women have had the same opportunities afforded to men or more affluent women. Moreover, all men do not have the same access either, but do have male privilege.

access to higher education during the mid-nineteenth century in the United States. This coincided with the formation of women's colleges. By 1900, Mariam K. Chamberlein in *Women in Academe* (109, 1988) notes that there were nearly 20 women's college in the United States. The "Seven Sisters" of the East Coast were all established by 1927.³¹ Today, there are between 70-80 women's colleges in the United States (Women's College Coalition 2002). Within the last 20 years, we have seen more women's colleges move to become co-educational colleges, in order to attract more students. Other single-sex colleges have entertained the topic of co-education in order to increase enrollment.

As a consequence of the formation of women's colleges, more women pursued higher education. The latter part of the 19th century witnessed an increase higher education by women in the United States. The education was, at the time, sex segregated via their enrollment at women's college; however, this was still a noteworthy achievement. The founding chapter of what would later become the American Association of University Women—the AAUW—was established in Boston, Massachusetts in 1882 with the mission to support women's higher education and overall opportunities.³²

³¹ The Seven Sisters are Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Mt. Holyoke, Radcliffe, Smith, Vassar, and Wellesley.

³² For more information, see their Web site at www.aauw.org or their archives, which are at the Arthur Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe. Boston provided a locus of intellectual activity for women at this time. The AAUW continues to be instrumental with their advocacy for women and girls (www.aauw.org).

Ruth Bordin explains, in *Women at Michigan: The 'Dangerous Experiment'* (1999) that three factors were crucial to women's entrance into higher education during the middle 19th century: the overall growth of public school education, the Civil War, and the explosion in higher education enrollment (2-3). These changes helped ease the advancement of more women in all sectors of education. It was also during this era that more women (than men) were encouraged into the teaching vocation at the primary and secondary school levels. That is, it was acceptable for women to become teachers, secretaries and nurses. Linda Nicholson explains, "Many have pointed to the role of schools in supplementing the traditional sex role socialization that takes place within the family" (74). More students were pursuing college education and needed better preparation. The US saw a change from a farming society into a more industrialized nation and therefore more children were attending school. There was an explosion in the pursuit of teaching by women based on demographics and economics. According to Nicholson, it was more cost effective for local governments to hire women, as they were paid considerably less than male teachers (79). Thus, the incursion of women into education became enforced by a feminization of the field at the primary and secondary school levels.

Sexism in Political Science Research

Despite the general advancement of women in higher education beginning in the 19th century, Political Science was barely touched by small

the infinitesimal number of women in the field. Likewise, the research remained markedly unaffected by women, as they were nowhere to be seen as subjects of study. Though women were instrumental activists in the Antebellum Movement, Temperance Movement, and Peace and Suffrage Movements, the trope of the hearth and home being women's domain was used.³³ That is, Political Science history has been written so that women were left unnoted in the discipline, let alone as conventional³⁴ political participants in mainstream society. Whereas we know that women were involved in politics, their involvement was gendered. It was marked as only women's activism and therefore partisan work and not political work. Before the latter part of the 19th century, women's political participation was invisible in terms of the commonly understood way that Political Scientists defined conventional politics. Male participation, male voting, and male citizenship were the norm and understood as the "natural" or conventional political participation. Thus, when women were active it was deemed to be a hobby or a moral crusade for a particular cause. Lorraine Code's question, "What could she know?" was embodied in the socio-political context for women at the time. Suffice it to say that women's action and knowledge was neither respected, nor understood. Furthermore, we can take Code's question

³³ See Nancy Cott 1987; Sara Evans 1980, and Sheila Rowbathom 1976.

³⁴ Conventional political participation is typically defined as voting and writing to your representative, whereas, nonconventional political participation usually connotes boycotting, protesting and other forms of political protest.

further and note that many thought, "What could she do?" in terms of women's political action.

This gendered formation of the discipline influences the manner in which we think of political participation. Specific to Political Science, while we saw women activists during the Progressive Era, Suffrage Movement, and continued activism in the Peace Movements, oftentimes their activism was distinguished as part of the "mother's" concerns or morality movements. Therefore, at the heart of the foundation of the discipline we have gendered notions of politics and Political Science.³⁵ Furthermore, I will later speak to how studies of voting, political socialization, and political elites eluded any sound discussion of gender. As many feminist scholars have noted, women's civic work is not appreciated as "political" work or civic engagement. Instead, it is often defined as "charitable" work or "volunteering." The early voting studies conducted during the 20th century also fell into this trap. Feminist historians and other feminist scholars who unearthed the "stories" about early activists involved in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom during the early 20th century have provided evidence that women were intimately involved in politics.³⁶ This social and political situation

³⁵ Sandra Harding has noted repeatedly in her various works that science itself as a concept or discipline is biased and not just mere fact gathering and presented results. Therefore, my suggestion is that Political Science is certainly not the only discipline in this "esteemed" position.

³⁶ Marianne Githens adds, "The lack of importance attached to political activity for peace makes no sense at all" (in Finifter 1983, 491).

provided a self-perpetuating prophecy for women. Women were not art of politics and were studied in Political Science.

Jo Freeman explains that, "The Great War and the Russian Revolution reshaped the political environment in which feminists, reformers, and party women operated" (2000, 143). However, she later notes that this peace activism was at odds with perceived notions of patriotism.

A decade after universal suffrage, organized womanhood was retreating from political engagement . . . women's organizations were going down different paths. Most had heard the message of political leaders that women should not organize politically outside of a political party (2000, 147).

Thus, women's political participation was "allowed" through a very narrow definition of political participation. As Freeman elucidates in the conclusion of her text, women's participation in "party politics" vacillated during the 19th and 20th centuries.³⁷ Clearly, part of the problem regarding the manner in which participation is measured, is how it is defined. Political participation is about more than voting behavior.

By not examining women, we do lose "half the human experience" as Martin Gruberg or Sheila Ruth suggest in their respective texts.³⁸ It is not a stretch to say that the early history of higher education in the United States has been one of exclusion for women, communities of color, and the poor.

³⁷ See Jo Freeman. *A Room at a Time: How Women Entered Party Politics*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000. In reference to suffrage activism by women, Martin Gruberg notes that many often would refer to this as "Petticoat Politics" or "Pantry Politics" (1968, 6).

³⁸ See Gruberg 1968, and Ruth editions, 1980, 1995.

Thus, the history of higher education is a history of the economic elite.³⁹ If we begin acknowledging this reality, it allows the current predicament and controversies make more sense regarding not only the scope and method debates, but also issues of placement, merit, tenure, and publications.

The Helene Silverberg edited volume, *Gender and American Social Science: The Formative Years* (1998), notes throughout that the founding of the social sciences was a male-centric endeavor. Specifically, she states:

The social sciences took root in the universities as separate disciplines during the 1870s and 1880s. Four of the five disciplines formed their first graduate programs in the 1880s, and sociology followed in the early 1890s (8).

This ostensibly includes the "founding" of Political Science in the United States. She continues:

Gender also became encoded in the conceptual apparatus and professional ethos of the new disciplines. Gendered narratives of contemporary social relations, embedded in textbooks and scholarly treatises, established both the primacy of male experience and male social scientists' right to speak authoritatively about those social relations (Silverberg 9).

Helene Silverberg astutely draws the connections between the founding of the discipline and its inherently narrow (male-centric) lens and how this influences research today:

First, we must expand our definition of politics to better accommodate the many forms of women's political activity that did not have a direct male counterpart. This broader definition is not only more historically accurate, it also better captures women's own understanding of the meaning and purposes of their activities. Second, we must recognize

³⁹ The reality is that higher education is available to those who can afford it. There are other key factors to educational attainment such as primary and secondary education, class, immigration status, and parent's education levels.

that political scientists' view of their domain did not simply and straightforwardly mirror a society wide consensus about the scope and character of politics (Silverberg 159).

Many other women social scientists and scientists concur with her assertions (Harding 1986, 1991, 1998; and Fox Keller 1985, 1995). Sandra Harding specifically explains that the formation of *knowledge* and its attendant biases extend into politics and subsequent public policy (1986). Thus, without feminism in politics there will be no extension into public policy. In a similar fashion, without women seriously studied in politics, Political Science remained stagnant. During the founding of higher education, the curious absence of women systematically supported social mores. Harding, while trained in Philosophy, has dedicated many of her studies about the nexus between epistemology and politics.⁴⁰ The founding of the disciplines and its attendant seepage into the mindset of who constituted a student or a scholar is important to understand. This influenced ideological and societal opinions regarding women's "place" in education.

The Woman Variable

The assumptions about women's place in education had consequences for the types of Political Science research that was conducted about women. Many of the early educative texts within the American fields followed sexist assumptions regarding women's *disinterest* in politics and political

⁴⁰ Recently, many of her essays and books have addressed the particularities of sexism and racism in epistemological politics.

participation. Specifically, in *The American Voter* by Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes (1960) there was a focus on the importance of party identification, the effects of voting, and the assessment of candidates. However, the Michigan Voting Model, as it is referred to, presumed that gender did not make a difference. Campbell, et al's examination of voting in the United States noted that women were not concerned with politics. In fact, it stated that women often vote for the same candidate as their spouses. Thus, their husbands' viewpoints were the most important indicator of how they would cast their vote. Other examinations of voting behavior were just as outrageous, with their rather generalized (but not statistically valid) statements regarding women's voting behavior.

Add Women and Stir⁴¹: Activism in Political Science.

In 1967, the New Caucus for Political Science (NCPS) was founded. A critical voice in the discipline, the NCPS presented a more left wing, or liberal, viewpoint of politics and Political Science. The NCPS immediately became known for its radical politics and this was cemented in 1969, when the NCPS ran a slate of officers for the APSA. In "Self-Portrait: Profile of Political Scientists," Naomi B. Lynn explains, "The Caucus for a New Political Science was convinced of the inseparability of politics and intellectual work"

⁴¹ This phrase was coined by Charlotte Bunch. See *Passionate Politics: Essays 1968-1986*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 140. Nannerl O. Keohane, Political Scientist and President of Duke University, noted that specific to Political Science that women have been added, but the discipline "has hardly begun to stir" (1981 87).

(in Finifter 1983, 115). The NCPS became the hotbed of controversy, and the members were also open to the study of current activist politics. Some of the members were women graduate students and pre-tenure faculty.

In 1970, "A Report on the APSA Committee on the Status of Women in Political Science," was published in *PS*.⁴² The report noted that its aim was to "elicit information about the problems faced by women entering the profession" (14). Ultimately, the committee supported APSA's active engagement in recruitment efforts for women, encouraging more women to attend APSA meetings, and appointing more women in the APSA hierarchy. This report preceded the formation of the WCPS, but was clearly propitious to member support of women in the discipline.

While the NCPS was concerned with the Civil Rights Movement and its attendant concerns, women in the organization felt that there was not enough concern about issues relevant to them. Consequently, some women noted that it was necessary to found the Women's Caucus to deal specifically with women's issues, as the NCPS had multiple concerns. The Committee on the Status of Women actually preceded the formation of the Women's Caucus.⁴³ This committee was formed in 1969 in order to investigate the state of Political Science for women.⁴⁴

⁴² See *PS*, September 1970 v3 n3: 353-356.

⁴³ It should be understood that the caucus was a professional academic organization and not a social club for academic wives or other underrepresented groups.

⁴⁴ Political Science was no different from other disciplines that would later form committees and caucuses focused on women's concerns. The commissions would conduct an examination

The establishment of a Commission on the Status of Women in a discipline was usually the first step toward the examination of women's issues. The next step often was the formation of a Women's Caucus in the respective disciplines in academia. The commissions would conduct an examination of gender equity statistics in the field to find the current status of women in the field. Typically, the findings were abysmal, which caused a sense of urgency by women in the discipline. The next steps that were taken were usually the formation of a women's caucus, or similar organization in the respective discipline.

The formation of the NCPS was a timely one for Political Scientists concerned with the New Left, and, of course, for women Political Scientists. The various movements that existed across the United States also fed into the increased concern about political inclusiveness and not exclusiveness. Therefore, it seemed quite natural for many to get involved in the Civil Rights, free speech, and Anti-War Movements across college campuses and in metropolitan areas. The Second Wave Feminist Movement, specifically, was responsible for a re-examination of women's issues that resulted in the continued formation of feminist theories.⁴⁵ The intellectual development and activism of the Second Wave Feminist Movement influenced women in Political Science. There is some agreement that feminist activism has taken

of gender equity statistics or anecdotal evidence. Typically, the findings were abysmal, which caused a sense of urgency by women in the discipline or the particular university.

different forms in disparate institutions.⁴⁶ Thus, the Feminist Movement and its activism encouraged the formation of professional organizations. It is not coincidental that many professional organizations formed within six months of one another. During this time, activism and organizing were pervasive among the socio-political landscape in the United States and other college campuses across the globe. The 1964 Civil Rights' Act Title VII addition of "sex" as a protected category against discrimination did not translate into sudden equity for women in higher education. Examining women as subjects and socio-political context added a much-needed dimension to the ways of understanding the world.

One of the key matters that women Political Scientists sought to change was "business as usual" with the formation of the Women's Caucus for Political Science (WCPS). The WCPS was formed in 1969 by five brave Political Scientists: Carol Barner-Barry, newsletter editor; Berenice Carroll, parliamentarian; Kay Klotzburger, national chairperson; Judith Steihm, 1970 convention arrangements, and Audrey Wells, treasurer, membership and mail.⁴⁷ It has the esteemed place as the first (known) women's caucus in academe in the United States. Within weeks, other women academics in

⁴⁵ I say re-examination due to the importance of the "First Wave" and its influences. This research, like all feminist research, is clearly indebted to the work of the first wave and ensuing activism from the pre and post-Suffrage era.

⁴⁶ See Katzenstein 1998; and Katzenstein 1998 in Meyer and Tarrow.

⁴⁷ This information was culled from multiple sources; however, the listing of the WCPS duties specifically came from the *Newsletter*, fall 1970, 10. See Appendix for a complete list of caucus presidents.

other fields formed their own women's caucuses or similar organizations at their annual meetings. However, this is not to say that the caucus has discouraged women who work in other sub-fields from joining. In fact, the caucus was founded to help the status of women in the discipline as a whole and the founding five came from various sub-fields in Political Science. The archives for the WCPS suggests that membership and activism have been dominated by those whose primary interest is in American Politics.⁴⁸ This situation is consistent with support for the claim that the study of gender and the application of feminist methods have not sufficiently penetrated Political Science.⁴⁹

The WCPS provided a central *location* for the sharing of materials and concerns in the field. The meetings provided a space for women to discuss open positions, recent publications, skill building, and the airing of grievances. Furthermore, in 1970 the first issue of the *Newsletter of the Women's Caucus for Political Science* was published.⁵⁰ In the fall 1970 issue

⁴⁸ The archives are held at the Arthur Schlesinger Library at Radcliffe. I conducted extensive research at the library in Fall 2000 examining the complete archives, which at the time were unprocessed.

⁴⁹ The sub-disciplines of Women and Politics and Feminist Theory have made inroads in the field. However, Barbara Crow (1997) and others have noted that some of the empirical work does not provide a radical change in the analysis of politics. Furthermore, some of the sub-disciplines or other fields are more reprehensible than others in their exclusion of women in their departments and scholarly work. Indeed, the field of International Relations is widely regarded as the last male bastion in Political Science (see Confortini 2000; Ling 2000; Owens 2000; Parpart 1998; Staudt and Weaver 1997; and Tickner 1997). The caucus predates its cousin—the Women's Caucus in International Studies—by an amazing 25 years.

⁵⁰ In the mid to late 1970s, the name was changed to *WCPS Quarterly*, the Newsletter of the Women's Caucus for Political Science.

of the newsletter, Kay Klotzburger's "Open Letter to the APSA EX Council"

proclaimed:

The Caucus is not an Auxiliary of giggling girls, content to assume the attitude of the onlooker or the nonparticipating spectator. Its members are full professionals and the Association should encourage rather than discourage them to become professionally involved (4).

The newsletter included information about the annual meetings, the caucus events, sexual harassment cases, job announcements, networking information, book reviews, grants, and other opportunities. The early editions also included information that was germane to multiple fields, such as articles about commissions on the status of women in History, Psychology, and the Modern Language Association. The newsletter also included some eye-opening information, one under a query section of the newsletter:

Do any WCPS members know of institutions, which (a) require a physical examination as a condition of employment; (b) include a pelvic examination for women on a routine basis and (c) regard pregnancy as a basis for denying employment? There is at least one large university that does and the WCPS would like to know whether this is a unique situation or a widespread practice (1970 v1, n1 5).

The caucus was instrumental in getting job announcements changed so that "young man" or "senior male" was no longer stated. By 1979, the WCPS was joined by similar organizations or sections in the American Sociological Association and the American Psychological Association. Particular to Political Science, the WCPS was instrumental in moving placement interviews out of hotel bedrooms and establishing a more formal setting for conducting them. Clearly, the WCPS facilitated change in the APSA. Toni-Michelle Travis states, "Addressing the problem required

attacking entrenched professional practices and norms. This was no small feat" (1995 4).

The WCPS has caused interdisciplinary coalition-building in terms of shared information and activism. During the Equal Rights Amendment momentum, it was not uncommon for one caucus or committee to instigate action that the others would soon follow. The WCPS was instrumental in getting the APSA to not only endorse the ERA, but also ensure that meetings were not held in states that had not ratified the amendment. Activism by the WCPS has been key to offering resolutions to regional Political Science organizations or the national organization.

By 1975, there were more than 375 members of the WCPS and the members of the WCPS made a point of endorsing particular APSA candidates. By the late 1970s, the WCPS also established various committees surrounding issues of Affirmative Action, graduate student concerns, professional careers for women Political Scientists and even nominated a woman for the APSA president—Betty Nesvold. However, Nesvold did not win the presidency. The WCPS was key in supporting the establishment of the Women and Politics section in the APSA, which occurred in 1986. A section is an organized group that can support panels, roundtables, and workshops at the professional meetings. The first organized section meetings of the Women and Politics section were held in 1988. To this end, the section provided a scholarly forum for the presentation of information, whereas the caucus provides more of a locus of support and networking.

The Chilly Climate in Political Science: WCPS Warming Response

Many women scholars have referred to an article that influenced the thinking of the lack of gender parity in academia with "The Chilly Climate" articles (1982, 1984) by Roberta Hall and Bernice Sandler.⁵¹ Specifically, women Political Scientists and other academics were responding to the chilly climate in academe. Hall and Sandler first wrote, "The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?" in 1982 under the auspices of the Association of American Colleges (ACE). It was published by ACE in 1982 as part of the Project on the Status and Education of Women. In the article, they talk about the multiple ways that women scholars are made to feel as if they are imposters in academia by the institution, social mores, and overall gendered expectations. These points all translate into a different environment for women in the classroom. They note that women students are implicated in this by the lack of women faculty as mentors and as examples of role models who have "made" it. In 1984, they wrote, "Out of the Classroom: A Chilly Campus Climate for Women?", which was also published by ACE as part of the Project on the Status and Education of Women. In this report, they deal more explicitly with the multiple ways that women are treated or face the "chill" on campus with colleagues, administrators, and other institutional proceedings. In each report, the authors list recommendations to counter the

⁵¹ Sandler, Lisa A. Silverberg and Hall have since published *The Chilly Classroom Climate: A Guide to Improve the Education of Women* (1996), which offers advice about mentoring, networking, coping, survival skills, and success for women academics.

chilly climate in the classroom and on campus. Simply put, their articles referred to the atmosphere in academe that women academics perceived as unfriendly to women, let alone their respective research.⁵² The articles covered the varied areas of concern in and outside of the classroom for both women students and faculty. Furthermore, women academics felt the chill more if their research examined women.⁵³

If we take a step back and look at the climate in Political Science for women, the founding of the NCPS and the WCPS will make more sense. In the fall 1969 issue of *PS: Political Science and Politics*, Victoria Shuck wrote an article, "Women in Political Science: Some Preliminary Observations"⁵⁴ Shuck asserted that, "Women have always been part of the profession of Political Science" (37). She argues that the Great Depression and socio-historical views about women's role in society during the post-WWII era are what really hindered women's advancement in Political Science and higher education overall in the United States. "Between 1912 and 1920, women wrote 7 of the 125 dissertations in Political Science, which were published" (37). Shuck is generous in her reading of women's numbers or place in the

⁵² There is a vast and growing body of literature about women in higher education. Likewise, during the last 15 years there have also been more publications about women of color in academe. Please see the Web site www.janniaragon.com, in particular the links for the higher education bibliography.

⁵³ Athena Theodor (1986) notes that from 1970-1983 women's position in academia was virtually unchanged. I hope to demonstrate with my dissertation that the most gains for women in academe, specifically Political Science, were in the late 1980s and 1990s. However, as I will also discuss, these gains have been small and incremental.

⁵⁴ See *PS*, Fall 1969 V2, n4 1969: 642-653.

field in terms of dissertations published, or even in terms of the Ph.D.'s granted during this time, given the small sample of women in the discipline. Shuck explains that there might be several reasons why women are mostly at the lower ranks of the higher education ladder or pipeline. ". . . the recent dates of their appointments, their possession of few advanced degrees and their youth" (41). It follows, then, that her reasoning was certainly applicable to the first generation of women in the field post-WWII. The problem is that these same explanations are still used today to explain the small number of women faculty at the associate and full professor levels.

The WCPS has always encouraged the participation of women graduate students in the caucus, and, of course, in the APSA. At the time of the WCPS' founding, several of the founders were graduate students. The WCPS created the Alice Paul Award in 1983, which honors the best dissertation proposal by a woman graduate student. The WCPS has continued this support of graduate students by instituting a policy in 1996, whereby students could join the WCPS free of charge. Moreover, the caucus also sponsors or co-sponsors a reception at the APSA meeting for women of color graduate students. Thus, the commitment perseveres. The caucus set up a mentoring program for graduate students. Faculty sign up as mentors and are then paired with graduate students in their fields. The mentoring primarily consists of electronic or e-mail communication. The mentoring program is one tactic the WCPS has used to help support more women along the academic pipeline. Since its inception, the WCPS has maintained a multi-

dimensional approach to women in Political Science. This approach has focused on activism, retention, research, mentoring, awards, politics (in general and within the discipline), publications, court cases, and professional development.⁵⁵

The WCPS also understood the importance of celebrating the work of women in the field. In 1992, the WCPS established the Mary Lepper⁵⁶ Award to honor the recipients' combination of academic work and public or political service. The first recipients were Jo Feeman and Elsie Scott. The section also instituted paper awards at the various regional meetings.

In 1990, the first woman became president of the APSA—Judith Shklar—followed by Elinor Ostrom in 1997. [Neither was a Caucus member at the time, but Ostrom had been, and had been to many Caucus and Western Caucus meetings].⁵⁷

The WCPS celebrated their 30th year at the APSA meeting in Atlanta, Georgia in 1999. The theme for the celebration was, "Taking Care of Ourselves."⁵⁸ The founding was explained and individual speakers gave a history of the various decades and the milestones for the caucus. Some of the historic milestones for the caucus were shared, as were some memorable

⁵⁵ The regional Political Science organizations also have women's caucuses and vary in their level of organizational activism. They each share the attributes of providing a professional network for women in the discipline.

⁵⁶ Mary Lepper juggled her political and public service at the same time that she taught Political Science. She never held a tenure-track appointment during her career as an academic Political Scientist. She met an untimely death and by all accounts was sorely missed by those in the WCPS. Please see the archives for more information.

⁵⁷ See Mansbridge and Stone handout at the 30th Anniversary Celebration. From this same document, the author notes that, "From 1964 to 1969, in no part of the APSA's annual meetings did women constitute their representative portion (5%)."

⁵⁸ See Appendix for evening program of events.

points. For example, it was noted that as a graduate student at Columbia in the department of Political Science, Helen Ingram, now at University of California Irvine, was asked to sign a letter stating that she would not get married while she was enrolled in the program. In a speech that Ingram gave at the Northern Arizona University's 10th Anniversary celebration for the Commission on the Status of Women, she explained, "Due to my sex, I was on probation in graduate school, and I would succeed in higher education only if I behaved as if I were a man."⁵⁹ Other speakers shared similar poignant sentiments as they talked about the "bad old days" in the discipline and called for continued activism.

During the course of the last thirty odd years, the WCPS newsletter has kept its hand on the pulse of women in the discipline and issues key to Political Scientists: election and appointment issues, sexual harassment, meeting topics, ERA, abortion, racial discrimination, and electoral concerns. For instance, there has been ongoing criticism regarding the dates of the annual meetings. The meetings take place during the last week of August, which is when most semester terms begin. Women work more so in comprehensive universities, which tend to begin in late August. Therefore, the argument goes that women and those employed at teaching at intensive colleges are excluded by the meeting time.

⁵⁹ See <http://www.jan.ucc.nau.edu/~csw-p/Oct2000news.html> for her address in the "Reached Visions" Newsletter, v8, n2.

Also, the Women's Caucus for Political Science was instrumental with the 2002 and 2003 slate of nominees for the APSA Council. For the first time in the history of the APSA, there will be two women presidents of the organization. Theda Skocpol, Harvard, will be succeeded by Susanne Randolph, University of Chicago. The nomination process was fraught with contestations on multiple fronts.⁶⁰ While it looks promising to have two women in a row serve as the APSA president, it is worth mentioning that prior to 2001 only two women have ever held this position in the nearly 100 year history of the organization.⁶¹ Coalition building between different groups helped this outcome. During the history of the APSA, any attempt to offer a slate of nominees has been read as a challenge to the discipline.

Challenges to Political Science are not new. Indictments of hegemonic control of the discipline have been charged for more than one hundred years by varied groups of scholars in the larger discipline. Typically, these are scholars whose work somehow does not fit the current "traditional" definition of what constitutes Political Science research. What has become evident is that by virtue of conducting what is labeled "nontraditional" Political Science, research scholars are viewed as engaging in interdisciplinary work by their critics. The history of the discipline is riddled with disputes concerning the

⁶⁰ See "Cracking the Glass Ceiling. Keeping It Broken" unpublished manuscript by Kristen W. Monroe.

⁶¹ Judith Shklar and Elinor Ostrom were the first and second women to serve as APSA Presidents. From the archives it is easy to glean that neither offered a major victory to feminist politics in the discipline. Each scholar was a traditional Political Scientist.

mode of inquiry. Surely, any discipline should not remain a static, unchanged endeavor. Challenges can refresh the discipline. To state unequivocally that theories matter is a gross understatement. In the social sciences, historically, there have been struggles to widen (or narrow) the scope of what constitutes "science" or sound theories. In Political Science, the gate keeping has been directed at non-feminists too. Many feminists would argue that the gate keeping has been particularly critical of feminist analyses.

Judith Squires notes that, "Both the practice and the study of politics have long been notoriously masculine endeavors" (1). Women scholars in the field have shared this sentiment repeatedly. Squires offers that women Political Scientists used the established norms of empirical study to "break" into the discipline. In a similar vein, she notes that the political theory sub-field has been less accommodating of critical, feminist work (11), which contradicts Staudt and Weaver's assertion about the field being integrated and more accepting of feminist work. Judith Squires' assertion provides an intriguing segue. Which text is more accurate in the depiction of feminist theory's acceptance within mainstream Political Theory? I suggest that each text is accurate, based on the assertions of its authors. Clearly, feminists are asking about perennial issues: justice, ethics, care, and other pertinent issues. However, in much the same way, there is a traditional belief about Political Theory and the manner of inquiry. To say that Feminist Theory has been mainstreamed in Political Theory would cause outbursts by many as a sheer falsehood. Squires bases this comment on the manner in which

empirical research can add the variable woman, which is more palatable to the mainstream scholars. Therefore, she thinks it is easier to "add" women to their research designs. This warrants further discussion; however, this is neither the time, nor the place. Simply put, they note that Political Theory offers "the best and worst worlds for feminist political scientists" (35). The questions are timeless; however, the manner in which theory has deemed women invisible or been anti-woman spans thousands of years.⁶²

Political Science: Women and Politics

Political science as a discipline has been notorious for its relative lack of receptivity to woman as political scientists and to the study of women in politics. (Cook 1986)

Political scientists, as well as their perspectives and conceptual tools, appear in both accounts as genderless. The overwhelming predominance of men in the discipline during these formative years has passed without comments, as if this feature of political science's history had not important consequences for its character, organization, or analytical framework—then or today (Silverberg 157).

Marianne Githens explains (in Finifter 1983, 471) that prior to the late 1960s, there was a paucity of texts or essays that examined women's political participation. The introduction of gender into the study of Political Science has contributed to marked transformations in the field, including, Gruberg's *Women in American Politics* (1968), Shuck's, "Women in Political Science: Some Preliminary Observations" (1969), Krauss's, "Political

⁶² Some might opine that American politics provides the most equity, given the vast number of scholars engaged in work about the United States. Moreover, the sub-field of Women and Politics is American-centric.

Implications of Gender Roles: A Review of the Literature," (1974) Shanley and Shuck's "In Search of Political Women," (1974), Elshtain's *Women and War* (1987), Enloe's *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* (1989), Flammang's *Women's Political Voice* (1997), Staudt and Weaver's *Political Science and Feminisms* (1997), the inception of the journal *Women and Politics* (1980), and the recent inception of the *International Journal of Feminist Politics* (1999).⁶³ It is no exaggeration to note that each of these books or journals were groundbreaking in their respective fields, let alone for Political Science in general.⁶⁴

Joni Lovenduski noted in, "Toward the Emasculation of Political Science: The Impact of Feminism" (1981), that the more positivist-focused research was being replicated by some women Political Scientists. This research does not make for a feminist Political Science, though, as she wryly noted. Have things changed since she wrote this essay 20 years ago? She did not use the terms accommodationist or transformationist; however, it was clear in her essay that she calls for continued attempts by feminists to change the discipline and not merely become integrated by it. Thus, women in Political Science should move away from, "generating a revised standard version of the Political Science of women, instead of the development of a

⁶³ There are other countless articles and texts that have contributed to this literature. However, I name some of the germinal pieces and those that are specific to the discipline of Political Science.

⁶⁴ Many of the cited books were referred to in the *State of the Discipline I and II* as important books for the field of women and politics. The *State of the Discipline III* was published in 2002.

radical, altogether innovative, feminist Political Science" (1981 96).

Lovenduski argued that women should attempt transform Political Science through a feminist mode of research, which would better meet the needs of equity in research and within the field for women scholars.

In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*, Susan J. Carroll and Linda Zerilli's section, "Feminist Challenges to Political Science," notes three disparate paths that women and politics research has taken. First, they assert that the political theory has examined the invisibility of women. Second, they note that women and politics research has sought to "add" women. Third, there was a call for reconceptualizing Political Science and the assumed frameworks (in Finifter 1993, 55). Specific to political theory, they wonder how theorists can address some of the key political concerns such as citizenship, justice, care, authority, and the like, without broaching the topic of gender. Furthermore, they admonish that, "Political Scientists might well look to the experiences of their colleagues in history. . . . (Finifter 1992, 66). What should be added to their statement is that Political Scientists might also want to look increasingly to disciplines that offer more than an econometric or "scientific" focus.

During the last 20 years, many feminist Political Scientists have been critical of key problems within the field that influence the lack of study of women and women's issues, and have offered ways of rectifying this point. However, I argue that the discipline as a whole (and not merely some departments) needs further integration. The discipline needs to better

embrace research by and about women. It is prudent to continue a women and politics section and support the caucus. However, more departments need to offer courses that cover this area, or at least treat the sub-field as a legitimate one in the same manner that behaviorists and others are treated. The qualms that some (Flammang, Mansbridge, and others) have with the discipline as a whole is that scholars who "do" women and politics research or feminist theory are treated like the step-children in the department for two reasons: one they are practicing women and politics or political theory, and second, the work is woman-focused. We only need to look at research in this area to find the evidence.

Virginia Sapiro, University of Wisconsin at Madison, comments that during the last 20 years Political Scientists have barely touched the surface in terms of the research about gender and politics (293). According to Sapiro, this research has barely integrated the discipline. She notes that that would be clear to anyone who examines course syllabi (297).⁶⁵ Sapiro's criticism is a strong and valid one concerning the need for deliberation by scholars in the field. We should allay ourselves of information that includes women in all of our courses and not merely the women and politics cognate.⁶⁶

Women and politics research has included more quantitative studies during the course of the past fifteen years (Rinehart 1986, Deutchman

⁶⁵ Sapiro also maintains that Women's Studies scholars have not collaborated or integrated their work with that of feminist Political Scientists. This overall lack of integration between interdisciplinary departments and a mainstream field, like Political Science, is problematic.

1986).⁶⁷ The statistical research provides a means to deal with questions in society about women and "whether the primary motivation {of the research} comes from theoretical issues or practical concerns," thereby explaining if a phenomena exists (Knoke and Bohrnstedt 3). Hence, the increase in certainty (evidence) and knowledge provides researchers with data to present as information or the possible answer. To this end, with women in politics, actual statistical data ensured that educated hypotheses are given to explain certain phenomena regarding women's lives.⁶⁸ Quantitative analyses forgo the blanket generalizations that were often used to describe women's situation(s), as if there was a singular experience in terms of pay equity and other key issues. Quantitative research has examined the inequities with women's political representation, the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and other countless women-centered issues with a systematic model that is employed within Political Science.

⁶⁶ This assertion is based on perusing the APSA sponsored published list of syllabi of women and politics courses.

⁶⁷ The Arizona Board of Regents released their findings in the "Millennium Project" in 2001. The project was a quantitative and qualitative examination of the "institutional culture" in the Arizona higher educational system. Part II of the project will focus on women faculty and faculty of color and findings will be forthcoming. Likewise, the Wisconsin Commission on the Status of Women was established in 1998 and their report from (1999) notes similar problems with the lack of representation along gender and racial lines for faculty in their state, higher educational systems and suggests ways to reach parity. This was a follow-up report from an earlier report at the behest of the 1980 Regents' Task Force on the Status of Women. I cite these studies to merely illustrate that various states continue to examine how women are affected or represented on their particular campus system. The statistical research also provides numerical data as confirmation of women's plight. The State University of New York, Potsdam and the University of Colorado have begun similar studies regarding women faculty. See <http://www.potsdam.edu/faculty/status/> or <http://web.uccs.edu/women/millennium.htm>

⁶⁸ In chapter four, I will review some of the key work in the sub-field and the founding of journals that have influenced the sub-field and discipline.

Georgia Duerst-Lahti, affiliated with the Department of Political Science at Beloit College, has explained that by virtue of the way we practice our Political Science research, it appears that a line has been drawn in the sand. Her analysis of participation rates of men and women at the annual APSA meetings supports the unstated notion that men do quantitative work and women do women and politics. Duerst-Lahti explains that having more professional women available for interviews provides a savvy and subversive measure toward changing the discipline. This also demonstrates that women are experts in the field, instead of referring to the same male scholars for questions by the popular press about current events.

An underlying similarity becomes evident with the archival matter, newsletters, and journal articles. The activism found within the Second Wave Feminist Movement was instrumental to activism in Political Science. That is, the shared memory of early events made more than quick reference to the era of social change and women's struggle in society. Many of the speeches, interviews, and articles that refer to the history of women in the discipline celebrated the activism that emanated from the movement.

Women's organizations still thrive on university campuses and are focused on the multiple areas of the academic pipeline for women students, junior faculty, and senior faculty. Many have found that these organizations provide an integral part of the women-focused approach on campuses, departments, and within disciplines. There is a thirty-year history of organized focus of women's activism in higher education via caucuses,

committees, and faculty associations. Today, many of these women's organizations persevere in order to continue to meet the needs of women in higher education and ensure that gains are made along all levels of the academic ladder. These faculty support networks not only support all faculty, but ultimately staff and students. This networking might be best understood under the rubric of the New Social Movement (NSM) theory, which describes and analyzes the identity-based coalitions characteristic of contemporary activist organizations.⁶⁹ That said, women in higher education can align based on their sex-class status in academia.

Activism became a normalized component of political participation for some in the United States. Thus, it is not simplistic to assert that women's consciousness was raised regarding women's place in higher education, including the discipline of Political Science. Many texts that examine higher education make a segue or substantive analysis into how integral the various social movement activities were for women as both students and budding scholars. I suggest that we consider that women in higher education were scholar-activists. Jane Mansbridge explains:

When political opportunities open and sufficient resources, including social networks, are in place, oppositional consciousness then acts as a cause, helping to bring an effective social movement into being (2001 16).

⁶⁹ The NSM proponents are primarily European scholars who suggest that we understand group coalition building based on a common shared identity. For instance, a group would share the common bond as women in a struggle against the state for better health care. The NSM theories are grounded in the importance of identity based coalitions. See Darnovsky, Epstein and Flacks 1995; Giugni, McAdam, Tilly 1999; Laraña, Johnston and Gusfield 1994; and McAdam and Snow 1997.

The oppositional consciousness or oppositional politics were evidenced by the women involved in the various social movements of the time. This activism bled into the academy.

In the 1970s, we saw the Women's Liberation Movement (or Second Wave Feminist Movement as I refer to it) and an overall level of activism was visible.⁷⁰ Activism was a key component of these various feminist groups across the country. Repeatedly, historical accounts and the media misrepresent the movement as existing only in urban areas of college campuses; however, archival research quickly dispels this notion. What was really problematic is the organizational structure of some of the organizations. Instead of immediately inviting various groups of women into establishing the activist groups, they were invited to join the group after its founding.

In the 1980s, there was still activism, but it was focused on more divergent issues. This decade was also beset with a conservative backlash and partisan politics. Reaganism and the "new" conservatism were the issues. This took away marked focus from the movement. The Feminist Movement became concerned with the attacking of multiple issues by the conservative forces—abortion and Affirmative Action. Add this to less mainstream media coverage of the Women's Movement and it might appear that there was less organizing. However, this is not the case. I do not agree

⁷⁰ In the United States alone, there were countless grassroots newsletters, bulletins, and pamphlets that I found at Duke University, Special Collections, in the Atlanta Lesbian Feminist Association archives and their periodicals.

that this was the era of complacency, as there was activism taking place in multiple areas of concern.⁷¹ It is hard to use *The New York Times*, or others, as a marker for measurement. At the end of the 20th century, we witnessed the demise of Affirmative Action. Some have gone so far as to refer to this as the "New Conservatism."

California: Vanguard or Harbinger for Women in Political Science

The state of California offers an interesting example due to the passage of Proposition 209 in 1996. The proposition essentially gave the death knell for Affirmative Action in the University of California system. In the years subsequent to its passage, diversity was dealt a blow as the student population became more homogenous. Along the faculty pipeline, the statistics were more alarming. The Bureau of State Audits presents its audit report, "University of California: Some Campuses and Academic Departments Need to Take Additional Steps to Resolve Gender Disparities Among Professors" (2000-131).⁷² Essentially, while the student enrollment numbers bounced back, the hire rates for women took a major hit and have not rebounded.

The publication of the California State auditor's report was not met by surprise from many women's faculty associations across the state. As I noted

⁷¹See Ruth Rosen, 2000. *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America*. New York: Viking.

⁷² It can be found on their Web site at: <http://www.bsa.ca.gov/bsa/>.

above, the hiring of women faculty across the board at the 13 University of California system schools was dealt a shattering 30% decrease since the passage of Proposition 209. This, in turn, looks worse if we note that in the years prior to 209 we saw an incremental gain in the hiring and promotion of women faculty in the U.C. system.

Historically, many look to what California does in terms of education policy. Once 209 was passed in California, efforts in other states were strengthened. Similar propositions failed in Texas, but passed in Florida. California offers an interesting case for Political Scientists and others, as it is the most populous state and has some of the most liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans. Furthermore, the report found that during the five years studied that women only garnered 90%-92% of the starting salary that male faculty earned.

State Senator Jackie Speier, San Francisco, has spearheaded the effort to understand the auditor's report and has been a proven ally to women faculty members. The latest hearing regarding the auditor's report was held on March 11, 2002. *The California Master Plan for Education (2002 Draft)* sheds light on the current attempts that the largest state is undertaking to educate students from kindergarten-university. While the first draft of the report is comprehensive and makes recommendations for learner outcomes, safety and technology, there is no discussion regarding faculty or student concerns based on gender. All women faculty should be concerned about this issue, since it is a true pipeline concern.

As more women entered academe, we have also seen that the rules and regulations for awarding tenure have become harder to attain. Some have referred to this situation as a case of "pulling up the ladder behind you." Clearly, there is something suspicious about this predicament. Others have referred to these increases as institutional tactics of "uniformity" that ultimately hinder women and other underrepresented groups. It is no coincidence that at the dawn of seeing some diversity in academe, the rules change.⁷³

Political Science and Women's Studies: Symbiotic Relationship

The disciplines of Women's Studies and Political Science might appear to have an ambivalent relationship. Some scholars have suggested that they have had to seek refuge in departments of Women's Studies due to the at-times hostile nature of their "home" department {Political Science}. This should not be viewed in a negative light. However, scholarly work that examines women in higher education or is by nature interdisciplinary work is often treated by hiring committees, merit committees, and promotion and tenure committees as work that is not in one's fields or in the larger discipline. Perhaps, this is why some women scholars try to avoid being "marked" as doing "Women's Studies" work. The flip side of this is the

⁷³ Anecdotal evidence and secondary sources suggest that the playing field was never made equal, but rather that departments and the administration went through the motions in order to dispel criticism. In addition, from conversation I have found that Women's Studies scholars are apt to explain that in Women's Studies scholars share information and help colleagues up the ladder more so than within traditional departments.

assumption that all women in Political Science and Women's Studies are interested in the same scholarship. Some scholars note that they are warned to not do Women's Studies scholarship. They note that this sentiment does not disparage the scholarly value and benefits of Women's Studies. Perhaps, though, this is why Janet Flammang notes that Women's Studies' scholars have not collaborated or integrated their work with that of feminist Political Scientists:

Between 1975 and 1979, three political science review essays appeared in *Signs*, an interdisciplinary women's studies journal. For the first time, female political scientists were self-consciously positioning their discipline in an interdisciplinary women's studies setting (16).

Women's Studies and a feminist lens clearly have something to add to Political Science. However, is this the case when only Women and Politics section members, Feminist Theory section members and Women's Caucus members *know* this? This overall lack of integration between interdisciplinary departments and a mainstream field, like Political Science, presents problems. Furthermore, feminist Political Scientists or women Political Scientists who are interested in Women and Politics or research that examines women's issues have found that their scholarly endeavors are jeopardized by their department colleagues' feelings about "Women's Studies or feminist work." The similar projects between women scholars in Political Science and Women's Studies was discussed by Leta A. Moniz in "Integrating Women's Studies in a Political Science Curriculum" (1981 13). Moniz calls for concerted effort to integrate the two disciplines to the benefit of students.

Many feminist Political Scientists have been critically introspective of key problems within the field that influence the lack of study of women and women's issues, and have offered ways to rectify this point. However, I argue that the discipline as a whole (and not merely some departments) needs further integration in terms of women in departments and subject matter examined by scholars.

Conclusion

The history of the discipline is gendered both for women activists and women academics in Political Science. There are multiple layers of this relationship. One layer is the founding of the discipline and another layer surrounds the contextual politics of the time. Yet another layer is the important connection between the Women's Movement and Women's Studies. Women scholars attempted to transgress higher education through their scholarly activism within their involvement in Post-Civil Rights activist networks. This activism caused the formation of new networks such as the New Caucus for Political Science NCPS. The establishment of NCPS and other professional networks was compounded by the activism of the Second Wave feminist Movement, which aided the founding of the WCPS. Women are an integral voice or agent in this story of Political Science. The socio-political era opened the door for increased university enrollment and more women in graduate school and at the early stages of the academic pipeline.

Chapter Two

Methodological Hegemony in Political Science in the United States

Political scientists possess sharply divergent views about their research and pedagogy. They disagree not only about what they should study and what constitutes a persuasive argument and evidence but also about how to understand the discipline's past. Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner (1).¹

At the turn of the 19th century, graduate education in the United States was an informal process by which graduates would have a master's degree granted to them a few years after earning their baccalaureate degree. Somit and Tanenhaus (1967) note that the institution benefited from this situation because it created a stronger tie to their graduates, which they assert was a relevant to the bequeathing of funds for the institution. The truly ambitious (male) students would travel to Germany or France for advanced studies. John W. Burgess, who would later found the first graduate program in Political Science at Columbia College in 1880, did graduate work in Paris, France at the École Libre des Sciences Politique, for instance.²

It is important to examine the early founders of the first graduate school department, as this was viewed as the first step in the professionalization of the discipline. The founders and their own academic training influenced their vision of what Political Science was. Although writings about politics and government have existed for thousands of years,

¹ *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*. NY: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2002.

² Columbia College was founded in 1754 as "King's College" and was renamed Columbia College in 1787. In 1896, Columbia designated itself as Columbia University. Columbia was the fifth college founded in the United States.

he discipline is just over 120 years old if we judge its "birth" based on the founding of graduate departments—discussed in Chapter 1-- and professional organizations in the United States.³ The Academy of Political Science (APS) was founded in 1880 and the American Academy of Political Science (AAPS) was founded in 1889.

According to the APS Web site:

Senior members of its [Columbia] faculty and graduate scholars saw the need for a companion institution to serve as a link between the academic world of political science and the larger world of practical politics and government (www.psgonline.org).

Historically, Burgess and his colleagues established the Academy of Political Science in order to serve those affiliated with the graduate program at Columbia.⁴ Burgess advocated an interdisciplinary Political Science program, which included comparative work, historical evaluation, and theory building. In addition, the program also included Economics, History, and Geography (Somit and Tanenhaus 18). Burgess believed that Political Science was indeed a science and that besides truth and knowledge seeking, departments would train men⁵ for public service (Somit and Tanenhaus 46-47). He envisioned a connection between the theories and subsequent practice in the classroom and community. Burgess soon found that there was no consensus

³ The University of Leiden in the Netherlands formally taught the first politics course in 1613 (Daalder 1991).

⁴ In 1910, the Academy of Political Science officially separated from Columbia and became its own not-for profit professional organization.

⁵ Burgess was opposed to graduate education for women.

about what constituted Political Science as a discipline. He found that one of the first controversies stemmed from debate about the scope and method of graduate curriculum and the discipline in general terms.⁶ Burgess could not have known that the scope and method controversy would be an enduring debate among Political Scientists and that the formation of the department would offer an exemplar of what constituted Political Science research to other departments across the US.⁷

Columbia continued with its professionalization of its graduate program by founding *Political Science Quarterly* (PSQ) in 1886 to showcase the work of scholars at Columbia. However, the journal's official ties to the department later dissolved. Somit and Tanenhaus state that by the early 20th century, the graduate Political Science programs at Columbia and Johns Hopkins became focused on training graduate students in the art of research. Furthermore, Somit and Tanenhaus suggest that, at that time, their graduate programs in Political Science were the two best programs in the United States.⁸ The consequence of this focus was a de-emphasis on teaching, which privileged research.⁹ Somit and Tanenhaus explain, "Given the

⁶ To reiterate, scope merely refers to what is considered legitimate Political Science research and method refers to the methods employed in Political Science research.

⁷ The scope and method debates have undergone periods of great dissension and other times where there is some debate. Reviewing the history of Political Science it becomes apparent that the scope and method concerns are persistent among the various methodological camps.

⁸ Johns Hopkins University was founded in 1876 under the guiding principle of strong research training. See <http://www.jhu.edu/> for more information.

⁹ Feminist scholars have noted that during this era in the United States, the choices for women's employment varied between nursing and teaching. Thus, the primary or secondary schools provided a place for women's "care" work.

orientation described above, graduate programs paid little attention to the fledgling Ph.D. as a prospective teacher" (1967 39). This concern is one that has continually provided fodder for debate concerning the manner in which graduate students are "trained" in the field. The founding of the discipline in the continental United States has left Political Scientists with a legacy that leans toward the scholarly beliefs of the elite schools. That is, the elite departments influenced the Political Science discipline and other programs attempted to emulate them. The elite programs today still influence the mainstream understanding of the scope and method of the discipline. I will later discuss how this problematizes the growth and attempts to change the discipline. The reality is that the majority of scholars in the United States today will find themselves in a teaching institution, yet many are trained at research universities. As previously mentioned, there were differences regarding the scholarly beliefs of those active in the nascent field. This becomes evident in the early reports of the founding of departments and also the establishment of different professional organizations.

It was also at this time that Political Science allegedly became more "Americanized" (Somit and Tanenhaus 61). That is, many wanted to distinguish the field from History and align it more with the disciplines of Sociology or Economics, which were deemed more scientific. Somit and Tanenhaus note that the science emphasis was an American fixation; in

Europe, it was common that Political Scientists were involved in day-to-day politics and more concerned with policy matters and practical politics.¹⁰

Then in 1889, Edmund J. James,¹¹ affiliated with the Department of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, founded the American Academy of Political and Social Science (AAPSS). Its journal, the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Annals)*, began publication the next year. The AAPSS and its journal had a more interdisciplinary focus, which included Political Science, Economics, History, and Sociology.¹²

The American Political Science Association (APSA) was founded years later in 1903 and today is lauded as the preeminent Political Science organization in the United States. However, in comparison to many other professional organizations, APSA was late in its formation.¹³ Like most professional organizations, the APSA began its own journal. The *American Political Science Review (APSR)* was founded in 1906.¹⁴ Since its found the *APSR* has been regarded as the most distinguished journal in the discipline.

¹⁰ This is still true today.

¹¹ James was active in AAPSS, and as the editor of the *Annals* he merely joined the APSA, but was never an active member. James was incredibly active in the American Economics Association (AEA), and even served as its president from 1910-1911.

¹² To this day, they still serve multiple academic communities.

¹³ The American Historical Association was established in 1884 and was the first discipline to found a professional organization. However, many other disciplines soon followed. Katznelson and Milner note that the founding of the APSA was really a "break away" from the AHA (11).

¹⁴ While this is the "flagship" journal in the discipline, many debate its relevance. The APSR published its first article authored by a woman in 1932, the second in 1959 and 3-5 in 1964.

During the 1930s, the first anti-APSR grumbings became more evident with the criticisms that the journal held too narrow of a vision and was not representative of the discipline.¹⁵ Somit and Tanenhaus note how *PSQ* and the *Annals* were "eclipsed" by the newly founded APSR (Somit and Tanenhaus 53).¹⁶

Burgess was not actively involved in the APSA, either. He continued to have an active role in the Columbia Political Science department and Columbia, in general. One reason might be that during the early years of the APSA's founding, practitioners, lawyers, and non-professorial university affiliations dominated the membership. Professors or teachers actually constituted the minority of members during the early years of the APSA (Somit and Tanenhaus, 55). Within the first 10 years of the APSA's founding, there was a move away from comparative or historical analyses in research presented at the annual meetings. This move was made to present Political Science as more of a scientific discipline and to further itself from the discipline of History. Thus, Political Scientists have a history of dissension among the professional rank and file.

The discipline of Political Science grew incredibly fast after the formation of the American Academy of Political Science and the founding of

¹⁵ These same sentiments are shared today.

¹⁶ The APSA announced in 2001 that a new journal would soon be established, *The O on Politics* in order to meet the changing and multiple needs of the membership. "Since 1969, *PS: Political Science & Politics* has served as the journal of record for the profession, incorporating scholarly essays with news and features of professional interest." (<http://www.apsanet.org/pubs/index.cfm>).

the first few departments. By 1916, more than 95 courses existed across the country (Helene Silverberg 177).¹⁷ Many focus on the founding of the American Political Science Association as the "start" of the field or the founding of the first graduate program. It is intriguing that the founding of the discipline is not noted with the founding of the Academy of Political Science in 1880. One reason for this might be based on regionalism. I suggest that it is more likely based on the idiosyncratic ideas of those involved in the particular organization. While the founder of the first graduate department—Burgess—was initially active in the field, he was not active in the APSA organization. Some have alluded to the discrepant views of members based on their particular careers in public service versus the university track. Burgess has been defined as an advocate of the pro-scientism of *Political Science*.

While the growth of the APSA was swift, it was roughly less than thirty years later that regional Political Science organizations were formed in the United States. Once the regional organizations were founded, they typically established a journal at the same time, or shortly thereafter. In 1930, the Southern Political Science Association was founded and established its corresponding journal, *The Journal of Politics* (JOP). The Western Political Science Association was founded in 1948. Its journal, the *Political Research*

¹⁷ David Ricci (1984, 59-61) offers different numbers: by 1914 there were more than 200 courses across the United States and more than 40 departments or programs in Political Science.

Quarterly (PRQ), was established in 1948.¹⁸ The Mid-Western Political Science Association was founded in 1939 and its sponsored journal, *American Journal of Political Science* (AJPS), was established in 1956. There are many regional and state Political Science organizations, such as the North Eastern, Southern, Southwestern, and Pacific Northwest associations. Today if we count the regional, state, national and international Political Science organizations, there are more than 50 Political Science organizations throughout the world.

Currently, the APSA boasts a membership of more than 13,500.¹⁹ The APSA is set up in such a manner that an executive director leads the organization much like a chief executive officer in terms of the daily business. There is a president, president-elect, three vice-presidents, secretary, treasurer, and sixteen elected members of the council. The APSA president serves a one-year term, as does the president-elect.²⁰ After the president steps down, the president-elect then becomes the president of the APSA organization. The other officers serve two-year terms. The council and the officers of the APSA constitute the governing body of the association. Somit and Tanenhaus humorously referred to the APSA dealings as Byzantine and reminiscent of a different era (1967 152). While the authors are trying to make light of the situation, there is clearly some truth to their assertions.

¹⁸ The journal was formerly known as the *Western Political Quarterly*.

¹⁹ See <http://www.apsanet.org/about/index.cfm> for more information.

²⁰ See the Appendix for a complete list of the APSA presidents.

The APSA and other professional organizations have been referred to as a court with its nobility or a tribunal of sorts. Likewise, "A Medieval Sociology of International Relations" tellingly explains that the different scholarly camps within the field of International Relations (IR) resemble a medieval court.²¹ While this particular essay is written about IR, it could have been written about Political Science explaining the hierarchical nature of the APSA.²²

The APSA and its members are governed by a constitution with ten articles that vary from explaining the name of the organization, membership rules, and the officers of the organization. Article II, point one notes that the purpose of the association is the encouragement of work in disparate fields of Political Science: Theory, Institutions, Politics, Public Law, Public Administration, and International Relations. However, the second point in Article II spells out that the organization is nonpartisan and will not support parties or candidates. Article II, number two states:

It will commit its members on questions of public policy nor take positions not immediately concerned with its direct purpose as stated . . . The Association shall not be barred from adopting resolutions or taking such other action as it seems appropriate in support of academic freedom²³

²¹ Please see <http://www.u.arizona.edu/~spikep/medievalir.htm>. The piece has an unattributed author and is in its complete form in the Appendix. The author suggests there are nobles, peasants, and priests.

²² In chapter four, I discuss women and IR more substantively.

²³ See <http://www.apsanet.org/about/governance/constitution.cfm> for more information about the Constitution of the APSA.

The actual organization mandates that its work is non-partisan and its members are not obliged to support public policy issues or concerns. For Political Scientists, this seems contradictory, as they study politics and policy. The latter part of the APSA Constitution explains how resolutions and amendments are proposed.

***In Our Enemies and US: America's Rivalries and the Making of Political Science*, an unpublished manuscript, Ido Oren, affiliated with the Department of Political Science at the University of Florida, explains that the Executive Director of the APSA has often created the vision of the discipline.²⁴ Oren cites the strong-arm tactics of Evron Kirkpatrick and his coterie of academics and government associates. Kirkpatrick was the Executive Director of the APSA from 1954-1981 and during his tenure, his vision of politics and Political Science were pervasive through the APSA and his publications. Furthermore, he complicates Kirkpatrick's incumbency as the executive director of the organization by noting the rampant nepotism and his influential support of the Cold War. While advocating non-partisan Political Science, Kirkpatrick was active in his advocacy of Cold War politicking with government types. Kirkpatrick's well-known wife, Jeanne, was an active member of the APSA and, at one time, the WCPS as well. She also served**

²⁴ See <http://web.clas.ufl.edu/users/oren/excerpt.html> for the excerpt from his unpublished manuscript

the United States government in various capacities, including a United Nations ambassadorship and Ronald Reagan's Foreign Policy Advisor.²⁵

The two most influential people in the APSA are the executive director and the president. Therefore, there is an opportunity to affect the make up of the council and organization. A reading of the annual APSA presidential addresses at national meetings provides a telling indicator for how mainstream scholars feel about the discipline. The address ultimately presents a defense of the mainstream or status quo, yet often calls for a united vision for all Political Scientists to work together. David Easton's address, in particular, is often referred to in relation to this matter due to his call for a return to empirical Political Theory or a Postbehaviorial Revolution.²⁶ For the social sciences, empirical study surrounds the investigation of human behavior, institutions, and ideas. To be sure, it was not so much that Easton and his followers were against Behavioralism. Instead, he offered a Political Science that was referred to as Empirical Political Theory. Easton better honed the explanation of a more "scientific" qualitative theory building method. Easton embraced empirical political theory. Simply put, Empirical Political Theory is a theory that can be tested.

²⁵ At one point in time, she was also an active member of the Women's Caucus for Political Science.

²⁶ See David Easton, "The New Revolution in Political Science," *American Political Science Review* 63 (1969): 1051-1061. It is worth noting that recently a book was published that was dedicated to Easton and his advocacy of empirical work. See the Kristen Renwick Monroe edited volume, *Contemporary Empirical Political Theory* (1997), Berkeley: University of California Press.

Many other APSA presidential addresses appear to defend the status quo. The addresses serve as a form of institutional memory for those active in the field at that particular time. The one common trait that the speeches tend to defend is the turn toward quantitative methods in Political Science. These might be surveys and other measurement tools, regardless, most adhere to some manner of "testing."²⁷ Somit and Tanenhaus maintain that empiricists advocate that Political Science emulates other "scientific" disciplines by its capacity to "predict and explain" (1967 177). This predilection for predicting behaviors has repeatedly been attacked by those critical of research that is "politically irrelevant." These accusations about the irrelevancy of Political Science have been repeated during the last 40 years.

Disciplining the Discipline

Political Scientists have published their thoughts regarding the disciplinary problems as they see them. During the last fifteen years, this has been an interesting area of publication.²⁸ Gabriel Almond (1990) described the disciplinary differences as one of different "schools and sects."²⁹ The debate among the different schools in Political Science has been vitriolic, if

²⁷ These debates, if anything, influence our understanding of the social science pedagogy in comparison to other "sciences."

²⁸ Generally speaking, most of the monographs that take a critical examination of Political Science somehow ignore the issue of gender, race, and sex. These topics are curiously absent.

²⁹ If anything, it is obvious that the history of the discipline was rife with contentious debate concerning the scope and method concerns. Almond's latest book (2002) offered the major players and debates in the field. There is absolutely no discussion of women or any contribution by women in Political Science.

not downright unprofessional at times. Some have found that the differences stemmed from political beliefs, class biases, physics envy, or even a math model fetish. The irony is that those at elite research institutions, or on the editorial board of the APSR, have often defended their preferred forms of methodology based on "objectivity or truth seeking."

The scope and method debates within the larger field affected scholars in various sub-fields. For example, the dissension among Public Administration scholars in Political Science might explain why they have sought their own professional organizations and schools in universities. Compared to mainstream Political Science, Public Administration tends to have a heightened examination on public policy, bureaucracy, management, and organization theories. On December 27, 1939, the American Society for Public Administration was founded at an APSA meeting. In many universities across the United States, the departments of Political Science and Public Administration exist under the auspices of different colleges or as freestanding departments. Some have suggested that Public Administration thus wisely avoids the econometrics endemic to mainstream Political Science.³⁰

The scope and method debates are informed by the incessant ranking of Political Science departments and programs in the United States. There

³⁰ **Economists note that Political Scientists often borrow the dated and sometimes no longer used theories from their field. That is, by the time Political Scientists appropriate a theory from Economics, the economists have moved on to some new theory.**

are different means for ranking departments. The department rankings are fraught with controversy based on the methodology of the particular study, its alleged usefulness, and the generalizability of the findings.³¹ However, the end results provide a window to what the elite schools are doing in terms of their faculty publications, presentations, and placement of their graduate students. That is, they provide a good indicator for which programs are more focused on research versus teacher training. They do not provide a strong indicator of what is best for students at the undergraduate or graduate levels and what is best applicable to "real" politics or government.

There are various ways that rankings are conducted. One method is to count the number of tenure-track faculty, publications, and student placement rates. Each spring, administrators, faculty, students, and parents look forward to the ranking of college programs in the *U.S. News and World Report*. Some have suggested that dissecting graduate school programs in Political Science might explain "where" the discipline is today. Examining Political Science graduate programs actually offers an unclear or incomplete picture of the discipline, as so many Political Scientists earn their Ph.D.'s at research universities. These top-ranked schools are often the ones that are examined in order to understand the discipline's focus. Yet, these programs

³¹ The most recent round of rankings funded by the national Research Council was met with controversy. Please see Katz and Eagles 1996; Jackman and Siverson 1996; and Lowery and Silver 1996. Katz and Eagles, in particular, explain that peer perceptions used for ranking purposes offer biased results that are not easily measured or quantified. Likewise, Jackman and Siverson note that this ranking offers a barometer of popularity and wrongly measures small and large departments against one another. Scholars in the discipline also met previous rankings with outcry; please see the index to *PS* or *APSR* for more information.

only provide a glimpse of what the elite, and oftentimes insular, programs are doing. The reality is that based on the sheer number of comprehensive universities, most graduates of graduate school are placed at a teaching institution. Furthermore, the elite schools predominate in the rankings of departments by the *U.S. News and World Report*, Yahoo, and other means of measuring the "best and brightest."

Perhaps a better way of examining Political Science departments is regionally, or based on specific sub-field concentrations. Therefore, looking at the top-ranked schools presents a sampling problem, as we surely cannot apply the findings ad hoc throughout the United States.³² Any findings merely represent the status quo or mainstream and offer a small opportunity for application. The findings present a snap shot of only the "big" programs or private university departments. Surely, these programs also offer an overemphasis toward quantitative studies. If anything, the rankings present a somewhat biased offering of mainstream Political Science. An alternative approach might offer which programs render more opportunities for working with diverse student populations or an increased amount of professors who advocate service-learning. That is, alternative rankings can make the programs more student friendly in order to better meet the needs of students. This in turn could help break the dismal record of graduate student attrition in Political Science Ph.D. programs.

³² See Eric Davis and Janni Aragon, "Political Science Students: Contemporary Needs and Future Career Preparation" unpublished manuscript.

Methodological Debates

Thomas Kuhn's work was undoubtedly influential to many academic disciplines, including Political Science. Kuhn's work is often cited as the hallmark of scholarly scientific work in the social sciences and most discussions of epistemology. Since the publication of his monograph, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), scholars have borrowed heavily from it and applied the notions of *normal science*, *paradigm shifts*, and *revolutions* to their particular fields. To begin, Kuhn, as a historian, presents a history of scientific revolutions. He explains that science entails trial, error, and inventions with the onset of crises, revolutions, and paradigm shifts. Moreover, Kuhn explains that a paradigm shift may not answer all questions, but it will answer more than its predecessors. Therefore, he contends, with a paradigm shift we gain an increase in knowledge formation.

The Kuhnian ideal of normal science is often cited in accusation of the problems in Political Science. That is, the research is not advancing or experiencing a paradigm shift. However, often in the citations of Kuhn, scholars do not mention that the central thesis of his text is how history is important in terms of examining scientific revolutions. Thus, historical context matters. Political Science is no different. Somit and Tanenhaus refer to the debate within Political Science. During the last thirty years critics have complained about the mono-method focus in the discipline. Interestingly, when the calls for interdisciplinary research have been made during the post-World War II era, it has been favorable toward Statistics, Economics, and

Psychology and not favorable to History, Anthropology, Women's Studies and other disciplines in the humanities.

Books discussing epistemology or different methodological tools are commonplace in the social sciences. One such book that has caused some interesting discussion in Political Science is *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* by Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. This book is a commonly used text in Political Science seminars regarding the methodological "training" of Political Scientists. King, Keohane and Verba offer that quantitative and qualitative research are not fundamentally different and outline a methodology. According to their logic, the same tools can be applied to the research design of a voting study and an intellectual history.

King, Keohane and Verba explain that the their prescribed research methods could be used in qualitative research. The application of their beliefs to quantitative research in all social sciences makes perfect sense; however, I feel it is flawed when applied wholeheartedly to all qualitative research. In fact, in order to have reliable, falsifiable studies of voting trends of certain precincts or other explanatory hypothesis, their methods are worthy and necessary.³³ Nevertheless, if the goal of King, Keohane, and Verba was to design "research that will produce valid inferences about social and political

³³ Here, I do not mean to attack voting studies. Bernard Berelson et al in *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign* (1954) presents a cogent explanation about the importance of voting studies, presidential campaigns in particular. They lean toward sociology and psychology, in order to legitimate their investigations about the necessity and complexity

life," (3) then I argue their endeavor was not wholly unsuccessful. The design of a psychobiography could follow many of their points concerning sound research designs: posing good hypotheses, making valid descriptive and causal inferences, and their four characteristics of "scientific" research (7-9). Their book has more merit for quantitative social scientists that apply numerical or statistical analysis of data. Certain suggestions by the authors, in particular within the first 100 pages, demand further investigation and possibly adoption by social scientists of most research methodologies. However, it would be a gross stretch to present this as the only "training manual" for Political Scientists or one that truly addresses the varied methods used in qualitative studies.

One major problem with their study is the assumption of the commonality of research methods between quantitative and qualitative research. There is a marked difference between a quantitative analysis of election outcomes and a philosophical exploration of the Postmodern critique of rationality, for instance. Their text exemplifies the inherent problems with certain social scientists' attempts to institute the scientific method in the social sciences. Their attempt to demonstrate the importance of a common language by social sciences proves an admirable, yet futile action in a world where theories and people's actions are nonsystematic. With their book, they attempted to make qualitative research methods more "scientific." Not all

of voting behavior. While I disagree with their dismissal of Political Theory, they do provide a strong defense of voting study.

qualitative work can "fit" the quantitative theories that the authors suggest.³⁴ While some studies provide a rich discussion of voting behavior and elections outcomes, it is problematic for some research to emulate the quantitative research methods or expect scholars to do so.

Timothy J. McKeown's review of the book sums up this weakness explaining, "Simply stated, the disparities between case study research and classical statistical hypothesis testing are too great to threat the latter as an ideal typical reconstruction of the former" (1999, 187). McKeown alludes to King, Keohane and Verba's assumption of a commonality demonstrates their misunderstanding or misconceptions of the depth of research methods in the social sciences. McKeown offers a valid critique of King, Keohane, and Verba's monograph. He ends by referring to developments "about the problems of knowledg" in the Humanities and Social Sciences (188).

I contend that ultimately the physical world's lack of static events and people proves a difficult enterprise to study or to quantify statistically. I find it problematic that the authors consider their type of methodology as the most reasonable one in comparison to others. For instance, a hermeneutic Political Scientist cannot apply a mathematical equation to help others understand our theoretical ways of knowing.

The criticism to the "mono-method" is rife within the discipline. There has been a joint action toward better using and preserving the use of

³⁴ Qualitative work includes political theory, political philosophy, ethnography, participation-observation, interviews, and case studies.

qualitative methods. The Consortium for Qualitative Research Methods was founded and its first academic year of operation was 2001-2002.³⁵ There is also listserv (QUALMETH) for those interested in qualitative methods. The Qualitative Methods group and recent conferences have focused on the importance of using qualitative methods in Political Science.³⁶ The group does not criticize the use of quantitative methods, but rather explains that scholars in the discipline use different methods that are equally important. The group provides information that includes listing many syllabi, working papers, meeting information, the listserv, and other useful information for scholars interested in using qualitative methods. The various papers, syllabi, and posts criticize methodological hegemony and suggest that a multidimensional Political Science best serves the needs of students, scholars, and the community.

Rigor, the First Part of Rigor Mortis³⁷

Mapping out some of the debates offers an interesting pattern of consternation and growing pains. During the post-World War I era, there was

³⁵ Electronic mail correspondence with Colin Elman of the CQRM. 6-4-02.

³⁶ The Web site for the group is at: <http://www.asu.edu/clas/polisci/cqrm/index.html>.

³⁷ Discussions of "academic rigor" repeatedly draw comparisons about Political Science needing to be more like the natural sciences without questioning the notion of what constitutes scholarly "rigor." Academic rigor is a term constantly discussed at professional meetings in various fields of Political Science. My use of the term resonated with the relevant debate in the discipline, however I adopted this use independent of this debate. See Stephen M. Walt's engaging essay, "Rigor or Rigor Mortis? Rational Choice and Security Studies." *International Security*, v 23, n4, Spring 1999: 5-48 and Frank C. Zagare's response to Walt in another essay, "All Mortis, No Rigor" *International Security*, v 24, n2, Fall 1999: 107-114.

an emphasis on the science of politics or pro-scientism effort within Political Science. As Somit and Tanenhaus observed, the scientism centered on strong scholarly inquiry that was non-partisan, but "predictive" (76-77). Charles E. Merriam, affiliated with the University of Chicago, led the way with his emphasis on measurement and testing, which he borrowed from psychology and statistics. Somit and Tanenhaus note that Merriam, "was skeptical that any real degree of objectivity was possible" (112). It was during the post-WWI era that we saw a focus on research about institutions. However, this soon changed with the onset of WWII.

Then, during the post-World War II era, there was a focus on Behaviorialism.³⁸ Behaviorialism is best rendered with its emphasis on the importance of political behavior and the study of behavior. Morris Fiorina in a *New York Times* article noted that in the 1940s and 1950s Political Science favored a "genuinely scientific Political Science [that] looked with admiration on social sciences that were then more advanced, like sociology and psychology."³⁹ It was during this time that we saw a concerted effort toward making Political Science more practical, which meant that the field leaned more heavily toward methods from the physical and natural sciences.

³⁸ Somit and Tanenhaus explain, "Political Scientists learned two chastening . . . lessons during the war. They discovered that there was a profound difference between their ideas of government, politics, and administration and the actuality thereof, especially under emergency conditions" (141).

³⁹ *The New York Times*, February 26, 2000. B-11. "When Stakes Are High, Rationality Kicks In."

In the late 1960s and 1970s, the focus moved toward empirical Political Science or a more "operational" Political Science that borrowed more so from the discipline of Economics. Political Science research then used more equations and borrowed jargon from Economics. Therefore, other social sciences strive to borrow theories from Economists (2001 44). Bent Flyvberg explains that Economics is the social science that most regard as the marker for sound, scientific inquiry.

The search for a more scientific Political Science has influenced the modes of research within the field. During the last 40 years, there has been a reliance and debate about voting methods or models that best explain political behavior.⁴⁰ *The American Voter* (1960) by Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes focused on the importance of party identification, affects of the vote, and the assessment of the candidates by the voters with their examination of the 1952 and 1956 elections. Most refer to their findings as the Michigan Model of voting behavior. The authors rely heavily on the notion of partisan identification in their model. This is a significant point, since they stipulate that according to their model, voters identify as a member of a political party. Moreover, they explain that voting is a means of currency in human society (Campbell et al 3). Put simply, with this model electoral choices are shaped by the voters' attitudes toward

⁴⁰ An analysis of voting behavior has existed in the United States as long as we have had a working printing press. However, instead of journalists recapping the election with the usual explanation of the election results, we have moved to a more systematic explanation of voting within the field of Political Science. It is believed that voting behavior literature began in the

candidates, policies, and the links between parties and social groups.⁴¹

Therefore, this is a contradiction to Rational Choice Theory (Downs 1957), which does not pay particular attention of parties or social groups.

The Michigan Model does have its revisionist detractors who argue that partisan identification is not as stable or strong as Campbell et al conclude. In *The Changing American Voter* by Norman Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik (1976), the authors maintain that voters use issues to inform their opinions about the candidates. However, it is worth noting that the Michigan Model is the foundation on which these authors are creating their revision of the said model.⁴² Nie *et al* maintain that the 1950s was an era that lacked issue consistency. One explanation for this could be the mentality of the post-World War II era that relied heavily on a sense of conformity and patriotism, more so than questioning the status-quo or “issues,” since by offering issues of concern one could implicate oneself as a complainer, or even worse, unpatriotic.⁴³ Thus, partisanship was the most important factor for voters to use in helping them make their vote choice, since they were expected to participate in politics after the effects of seeing or knowing about

1940s with *The People's Choice* (1940) by Paul Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet.

⁴¹ The Michigan Model (like most models) is not without its detractors. For criticism or revisionist attempts, see Carmines and Stimson 1980, 1981, 1986, 1989; Converse and Markus 1979; Fiorina 1977; Miller and Shanks 1996; Nie, Verba, and Petrocik 1976; Niemi et al 1987; V.O. Key 1966; Smith 1989, and Romero 1989.

⁴² Recall that they dedicate their book to Campbell et al “on whose coat-tails we ride.”

⁴³ This argument is actually a common one voiced by sociologists and historians. For more discussion about this point, please see: Terry H. Anderson's *The Movement and the Sixties* 1996 or Todd Gitlin's *The Sixties* 1987, 1993.

fascism and communism. Therefore, Nie et al's assertion that the public was just more educated does not look at the whole picture. Education was compounded with socio-historical issues.

Lastly, the Sociological Approach presented by Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee in their text *Voting* (1944) places more importance on class, race, age, religion, and immigrant status (length of time in the United States). To be sure, their work contributes a distinct analysis of voting behavior beyond the merely descriptive (data without any explanation) with their elaboration of the important attendant personal and social factors to voting. There is an increased focus on the "groupings" of the voters along the aforementioned lines.

The individual's vote is the product of a number of social conditions or influences: his socioeconomic and ethnic affiliations his family tradition, his personal associations, his attitudes on the issues of the day, his membership in formal organization (37).

Rational Choice Theory is best explained as a theory that examines predictions and preferences in order to deduce the outcome. Anthony Downs, an economist trained at Stanford, wrote the germinal text, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957). It is acknowledged as the educative text for Rational Choice adherents.⁴⁴ For Downs, voter utility is the name of the game. The amount of time and energy the voter applies toward acquiring information plays a pivotal role for the "rational" voter. Gabriel Almond notes that it was during this time that there was a concerted effort by those at elite

⁴⁴ For more information about Downs, please see his Web site at www.anthonydowns.com

institutions and the mainstream discipline to lean more toward the methods used by Economists (1990, 123). In *The Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science* (1994) Donald Green and Ian Shapiro explain, ". . . rational choice theorists appeal to deductive accounts of incentives, constraints, and calculations that confront individuals" (3). Therefore, with Rational Choice Theory, the individual is the basic unit of "measurement." This study was not met with open arms, as it was critical of a major component of Political Science. However, some would opine that the book was merely a "blip" on the radar screen, since the field is still dominated by Rational Choice adherents. Today, the focus is most likely shared between empirical political theories and Rational Choice Theory, which was borrowed from the discipline of Economics.⁴⁵ Proponents of Rational Choice Theory, such as William Riker, Morris Fiorina, John Ferejohn and others, have expedited the move toward econometrics or what Richard Swedberg, an economist, has critically referred to as "Economic Imperialism."⁴⁶ Swedberg disapproves of the manner in which Political Scientists have "colonized" or re-formulated economic theory. Presumably, this move toward econometrics was meant to epitomize the scientific methods used in the physical and biological sciences.

⁴⁵ Empirical methods and Rational Choice methods are not mutually exclusive.

⁴⁶ See his "Socioeconomic and the New 'Battle of Methods': Toward a Paradigm Shift" reprinted in *Culture and Politics* edited by Lane Crothers and Charles Lockhart, 381-392. I add that the devotion to Rational Choice Theory also supports a neo-liberal individualism ethos. For an interesting counter exposition about this point, see Zillah Eisenstein 2001.

Alexander Rosenberg's text, *Economics: Mathematical Politics or the Science of Diminishing Returns* (1992), demonstrates an interesting interpretation of Economics and its place in the social and physical science disciplines. Rosenberg quickly alleges that Economics is dissimilar to Physics and other physical sciences; furthermore, he criticizes other theorists' analyses of Economics. Rosenberg argues that many scholars legitimate their discipline or findings by comparison to scientific method or outright appropriation of the method(s). Here, this is not too different from Cicero claiming that the "moral and worthy cognitive enterprises" were Astronomy, Geometry, Dialectics, and Civil Law (281). Thus, the problem does not lie with the appropriation of scientific methods, but rather with the exclusive nature of what the ideology or discipline presents as the *truth*, or at times the moral truth. Rosenberg argues that Economics does not present the truth and cannot predict the actual truth.

Somit and Tanenhaus explained more than thirty years ago that Political Science will never be like a natural science, per se, because:

We cannot treat human behavior, individual or social, with the dispassion needed for scientific knowledge. Neither political science (nor any other social science) is amenable to experimental inquiry. There are too many variables and historical contingencies to permit other than the most general statement of regularities (1967 180).

Since this statement, countless others have repeated it within Political Science, Feminist Theory, and Women's Studies. It is reasonable to view these critiques as a critique against methodologies like Rational Choice Theory that attempt only to quantify human behavior and do not take

context into account. Somit and Tanenhaus draw the connections between the incentives for research foundation funding that existed for the natural (read hard) sciences and the push to gain some of the monies for their own research projects.⁴⁷ In the concluding remarks of their book, they posit that the discipline will increasingly become more "*academized*" (emphasis in original, 206). During the course of debate, academic rigor is often discussed as an integral part of Political Science research. Academic rigor or academic credibility lends itself to increased funding by institutions: intramural campus funding, foundations, and government institutions. Thus, studies that were testable were more likely to gain funding.

After World War II there was a push to make Political Science more test-laden. This push caused Political Science to seek government grants. The National Science Foundation was founded in 1950 by a congressional act in order to help promote the: "progress of science; to advance the national health, prosperity, and welfare; to secure the national defense; and for other purposes,"⁴⁸—the first annual report of the National Science Foundation, 1950-51. Furthermore, the connections between the post-World War II era and heightened sense of research subsequently fostered the need for

⁴⁷ The dichotomous relationship between the Social Sciences and the Physical Sciences does not benefit scholars or students in either field. I argue that we have a responsibility to examine the way that disciplines recreate knowledge, let alone espouse what knowledge is.

⁴⁸ The post WW II paranoia and the onset of the Cold War clearly helped the founding of the NSF and increase in funding for research about security, military, and other attendant concerns.

increased vigilance by the government and a stronger relationship with the academic community. George T. Mazuzan, Former NSF Historian, explains:

Support of basic scientific research was an area affected by increased government involvement. There had been numerous, if modest, government-science interactions throughout the history of the Republic, but the Second World War vastly intensified that environment. Not only was government support of scientific endeavors sharply escalated, but also the relationships among government agencies, universities, private foundations, and industry were altered in ways that disallowed a return to prewar times. The war greatly strengthened, for example, the link between the nation's universities and the government.

***Office of Legislative and Public Affairs, July 15, 1994 (General Publication, NSF8816, 1994)*⁴⁹**

Later, in reference to the primary funded disciplines, Mazuzan notes:

The thorny question of the social sciences was not resolved; the act's term, "other sciences," could be read to include the social sciences entrance but gave them second-rate status compared to the mathematical, physical, biological, medical, and engineering sciences that were specifically mentioned in the statute.

Furthermore, Mazuzan explains that the history of the NSF must be understood in concert with the political context of "American political happenings" (9). Thus, the NSF was not immune to the partisanship and political vagaries of the day.

The endeavor to continue the quantitative research-oriented vein of Political Science was re-emphasized in 1962 with the establishment of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR).⁵⁰ The ICPSR is part of the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research.

⁴⁹ See <http://www.nsf.gov/pubs/stis1994/nsf8816/nsf8816.txt> for the complete on-line version of his report.

⁵⁰ It was originally called the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research.

The professional parochialism surrounding the discipline was strengthened by the ICPSR's formation and the need for increased garnering of grant funds. Today, it is considered one of the preeminent social science data "warehouses" in the world. The ICPSR Web site notes that there are more than 400 institutional members worldwide.⁵¹ The ICPSR provides a much-needed service for academics and other constituencies across the globe.

In reference to *American Academic Culture in Transformation: Fifty Years, Four Disciplines* (1997) by Thomas Bender and Carl Schorske, Louis Menand notes that with the increase of funding agencies there was a heightened desire by scholars to make their work less "political." That is, they had to "court" granting foundations. Menand continues by suggesting that, "the Cold War homogenized the academic profession."⁵² There have been other claims about the "insidious" influential role that funding agencies have toward academic freedom. Much like many other essays or monographs about higher education, Menand offers an ahistorical examination by suggesting that "scientism" first reared its head in higher education during the post-World War II era. Specific to Political Science, this is grossly inaccurate, as scientism has been an inherent part of the discipline since its founding in the US. Furthermore, his suggestion that a liberal arts education

⁵¹ Somit and Tanenhaus explained that when the ICPSR was first established they had 21 institutional members. See <http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/ORG/about.html> for more information about the ICPSR.

⁵² See <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14628#fn6>, "College: The End of the Golden Age," October 18, 2001.

today is not relevant is yet another tired sentiment that has been shared before as a criticism of higher education in the United States.

The alleged Americanization of Political Science was criticized based on its methodological and "American" focus. Others voiced the criticism about the insularity of the APSA in the discipline. The International Political Science Association (IPSA) was founded in 1949 to meet the needs of scholars outside of the United States or conducting work that transcended United States boundaries.⁵³ The APSA and IPSA have not always had a congenial relationship. As Somit and Tanenhaus explained, the IPSA officially accused the APSA of having "isolationist" tendencies in 1964 (1967 202). Today, the IPSA has more than 1,200 members that span the globe.⁵⁴ The IPSA notes that its mission was an organized project for intellectual inquiry. The project or formation of the IPSA supported a shared or cooperative international effort (Coakley and Trent 11-15). Similar to the APSA, the IPSA is governed by a constitution with 36 articles and 10 sections. Those in the International arena point to the Americanization of Political Science as affecting both theory-building and the disciplinary foci of Political Science.⁵⁵

⁵³ Theodore J. Lowi explains that the IPSA was "a product of the Cold War" (2000, preface).

⁵⁴ The IPSA offers different types of membership that are based on regional memberships first with other political science organizations. This structure actually encourages that members first be affiliated with a group in their region or country and then the members choose to collectively join the IPSA.

⁵⁵ The interesting thing missing from the 50th anniversary publication is the outcry against the APSA. Instead, criticism was voiced in articles or texts from the 1960s through the present and is nowhere to be found in the 2000 publication authored by Coakley and Trent.

The accusations regarding APSA isolationism persevere today by the noted groups and other critics. The criticism stems from the focus on United States hegemony in terms of research and funding. Some scholars have avoided the US focus by joining other social science organizations such as the International Studies Association (ISA). The ISA was founded in 1959. The ISA is more diverse in terms of discipline, area of study and nationality, with a membership of 3,000 worldwide. The name ISA reflects the focus of the organization—that is, ISA meets the needs of not only Political Scientists, but Sociologists, Economists, Historians, and many other academicians and Policy Analysts.

Another organization that has been welcoming to Political Scientists is the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA) states that their consortium of programs allows the student to focus on "functional subjects" in their studies.⁵⁶ That is, they suggest that their program offers a curriculum that will prepare students for various careers in government, the private sector, non-profits, and the like.

APSIA is an association of 23 graduate schools of international affairs and 15 affiliated institutions based in the United States and abroad. APSIA member schools are dedicated to advancing global understanding and cooperation by preparing men and women to assume positions of leadership in world affairs. (Web site statement)

In an article in *Politikon: IAPSS Journal for Political Science*, "Whom Is Political Science For?" the authors discuss the politics of Political Science.

⁵⁶ See <http://www.apsia.org/faq.html> for more information. From the member institutions page it become obvious that the members are primarily culled from International Relations of studies programs and not traditional Political Science departments.

Their criticism stems from the narrow focus, methodological concerns (positivist focus), and the issues of power.⁵⁷ Likewise, the Post-Autistic Economics Network Web site, (www.paecon.net) has also kept a record of the most recent outcries within the discipline of Political Science.

The various regional Political Science organizations have been actively critical of the "parent" organization and have repeatedly attempted to change some of the endemic problems. At the 1999 WPSA meeting in Seattle, there was an overflow crowd for the business meeting, in which the discussed topics were the set of resolutions to be submitted to the APSA Council. The resolutions varied from gender disparity issues on the council to diversity of the APSA president and president-elect. It is important to understand that the Council does not have to consider the resolutions seriously. The resolutions are recommendations that the regional associations or concerned committees and caucuses submit.

Perestroika

The current "Perestroika-Glasnost" insurrection or criticisms are the latest embodiment of dissension in the discipline. In the November 2000 issue of *PS*, there was an anonymous letter submitted and published. The anonymous author—fictitiously named *Perestroika*—outlined problems

⁵⁷ See <http://www.iapss.org/politikon/forwhom/shtml> "Whom Is Political Science for?" Andrea Theocharis and Marcus Graetsch.

inherent in Political Science.⁵⁸ Perestroika's claims were some of the same persistent scope and method qualms from the early days of Political Science in the United States. The problems also include the hierarchy in the discipline in terms of hiring; merit reviews; tenure reviews; publication; the focus of the APSA and its attendant journals; and the overall mono-method of methodology in Political Science. A group of scholars wrote and signed another letter that was published in *The New York Times* on November 4, 2000, and agreed with Perestroika's claim about the problems in the discipline. In November 2000, not long after the anonymous letter was published, an e-mail group, which currently numbers more than 700, was formed for those sympathetic to this "new" movement.⁵⁹ A website devoted to this movement states, "This group is for a liberal, diverse, methodologically plural Political Science. It is an inclusive forum." Many of its members have reiterated this sentiment in texts, articles, and conference papers, and on electronic mail posts and various Political Science lists.⁶⁰

Some supporters of the Perestroika movement have noted that even though they engage in "quantitative" studies, they too feel disengaged from the larger discipline. Personal feelings aside, the larger concern is that placement, merit, publication, and tenure rates are ultimately influenced by

⁵⁸ Perestroika refers to the Russian fight for democratic change after the Cold War.

⁵⁹ In October 2002, there were more than 700 members. The membership continues to increase. Please see the group information at:
http://groups.yahoo.com/group/perestroika_glasnost_warmhome.

⁶⁰ On the electronic lists, they refer to the quantitative scholars as those who do "Large N Studies."

how "productive" a scholar has been. If the comparison is dominated by quantitative studies, then any work that employs alternative methods is likely to be measured unfavorably against it. Qualitative scholars argue, specifically, that their research is less likely to be published in the top-tier Political Science journals because these journals have turned into bastions of quantitative research.

The news coverage of Perestroika and the ensuing discontent among Political Scientists has been extensive, both in the print media and in on-line sources. The APSA has attempted to be self-reflexive of these criticisms. An electronic e-mail sent out to members asked for opinions regarding the electoral process.⁶¹ Furthermore, the 2001-2002 APSA president Robert Jervis, affiliated with the Political Science department at Columbia University, has attempted to address some of the key components of the Perestroika complaints. He has repeatedly called for members' understanding about the shared animosity about methodological difference in the discipline. Moreover, Jervis has suggested that Political Scientists work together for the sake of the discipline and not get caught up in the wave of apostasy. Jervis has specifically noted that each sub-discipline in Political Science feels that it is somehow marginalized. Jervis. The 2002-2003 APSA president Theda

⁶¹ See Appendix, APSA electronic mail on September 20, 2001.

Skocpol, affiliated with Harvard University's Department of Government and Sociology, is also sympathetic to Perestroika concerns.⁶²

Rogers M. Smith, affiliated with the Department of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania, was interviewed by *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, as part of one of their weekly broadcast colloquies.⁶³ Smith was also interviewed in the weekly issue for September 21, 2001. He stated that, "I'm not very proud of being a political scientist, and I'm not very proud of political science . . . because we are not as useful as we could be." Others cited in the article concurred that there is methodological hegemony in the discipline. On the list there is a concerted effort to make Political Science research more relevant. It is certainly interesting to note that many scholars affiliated with tier one doctoral institutions feel detached from the APSA or discipline in general.

At the 2001 APSA meeting held in San Francisco, there were several Perestroika round-tables, panels, or receptions.⁶⁴ Many of the scheduled rooms were not large enough to comfortably fit the crowd.⁶⁵ In addition, it was not uncommon for the receptions or meetings to go twice as long as the

⁶² The upcoming 2003-2004 APSA president, Susanne H. Rudolph, affiliated with the University of Chicago, is a self-defined Perestroikan. It is interesting to note that many of the most vocal Perestroikans are tenured at the most elite research universities in the United States.

⁶³ See transcript from Colloquy, Wednesday, September 19, 2001. Available on-line at <http://www.chronicle.com/colloquylive/2001/09/perestroika/>

⁶⁴ There were also other Perestroika panels and meetings at the various regional Political Science conferences.

⁶⁵ I attended one panel where we stacked the chairs and ultimately sat on the floor in order to allow an additional 50-60 people in the room.

program noted. This was due, at times, to the heated nature of the discussion regarding disciplinary problems and the number of those in attendance. What makes these current criticisms by the "Perestroikans" and those sympathetic to their cause, interesting is that the claims of the current expropriation of Political Science are ultimately false. As this chapter has explained, Political Science has always been defined or molded by an elite few, or by elite programs. Thus, the ahistorical criticism and lack of examination of the history of the discipline problematizes their insurgency.⁶⁶ It would actually help strengthen their points if they were to embrace a stronger historical analysis and avoid myopic generalizations. Then, act as if this is the first insurrection against Political Science.

Importantly, although Perestroika⁶⁷ has remained anonymous and criticisms associated with the movement are directed at the posting by subscribers and not necessarily the founder(s) of this latest insurgency, the group was instrumental in a 2002 coalition with the Women's Caucus for Political Science, the Latino Caucus and others for the election of individuals sympathetic Perestroika to the APSA. The Perestroikans were concerned that their needs be met—just as many other stakeholders were. This was perhaps

⁶⁶ In the next chapters of the dissertation, I will illustrate how these same criticisms are voiced by women, people of color, and the other so-called disenfranchised in Political Science. Here, I suggest that the Perestroika critique is lacking gender and ethnic diversity about the discipline.

⁶⁷ Initially Perestroika was referred to as Mr. Perestroika; however in May 2002 there was an e-mail post signed Ms. Perestroika. Generally speaking, the identity of Perestroika is still unknown. Some have opined that there is actually a group that makes up the Perestroika identity.

the first election whereby the Perestroikans really attempted to flex their group strength via the list and within the discipline.

Some have decried this latest critical movement as one that is fueled by a fragmented group that merely advocates intellectual propaganda. The dissension might offer the political psychologists some fodder for future research. The late Harold Lasswell, affiliated over the years with various prestigious universities such as Chicago, Columbia and Yale, is well known for his advocacy of political psychology and studies of political propaganda, noted in "The Future of Professional Political Scientists." Lasswell cautions that we should be concerned with enlightenment and skill within Political Science education.

To contribute to enlightenment is to improve the map of knowledge that depicts the role of political institutions in the social process. To contribute to skill, on the other hand, is to mobilize the knowledge required to achieve excellence in the performance of specific tasks defined within the context of the inclusive map (1974, in Somit, 247).

Lasswell's points make sense in terms of the scope and method debates in the discipline. There is no resounding agreement about what is Political Science and how we study it. Many scholars are quick to note the problems in the discipline of Political Science, but not necessarily offer answers.

Perhaps the next step by the disengaged groups, which includes Perestroikans, is to offer what a new curriculum should look like at comprehensive universities and doctoral granting universities. That is, Political Scientists might want to take this opportunity for disciplinary introspection.

Gregory Kasza, of the Department of Political Science at Indiana University, and a vocal advocate of the Perestroika movement, wrote a letter to the editor in *PS: Political Science and Politics* making the claim that the methodological hegemony threatens academic freedom.⁶⁸ Kasza makes this connection between what Political Scientists study and how Political Scientists study. Furthermore, Kasza maintains that the methodological tyranny of Postmodernism or any other hegemonic theory can be just as destructive.⁶⁹ His complaints offer a thorough, if not fair, critique of how methodological hegemony can stifle a discipline. If anything, these criticisms of late need to become more inclusive and adopt a wide lens of historical and theoretical analyses. He suggests a three-prong ecumenical science, one grounded in "problem-driven research, methodological pluralism, and interdisciplinary inquiry" (598). Political Scientists should be hopeful that this vision becomes a reality.

In the spirit of this vision, APSR editor Lee Sigelman (affiliated with George Mason University, Department of Political Science) led a special lunch presentation "Political Science Is an Amalgam" at the 2001 Southern Political Science Association in Atlanta, Georgia.⁷⁰ He lamented the fragmentation endemic to the field and suggested that we strengthen the core of what

⁶⁸ See "Perestroika: For an Ecumenical Science of Politics" by Gregory Kasza in the *PS* Volume XXXIV, Number 3, September 2001: 597-599.

⁶⁹ He claims that Postmodernism is a hegemonic theory in the discipline of History—this is surely debatable.

⁷⁰ The luncheon was on November 11, 2001 held in Atlanta, Georgia as part of the Southern Political Science Association annual meeting.

constitutes Political Science. Sigelman ended his talk by explaining that he wants the *APSR* to publish the best work. Moreover, Sigelman noted that twenty years ago everyone read the foundational texts in Political Science and was familiar with the key debates.⁷¹ These opposing viewpoints offered by those sympathetic to Perestroika, and countering it, demonstrate the multiple visions that persist within the discipline. One answer or solution might not meet the needs of all interested parties.⁷²

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the founding of Political Science graduate programs in the United States has influenced the scope and methods debate. This debate varied from the academized nature of the discipline and the lack of substantive training of teaching. Furthermore, I offered a brief history of the scope and method debates, which has provided the most contention in the discipline. One problem with these debates is how method *and* scope often get lost in the debate. Debate often focuses on one of the two, and not both at the same time. Therefore, some human behavior is not observable and cannot be easily quantified or understood, as many critics have noted. This might be part of the Political Science problematique—not addressing

⁷¹ Missing from his opining was that his list of foundational works was without any reference to scholarly work by and for women, lesbians and gays, and people of color. That is, the cited works were what today many refer to as one-dimensional examinations of politics.

⁷² In the latter part of this study, I call for increased interdisciplinary work Political Science, which might be the avenue for research in the field.

both key issues regarding the scope *and* method of the discipline. The Perestroikans' criticisms, though, are more focused on both; yet even they ignore the importance that the foundational theories have on current disciplinary issues and for all intents and purposes their arguments avoid any substantive analysis of how race, gender, and class influence these debates.⁷³ We really cannot divorce these points from the scope and method debates, or other key issues in the field regarding the *politics* in Political Science. Ira Katznelson heeds this call by noting, "A century on, we continue to be challenged by the questions that most vexed our founders" (7). In the next chapter, I will explore how women add to the Political Science puzzle through their contributions in epistemology, theories of knowledge. The story of women in Political Science and the study of women in politics deepens as I examine the multiple levels of marginalization in the discipline.

⁷³ An early post on the Perestroika list noted that we should not get caught up in issues of gender or other "camps." This is a contentious point that is never thoroughly addressed in the e-mails.

Chapter Three

The Epistemological Canon: Feminist Theories and Political Science

Examining the impact of feminist *ideas* is important to evaluating the degree of influence women and feminists have had in Political Science. First, I consider women and their relationship to the canon-- the ways that feminist theories have emerged, in particular. Next, I outline some of the divergent views within feminist theories. I then explore the ways in which feminist ideas have influenced or changed the discipline. Most importantly, this chapter demonstrates how feminist epistemology has added or challenged our understanding of epistemology, in general, and furthermore, how this challenge has affected the discipline of Political Science.

There is not one method that all women or feminist Political Scientists agree upon in their efforts to study Feminist Theory, Women and Politics, or even International Relations, for that matter. However, discussion of the alternative methods some women and feminist Political Scientists draw upon is an important aspect of this dissertation due to the theoretical influences of the feminist movement and activism. Not to differentiate between some of the disparate feminist typologies leaves a gaping hole in an important part of not only scholarly history, but also scholarly debate. The following section reviews some of the early (and persistent) debates in Feminist Theory circles. I argue that once this history is revealed and some of the feminist theoretical controversies explained, the predicament of women Political Scientists will

make more sense. In much the same way, my sense is that knowing the history will prevent us from making the same mistakes.¹

One example of an enduring debate about disciplinary norms and standards was explained in a *Hypatia* article. Feminist philosopher Andrea Nye explained that mainstream philosophers have a hard time accepting, or defining, certain work as "philosophy." In particular, the works of Patricia Hill Collins, Gloria Anzaldua, Trinh Min-Ha, bell hooks, Maria Lugones, Elizabeth Spelman, and a host of other feminist writers ground their work in substance and theory around women of color and issues that affect women of color. These scholars find that their work is often placed in an academic "purgatory" by mainstream scholars and departments. Do their writings fit solely in Comparative Literature, Post Colonial Studies, Literary Criticism, or Women's Studies departments? Nye answers these questions and defends their work. She explains that their work fits perfectly within a Philosophy department's framework, and also provides a practical form of feminist or social criticism. For example, Nye's article could have been written by a feminist Political Scientist complaining about the problems in some Political Science departments.² Work by feminist writers is not always deemed pertinent to

¹ This might merely be the hubris of the young; however, my early training in political theories, albeit feminist theories, in graduate school makes it natural to view the importance of the educational and theoretical history and how this is part and parcel of the pedagogy of Political Science today.

² Many feminist academics have complained that this problem exists in their home departments (Longino 1995; Paludi and Steneurnagel 1990; Spanier *et. al.*, 1983; Stacey and Thorne 1985; and Stanton and Stewart 1995).

Political Science.³ Indeed, as it was recently noted at a Women and Politics section meeting that *Women and Politics* is barely garnering the recognition and respect that it deserves.⁴ Because merit and tenure reviews are often based on publishing within the top-tier, peer-reviewed journals in the discipline, and feminist journals often do not fit this "requirement" within the sub-fields of Political Science. The consequences for many women and feminists of both genders influence their academic and financial livelihood. The Second Wave Feminist Movement was a pivotal point in the examination of women's issues, the formation of feminist epistemology, and the movement of women into the academy. My contention is that by shedding light on the other half of the population, the presence of feminists and feminist research methods have actually transformed the university.

Any discussion of ideas or epistemologies must first begin with the Enlightenment era due its sustaining influence on theories within academia.⁵ What is Enlightenment?⁶ Scholars have tried to answer this question for

³ See Kelly *et al* 1994; Sapiro 1995; Silverberg 1998; and Staudt and Weaver 1997. Lisa Duggan explains a similar story in the History disciplines and how the department at the University of Pennsylvania did not welcome Carrol Smith-Rosenberg's (her mentor) use of "theory" from other disciplines in her historical analyses. "The reception of her work in that department was, well, anxious" (1998).

⁴ Furthermore, it is important to note that feminists and women are not mutually exclusive. There are feminists who are male or female in Political Science; likewise, there are women who shirk the feminist label.

⁵ This is a contentious point for some. As I mentioned earlier, some believe that Political Science as a discipline was first practiced or discussed by Aristotle. However, this debate is outside the scope of this research.

⁶ The time frame for the Enlightenment is contested based on regional bias. The Enlightenment took place roughly during the 17th and 18th centuries.

more than two hundred years. I borrow the answer for this question from Rüdiger Bittner in "What Is Enlightenment?" (345-358). Bittner explains that different applications of Enlightenment era knowledge have been utilized within various disciplines by different thinkers in each of their areas (351). Rudolph Vierhaus' suggestion that we think of the Enlightenment as an "intellectual and moral movement with a practical intent" (335) can inform any study of an Enlightenment endeavor. His point is important in terms of understanding the relationship between learned theories and their practical application. The Enlightenment transcended itself as an era into something that was done, and is done, by people and the knowledge that they have. Therefore, today, we are still working with the repercussions of the Enlightenment.⁷ Accordingly, today Enlightenment is something that people *do*. I use this definition of Enlightenment to illustrate that feminists have gone through a period of Enlightenment with feminism as a school or theory of knowledge and how this has affected academe, specifically Political Science.

Historically, there has been a long-standing relationship between religion and knowledge-seeking. *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age* by Hans Blumenberg demonstrates the many historical efforts of explaining the construction of knowledge. Presumably, the search for truth and knowledge has an important place for humankind and their curiosity. The text has a

⁷ Here, I am thinking of the representative forms of government that the United States and many First World nations have.

common theme running through each chapter—that is, the legitimacy of God and its antithesis: the illegitimacy of knowledge. Thus, knowledge that has no relation to theology or God is specifically considered spurious.

Furthermore, the intent of theology, the legitimate form of knowledge, was to “defend God’s absolute interest” (197). Therefore, Blumenberg presents the history of Western knowledge as the debate between Christianity and philosophy, which later included science. The appetite for knowledge that spanned beyond Christianity or attempted any explanation of truths was seen as the appetite for moral destruction.

Pre-Enlightenment to Enlightenment

Western Political Theory has notoriously excluded or subordinated women. If we examine the works of Plato, Aristotle⁸, Locke, Rousseau and others, we will find that, for the most part, the status of women is a secondary to that of men. In fact, when women are honored, it is typically in a patronizing manner, or one that suggests that their only purpose is that of Republican, or Monarchical, or Socialist, or Democratic motherhood. That is, their only importance is to raise future citizens. This embodies the common complaint from feminists that women are relegated to the home sphere,

⁸ In conversation with other Political Scientists, I have found that many refer to Aristotle as the “Father” of Political Science. There is no doubt that his essays, in particular “Politics,” provide depth and clarity to what constitutes politics. However, I find it troubling to refer to any one scholar as the father of the discipline.

whereas men can compete and participate in the public sphere as full citizens.

The lack of discussion of women's natural rights within the canon of political theory is a problem endemic to...the study of Political Theory/Philosophy. There have been theorists like John Stuart Mill and others who have urged that "liberties" be extended to women. However, Mill held the minority opinion. Why were women subordinated in the canon? Why did mention of the citizen or man not include women? Many feminist scholars have implored, "Where are the women?" Feminist critiques regarding the Enlightenment era suggest that the Enlightenment Movement was male-biased and essentially inculcated a masculinist notion of reason and knowledge. Genevieve Lloyd and countless others have argued that we inherited our notions of rationality from the Greek founding thinkers, Aristotle in particular. She explains that Aristotle argued that women are rational, yet not equal to men. More specifically, women were merely invisible from any discussion of politics, science, or reason. Thus, women were viewed as the helper or servant to their fathers, spouses or other males.

Move forward more than one thousand years to René Descartes, a "founding father of modern philosophy" (Blackburn 100). Lloyd contends that Descartes' account of human thinking provided the categories that again led to the increased separation of women and rationality (Atherton 20). Furthermore, Susan Bordo adds that, "Descartes' achievement was to

introduce a new understanding of the nature of reason—nothing less, in fact, than a rebirth of reason in a masculine form” (Atherton 20). Descartes regarded the self as a point of knowledge for the rational thinker (Blackburn 101). The rational thinker was the man of reason or rational man.

Furthermore, science was deemed to be a purely objective endeavor in the search for truth and progress. Simon Blackburn contends that Descartes’ work places him at the center of modern philosophy (101). Hence, this centering only further establishes the legitimacy of Descartes’ ideas and his discernment of the mind. Blackburn adds that, “Descartes’ theory of knowledge starts with the quest for certainty, for an indubitable starting-point or foundation on the basis of which alone progress is possible” (101). Furthermore, the male-centric bias or foundation existed not only on a theoretical, but also on a governmental, basis. Kathleen Jones makes this association: “The idea of authority as absolute sovereignty, coupled with the natural, biologically determined right of fathers to rule, established political authority as a naturally hierarchical and naturally paternal relationship” (42). Therefore, the epistemological beliefs and the “rules” for governing were one and the same—androcentric.

This search for progress was often believed to be a journey that only rational, read “male,” thinkers could take. Recall that it was only within the past century that scientists recanted that women had a floating womb that prohibited them from seeking higher education. Today we know that this idea is absurd; however, in the past women students and women scholars had to

deal with these misguided notions that somehow were deemed as scientific truth to protect women's health.

Once upon a time it was thought that scientific claims were, or ought to be, objective and value-free, that expressions of value were distinguishable from expressions of fact, and that science ought to confine itself to the latter. Janice Moulton

Jump forward many years from Descartes to Moulton's tongue-in-cheek explanation regarding the birth of knowledge. Previously I discussed Thomas Kuhn in terms of theory building; here I refer to his ideas that science is not value-free or certain, but rather paradigms are replaceable through scientific revolutions. Kuhn's work was widely read as scholars disputed his ideas concerning the progression of the history of science and theory of knowledge. It was during this era that feminists were increasingly critiquing Enlightenment ideas. This circumstance would explain why feminist methodologists often cite Kuhn's work as a central work that attests to the problems with a merely masculinist, positivist conception of theory. These foundational ideas bias the field immeasurably. Here, this bias extends beyond what is studied, to *who* can study.

Lorraine Code explains that the Enlightenment and "later infusion with positivist-empiricist principles, have defined themselves around ideas of pure objectivity and value-neutrality" (192). Furthermore, she explains that in this search for knowledge, positivists conclude that value statements are non-verifiable and only distort facts (193). Here is where collision strikes between feminists and those who subscribe to objective or positivist methods. Since

experience is value-laden, women sensed that their lives were being de-legitimated by sexist standards. Moreover, Lloyd suggests that, "What is needed for the Man of Reason is realization of his limitations as a human ideal, in the hope that men and women alike might come to enjoy a more human life, free of the sexual stereotypes that have evolved in his shadow" (164). Thus, feminists critique the idea that there was a man of reason, and that women were made invisible by the masculinist notions of knowledge. Their dissatisfaction was magnified by more than the absence of women, but also the dismissal of their scholarly work.

Feminist theorists in the academy have, consequently, sought to explain the androcentric foundations of knowledge and experience. Apart from one shared aspect in the excursions for knowledge formations—the self, these scholars and activists have typically taken one of three paths their quest for answers: the perpetual critique of male thinkers from the Enlightenment and present; "adding women"; and the recognition of women's ways of knowing and experiencing.⁹ Thus, the feminist scholars that critiqued male-biased theories coincide with those searching for women's voices in history, theory, and other disciplines. Some of these scholars sought to unearth the women buried within history, who were invisible; others eschewed the reason, rationality, and truth of the Enlightenment tradition to rediscover women, placing women subjects at the center of the

⁹ See Ackelsberg and Diamond 1987 or Lovenduski 1981 for a discussion of these forms of research paths.

research. Hence, I explore these paths by way of explaining the impact of women and feminists on the academy and in the discipline of Political Science. This exploration includes an account of divisiveness that exists among feminists concerning what constitutes knowledge.¹⁰

Feminist criticism stems from more than the exclusion of women. It is also critical of the manner in which women and characteristics attributed to women are needlessly categorized as inferior to men. Furthermore, this inferiority to men is often assumed and even within traditional scientific research the assumptions abound as "facts."¹¹ This is only the beginning of some of the criticism. Some feminist researchers argue that the genesis of the debate was influenced by the fact that women's rights were not given much attention by classical and modern scholars such as Augustine, Kant, Locke, Rousseau, Nietzsche, and others. This exclusion problematizes the general research in several ways. First, other opinions are excluded. Second, knowledge is presented as one-sided: and women are non-existent, and therefore, trivialized. That is, we hear the opinions of male scholars and their views regarding religion, education, death, and politics. Some researchers might argue that we only need to add women to the discussion of the rights of man. However, this does not change the foundation of knowledge understanding or dissemination. Merely adding women to the recipe is a

¹⁰ See Helen E. Longino (1990) *Science as Social Knowledge: Values and Objectivity in Scientific Inquiry*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

¹¹ See Flammang 1997; Fox-Keller 1985; Harding 1989; 1991; Sapiro 1995; Narayan and Harding 2000; and Staudt and Weaver 1997.

friendly gesture, but a false one. This might explain why feminist research is sometimes located at the margins of academic disciplines.¹²

Consistent with the Second Wave feminist fusion of theory and activism, feminist epistemology is understood as both a scholarly and political endeavor for feminists. It is virtually impossible to extricate one from the other. Feminists are attacked and vilified based upon their incessant desire to examine women's situation in society. Yet this work is necessary because when more mainstream scholars provide their own examinations of social situations, policy, and theory they are not criticized for the invisibility of women or women's issues and thereby prompted to address it.¹³ Feminist epistemology offers an alternative story to knowledge formation, one that includes women as actors. Surely there have been political and social gains for some women.¹⁴ Many would concur with Zillah Eisenstein's point, "Feminism of almost any sort unsettles traditional political theory. Western feminism has rethought and renamed politics by re-envisioning the relationship between public and private life" (Eisenstein 1994, 200). The re-visioning of what constitutes political "space" and practice is important to understand, given that where women "inhabit" is typically marked as an apolitical void of political participation or lacking political authority. Kathleen

¹² See Staudt and Weaver 1997; Young 1995.

¹³ This, however, is not a new notion, since the civil rights leaders and movement at large also invoked a sense of activism within their theory writing.

¹⁴ However, I think that political gains in terms of seats in local, state, or federal office are markedly different than gains in the hallowed halls of academe.

Jones echoes this point, "Feminist scholarship has focused on explaining the barriers to women's inclusion within existing authority practices, in part because feminism in the West has been linked most directly to liberal, democratic traditions" (Hirschmann and Di Stefano, 76).

The various feminist projects from the Second Wave onward have understood many things, particularly that there are problems with what are commonly viewed as the "right" theories of knowledge. Within feminist historiography, there exist different stages of criticism, working within and offering alternative answers. Reading against the grain, feminist epistemology could be compared, and simultaneously differentiated, from mainstream epistemology in a number of ways. First, feminist epistemologists must deal with the criticism that their work is essentialist.¹⁵ These assertions often given by feminist epistemologists are not to advance a woman-only knowledge form. Instead, what is advocated is an examination of a feminist Enlightenment.¹⁶ In response, some feminists respond to the critique that the original work that they examined was exclusive, that it dealt only with the male subject, either stated outright or understood. Therefore, here feminist scholars would argue that new territory is examined by

¹⁵ The criticisms are not only from mainstream scholars, but also from other feminists.

¹⁶ I suggest that feminist researchers stop apologizing for the essentialism in their work when they examine women as a subject. As long as the research project attempts to cross borders and maintain the original intent of feminist interdisciplinary research, feminist researchers should focus on the research and not complaints from Postmodernists and Poststructuralists. The original intent of feminist research that I refer to is the manner in which feminist research is often multi or interdisciplinary. Andrea Nye and Lisa Duggan refer to this in their aforementioned articles.

including women in academic forays. Furthermore, when only men were discussed, this in itself was "essentialist."

Secondly, there are other problems with an incomplete examination of women. Admittedly some feminist researchers (primarily liberal feminists) want to merely add women or integrate women's experiences and stories. This alone is not problematic and does serve a purpose. It allows for women's voices and experiences to be heard. The only problem here is that this is not really integration, since it usually means that feminist research is on the margins of each discipline. Feminist epistemology should offer an alternative mode of understanding knowledge—both theoretical and practical. Feminist epistemology suggests a different way of knowing and *acting*. Feminist theoreticians often advocate activism as a practical form of the theory. The starting point, which is often the point of stasis for some research, is to criticize mainstream, read "*malestream*," knowledge. The criticism is clearly the first point of attack, if you will; however, the next stage is to offer a theoretical plan that can work in the real world. The working paradigm for feminist research has been typically confined to Women's Studies' departments. This situation most likely stems from the notion that Women's Studies is the academic arm of the Women's Movement (Farnham 1987). It is important to understand how influential the Women's Movement and women's socio-political activism was to women's enrollment in higher education. Carol Gilligan's work was influential work was pivotal to

the Women's Movement and work about women (and girls) as a scholarly endeavor in academe.

So, You Want a Revolution

Carol Gilligan wrote *In a Different Voice* in 1982, roughly fifteen years into the Second Wave Feminist Movement, or as it was referred to then, the Women's Liberation Movement. Many feminist scholars cite this text as one of the pivotal texts that pulled women together in their quest to understand their lives in the context of patriarchy. Gilligan's work was not the first one to expose this phenomenon. Jean Baker Miller, Nancy Chodorow, and other scholars had found similar research findings; however, Gilligan's text spread quickly into mainstream readership, thus increasing its scope of influence. Clearly, there were other books written in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s that claimed women were the second sex, referred to the problem without a name, or called women to action (Beauvoir, 1949; Firestone, 1970; Friedan, 1963; Millet, 1969; Morgan, 1970).¹⁷ Gilligan's work came at a propitious moment during the Women's Movement.

Gilligan's thesis was that women's psychological experience and development is markedly different from that of men's based on the ways that society treats and raises children. Put simply, Gilligan explained that the difference in psychological development leads to women's "failure to

¹⁷ For the purposes of this chapter, only Second Wave feminists are incorporated. Admittedly, one could analyze feminists or women writers from the Medieval, Renaissance, or Enlightenment era. However, this chapter focuses on late twentieth century feminism.

separate," which in turn affects their overall development (Gilligan 9). Instead, men are pushed away or expected to develop in separation from their mothers in order to gain individuality (Gilligan 8-9). The discrepancy between the expectations leads to a different experience or "different voice" for women, who are working within the foundation that equates normal development with the male experience according to Freud, Erikson, Kohlberg, and others, who developed and elaborated an androcentric model of moral development supported by many in the field of psychology (Nancy Fraser and Linda J. Nicholson 32).

Gilligan cites Nancy Chodorow in an attempt to substantiate her findings. Chodorow is known for her use of Object Relations Theory to maintain that girls or women define themselves in relation to others. On the contrary, Chodorow argued that boys do not define themselves in relation to others, instead they define themselves according to their individual person and their separation from others, in particular their mothers. Essentially, Object Relations Theory counters Freudian assumptions with its different explication about human drives. For example, while Freud explained that the basic building blocks of experiences are drives, an Object Relationist argues that the basic building blocks of experience are relations with people (Golden). In short, advocates of Object Relations contend that it "represents a fulfillment model of personality. Living occurs as one force—the tendency to engage with others—and is expressed within a more or less facilitating

environment" (Golden). This is distinctly different than the conflictual model proposed by Freud.

Many women felt that their consciousness was raised by Gilligan's findings, which supported their coming to understand why and how they interact with their friends, family, and colleagues. Not surprisingly, some women ran to Gilligan's work with open arms as an explanation for why women were oppressed. Many radical feminists and separatist feminists adhered to her findings with keen ears. In much the same way that Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* (1963) comforted and encouraged women, Gilligan's book did this for a new generation of women. Within the same decade, though, other feminists soon critiqued Gilligan's work for its biological deterministic explanations for women's oppression. In fact, some feminists accused Gilligan's work of being rife with sexism in much the same way as Freud, other psychoanalysts, and psychologists. Regardless of the critiques, Gilligan's work was important in causing women social scientists and activists to look seriously at women's lives and experiences for knowledge about women. This was truly a hallmark within the scholarly revolution within women's studies that extended into popular culture.

Hence, Gilligan, Chodorow and other early Second Wave scholars' research maintained that the current paradigm was one that did not include women and their experiences. Before Gilligan's book was criticized for any of its possible failings, women were using it as a springboard for introspective analysis of women's lives in virtually every discipline. Later texts such as

Womens Ways of Knowing by Mary Belenky et al, *Composing a Life* by Mary Catherine Bateson, and Caroline G. Heilbrun's, *Writing a Woman's Life*, which share a common vision of the importance of examining women's lives, are indebted to Gilligan's work about women and men. Gilligan's work legitimated more activist and scholarly work that delved into women's experience and the importance of the self or subjectivity for everyday women and "exceptional" women.¹⁸ Heather Ruth Wishik explains that, "reclaiming 'lost' women's lives and experiences provides initial insight into the genderdness of culture, but if inquiry stops at such reclaiming, patriarchal assumptions and definitions are legitimized" (24). When Gilligan's work was initially published, women in activist organizations and at the university level had been engaged in consciousness-raising groups that discussed women's experiences, and stories. The consciousness-raising groups provided a space for women to generate observations about their oppression by men and their shared experiences as women. Thus, Gilligan's text provided scholarly legitimization for what these groups had been engaged in for more than ten years. Suddenly, consciousness-raising was rendered part of the feminist development for women engaged in the Women's Liberation Movement, or later, the Feminist Movement. Therefore, the endeavor to study women's subjectivity was jumped-started as an important area for feminist research or activism.

¹⁸ By exceptional women, I am referring to women who were being unearthed as feminist figures from the past or present, such as Mary Wollstonecraft, Virginia Woolf, Emily Dickinson, and many others.

This turn to studying women was met with some criticism. Some feminists accused Gilligan of essentialist research. Gilligan has responded to feminist criticism regarding the "essentializing" nature of her work. She states:

I am well aware that reports of sex differences can be used to rationalize oppression, and I deplore any use of my work for this purpose. But I do not see it as empowering to encourage women to put aside their own concerns and perceptions and to rely on a psychology largely defined by men's perception in thinking about what is of value and what constituted human development (1986 214).

Controversy aside, her text is often cited as a classic in terms of the Second Wave writings for, and about, women. Gilligan's research opened the floodgates for more scholarly examinations about women and girls. Prior to Gilligan's study, there was a dearth of research about girls. This was the full-force mainstreaming of the Feminist Enlightenment in academic circles and outside of academe.¹⁹

Epistemologically speaking, women know the male world is out there because it hits them in the face. No matter how they think about it, try to think it out of existence or in a different shape, it remains independently real . . . (Catharine MacKinnon 1989, 123).

Sally Haslanger explains that:

It is a fairly common feminist claim that what is put forward as 'objective' reality is rather 'male' reality. One interpretation of this is that things are not actually designated 'real' by virtue of some objective or intrinsic fact about them, but rather by virtue of their relation to 'us', where the 'us' in question is a rather narrow class of white privileged male (Haslanger 93).

¹⁹Gilligan was not the first academic to write about women, however, her groundbreaking study became well known outside of academia and internationally.

Marilyn Frye adds that the differences among women informs the ways in which a *woman* experiences her life (36). "For feminist thinkers of the present era, the first and most fundamental act of our own emancipation was granting ourselves authority as perceivers, and we accomplished that act by discovering agreement in the experiences and perceptions of women" (Marilyn Frye 35). Accordingly, criticisms surfaced about the sexist bias of Modernity or the Enlightenment era. Sidonie Smith explains, "The old notion of an Enlightenment self—autonomous, rational, and unified—has given way throughout this century to new understandings of the subject . . ." (Smith 393). She continues that the "self" is now viewed as: fragmented; as a verb and not a noun; culturally determined; and alienated (Smith 393). Other feminists have argued that Enlightenment was only the "Triumph of Reason, the exhilaration of Man's confidence that Truth and Justice were within his grasp" (Dalton 33). Moving beyond these two critiques, the main point of contention surrounds power and knowledge.

Feminists worked beyond their critiques of the Enlightenment in order to find women in the past and present as they studied women's subjectivity. Clearly, there was the nascent argument that women were radically different from men and required particular attention in order to uncover the self or women as a subject. Marsha P. Hanen makes a strong point when she warns that thinking of women and men as polar opposites only reinforces duality and "truths" about social constructions (1988). It is just as easy to get caught in the trope of biological determinism when trying to study women's

subjectivity. Therefore, it was expected that dissension would arise regarding the different methods of unearthing the self. Some feminists have argued that the attempt to avoid essentialism caused feminist scholars to fall into the trap of false difference, ahistoricism, compulsory historicism, false generalization, and predetermined categories (Roland 631-632 1994). Specifically, the critique is that feminists are working hard at escaping the labeling of scholarly work as essentialist, thereby inhibiting their work. Roland did not explain that these problems may have lead some feminists into the discourse of the Postmodern; whatever the basis, it makes perfect sense that Postmodernism would appear reliable as a mode of inquiry in comparison to essentialism for some feminist scholars. I return to Postmodernism later in this chapter.

Pre- and post-Gilligan, we saw a flooding of personal narratives or women's stories that shared personal life histories of the writers or subjects that embodies the mantra of the early movement: the personal is political. Women looked into their lives at the various ways that they experienced oppression and power, and "reading personal narratives we find ourselves immersed in complex issues of representation, ideology, history, identity, and politics as they bear on subjectivity" (393). Carolyn G. Heilbrun's text, *Writing a Woman's Life* New York: Norton, 1988 is a heavily cited work that presented the template for writing about women's lives to the general public and to feminist scholars. The Personal Narrative Group also wrote about the importance of writing about all women's lives, in order to understand the

experiences of women. In "Reflection on the Role of Personal Narrative in Social Science," (*Signs* Winter 1993 408-425) Camilla Stivers presents four propositions regarding knowledge claims:

There is no such thing as removing the observer from the knowledge acquisition process . . . there is no such thing as 'unbiased' knowledge It is difficult to draw the kind of hard and fast line between a 'fact' and an 'interpretation' that efforts to distinguish 'history' from 'literature' sometimes imply . . . whether the knowledge acquisition process is relatively 'subjective,' as in the case of personal narrative, or 'objective,' as the stated goal of social science, the methods an investigator brings to the process, and the interpretations she makes based on them are grounded in the consensual rules of the relevant community . . . these awareness do mean that there is no such thing as Truth . . . (410).

Moreover, Stivers states that women were rejecting their former status as the object of a male gaze and now were self-defining and telling their own stories (411). Stivers concludes, "Personal narrative can help feminist social scientists center themselves in knowledge development and the widening of the feminist knowledge community rather than in ultimate Truth" (424).

As a result of this narrative explosion, women increasingly held speak outs regarding domestic violence, rape, harassment, and other important issues that they felt verged on the private, yet equally political. Feminist epistemologists have had to grapple with the argument that knowledge based on women's personal experience is problematic and not "theory." Personal-focused knowledge that came out of the early Second Wave Feminist Movement was not emblematic of strong, academic scholarship critics charged. Testimonials, consciousness-raising, and writings based on women's experience did not fit within the framework of the scientific model.

One could not test the validity or falsifiability of women's experience, thus, some considered the works to fit within the self-help shelves in the local bookstore, and not in the esteemed halls of the university.²⁰

Giving Credit to Feminist Theory

Feminism didn't just let me imagine that I could break into the boy's clubs, it gave me a reason to want to a mission that was larger than myself, along with the armor to wear and comrades to march with. Who could stop us? (Estrich 2000).

There is not one method that all feminist philosophers or scholars agree upon in their endeavors to study women's lives or feminist theory. Moreover, Naomi Scheman explains that feminist philosophers are compelled to admit that universalizing notions of women or "we" within discursive analysis of feminist theory is only problematic for the studies (26-27). She contends that feminist philosophers should concern themselves with uncovering and undoing "the implicit markings of gender and race privilege in the construction of subjectivity" (32). Margaret Atherton warns that feminists must go beyond assuming that reason is sexist-based and male-biased; instead, feminists should work at allowing feminine qualities to be included in

²⁰ See Flammang 1997; Nelson 1989; and Staudt and Weaver 1997.

the definition of reason (Atherton).²¹ Including women in research was one of the first focal points by feminist scholars.

The pattern of political development required that women first point fingers at the sexism involved within academic disciplines and their topics of study. The next step was examining the issues of difference between women and men. Feminist scholars then moved to recognizing that the experiences of women were important to document. Subsequently, gender differences between women and men, and similarities among women, became a burgeoning area of study for feminists as they studied women's subjectivity within society. Later, some feminists, women of color, in particular, noted that they experienced gender differently than white, privileged women. Hence, the move to examining differences among women. Thus, chronicling the Second Wave Feminist Movement, we should not be surprised that the ebb and flow of feminist epistemology has led feminists to follow different paths.

Within the past twenty years, there has been an increased concern about inclusivity within the Feminist Movement and the feminist academy that has caused tensions in an effort to include the myriad of voices engaged in feminist research. A common misconception has plagued feminism since its inception. Many think of feminism as one large social theory that includes all feminists. This could not be further from the truth. Feminism, like most

²¹ Atherton did not offer an explanation for these "feminine" qualities. One would assume that she meant moving away from male standards being used as the norm or example in studies that is no longer thinking in terms of "the man of reason and woman of emotion."

social and political theories, has many factions. There are different schools of thought that fit under the rubric of feminism. There is not a singular monolithic feminism that espouses the *truth* for all feminists. Each major group has a particular epistemological viewpoint that influences their work in and outside the academy. I refer to some of these classifications as a means of explaining the basis of division and to provide a historical background to the discussion in this chapter. These classifications are not commonly used today; however, ten to twenty years ago it was quite common to read scholars explaining what feminist epistemological viewpoint framed their research.

One point that seems common within feminist theory today, is that feminists agree that women are not homogenous and try to stay away from essentialist generalizations that erase class, race, sexuality, and other distinctions between women. One particular branch of feminism—Standpoint Feminism—articulates that women’s knowledge is grounded in their experience as women—as an African-American, working-class women or a white, poor woman. Feminists argue that Standpoint Feminism offers a beginning for establishing a more complete theory that does not make knowledge claims merely on men’s experiences of reality (Harding 309). Adherents of Standpoint Feminist explain that it is not essentialist, as there is the acknowledgment for women's multiple lived experience. That is, they explain that there is not one singular experience that all women share besides living under patriarchy. The experience of living under patriarchy will

vary based on the woman's race, class, education and other key attributes of her identity. Nancy Hirschmann adds that Standpoint Theory allows women their dual consciousness as participants within patriarchal structures and women who experience their lives in disparate ways (1996). This is a significant point, as women are not a homogenous group. Harding notes that "at this moment in history, our feminisms need both Enlightenment and Postmodernist agendas, but we don't need the same ones for the same purposes or in the same forms as do white, bourgeois, androcentric Westerners" (315).

During the past two decades, many feminists have begun to document their conception of a feminist enlightenment or feminist revolution. Adrienne Rich, feminist poet/writer, has dedicated nearly fifty years to foregrounding her writing about gender, class, race, nationality, and sexuality in the analysis and development of ideas and knowledge (333). Rich has argued that woman-centered experiences and identity are important for us to understand and value.²² Rich's reasoning stems from the resistance to acknowledging the value of women's lives and women's experiences, which she argues are important to study and to understand. More recently, Dale Spender and Cheri Kramarae compiled an anthology, *The Knowledge Explosion: Generations of Feminist Scholarship*, which documents the "knowledge explosion" in the academy and community firmly established by

²² Her ideas have been absorbed in Norway by the Bent Ås who have attempted to establish a feminist university that does not work within the traditional structure of the university (334).

Women's Studies or a feminist perspective. They explain in their introduction that, "The ideology of knowledge construction within Women's Studies stood in sharp contrast to the ideology of knowledge construction within the university" (3). Feminists realized that the fluid nature of knowledge and experience transcends into the lives of women in different disciplines or in the community.

Linda J. Nicholson explains that from the 1960s through the 1980s feminists endeavored to release the noose that silenced women; however in the process other voices were silenced by the categorical generalizations by some feminist research.²³ Thereby, feminists were in their own way replicating the silencing of women of color, lesbians, disabled women other female social groups (1). Moreover, she notes that feminists have had problems with claims of objectivity and reason, since these notions "have reflected the values of masculinity at a particular point in history" (5). Therefore, a binary discourse was ultimately set up without including other voices in order to discuss women's experience. Gesa E. Kirsch echoes this sentiment about women's experience stating:

²³ An examination of feminist theories is not complete without a periodization of the theories into particular categories of development and practice. During the 1970s and 80s, Radical, liberal and Marxist feminists were the most prevalent. The Marxists, though, provided an analysis that focused more on the issues of colonialism, race, and class. Women and health issues were pervasive across each variant of feminist theory. In the mid 1980s, issues concerning violence against women and sexuality were at the forefront of feminist concerns. Here, the movement divided among the intersection of sexuality, in particular, issues of sexual identity, orientation, and related matters. This is the period in which the "sex debates" or "porn wars" came into fruition. For further discussion, refer to Janni Aragon 1995, "Women and Sadomasochism: Understanding Issues of Power and Consent" SDSU MA Thesis.

Feminist principles of research first arose in critiques of objective, positivist methods in the social sciences, especially in research on women. The most pressing criticism to emerge early on had to do with how research *on* women was not necessarily beneficial *for* women (1999).

Other feminists have also made this argument as a point of critique about feminism. In fact, there is a body of literature written by Latina/Chicana, African-American, Asian-American (the list continues) feminist writers who have called for feminist introspection regarding the search for a singular theory of knowledge or experience. These writers explain that it is important to acknowledge privilege, difference, power, and experience as integral parts of women's lives and that women of color, in particular, experience these issues differently. (Anzaldúa, 1987; Collins, 1990; hooks, 1984; Lorde, 1982). However, the caveat they share is that based on these possible differences, the experiences can vary. Hence, the tables were turned on some of the feminists who blamed the male scholars for bias against *all* women. There was dissension regarding the assumption that white feminists somehow spoke for exclusively for all women and that there was one singular self that all women experienced.

Postmodernism: The Anti-Theory

It is of no surprise that some feminists were drawn to Postmodernism, due to Postmodernism's rebuke of the Enlightenment and a master metanarrative. Proponents of Postmodernism enjoy the criticisms of modernity's illegitimacy and elitism. Considering the call for multiple

identities and the internal factions, feminists were looking for a band-aid to place on the gaping wound of internal strife. Therefore, a cursory reading of Jean-François Lyotard's text, *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (1984), presents the reader with a critique of foundational ideas, including the Enlightenment or Marxism, and argues for the plural and local legitimization of discourse. Herein, feminists could read Lyotard or others and concur that a grand theory that oppresses women should be eradicated, and instead offer local and plural knowledge investigation. Prior to Postmodernism's 'birth', feminists were criticizing foundational beliefs in their exploration for women's liberation. However, those who remain suspicious of Postmodernism note that most scholars who wrote the early texts about Postmodernism typically evaded any discussion of gender.²⁴

Understandably, many feminists who had previously looked at Marxism for inspiration, now turned to Foucault for guidance and answers about systems of power. Traditionally, power has been perceived as a linear, hierarchical arrangement, with certain individuals and groups influencing the thoughts and actions of others. Under this arrangement, those with power dominate those without power. The issue of power constitutes an area of convergence for feminists and Foucauldian theories that are mutually grounded in a political and ethical commitment to the transformation of

²⁴ See Derrida 1981, 1986; Foucault 1977, 1982, 1990; and Lyotard 1984.

society to liberate women.²⁵ In recent decades, postmodern thinkers like Foucault and like-minded feminists have offered alternative approaches to power. Power is a central theme in the work of Foucault and feminists have worked to integrate women into the schema of power and knowledge (1977, 1982, and 1990). Foucault contends that power exists in a network of relationships, and these power relations are an integral part of society. According to Foucault, understanding the dynamic of these relations is necessary for social change. The exclusion of women from power relations in public institutions such as the university is no coincidence. Women were thereby also excluded from the social networks that helped form programs, departments, and knowledge.

Some feminists stand firmly behind Postmodernism and its advocacy of non-tenets. Jane Flax contends that feminist epistemology is grounded in the Postmodern; that is, feminists cannot maintain that standpoint theory replaces male-biased theories.

These include an optimistic belief that people act rationally in their own interests and that reality has a structure that perfect reason (once perfected) can discover. Both of these assumptions in turn depend upon an uncritical appropriation of Enlightenment ideal Furthermore, the notion of such a standpoint also assumes that the oppressed are not in fundamental ways damaged by their social experience (Flax 56).

²⁵ Not all feminists agreed with Postmodernism or Poststructuralism. Feminists also realize that Foucault's theories and Poststructuralist approaches pose problems. Nancy Hartsock rejects Foucault's theories, since she feels that they "fail to provide a theory of power for women" and offer little direction for those who want to understand the world in order to change it (Hartsock 159). Hartsock is one of the many critics of Foucault; although, she has admitted suspicion of his work based on the fragmentation of the subject and autonomy at a time when finding women's voices or her "self" is a central requirement to feminist praxis.

The cycle, if you will, within Women's Studies has gone from a knee jerk reaction of essentialism or separatism to a call to incorporating Poststructuralism or Postmodernism and its esoteric language, to a reemergence of the importance of radical feminist theory. Feminist scholars have endeavored to understand and study women as subjects and not only as objects. Clearly, some feminists are united in their disdain for Postmodernism considering that full support of Postmodernism produces an abandonment of theory, as Nancy Hartsock and others repeatedly warn.

Postmodernism may appear to be an ally of some feminism with its initial displacement of all metanarratives: thus it would *also* dislocate women from the center of feminist theory. The displacement of identity does not help women of color as much as some advocates of Postmodernism would argue. In fact, I am suspicious of an argument that simply informs me that all identity is displaced. This resonates with a weak acknowledgment that "we're all in this together, since no one has a true subject." How can the feminist project continue without a possible answer or answers for that issue? Postmodernism provides a strong tool for critique, yet by accounts, is very weak at setting its own theory or foundational argument to theory building.

Perhaps with a critique of modernity, Postmodernity offers some politically useful strategies to feminists; however, taken in its entirety, Postmodernity presents problems when used to explore notions of gender, sex, or identity. Therefore, Postmodernism works well as a tool to chip away at some of the dilemmas of the Enlightenment ideals or positivism, but the

entire project of Postmodernity cannot replace Modernity, or help feminists in their hope to explore and explain women's self. Thus, Postmodernism provides a critique of modernity, which is incredibly useful for feminist scholars to point out the modernity's flaws. The trouble with Postmodernism is that it does not provide a theory building narrative for feminist scholars.

Some feminists do agree that Postmodernism is not perfect and presents various problems to feminist theorists and the overall project of Women's Studies. Christine Di Stefano notes that Postmodernism not only endangers notions of the subject, but potentially it can make "feminist politics impossible" (31). Thus, feminists have ambivalence even with the idea of using Poststructuralism or Postmodernism to displace the metanarrative of the Enlightenment. Instead, some insinuate that a feminist theory that will work for the multiplicity of women will take pieces from other theories and create a new theory(ies). Likewise, other feminists admit that feminism does owe some of its theory to the Enlightenment.

Many scholars have warned that feminist scholars should be careful with Postmodernism and Poststructuralism when trying to examine women as a subject (Brodrigg). Literary criticism and cultural studies make good use of these two theories as they discuss a passage in a text; however, when the theories cross into feminist analysis they present problems with their displacement of knowledge and subjectivity in the discussion of the real lives of women. To this end, Postmodernism must be dealt with by feminist theorists.

Power, knowledge, and the self are three inextricably related areas of focus within feminist development and with the search for an inclusive, yet malleable, working theory for feminists. Where does this leave feminists today? Feminist revisionists of the past (or present) share common goals that are important. First, it is key to examine knowledge from either a woman's point of view or from a non-androcentric (thus trying to evade essentialist traps) point of view. Secondly, feminists offer a critique of the Enlightenment project and its attendant beliefs that inculcate sexism, classism, racism within our theories of knowledge and experience.

The groups that label themselves Postmodernists are actually working within some of the framework of Modernism and have not cut themselves cleanly from the era that they critique. In addition, theorists who suggest that they are truly Postmodern or Postfeminist, such as Camille Paglia, Katie Roiphe, Christine Hoff Sommers, Daphne Patai and others, are actually Prefeminist or arguably merely pretend that they do not fit within Modernity in order to sell books, or sound trendy or unconventional.²⁶ Paglia, in particular, repeatedly complains that Second Wave Feminists are merely cry-babies who will not acknowledge the inherent and admirable differences between women and men (1990, 1992). Paglia exclaims, "American feminism has a man problem. The beaming Betty Crockers, hangdog Dowdies, and parochial prudes who call themselves feminists want men to be

²⁶ The Women's Studies List (WMST-L) is rife with comments about the alleged proto-feminist beliefs of these writers. With the exception of Hoff Sommers, the others have not written any "feminist" monographs in a number of years.

like women. They fear and despise the masculine" (5, 1992). The majority of her derisive comments about feminism border on the vindictive and often do not cite academic scholarship, but rather resonate like a sound-bite from Rush Limbaugh or some other anti-feminist detractor.

In much the same way, Katie Roiphe, daughter of Second Wave Feminist writer Anne Roiphe, decries the current hysterical nature of the Feminist Movement in her various articles and books (1997, 1993). She, like Paglia, is often quoted in order to present the "other" side of feminism, when in reality, both of these authors and others, are merely posing pre-feminist arguments that sound more similar to Phyllis Schlafly than Mary Wollstonecraft.

Naomi Wolf's contribution in *Fire with Fire*, although controversial in many feminist circles, offers an introspective explication of feminist ideologies. Wolf maintained that some feminist ideologies are failing women with their bleak outlooks and inaction. Wolf first cited problems with what she called the predominance of "Victim Feminism" of the 1980s (136-38, 316-17). Basically, she contends that victim feminism disempowers women by making them think that any struggle is fruitless due to the extent of male domination. Wolf explains that the radical feminist ideology quest to liberate women was riddled with problems. Here, Wolf focuses on the way in which some radical feminists, predominantly the Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon camp, constantly portrayed women as powerless victims in patriarchal society. Thus, according to radical feminists, women had no

ownership of their identity, let alone sexual autonomy. Wolf counters that "power feminism" is the preferred answer to women's liberation (136-38, 316-17). Her power feminism presented various acts of resistance for women that can be introduced into the liberation of women's autonomy.

Conclusion

The feminist knowledge explosion has informed and enlightened people as it passed through conflicting passages within feminist meditations. However, the majority of the work from the feminist enlightenment has worked within the boundaries of the modern/liberal era in order to integrate feminist scholarship in the academy. These typologies are useful for categorizing the theories; however, it is important to note that the categories themselves are sometimes debatable.

Concentrating all of our work into integrating, or possibly transforming, the academy is a major shortcoming of the Feminist Movement. By this, I am not taking an anti-feminist or post-feminist stance, but rather, I am encouraging some introspection. Instead, I offer that the feminist Enlightenment has actually transformed the university at-large and maintained a space for Women's Studies or Gender Studies departments.

This transformation is incomplete, though. Socio-political norms, stereotypes, sexism, and racism affect the university. The Political Science discipline cannot divorce itself completely from the state and its attendant structure. Thus some Women's Studies scholars have had a hard time

embracing research by Political Scientists as feminist work or easily collaborating with those working in a mainstream discipline. Some might even suggest this might explain why Political Science departments have "lost" many women scholars to Women's Studies departments or programs.

The feminist Enlightenment has offered an alternative construction of what a university should look like or be like. The new social theories borne out of the Civil Rights and Leftist Movements left their mark on the university in terms of their presence and some change. As a whole, it is best to examine the feminist Enlightenment or the Feminist Movement as one contingent in the intellectual social movements of the post-Civil Rights era. There is still work to be done.

If we are to take seriously the advancement of women in Political Science and the research of women, we need to consider what Darnovsky et al warn, "Movements are in danger of being treated in academia simply as items for classification and comparative analysis, as grist for the researchers' mill" (xv, 1995). Therefore, how do academics avoid the sometimes treacherous path between activism and scholarly work? They note when this can become contentious for some, "Here are at least some of the recent and ongoing conditions of academic life that affect the willingness or ability of movement-oriented academics to sustain ties with activism." Specifically, there are career pressures for merit and tenure reviews that influence job security, politics on campus, and the unsaid division between scholarly work and activist work (Darnovsky et al xvi-xvii). This tenuous situation is

exacerbated for scholars who are involved in research that focuses on race, class and gender. They must deal with perception that their scholarly work is "merely" activist work. Therefore, we need to understand the important relationship between activism and scholarly work for many scholars and not just feminist academics.

I have argued in this chapter that epistemologies are important to knowledge formation in the academy. Epistemological debates are fodder for discussion in all disciplines. It is critical to understand that there are differences among feminists and that all women Political Scientists are not necessarily self-identified feminists nor do they all subscribe to the same theories. However, particular to Political Science, it is useful to have this discussion because the manner in which some of the theories have embedded themselves into the framework of the discipline, and how Political Science is researched and practiced. This examination illuminates what has been done in the field and what needs to be done.

Chapter Four

Transforming the Discipline: Women as Agents of Change

This chapter explores the pro-active attempts by women in higher education to address chilly climate and equity concerns. The second part of the chapter focuses on agentive acts by women in Political Science. In the previous chapter, I explained that the scholarly advocacy by women scholars was part of the "Feminist Enlightenment." In much the same way, this chapter examines the advocacy, but rather the advocacy of support networks and other issue oriented groups that were integral to women academics. While the previous chapter examined the substance of theories, this chapter moves to the action of women in departments and within higher education broadly speaking.

The first (and easy) part of this task is to review common complaints about women's absence in Political Science. In response to this review, I examine what happens when more women enter the institution of higher education and what consequently changes. There is a keen connection between increased numbers of women in the discipline of Political Science and changes in the academy and the discipline that is worthy of discussion here. This chapter focuses on the various tactics employed to make academia better for women. I discuss the forms of mobilization undertaken by women. This cannot be mentioned without including an examination of the conservative backlash. I include a discussion of the discipline's attempt to correct past infractions with the increased use of pre-conferences, mentoring

networks, and other projects. I examine some statistics to shed light on how much improvement we have witnessed during the last 20-35 years. I also offer a brief discussion about balance concerns for women faculty and where improvement is needed. Next, I refer to the Internet and what it has offered women: activism, networking, and on-line publishing. I designate these actions as new forms of mobilization, as women are taking advantage of technology to network and support one another. This chapter delves into the concomitant results of seeing more women in the field and some of the ways that Political Scientists and others have reacted to academia through their attempts at networking.

Institutional change is slow in most organizations. Women have tried to transform the academy and Political Science in different ways. One manner has been research about women. Another tactic has been the advocacy of conferences, increased networking, and mentoring. The latter has been devoted less to selfish interests than to increasing the recruitment and retention of graduate students and junior faculty, networking, community building, and establishing the formation of *pressure*¹ groups. How have women been agents of change? If we look deeper into women's participation in higher education, we will find a rich history of organizing and networking.

Earlier, I discussed the founding of the Women's Caucus for Political Science and how this presented an example of women in the discipline who

¹ Mariam Chamberlain 2001, 63-86.

were attempting to change or transform the discipline. This type of act of subverting the status quo and forming a new network that met their own and future members' needs provided a transformational moment in the timeline of women and Political Science. The caucus was both a networking group and a pressure group. This type of consciousness-raising act, though, has been hard to replicate during the 1980s and 1990s.² We have witnessed more forms of institutional networking within academia and in the professional academic organizations. The mobilization by the WCPS also provided an example for the sub-fields within Political Science.

The sub-fields have been successful in founding their own versions of the woman's caucus and research sections dedicated to feminist research. The ISA, for example, has a Women's Caucus, which focuses on women members professional concerns. The Feminist Theory and Gender Studies section of the ISA has been a beacon of feminist activism, feminist research, and provides a Web-based outlet for communication via FEMISA.³ At the 2001 ISA meeting in Chicago, Illinois, attendees repeatedly asked how they could encourage more people to join the WCPS, and the SWIPE Women in International Political Economy. Several attendees acknowledged the problems with affiliating with feminist work or Women's Studies

² We should not expect that the same models for activism and protest fit different generations.

³ FEMISA is effectively now an inactive list. At the March 2002, International Studies Association Feminist Theory and Gender Studies Business meeting it was noted that the list was currently inactive and that members would vote regarding its reactivation.

departments.⁴ Moreover, the Feminist Theory and Gender Studies section (FTGS) of the ISA organization is currently reviewing how to deal with this situation and the institutional treatment of faculty who are challenged or disparaged by conducting feminist work.

SWIPE and the Women in International Security (WIIS) also provide a place for women scholars in each sub-field. If anything, we should look to the recent or "newer" activist groups within IR or other sub-fields to ascertain whether they are utilizing new activist strategies or to assist them with their struggles. It is evident that the WCPS was instrumental in making some changes; however, these changes were not translated into the various sub-fields. We need to remember that women in these sub-fields do not live in an academic vacuum and that they might benefit from some of the institutional memory and skills that have been gained during the more than 30 years of the WCPS.

Mobilization: Group and Institutional

Mobilization and activism have changed markedly during the last 35 years. In the 1960s and 1970s, it was not uncommon to see women in the street protesting.⁵ This was conventional politics, much to the surprise of most social scientists. In 1970, Bernice Sandler of the Women's Equity Action

⁴ I mention this anecdote because at each meeting or panel this point was raised. Please see Appendices for "observations" and the complete listing of conferences attended and referred to within the dissertation.

League (WEAL) filed the first sexual discrimination complaint. As a result, the government became more diligent about enforcing the various relevant executive orders (Chamberlin 70). Sandler's charges were unprecedented and the first of many to come. The fear of lawsuits and negative publicity was enough to cause many institutions to act forthrightly and to institute change on their campuses due to the fear of losing federal funding. As I noted in a previous chapter, several of the first women founded caucuses, committees, and professional groups during 1969-1974. This was one form of mobilization. It was during the initial founding of these networking or pressure groups that institutions and the government worked more closely in terms of the passage of federal or other guidelines, which encouraged diversity.

Likewise, the founding of centers and institutes to study women and politics was important. The Center for the American Woman and Politics, connected to Rutgers University, was founded in 1971 with a mission to focus on women and politics, broadly speaking.⁶ The 1970s and 1980s witnessed more than one dozen research centers founded with the explicit aim of conducting research related to women. It was during 1977 that the National

⁵ For further reading see: Baxandall and Gordon 2000; Crow 2000; Echols 1989; Evans 1979; Faderman 1999; Howe 2000, and Rosen 2000.

⁶ See Mariam K. Chamberlain's, "There Were Godmothers, Too" for an important discussion regarding the founding of institutes and funding to Women's Studies and the development of research by and for women in higher education. This essay and other germane essays can be found in the Florence Howe edited anthology, *The Politics of Women's Studies: Testimony from 30 Founding Mothers*.

Women's Studies Association was officially founded. This era was a fruitful time for the founding and support of women's research in the academy.

We look back at the 1980s, and even the 1990s, and note that we did not see this sort of activism to the same extent or in sheer numbers.⁷

Political protest methods changed, as did the overall political context. Mary Fainsod Katzenstein offers:

Over the last decade the consciousness-raising functions of street politics and pressure group activity have been succeeded by a process of what might be termed *unobtrusive mobilization* inside institutions (1990 27 emphasis added).

Did women become part of the institutions? Has unobtrusive mobilization weakened women's activism? A good answer might be that some institutions changed and encouraged women to enter, thereby causing some transformation, or at the very least, some accommodation. What happened to the previous form of mobilization? Christine Kelly asks, "Whatever Happened to Women's Liberation?" We can look to her article for her answer and her lucid discussion regarding the connection between the academization of women's mobilization and activism. She suggests that, ". . . the university became an important, but costly, refuge" (163). Some activists argue that by moving into the academy the political fervor of feminist ideals was weakened or appropriated. Kelly explains how the movement was altered by entering

⁷ **The Battle in Seattle and other anti-globalization protests since 1999 are incredibly important to discussions of social protest. This is neither the time, nor the place. Please see Mike Prokosch and Laura Raymond, eds. *The Global Activist's Manual* (2002) NY: The Nation Books.**

the academy. In some ways, the movement was transformed, instead of *doing* the transforming. She states:

The initial efforts at trying to universalize a notion of gender oppression subsequently invited criticism from a variety of interests: lesbian, black, Chicana, working class, mothers, etc., etc. Since the academization of feminism in the mid-1970s, we have witnessed a theoretical preoccupation with attacking the ontological basis for the category 'Woman' from many of these perspectives (164).

This preoccupation really fed into the visceral reaction against "essentialism" and helped strengthen Postmodernism. This issue is a particularly contentious one that is both philosophical and political. In Political Science, Joan Tronto's points about accommodationist and transformationalist research clearly fit within this discussion. Previously, I discussed how accommodationist research integrates women into Political Science curriculum, while transformationalist research attempts to transform the discipline. One argument is that integrating women into any discipline is a step in the right direction, as it counters women's absence in research. Others argue that mere integration is not enough for parity along research and does not transform higher education. These are other issues of debate in this discussion.

The discourse included heated discussions regarding class privilege, white privilege, identity debates, and more. Ellen Messer-Davidow's latest book *Disciplining Feminism: From Social Activism to Academic Discourse* (2002) speaks directly to this notion of transforming the academy or getting transformed by the academy. Messer-Davidow explains that the once

activist-oriented movement for women's liberation became entrenched in institutional politics in academia and is far removed from its activist past. Therefore, it became more realistic for some to work within rather than change the academic system. There are different manners of weighing the success of a movement, though. And, clearly, some would argue that the Feminist Movement was very successful in the academy, given that there are more women today as students and professors compared to the previous generation.

The connection between activism and integration in academe is important to understand. In *Changing the Wor(l)d*, Stacey Young sets up the case that most social movement theorists ground their theory in a liberal theoretical tradition that makes their analyses particularly troubling for examining women's activism (1997). The narrow definition of power and change thereby affects the way that identity is studied and the understanding of gains. She explains that there is a tendency to evaluate participants as homogenous subjects that need to resist domination (149). However, the reality is that not all people are the same. As Young admits, there are class, race, and other privileges that affect group dynamics and group protests. Still we can think of academic women as an oppressed group that lobbied and fought for change and access in academe. The Women's Movement served as a social movement force that helped spearhead social, cultural, and institutional change in virtually all areas of society. The activism served

as a catalyst that reached into the academy; however, the degree of change made is debatable.

"Sinister" Wisdom: The Repeated Influence of Women's Studies

In the discipline of Women's Studies, understanding that sexism exists within research in the academy and the institutions of higher education is not a new assertion or idea. However, within other fields or disciplines, including Political Science, this realization is admittedly a newer insight. Complaints about sexism are often met with suspicion or blame against the complainant. We want this realization to exist among all women in order to avoid isolation of academics, students, and ultimately research. In reference to the long history of these protests, Dale Spender notes, "We have been kept in ignorance about the protests that women have made so that every generation has to begin again from the beginning" (1982, 11). Later she also states:

It is a mark of our sexist education system that we could believe that sexism in education is something new and that three hundred years at least of women's protest and struggle could be kept out of the record without our knowledge or consent (1982, 12).

Therefore, Spender suggests that male control over women's education and curriculum has had far reaching effects. This is an understatement. Due to this amnesia, or perhaps ignorance, about women's history of struggle in education and other facets of society, Spender explains:

As a result women are unable to perceive themselves as part of a tradition: we presume we are without predecessors and believe we must start from the beginning because we have no knowledge of what has gone before (1982, 20).

How do we correct this amnesia? It is hard to just wait for consciousness to be raised. However, I assert that this lack of memory, or consciousness, is reflected when relatively small groups women scholars, often from a single discipline or sub-discipline, attempt the same tactics to make change or are concerned solely for themselves as opposed to the larger group. Rather than mentoring or networking as a means to help others—activities that would likely contribute to consciousness-raising for *another* group of women in academia—women from different disciplines and sub-disciplines form additional, perhaps redundant, activist and support networks.⁸

Another point of concern is how women need to understand more completely that they have some agency and authority.⁹ This is sometimes not understood, given the accepted hierarchical nature of academia. Kathleen Jones explains:

Feminists seem to talk all around the problem of authority without ever seriously questioning whether what we have come to mean by the concept is consistent with feminist politics. Our efforts have been directed more at investigating how to remove the remaining obstacles to women's being in authority, or how to integrate women into politics, than inquiring about whether women's entering the field of authority as gendered subjects would challenge the terms of authority itself (1991, ix).

⁸ Given the isolation in academia, it is no surprise to read that many women were unaware of the women's networking groups within their respective fields.

⁹ In many essays and monographs, women academics note that fear of retaliatory action.

Women's mere presence in these hierarchical environments, such as politics or academia, was seen as a challenge of societal norms during the heyday of the early Women's Liberation Movement. However, today it might not seem quite the novelty until we travel to the positions of power in both arenas. We have seen that gains for women are often met with a backlash in popular culture or within the dominant areas of governmental policies based on political partisanship or lack of support by partisan platforms.

Neo-Conservatism and the Backlash

The 1980s were compounded by the fervor of neo-conservatism that was led by President Ronald Reagan and his two terms in office. For women and people of color in the academy this was an era of political setbacks along policy lines for affirmative action, and other equity programs. Previous gains made by women and other marginalized groups were threatened with the demise of programs or the decrease of federal support for programs. The Left and the Right became engaged in what is generally referred to as the Culture Wars.¹⁰ These Culture Wars were divisive in the academy and many allied with the political Left were under attack. Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987) became a national bestseller and shook the foundation of the academy with the sweeping neo-conservative analysis and reification of the classic education and his commentary on the various moral failings of

¹⁰ For a germane discussion of the culture wars and Ethnic Studies see Johnella E. Butler's essay, "Reflection on Borderlands and the Color Line" in Geok-Lin Lim and Herrera-Sobek (2000).

the students. Conservatives met Bloom with open arms and he became the poster boy for conservative attacks against "liberal" university education. His book offered an indictment against multiculturalism and calls for a return to the classical education, hoping that moral relativism would be dealt a deathblow. If anything, Bloom's monograph called for a return to the good old days of education and academe. Bloom fails to mention that that period of time was also a more hostile time for women and minorities.¹¹ Bloom's call was a harbinger of what was to come by neo-conservative authors.¹²

In 1994, the publication of *The Bell Curve* by Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, a Political Scientist affiliated with the American Enterprise Institute (a well-known conservative think tank), fed the fire of conservative attacks against "diversity" and other programmatic policies in education by their assertions that "true" genetic differences exist among races. The book was vilified by many for its use of pseudo-science, racist undertones and overall noted as more polemic than science. Dinesh D'Souza's¹³ *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus* (1998) added to the conservative backlash and polemic against higher education. His book, much

¹¹ In 2000, disclosures surfaced that Bloom was gay and died of AIDS in Saul Bellow's novel, *Ravelstein*. This caused some heated discussion regarding his anti-minority rhetoric in his writings.

¹² See Connerly 2000; D'Souza 1991, 1995; and other acolytes of the era. Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum and Beverly LaHaye founded Concerned Women for America and saw particular growth in their organizations during the 1980s.

¹³ D'Souza became well known during his tenure as an undergraduate at Dartmouth, due to his founding of the conservative newspaper the *Dartmouth Review*. D'souza is also a fellow of the American Enterprise Institute and has also been affiliated with the John M. Olin Center for Inquiry into the Theory and Practice of Democracy.

like the Bloom, Hernstein and Murray text, was primarily anecdotal and did not offer much data or engaged scholarly analysis. However, even with repeated castigating reviews by scholars and others, the media and politicians heeded the message of these various conservative writers. The message was that the political Left had taken over higher education and that the conservative agenda was ready to reclaim academe. The reclamation of academia was typified by the rolling back of diversity programs, most notably Affirmative Action programs.¹⁴

Susan Faludi, a journalist, referred to this backlash and explored its reach into multiple areas of American society in *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against Women* (1991). Faludi explained how women were under attack in education, politics, and popular culture by the highly organized political Right and the corporate sector. She also demonstrated how many of the myths regarding women's failures were based on non-scientific findings or were generally wrong. Faludi was part of the next generation of the feminist popular culture vanguard. Political Science was not exempt from this backlash.¹⁵ Meredith Reid Sarkees and Nancy E. McGlen discuss this point in, "Misdirected Backlash, the Evolving Nature of Academia and the Status of Women in Political Science" (1999). Sarkees and McGlen first point out that they were met with snide comments about this research. Therefore, they

¹⁴ California led the way with Proposition 209, an anti-Affirmative Action proposal that won. The University of California Regent, Ward Connerly, a conservative California businessman spearheaded this proposition.

argue that for some in the discipline there is automatically a skeptical and antagonistic relationship toward research about women. Furthermore, they suggest that many men blame women and people of color for the lack of jobs and economic insecurity in academia.¹⁶

Feminist Consciousness-Raising and Reaction

During the same time of the conservative backlash, feminist mobilization and activism were hit with the Sex Panics, which caused balkanization among many activists and academics based on the heated debates about pornography and sadomasochism. The most vocal groups in these debates were the pro-sex (anti-censorship) feminists and the anti-pornography (pro-censorship) feminists.¹⁷ Therefore, feminist energy focused on these issues.

Activism was dealt two major blows with the ERA's defeat and the continual chipping away at *Roe v. Wade* (1973). Some have suggested that the ERA's defeat, incessant anti-Roe rhetoric, and the savvy networking of the New Right took place at the same time as mass support for the Women's Movement waned. However, others have also countered that during this time

¹⁵ See Oakley and Mitchell 1997 for an engaging discussion of backlash in various disciplines.

¹⁶ For an interesting discussion about this point and subsequent investigation, see M. Patricia Marchak's *Racism, Sexism, and the University: The Political Science Affair at The University of British Columbia* (1996), Nadya Aisenberg and Mona Harrington *Women of Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove* (1988) and Gretchen Sidhu, "Academy Blues" 2001.

¹⁷ See Califia (now Califia-Rice) 1980, 1994; Califia and Sweeney 1996; Dworkin 1981, 1983, 1987; Dworkin and Mackinnon 1988; Mackinnon and Dworkin 1997; and Queen and Lawrence Schimel 1997.

the political right became savvier with organizing and saw its own strength and membership increase.

Many in higher education have written about how feminism or their feminist consciousness was raised once they were in the formal academic environment on the tenure-track or working full-time. This is not uncommon. For many, the consciousness raising groups of the 1960s and early 1970s preceded their political activism or professional career. Therefore, once they encountered discrimination or sexism on the job, they suddenly realized that their situation was not unique. That is, they realized that irrespective of their qualifications and accomplishments, they too could meet up with discrimination in the workplace. For some, this first occurrence was met with surprise; however, it usually was enough in itself for their consciousness to be raised. The seemingly disconnected acts throughout their time in the department might have previously gone unnoticed; however, in total they often become more glaringly obvious.

Mariam Chamberlain notes, "Discrimination most frequently becomes a salient issue at the point of tenure" (71).¹⁸ The covert forms of discrimination might not be seen until the tenuous merit and promotion process.

Chamberlain explains that the 1970s were an active time for discrimination cases in the court settings. Women academics challenged their universities in a never before seen manner. George R. LaNoue and Barbara A. Lee note that

¹⁸ **Countless studies, essays, and monographs explore the varied intricacies of the promotion and tenure process. I assume that many are familiar with this process. For more information see the AAUP's "Redbook"; www.aaup.org.**

in the 1970s 145 cases were decided at the federal court level and in the 1980s, there were 34 cases per year (Chamberlain 71). Therefore, an increase was visible at the federal court level. Moreover, in some instances we have seen the corporate sector and government sector speak more to these issues regarding women and the workplace. During the last fifteen years, there has been fruitful discussion about the glass ceiling, sticky floor and mommy track phenomena in the corporate world and within government institutions.¹⁹ However, within academia these issues are not discussed to the same extent in a thoughtful and productive manner. Many women scholars, and those who support them, would argue that academia is guilty of having the same phenomenon: a glass ceiling and sticky floor for women at the Assistant Professor level or teaching-heavy colleges; and a misguided notion that women who bear and raise children are not deserving of fair merit and tenure reviews.²⁰

Could the merit, tenure, and promotion process be used or misused to demonstrate notions of "fairness"? That is, we know that it is not always fair. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology was beset with allegations regarding pay inequity, staffing, and other discriminatory practices by a group of women scientists. These allegations led the Dean of Science, Robert Birgeneau, to form a committee to investigate six departments in the School

¹⁹ See Katherine C. Naff *To Look Like America: Dismantling Barriers for Women and Minorities in Government* (2001).

²⁰ See Glazer-Raymo 1999 for an engaging discussion of "myths" in academe.

of Science. The university published their findings with what became known as "The MIT Report" (1999).²¹ The report demonstrated how the notion of fairness could translate into an inequitable work environment and how many women faculty felt marginalized. The findings stated that women faculty were routinely underpaid, understaffed, and even had smaller office and lab space. Most importantly, the committee also found that for nearly 20 years at MIT, the rate of women faculty had remained constant at roughly eight percent. The MIT report precipitated similar studies at other universities. While conservative critics have decried the findings, many other universities have undergone similar studies based on concerns of impending litigation and overall equity concerns due to fear of litigation.

Reading Statistics

Over the past two decades, women have made substantial educational progress. The large gaps between the education levels of women and men that were evident in the early 1970s have essentially disappeared for the younger generation (*Education Progress of Women 2000* 1).

The above quote also makes an optimistic assertion that refers to the award of the baccalaureate degree. Statistics, such as those on which this quotation rests, can provide an incredibly useful tool for examining the long-term success of women in higher education. As such, present statistics that focus on the attainment of advanced degrees. The statistics help substantiate

²¹ The report's official name is "A Study on the Status of Women Faculty in Science at MIT." The six departments included in the study were: Biology; Brain and Cognitive Sciences; Chemistry; Earth, Atmosphere and Planetary Sciences; Mathematics; and Physics.

the anecdotes and personal accounts in monographs in essays. They can also predict what we might encounter in the future. Therefore, we can make connections between the personal and the practical (data).²² I first address some statistics from the Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics (NCES).²³ The statistics offer an overview regarding changes in enrollment and earned degrees for women and men.

Table 4.1

Earned degrees conferred by institutions of higher education (numbers in thousands)

	1977		1992	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Associate's	195.5	210.8	296.8	207.5
Bachelor's	424	495.5	615.7	520.8
Master's	149.5	167.8	191	161.8
Doctoral	8.1	25.1	15.1	25.6
First-profession	12	52.4	29.1	45.1

Source: *Digest of Education Statistics, 1994*, table 234

From Table 4.1, we see that the number of doctoral degrees earned between 1977 and 1992 almost doubled. Unfortunately, we have not seen a doubling of the professorate for women during the same time. If anything, the increase of women in the professorate has been a slow, incremental

²² I do not mean to implicate all women as victims of discrimination. However, given the salary inequities and tenure rates, it is fair to ascertain that something is amiss.

²³ The NCES is authorized with the data collection, analysis, and reporting of statistics related to education in the United States and abroad (www.nces.ed.gov). I culled the most recent data available.

progression. Furthermore, from the Progress of Women the authors note, "But despite large gains in educational attainment and labor force participation, significant differences in earning persist between females and males, even at similar levels of education" (18). A similar story is found when reviewing the findings from the "Trends in Educational Equity of Girls & Women" also published by the Department of Education (Bae et al 2000).

Table 4.2

Percentage of master's, first-professional and doctor's degrees conferred to females in selected fields of study: School years ending 1970-96

Selected fields of study	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1994	1995	1996
Master's degrees	39.7	44.8	49.4	49.9	52.6	54.5	55.1	55.9
Business management	3.6	8.5	22.4	31	34	36.5	37	37.6
Computer and information sciences	9.3	14.7	20.9	28.7	28.1	25.8	26.1	26.7
Education	55.4	62.3	70.2	72.5	75.9	76.7	76.5	76.3
Engineering	1.1	2.4	7	10.7	13.8	15.5	16.3	17.2
Health professionals and related sciences	52	61.7	72.3	76.3	77.7	79.3	78.4	79
Physical sciences and science technology	14.2	14.4	18.6	23.2	26.4	29.2	30.2	32.2
Psychology	42.3	46.4	58.8	65.1	68.5	72.1	72	72.4
Social sciences and history	28.8	30.1	36	38.4	40.7	44	44.7	46.1
First-professional degrees*	5.3	12.4	24.8	32.8	38.1	40.7	40.8	41.7
Dentistry	0.9	3.1	13.3	20.7	30.9	38.5	36.4	35.8
Medicine	8.4	13.1	23.4	30.4	34.2	37.9	38.8	40.9
Law	5.4	15.1	30.2	38.5	42.2	43	42.6	473.5
Doctor's degrees	13.3	21.3	29.7	34.1	36.4	38.5	39.4	39.9
Business management	1.6	4.2	14.7	17.2	25.2	28.2	27.3	29.2
Biological sciences/life sciences	14.3	22	26	32.8	37.7	40.7	40.3	42
Computer and information sciences	1.9	6.6	11.3	10.1	14.8	15.4	18.2	14.5
Education	19.8	30.4	43.9	52	57.3	60.8	62	62.2
Engineering	0.7	2.1	3.8	6.4	8.9	11.1	11.9	12.5
Physical sciences and science technology	5.4	8.3	12.4	16.2	19.4	23.5	23.5	23.1
Health professionals and related sciences	16.2	28.6	44.7	52.9	54.2	58.1	58.1	56.7
Psychology	23.3	32.1	43.4	49.6	58.9	62.6	662.6	66.1
Social sciences and history	12.8	20.8	27	32.2	32.9	36.1	37.7	37.8

*First professional degrees are awarded in the fields of dentistry (D.D.S or D.M.D.), medicine (M.D.), optometry (O.D.), osteopathic medicine (D.O.), pharmacy (D. Phar.), podiatric medicine (D.P.M.), veterinary medicine (D.V.M.), chiropractic medicine (D.C. or D.C.M.), law (J.D.), and the theological professions (M. Div. or M.H.L.)

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education. National Center for Educational Statistics, Digest of Education Studies 1998 (based on IPEDS "Completions" surveys)

This report provides data through 1996 and again we note an increase in overall master's and doctorate degrees earned by women.

We can refer to the AAUP reports regarding the breakdown of faculty earnings and see that there are still marked differences between salaries of male and female professors (www.aaup.org). Marcia Bellas, for the AAUP, reports that from 2000-2001, of the full-time women in the professorate: Women are 36% of the faculty overall (05-17-2001). She also reports that women are again overrepresented at the lower ladder and overwhelmingly employed as part-time or lecture faculty. The ratio to female to male average salary for faculty also paints a picture of the financial differences. By and large, the differences are in a state of stasis with women faculty paid less than male faculty.

Table 4.3

Ratio of females' to males' average salary for full-time higher education faculty by control and type of institution and academic rank: Academic years 1972-73 1996-97

Academic year	Control and type of institution							Academic rank	
	All institutions	Public			Private			Full professor	Assistant professor
		Total	2-year	4-year	Total	2-year	4-year		
1972-73	0.83	0.84	0.92	0.82	0.78	0.93	0.79	0.88	0.94
1975-76	0.82	0.84	0.90	0.81	0.78	0.90	0.78	0.89	0.95
1980-81	0.82	0.83	0.90	0.81	0.77	0.86	0.77	0.90	0.95
1985-86	0.80	0.82	0.90	0.80	0.76	0.91	0.76	0.89	0.92
1990-91	0.80	0.81	0.90	0.80	0.76	0.87	0.77	0.88	0.92
1995-96	0.81	0.82	0.91	0.81	0.79	0.92	0.79	0.88	0.94
1996-97*	0.81	0.82	0.92	0.81	0.79	0.88	0.79	0.88	0.09

*Data for 1996-97 are for degree-granting institutions. Survey coverage is slightly wider than data for higher education institutions. SOURCE: U.S. Department of Education. National Center for Educational Statistics, Digest of Education Studies 1998 (based on IPEDS "Salaries, Tenure and Fringe Benefits of Full-Time Instructional Faculty" surveys) and unpublished tabulations.

NOTE: Data are for instructional faculty on 9 month contracts. Data for 1990-91 through 1996-97 include imputations for nonrespondent institutions.

Data from the NCES demonstrates that for 1972-1973 to 1996-97 and controlling for location along the academic ladder and different institutions,

we see a significant difference between the earned average salaries of women professors compared to male professors. Although this data is not disaggregated for Political Science, it is still telling of the reality for women professors. Table 4.4 presents data specific to Political Science, illustrating the rates of students earning doctorates in Political Science or Government from 1981-1998 disaggregated by gender. During the 17-year period, a marked increase by women and men has taken place. Yet, the overall salaries remain stagnant. There is a commensurate problem if more women are going into the field and we witness the stagnant rate of salaries for women in academe.²⁴ Other data from the Department of Education suggests that women and men graduate at virtually the same rates and are placed at their first tenure-track position at similar rates. However, the differences become more apparent with respect to salary level, merit and tenure rates. For women, the substantive issue is that they are less likely to earn merit and promotion raises compared to their male colleagues. Likewise, this influences their overall salary rates and we also see that women by and large make less money than their male colleagues.

²⁴ This phenomenon is referred to as the feminization of the workplace. As women enter certain field en masse, it is noted that the mean salary for the field drops.

Table 4.4

Male/Female 1981-1998: Receiving Ph.D.s in Political Science/Government

	1981	1985	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
Male	264	196	226	200	225	228	264	290	305	345	315
	76%	71%	70%	68%	68%	69%	66%	70%	67%	69%	61%
Female	83	80	95	94	107	102	134	122	151	156	204
	24%	29%	30%	32%	32%	31%	34%	30%	33%	31%	39%

SOURCE: APSA, table prepared from National Science Foundation data "Male/Female 1981-1998: #Receiving Ph.D.s Political Science/Government" and "Male/Female 1981-1998: # Receiving Ph.D.s as a % Political Science/Government" (Hall 2000, 65).
* % data was rounded and some calculation errors (% of women in 1985 and 1993) were corrected.

Women Academics and Balance: Juggling Knives and Your Career

There are multiple personal and professional issues of concern for women academics. The personal concerns, in particular, are hard to measure or quantify in the traditional sense. From many monographs, one common theme about women in education becomes obvious—personal concerns are often invisible and silenced in the academic setting. The missing conversations are based on job security and overall ambivalence.²⁵ There is also the concern regarding the consequences of accusing a colleague or student of harassment. The harassment can be sexual or intellectual.²⁶ This is another area that remains silenced within the academy; however, there

²⁵ See Caplan 1994; Overall 1998; Roland Martin 2000; Theodor 1986; and Valian 1999. Also, see various issues of *The Strategist* edited by Ann Wake and Ines Shaw.

²⁶ For an engaging discussion about intellectual harassment see *Anti-Feminism in the Academy* edited by VèVè Clark et al (1996) and the Women's Studies List File collection about "Gender and Teaching Evaluation," which can be found at: www.umbc.edu/wmst/wmsttoc.html. Also see Anderson and Miller 1997.

are countless stories and anecdotes regarding harassment shared in volumes about women and academia. Nijole V. Benokraitis explains that "subtle discrimination" is just as damaging and damning as the more covert forms of discrimination. Benokraitis states:

Subtle sex discrimination refers to the unequal and harmful treatment of women that is typically less visible and less obvious than blatant discrimination is. It is often not noticed because most people have internalized subtle sexist behavior as normal, natural or acceptable (5).

Other anecdotal references are rife about this form of discrimination explaining how merit, promotion, and other departmental concerns are decided in the men's room, sports activities, and other venues that somehow exclude women faculty. This subtle discrimination influences the environment that women faculty work in and how they are treated by their colleagues, staff, and for some by their students.

Women faculty experience academia differently than male faculty. Danusia Malin and Sian Maslin-Prothero's edited volume *Surviving the Academy: Feminist Perspectives* (1998) speaks to the concerns of women faculty. Each of the sections discusses issues that are prevalent for women academics. While the contributors are predominantly (if not all) from the U.K., the issues they discuss touch all women academics. The common theme that connects this anthology is the notion that women academics often experience academia in a markedly different way from to their male colleagues. This is not because women are inherently different from men. No, this is because of the gendered nature of expectations regarding women

students, women faculty, and even women administrators. That is, the academic world is gendered in such a way that men are privileged as individuals—that is, in ways that are not entirely captured by data and statistical analyses like those presented above. This situation is harder to prove than salary discrepancies and other professional signs of discrimination and therefore also change.

The academic calendar offers, for many, the ease and opportunity to have a nine to ten month job. This assumes, of course, that one is fully employed and on the traditional school year schedule. However, many women would counter that academia is not forgiving for mothers and, more recently, parents, and that it operates under the *guise* of increased freedom. While the academic calendar and progressive parental leave programs may provide parents with the luxury of being home often, there often persists the presumption that time “off” means more time to write papers and continue research projects. However, anyone who has raised children knows that the childbearing leave or paternity leave is not a ploy to increase research production. Many women scholars also note the lack of institutional support by their department or university regarding their schedules or even the problems some faculty face with bringing their children into their offices.²⁷

²⁷ Some universities actually prohibit children from campus buildings. See Barbara Katz Rothman, “Back to the Classroom, Without the Kids,” Sept 3, 1999. The *Chronicle* is a rich area of first-person, anecdotal stories about these topics for the pulse of parenting and academia. Many *Chronicle* articles detail the painstaking ways that people “hide” their children, while they are on the job market. That is, they do not want their children to present a liability to their possible future colleagues. See Gale Walden, “Hiding the Baby,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Jan 31, 2002, Career Network.

Then, there are critics that argue that parents get preferential treatment by the extended leave time.

Most faculty do not work a traditional "9-5" job; as countless anecdotes note, there is always a paper to revise, a grant to review, student papers to grade or committee meetings to attend. With the advent of increased electronic mail correspondence, many faculty observe that the line between work and home is further diminished, as students, colleagues, and administrators always have a means of contacting you. In the past, people assumed that these were private concerns and certainly not the concern of the workplace. However, we know today that family-leave, child-bearing, and child-rearing policies, single-parenting issues, and overall benefits are a concern for all employees. However, these issues are the invisible issues that are frequently silenced.²⁸

The discussion of personnel issues related to balancing parenting and academic the workload are incredibly important. Indeed, between 1989-2002, *The Chronicle of Higher Education* published more than 4,753 of articles regarding child-bearing, balance, and family concerns for academics, and countless articles regarding how the academy is not welcoming to families with small children or the realities of the workplace for same-sex couples. In fact, many of the articles are not just focused on women, but

²⁸ See *The Family Track: Keeping Your Faculties While You Mentor, Nurture, Teach, and Serve* edited by Constance Coiner and Diana Hume George (1998) and Paula J. Caplan *Lifting a Ton of Feathers: A Woman's Guide to Surviving in the Academic World* (1994). Also, see "Timing is Everything: Academe's Annual Baby Boom" by Robin Wilson, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 25, 1999, The Faculty.

rather for all families in all contexts, including, for instance, families that have to take care of aging parents and raise children simultaneously. During the same thirteen years, there have been more than 8,012 articles about women, 3,071 articles about discrimination, and 4,211 articles about tenure.²⁹ Many of these deal with balance, tenure, and other professional/personal concerns.³⁰ This obviously is an important area of concern for academics. The common theme through many of these articles is that most universities do not take these issues seriously and it is the parent(s) decision to protect their rights. There is also an assumption that many departments and universities treat this as a choice on the part of woman faculty members to have children.³¹

The department or university action is often read as punitive to the woman faculty member, instead one of developing policy that helps parents or other scholars taking care of elderly family members. Laura W. Perna notes:

²⁹ I have conducted these searches 4 times during the last 18 months. The latest results are from a search conducted on October 21, 2002.

³⁰ I did not find any articles when I searched for women and Political Science, women and tenure, and women and discrimination. The larger searches for women, tenure, or discrimination culled some articles that were germane to women, but not solely focused on women academics.

³¹ Some women scholars have argued that these issues are treated less seriously, since they are still deemed "only" women's issues. See Aisenberg and Harrington 1988; Benokraitis 1998; Brandes et al 2001; and Perna 2001.

By adopting and encouraging the use of policies, practices, and initiatives that recognize that many faculty are also spouses and parents, colleges and universities will create an environment that fosters the success of both women and men faculty (608). Thus, we need to remember that any call to help academics regarding work and private life concerns must include both women and men. We should not assume that this is only the concern for women.³²

The AAUP's Committee on the Status of Women in the Academic Profession and its Subcommittee on Academic Work and Family released the "Statement of Principles on Family Responsibilities and Academic Work" (2001), which highlighted the need for policy implementation and a change in academic culture. The statement also notes how women are affected by this policy: "Giving birth and raising children are distinctive events. Only women give birth, and it is an event that interrupts the careers of a higher percentage of professors than any other 'physical disability' or family obligation." The committee explicitly noted that no one policy would fit all institutions. However, sweeping changes are needed in order to continue the commitment to gender equity. The report ends noting that:

Recognizing the need for broader and more inclusive policies represents a historic moment of change. The Association encourages both women and men to take advantage of legal and institutional change so that all faculty members may participate more fully in the care of their children, and may provide the necessary care for parents and other family members.

The reality is that while something needs to be done, any policy that affects women and others will be met with controversy due to the

³² There is a vast body of literature that argues that women are the primary caregivers and are responsible for the majority of the household responsibilities. For an engaging discussion see Aisenberg and Harrington 1988; Crittenden 2001, and Hochschild 1989.

assumption that any family responsibilities are personal concerns and either intrusive or only a women's issue. Paula J. Caplan (1994) alludes to this bind, "It is important to remember that more admission of *some* women to most institutions has not meant the elimination of subtle forms of exclusion to mistreatment of them" (17). This issue concerning balance, child-bearing, and maternity and paternity leave really exemplifies the ways in which there is still more work to be done in academe. It is a problem when basic concerns for faculty are not met. It is one thing to get more women faculty into the pipeline and another to make their stay at all stages hospitable and render it as a supportive environment.

The reasons for this lack of fast, positive change and less than welcoming environment can be blamed on the way that the professoriate is deemed a male profession. In the case of women, some have gone so far as to state that the professorial positions have been founded based on a male-ideal of lifestyle—that is, having a "wife" to take care of the home and children (Aisenberg and Harrington 1988). Thus, the ideal academic is one that is assumed to be male. After World War II, based on their sheer numbers, the GI "Billers" pushed women out of the universities. At the time, women constituted "the non-traditional student" based on their gender, marital status, and enrollment status as a re-entry or part-time student, while the full-time male student was reaping the benefits of serving the

country.³³ Whereas, a similar program to benefit women who stay at home, for instance, does not exist. Today, the military is more diverse in terms of women joining the ranks and availing themselves of the various benefits. However, what is important to connect here is that there was a concerted effort for change and to entice more women to join the military with various government initiatives and not mere lip service. Moving back to Political Science, complaints have risen over the lack of substantive change in the discipline. Women Political Scientist, as opposed to institutions like the military have been the agents of change in terms of policy, research, and other professional concerns.

WCPS Quarterly & Women and Politics: Agent of Change

The WCPS has repeatedly called for curricular changes and ways to combat the differential treatment of women scholars and the examination of women in research. The suggested changes are not only more equitable for women as scholars, but should be a subject of study for all students. The WCPS has also submitted proposals to the regional and national organizations calling for a change in the curriculum at the middle and high school levels.

Perusing the files of the WCPS archives, it becomes evident that many women in the field are dissatisfied with the status quo or business as usual in

³³ This is not to say that serving in the military is not an admirable endeavor. I focus instead

the field. WCPS newsletters attest to an era of discontent regarding not only the hiring and promotion of women, but also the non-existent nature of professional development for junior women scholars and the overall hostility toward women.³⁴

The WCPS was instrumental to the founding of the journal *Women and Politics*, more than twenty years ago. *Women and Politics* provided a watershed moment for women Political Scientists and other Political Scientists interested in women as political subjects or political actors, as they finally had a scholarly journal whose mission was dedicated to publishing work germane to their scholarly endeavor. Research suggests that, compared to other journals in the discipline, the journal has afforded an avenue for increased publication by women scholars (Kelly and Fisher 1994; Kelly et. al. 1994; Matthews and Anderson 2001; and Young 1995). Furthermore, the journal has really provided the only place for substantive discussion about women's voting behavior and other women's issues that are of central concern to Political Scientists or Political Philosophers.

Women and Politics was crucial to the increased publication of articles, book reviews, and other research about women. It is not uncommon to find research about women and politics in other disciplinary journals. *Signs*,

on the displacement of women students by the influx of veterans.

³⁴ Most other sub-fields include a newsletter of sorts. Many of the regional Women's Caucus for Political Science also distribute a newsletter. The Women's Caucus for International Studies has an annual newsletter, as well as the Women in International Security and the Society for Women in International Political Economy. Each of these newsletters serves as an informative repository for exchange.

***Women's Studies International Forum, Feminist Studies, Women's Studies Quarterly, Hypatia, and National Women's Studies Association Journal* (to name a few) publish articles of interest to Political Science scholars engaged in work about women and the practical or theoretical issues concerning political participation, hegemony, and theory. In fact, scholars trained in Political Science often publish in these interdisciplinary Women's Studies or feminist journals. Political Science research about women can be inherently interdisciplinary based on the multiple loci of women's political socialization and experience in the world. Simply put, politics have been gendered and it is not easy to tease out the gendered nature of politics in one or two generations of scholarly research. I previously noted that, generally speaking, Political Science was founded as an interdisciplinary discipline; since then, the hegemonic forces in favor of specific topics for and method of study deemed which fields are worthy of "borrowing" from or being associated with.**

The majority of the authors published in *Women and Politics* are also women (Young 1995; Kelly and Fisher 1994; and Kelly et al 1994). Many times these complaints the lack of publishing equity are not taken seriously until some data (statistical analyses) are presented to demonstrate the validity of the anecdotal or unsubstantiated comments.³⁵ Scholars have

³⁵ For instance, after the publication of the Anonymous and Anonymous article in *PS: Political Science and Politics* March 1999, many anecdotally commented that the article lacked reliability based on the sheer conjecture and anonymity of the authors, thereby missing the point that the authors did not have the privilege or safety of sharing their comments without fear of retribution.

delved into the publication rates of our many esteemed journals in the discipline and within the fine sub-disciplines. Repeatedly, we have found that women are published in markedly fewer rates than male scholars.

Furthermore, A. Lanethea Matthews and Kristi Anderson discovered that women Political Scientists are also less likely to serve as editors of Political Science books (2001).³⁶ From the 78 books, they found that women constituted only 22% of the editors (146). Publishing edited volumes usually includes part of the professional Political Scientists' network of colleagues.

Publishing is an important part of the professional academic career for all women and men. Any impediment can affect job security. During the last five to ten years, other journals have also provided a place for women and men Political Scientists and other social scientists to publish research for and about women. The *International Journal of Feminist Politics*, for one, was founded in 1997. The editors note that its mission is to serve social scientists whose research is not only feminist, but also concerned with the international system. We have also seen an increase in the use of electronic or on-line publishing. However, it is too early to know if tenure and promotion committees will weigh these sites as a comparable to hard-text publications on the curriculum vitae. Publishing is also instrumental to establishing a niche within the professional networks. It offers the author(s) a chance to not

³⁶ See Matthews and Anderson "A Gender Gap in Publishing? Women's Representation in Edited Political Science Books" *PS: Political Science and Politics*, March v34, n1, 2001, 143-147.

only meet other scholars, but to also have their work reach the larger academic community. Likewise, it is common for senior or more established faculty to mentor others with a collaborative research and publication process.

Mentoring

Finding a mentor is one of the keys to moving up in any organization. Many women leaders have relied on male mentors to provide them with advice and encouragement. Still, in the male-dominated environments described here, women often have difficulty finding mentors and gaining the inside knowledge that mentors can provide (Stapleton in *The American Woman* 29).

Finding a mentor is an invaluable strategy for success for any graduate student or junior faculty member. Most academic skill-building books and essays extol the necessity of having a mentor and a supportive network. Virginia O'Leary and Judith M. Mitchell explain the importance of networks and mentors, "It is clear that the informal system of exchange among professional peers is essential to maintaining one's professional identity" (63 in Stiver Lie and O'Leary). Likewise, some women students find it necessary to seek out a mentor that is either a woman, or at the very least, someone from their own "group" in order to contravene feelings of alienation from the university or their department (Gunning 178).

Electronic mentors (e-mentors) and virtual mentoring in academia and in the business world are more common today. The WCPS founded a "Virtual Mentoring" project in June 1998 and encouraged the pairing of graduate

students and faculty or junior faculty with senior faculty via an electronic mentoring relationship.³⁷ The Virtual Mentoring project continues and many involved have explained how helpful the virtual networking is. Getting a mentor and establishing a supportive network are key to academic survival and a sound way to avoid the "Revolving Door Phenomena." Barbara Brown Packer explicates, "New women enter, experience an uncomfortable environment, or an environment in which they will never succeed, and leave, only to be followed by other women who will also leave" (47 in Morley). This is a debatable point; however, in many of the anecdotal accounts of unsupportive departments, it is noted that the door is a revolving one for women faculty. Data about women's lower rates of merit and tenure rates substantiate these claims.

Peer mentoring is also important to establishing an intra-department mentoring network. In reference to networking and mentoring, Eric Margolis and Mary Romero acknowledge how critical peer networking is to establishing a positive professional environment women of color, in particular: "Peer relationships among students with similar backgrounds and political commitments confirm and enhance the women of color graduate students' identity as scholars, teachers, and researchers" (93). Emily Toth, also known as Ms. Mentor, published *Ms. Mentor's Impeccable Advice for Women in Academia* (1995). It was one of many books that dispensed advice for

³⁷ The information regarding this endeavor was posted in the WCPS *Quarterly* volume 15, number 4, 1998, page 2. See Appendix K for information about the first mentors to sign up for the program and the first set of matches.

women scholars regarding the politics of everything from choosing a dissertation committee to how to deal with department politics during your first job appointment. Moreover, mentors are not just for students, they can also assist during the entire academic career with senior faculty mentoring junior faculty.³⁸ Vicki Hesli and Barbara Burrell explain that mentors for junior faculty are crucial to warm up the "chilly climate" that junior faculty are likely to experience (1995).

New Forms of Activism: Off-line and On-Line Networking

Today, it seems nonsensical to refer to the time prior to the use of networking, communicating, and publishing before cyberspace. The establishment of new networks and different forms of networking has only increased with the use of the Internet and other forms of electronic communication. The various electronic forms in cyberspace allow women to connect with others in an immediate and personal fashion. The sharing of information and the quick response has formed electronic networks for scholars. Some scholars might lack formal support networks in their department or campus, but find them available on-line.

In addition, the Internet has afforded women both inside and outside of the academy a new site for action and resistance. As such, women as marginalized subjects can and have utilized cyberspace as a site of creative

³⁸ For further reading in this area see Mildred García's edited anthology *Succeeding in An Academic Career: A Guide for Faculty of Color* (2000).

resistance (Sampaio and Aragon 1997). Part of the resistance has been the use of e-mail, lists, and other forms of electronic communication. The Women's Studies List (WMST-L), moderated by Joan Korenman, for example, is an international e-mail list for scholars engaged in research, activism, and scholars of Women's Studies. The WMST-L was founded more than eleven years ago and has more than four thousand subscribers from nearly 50 different countries.³⁹ These new technologies have also brought new forms of publishing to fruition on-line and have even added a Web presence to traditional publications.

In addition to the theoretical possibilities for women introduced by these new technologies, there is also a host of benefits related to access that expand the possibilities of women's expression such as the narrative structure of communication, the availability of women-friendly sites, and a host of new publications written by and for women. (Sampaio and Aragon 5).

The late 1980s and 1990s were met with a more diverse call to activism. Women of color, Third World women, and other feminist sympathizers demanded a movement that was more inclusive in terms of racial and ethnic diversity, class difference, and one that recalled the activist fervor of the movement's beginning. We did see an increase in a Feminist Movement to better combine the activism of the Second Wave with the activism of current politics, but without the strong adherence to academic feminism. During the last five to ten years, some advocates of this feminist

³⁹ For more information about the WMST-L see http://research.umbc.edu/~korenman/wmst/wmst-l_index.html.

typology have identified as Third Wave feminists. The Feminist Movement in the academy and outside of the academy by activists and others sympathetic to feminist politics has witnessed this resurgence of Third Wave feminism with interest, fear, or outright disdain.⁴⁰ What this feminist wave has brought to the table besides their youth is their shirking of traditional notions of academic scholarship. Barbara Arneil explains:

The late 1980s and 1990s have witnessed the emergence of a new, third wave of feminism(s). It began as feminists came to realize that the theoretical frameworks they had been using, built on the foundations of universality, sameness and scientific methodology, were becoming increasingly difficult to reconcile with where feminism had led them: to notions of identity, difference, particularity and embodiment" (1999 186).

Notably, from the Third Wave we have witnessed the increased use of technology and on-line publishing, as well as more research-related forums.

As Arneil notes:

Finally, many young third wave feminists are questioning the confines of feminist academia, particularly the media chosen for the dissemination of feminist ideas. Rather than scholarly papers in 'refereed' journals, many have taken to communicating with one another through zines; that is, photocopied pages passed along through informal networks and hybrid publications, and through cyberspace (e-mails, web pages and chat groups) (191).

One prominent example of this phenomenon is the journal *Sexing the Political: A Journal of Third Wave Feminists on Sexuality* (www.sexingthepolitical.com). While the title might be misleading, the journal includes discussions that vary from sexuality and popular culture to

⁴⁰ See Phyllis Chesler *Letters to a Young Feminist* 1997; and Shelia Tobias *Faces of Feminism* 1997

political rights and current events that affect women. Third Space (www.thirdspace.ca) is another on-line journal that focuses on women's issues broadly speaking. Some of the articles on this website, though, do fit within the area of women and politics, feminist theory, and comparative politics. Elke Zobl's www.grrrlzines.net also embodies the on-line re-visioning of what constitutes political action, resistance, and response. Arneil explains, "Young academic feminists are also exploring the possibilities of cyberspace, for both communication and dissemination" (191). Many of the zines⁴¹ in Zobl's database provide a political statement against institutions. The institutions vary, however. In total, the message against oppressive sexism in education, among other institutions or environments, is obvious. In an increasingly technology-dependent world, we can assume that cyberspace action, resistance, e-networking, and virtual mentoring will increasingly become the norm in future university life. This trend requires that we remain cognizant of their use.

Gender Matters: Attempts for Change—Meetings and Networking⁴²

One of the easiest ways for women scholars to network is to meet at the scholarly meetings. The various Political Science meetings in the United States, for the most part, offer a space for networking and sharing of

⁴¹ Zine refers to an on-line "magazine."

⁴² See the Appendix for the list of conferences, research centers, and Web sites that have attempted to make a difference. The Bibliography for this dissertation is also useful.

research. The meetings also allow for new research to be presented in a relatively encouraging environment. The professional meetings also help establish the increased visibility of women Political Scientists, both in the program and in the professional organizations. The professional organizations can become a stepping-stone to make some change in the discipline. The change can be short-term or long-term, depending on the length of time and status of committee membership in the organization. In a previous chapter, I explained the history and organizational structure of the APSA and the subsequent regional professional organizations. However, in this section I speak more to the positive ways that the organizations have created to form increased networking or to better influence the profession. Many of these responses were precipitated by concerted efforts by various pressure groups: women, caucuses, and the like. The majority of the archival material attests to the importance of networking at the meetings and to the agendas at the WCPS or Women and Politics section meetings.

The American Political Science Association (APSA) has attempted to unify, or at the very least, pacify, women scholars by the creation of pre-APSA conferences that are focused on women's issues or women graduate students' research needs. These conferences are used as a means to increase networking by scholars and also to establish a scholarly community under the rubric of a pre-conference theme. The pre-conference provides a much-needed outreach and networking forum for women in the discipline. For instance, in August 2000, American University, Washington D.C., hosted

the pre-APSA conference that was geared for women scholars and women graduate students interested in the field of Women and Politics. The pre-conference was organized and sponsored by the Women and Politics Institute at American University and the WCPS of the APSA. As the director of the Women and Politics Institute and the editor of the *Women and Politics* journal, Karen O'Connor explained that the WCPS acts as the conscience of the discipline. Leafing through the table of contents of the journal, this becomes wholly apparent.

At the conference, which was intended as a space for networking and establishing a community of women scholars among participants, speakers addressed some of the tenuous issues between mainstream Political Science and research about women, which is usually on the academic fringe. Cynthia Enloe, a prominent scholar in International Relations from Clark University, explained that the United States' focus of politics is taken for granted and is problematic to the study of politics. It is also problematic that many in the discipline are not familiar with the comparative and IR sub-fields. Feminists "look at the positioning of marginalized groups." This hegemony is exacerbated by the unidimensionality of scholarly work. Enloe noted that there was a concerted effort to make the *International Feminist Journal of Politics* truly international. With that in mind, it is headquartered in the U.K. The editors are: Gillian Youngs (U.K.), Kathy B. Jones (U.S.) and Jan Jindy Pettman (Australia). The journal is healthy by industry standards, has begun its fourth year.

In 2002, the pre-APSA conference was the Women of Color Studies in Political Science, which was held at Northeastern University in Boston, Massachusetts. The conference was organized with the intention of helping graduate students who do research about women of color in their Political Science research. Like the 2000 conference, another important goal of the conference was to increase the support networks for graduate students and faculty conducting research in this area. More than 50 attended the pre-conference. Most of the participants were junior faculty at the pre-tenure stage. The remainder of the participants were advanced graduate students or the conference organizers.

Women members of the Western Political Science Association (WPSA), which has a reputation for supporting scholarship by and about women also established a Feminist Theory conference to take place prior to the WPSA meeting. The first took place in 1996 and was held at U.C. Berkeley. The conference has provided a much-needed scholarly networking venue. The day begins with the review and discussion of a book, then a break for lunch. The meeting resumes with the discussion of articles. Usually the authors are also in attendance, which aids the engaging repartee among the attendees.

Prior to the founding of the Feminist Theory conference, there was not a Feminist Political Theory focused space for this networking and deliberation. These various conferences and meetings are important to continue the networking among women along all stages of the pipeline in Political Science. The networking also establishes a community of scholars,

which in turn helps many feel as if they are part of the larger community of women Political Scientists. For many women in the field, there is an overlap between research concerns and professional issues. The support group networks, other professional networks, and meetings offers a space for communication about these important issues and a resource for women scholars.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief overview of how the political climate and partisanship affects educational policy and the mood of resistance (or acceptance) for gender parity and other policy. I have demonstrated that there are multiple avenues for instilling change in Political Science. These attempts must include the collective action of stakeholders at each level, curricular change, and policy change. I also examined the connections between earned doctorates, and publishing and salary inequities. For women academics, these are all connected with their experience of academe.

A concentrated, organized action at each level is going to have to continue to take place. Serious discussions about the importance of curricular and institutional change will be needed as part of the discussion. Today, consciousness-raising is often done in a different manner. A woman academic might find that at a merit review, salary negotiation, or during pregnancy or a conference meeting that her consciousness is raised and that she experiences academia in a "different" manner than her male colleagues. This

consciousness raising provides moments of clarity to the ways in which she navigates her professional life. This is why networking, mentors, and other supportive environments are key to women's success in academia. The conferences, meetings, listservs, Web sites, and other means of professional participation allow for conversation and sharing of information. For many women, these are today's forms of scholarly activism.

The discussions about professional and personal concerns are needed. No one is left untouched by the reach of these conversations. That is, these issues concern students, teachers, administrators, policy makers, and lawmakers. Learner outcomes and professional outcomes are at stake in this discussion. We need to remember the history of the movement into the discipline and into higher education. Recalling the activist beginnings with the continued struggle is necessary to make change, while respecting that different forms of activism exist today. This allows stakeholder to heed past success and mistakes.

Chapter Five

Studying Women: A Historiography of Women and Political Science

The previous chapters demonstrated the problems that occur when women are absent as subjects and scholars in Political Science. These chapters attested to the need for comprehensive analyses in Political Science research and for these analyses to include the other half of the population. What changes when we begin to examine women or women's lives as central to inquiry in Political Science research? This chapter responds to this important question by providing an examination of the varied manner that Political Scientists have studied women as subjects, "political actors," or participants in politics.

The story of women in academe is markedly different than the story of men. The story is laden with the cultural baggage of sexism, racism, classism, and homophobia. The Political Science discipline is a subset of the larger academic world. This chapter presents a historiography of the study of women in Political Science.

The field of Political Science is understudied and the notion of an institutional memory or history is not widely respected nor understood as an integral part of the discipline. Examining some of the significant works in the field about women using this historiographical method can offer a better understanding of importance of this work and how to sustain scholarly work about women.¹

¹ The same struggles repeated by new cohorts of women in the field repeatedly arise. If anything, we need to understand that an institutional memory or history is worth preserving in order to learn from past struggles.

A historiography sheds light on what Joan Tronto has referred to as the accommodationist and transformative modes of research. According to the dominant narrative in Political Science, we did not need to study women and politics since their fathers, spouses, or brothers represented women. However, once Political Scientists realized that women were indeed a population worthy of study, we often saw two forms of research within the sub-field Women and Politics. Tronto notes that prior to the 1960s, Political Scientists (Tronto 95) had conducted only two studies about women. Presumably, we can comfortably assert that Political Scientists studying women is a relatively "new" endeavor in the United States. This is clearly a tragedy of omission based on the norms of study in the field (Tronto 96).

It is axiomatic to state that the Women's Movement sent ripples throughout society. Political Science research about women was not left untouched by the momentum of the Second Wave of that movement. In an effort to illustrate the relationship between the impact of the women's movement on society and its effects on Political Science about women, I provide in this chapter a brief review and analysis of the 1992 "Year of the Woman" and suggest that this particular election occurred at a critical time for Women and Politics research. The aftermath of this event demonstrated that U.S. politics was faced with an opportune time and that social scientists were able to comment on what precipitated the "year" and how the aftermath became emblematic of the importance to studying and explaining

Women and Politics and women *in* politics. If anything, 1992 really helped crystallize the legitimacy of research of the sub-field—Women and Politics.

The backdrop for the present investigation of Women and Politics is developments in two particularly influential sub-fields: (1) American politics, with particular attention paid to mass political behavior; and (2) International Relations. My reasons for selecting these two sub-fields are twofold. First, American politics is the largest sub-field both in terms of sheer membership in the APSA, and scholarship in the United States. Looking at mass political behavior affords a discussion of "real" world politics or examples from elections. Second, my inclusion of International Relations likewise offers a real world examination of foreign policy, war, sustainability, and other germane issues. International Relations has, furthermore, repeatedly been regarded as the last male bastion or "worse case" in Political Science.² Perhaps consequently, professional networks and other manifestations of feminist activism have emerged more recently in this sub-discipline. By invoking progress in for women and the study of women in politics in these two sub-disciplines, I am able to organize the study³ by comparing relatively more conventional activism and research about women in American Politics with the newer forms of activism evident in International Relations, where

² As I noted previously, women's activism and professional networking began in full organized force in 1969 by those predominantly interested in American politics in the APSA; whereas similar collective actioning came later in International Relations via the founding of WCIIS and FTGS in 1995.

³ I chose not to examine some other sub-fields due to concerns about overlap: methodology, constitutional law, comparative politics, public opinion, political psychology, policy studies, and countless others. This chapter provides a sample of some of the research about women.

research about women, moreover, concentrates on war, governance, militarism, and security.⁴ By so narrowing my study, I am able to look at areas where women have actually been studied or where debates have actually existed.

For the study itself, I have chosen works that distill the types of works or themes that have predominated research about women under the distinct rubric of politics. I present an overview of some of the milestones within Women and Politics research. Most of the research challenged "old" or mainstream research about women, or at the very least, offered a "new" way of looking at women in politics. This historiography builds on chapter one and presents the continued relationship between advocacy and academics by women in Political Science. Here, though, I include research about women in the sub-field of International Relations, and argue that their activism and formation of the Feminist Theory and Gender Studies section in the International Studies Association mirrors the activist academic networking engaged in the WCPS and Women and Politics section in the APSA. I end this chapter with a discussion of how women of color are studied and challenged within Political Science research and academe. Marginalized groups in Political Science share a common theme: invisibility in research and among the professoriate. Thus, I argue that any analysis of women as a marginalized group must include a discussion of *all* women.

⁴ Studies in the area of International Relations are not automatically masculine, rather the ways that that field has been studied has offered a masculinist or biased approach.

Studying Women

The higher education of woman has ceased to be a conundrum. Woman has solved it. Statistics refute almost every objection raised against her highest intellectual development. (Lida Rose McCabe⁵)

The study of women or lack thereof has been problematic in Political Science. While early on women's participation was ignored or discounted, we see that later it was merely through traditional forms of participation that women were truly "discovered." There were some references to women and politics during the last 200 years, though most of these would either include women under the male head of household or not really examine women's full participation with an expanded definition of participation. Thus the first concentrated generation of women working in Political Science was during the late 1960s and early 1970s. This presents the first major wave of women in the discipline. For example, we can actually thank women scholars for conducting the first known regression analyses in Political Science. The first regression analysis used in a study about American voting behavior was undertaken by William F. Ogburn and Inez Goltra, "How Women Vote" (*Political Science Quarterly* 1919). The historiography presented samples of work that examined women as agents and not mere political appendages of their fathers, brothers, or spouses.

⁵ What makes this quote particularly compelling is that McCabe wrote this in 1893 in *The American Girl at College*. Thus, some women were barely allowed into higher education, which if anything demonstrated McCabe's great optimism.

Studying women makes our research more relevant.⁶ It is inclusive of more of the population, and in scientific terms, the findings are more generalizable. It seems nonsensical to have to make this point. Gertrude Steuermagel explains:

To speak of politics is to speak of government, and to study political science is to study 'who gets what, why and how'. A measure of the success of the feminist challenge to political science is the extent to which we broaden our ideas of politics and citizenship (167 in Paludi and Steuermagel).

Broadly speaking, American women have participated in informal or formal politics since the "founding" of the country.⁷ However, in the academy formal analyses or study of these practices have been scant in comparison to the study of malestream politics and male politicking, if we understand that women and their politics are compared to the male *norm* and male participation studies. Therefore, women and politics have been "gendered." In much the same way, we have seen that politics has been gendered—gendered as a male activity with male norms. The politically salient issues have, heretofore, been understood as those that male voters, male elites, and male candidates have studied and presented.

⁶ Vivian Makosky and Michele Paludi note that, "Critics maintain that women's studies are overtly value-laden, while not seeing the role of values in their own approaches. The academy itself and each discipline within it has a deeply rooted set of traditions" (3). Therefore, in this chapter, I take their points to heart and uproot and re-examine the traditions of studying women in Political Science.

⁷ Karen O'Connor gives a brief account of the participation in "Introduction: Women in American Politics" where she notes that most women who participated in politics during the Revolutionary War era disguised themselves as men or pseudonyms. She also explains how the separate spheres in society (private vs. public) affected women. See *Encyclopedia of Women in American Politics*, eds. Jeffrey D. Schultz and Laura Van Assendelft. Phoenix, AZ: Oryx Press, 1999.

It is important to understand that the manner in which sex or gender is defined also has influenced research about women, as this shapes the research. How did we get here, to a place and time where we needed to explicitly study women? Mary Hawkesworth, Rutgers University, explicates that we can credit the classic canon with creating difference:

An examination of the treatment of gender in the classic canon suggests that the seminal thinkers of the Western Tradition have not discovered difference: they have created it (39 *Beyond Oppression* 1952).

Thus, in much the same way, the classic readings of political participation have done the very same thing with their studies of voting and other components of politics. Consequently, when historian Nancy F. Cott examines the history of Women and Politics she notes the distorted manner by which scholars tend to focus on the Nineteenth Amendment as the beginning of women's political participation, or at the very least, as *the* milestone for women's political participation.⁸ However, looking more closely, historians have discerned that women exercised agentic political acts during the antebellum struggle, suffrage movements, religious movements, and temperance activism, if not even before this. A better analysis would

⁸ Moreover, this also ignores the perseverance of discriminatory practices in different regions of the United States (primarily the South) against African American voters (women and men) whereby grandfather clauses, poll taxes, literacy examinations, and other tactics were employed to prevent voting rights. Therefore, half the population was counted as potential voters without social scientists noting that these untenable, discriminatory practices were skewing the voter turnout rates.

examine at least one hundred years prior to 1920 during the Antebellum period.⁹

Cott states, "Concentrating on suffrage and the electoral arena means viewing women's politics through the conventional lens where male behavior sets the norm" (153 in Tilly and Gurin). Cott later explains that scholars need to examine more than political participation to understand women's various means of participating during this era. Specifically we need to understand the sociopolitical context of the era. For example, during this time and the subsequent elections, voter participation was on the decline in the United States. Thus, when scholars blankly state that women's suffrage did not change voter participation rates, it is a potentially wrong and incomplete assertion. It was not until well into the "Second Wave" that women scholars began to make this assertion that activism by women did not end with suffrage. The questions that have been asked are flawed, and therefore, find incomplete or inaccurate answers. The activism and groundwork laid via the various other struggles actually cultivated a sense of political agency, and organizational structure or history for women activists. Suffrage should not be thought of as the mythological daughter born from democracy's head.

⁹ Some studies will examine the "exceptional" or first woman. For instance, another major hallmark for women was Jeannette Rankin's (R-MT) accomplishment as the first woman elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1916. Scholars note the accomplishment and present a timeline that portrays little, if any, unified political participation. Knowing the histories of these women is incredibly important; however, it alone without a socio-historical analysis does not offer a complete picture of women.

It is shortsighted for social scientists to think that the Women's Movement somehow disappeared in the United States after suffrage was attained via the Nineteenth Amendment. Jo Freeman's explains in her latest book *A Room at a Time* (2000) that political myths serve a purpose, which is usually to support the opponent. Activism persevered in multiple issues of concern. Thus, momentum for the concerted effort for women's suffrage was a success and activists then moved on to other issues of concern.¹⁰ Furthermore, there is a tendency for some to look at the American Women's Movement ahistorically as one that thrived during the suffrage struggle, and then reappeared during the heyday of the 1960s. This not only maligns history, but is an incorrect assumption.

Women actually volunteered in great numbers. "More generally, where one large or vital pre-1920 women's organization declined or ended, more than one other arose to take its space, if not its exact task" (162 Cott). Cott cogently illustrates that various volunteer organizations proliferated before and after 1920. Thus, only looking at voter turnout rates really does harm to any strong analysis of women's political participation. Kristi Anderson maintains an opinion similar to Cott's, noting:

Although there were many hyperbolic predictions of sweeping changes, more judicious observers realized that the Nineteenth Amendment represented, rather than an automatic conferral of a different status, an *opportunity* to acquire a new role (178 in Tilly and Gurin).

¹⁰ Freeman shares this opinion, noting that post-suffrage we saw that women's interest groups and activists returned to their specialized organizations or groups (4-5 2000). She also notes

The Nineteenth Amendment added a new dimension to women's citizenship and potential for participation. However, women voters need prudence with any other sweeping claims about the lack of participation.

The Seneca Falls Convention took place in 1848 in upstate New York with more than 300 women and men in attendance. This was a key point in feminist activism, but this surely cannot be noted as the *beginning* of the modern Feminist Movement. Perhaps it might be best cast as the beginning of an organized movement toward understanding the struggle for women's rights in society.¹¹ The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was first introduced to Congress in December 1923. Both of these dates are important and should be part of the timeline regarding women and political participation, however, neither should be deemed the definitive conception date.

These early women activists were beset with complications. They were expected to be party loyalists and not suddenly constitute a voting bloc or exhibit a new differential politics. Furthermore, it would seem outlandish to think that suddenly women would vote *en masse* in the same manner after they were given suffrage. Cott asserts:

Women leaders in the political arena faced a classic double bind: damned outright for attempting to form a woman bloc, damned (in effect) by male politicians' indifference or scorn for failing to form one. There was the dilemma for women who intended to make it clear that politics was no longer a man's world (172).

that post-suffrage the backlash against women's activism was strengthened and that "political activity outside of narrow, conventional channels" was discouraged (227).

¹¹ See <http://www.womensrightsfriendsforever.org/modern.html> for more information about the convention and the national park.

Thus there is a strong relationship between the societal expected norms and the manner in which women have participated in politics. The reality was that the world was still run by men. We could not expect that women would be resocialized overnight.

In her various monographs and papers, Jo Freeman turns a keen eye to some of the definitive weaknesses within Political Science's research about women or the strange absence of women in research. Jo Freeman explicates how women's involvement in party politics has been instrumental to the respective parties. Freeman persuasively demonstrates the importance of women's volunteerism. Their participation allowed the parties to grow and these women provided the foundation as the behind-the-scenes volunteers who disseminated information via their informal networks. That is, Freeman notes that women were central to the parties. We know from many other scholars that women might not have been in leadership positions; however, their membership strengthened the organizations.¹² Again, we note how many times this work is defined as "volunteer" work and not as "political" work and conventional political participation. Many times the foundational base and recruitment techniques were instrumental to the survival of parties at the local and regional stages (Freeman 2000). The parties needed these women volunteers and their work.

¹² Kathleen Blee has noted in her research about hate groups that women are the "glue" that keeps the groups together. This comparison might seem crude; however, her research is about one type of social movement and frankly makes sense to cite.

Freeman also notes that the pursuit of women in research was met with suspicion.¹³ Freeman, in particular, can speak to this tenuous relationship between research and activism. Freeman has made this point in public venues such as Political Science meetings that doing critical research that positioned women as the primary locus of study did not make her popular and she believes actually hurt her chances at tenure-track employment. After five years of searching for full-time employment in academe, she decided to enroll in law school. While Freeman has been an activist scholar and has an impressive résumé of books and articles, she has never held a permanent tenure-track position in Political Science. She notes that her activism cost her that luxury.

The Incredible Absence of Women in Political Science

The first generation of women Political Scientists doing research about women found that they were dealing with more than colleague's suspicion. The textbooks and other course materials curiously made few comments about women and political participation. This absence of women was clearly problematic. At the 1976 APSA meeting, Lynn B. Iglitzin presented results of a study in a paper "Teaching Political Science: A Feminist Perspective" and

¹³ Freeman points out on her Web site www.jofreeman.com through various links that her relationship with Political Science has been one fraught with tension and suspicion. Freeman was part of the first known women's liberation groups in Chicago and was strategically involved in campus activism at the University of Chicago. She was also involved in the student movements at University of California, Berkeley, when she was an undergraduate. Freeman has activism in her blood.

found the curious invisibility of women in Political Science materials.¹⁴ That is, women as subjects were not considered part of Political Science research. Ellen Boneparth conducted a study to examine the manner in which women are covered in introductory American government texts and found that sex stereotyping endemic to the coverage of women and men.¹⁵ She found that women were rarely viewed as active agents in politics, but instead were "passive recipients of political rights" (1980 384).

Likewise, Berenice A. Carroll echoed this sentiment, noting that the *APSR* was particularly negligent in the publication of articles germane to the study of women and politics¹⁶ (1979). Carroll shrewdly suggests that feminists in Political Science need to engage in fruitful communication across the ideological divide.¹⁷ She posits that cross-communication is more evident in other disciplines. This concern about the lack of communication was later shared within the pages of the *WCPS Quarterly* and surely has been repeated since. The invisibility of women as subjects and scholars surely compounded the silence of communication between women.¹⁸

¹⁴ Paper presented at the 1976 APSA meeting held in Chicago, IL.

¹⁵ See "The Image of Women in American Government Textbooks," *Teaching Political Science*, v7, n4, 1980, 371-388.

¹⁶ "Political Science, Part I: American Politics and Political Behavior", *Signs*, 289-306.

¹⁷ For her complete argument, see "Political Science, Part II: International Politics, Comparative Politics, and Feminist Radicals," *Signs*, v5, n3 1980, 449-458.

¹⁸ Prior to the onset of the WCPS activism, women in the discipline could "fraternize" with faculty wives, teach high school, work for some government or welfare organizations, or opt for law school. For an engaging early discussion about the early women in the discipline, see Beverly Cook, "First Women in Political Science: No Home in Political Science" presented at the APSA meeting in Chicago, IL, 1983.

Joan Tronto also addresses weaknesses in research on women. She describes the accomodationist approach as one that adds women to the research. There is one major criticism regarding the accomodationist approach. The accomodationist approach can be read as a conservative approach that does not encourage systemic change or criticism regarding the scope and method of research about women. Some activists suggest that women academics that have "made it" have sold out, and bought into the university system. Simply put, Tronto argues the accomodationist approach made inroads in Political Science it alone will not inherently change the discipline.

Scholars have agreed that the first step is to look at women in research. Martha Ackelsberg and Irene Diamond concur that heretofore this was the first manner in which Political Science research was conducted about women (505). Others in the discipline have chimed in that this usually is the case.¹⁹ Next it makes sense to question the field. The third step is to offer new theories for research about women. The transformationist approach is more likely to change the discipline and actually question the systemic problems of the confines of current disciplinary research. Tronto articulates this, ". . . those who advocate a transformational approach would require that the discipline alter its boundaries profoundly" (Tronto 99).

¹⁹ See several sections in Finifter 1993.

This is an important and vast debate. Clearly, we want to see more research about women and more women make it into the academy. Admittedly, it further complicates success if we begin to suggest that only *certain* women should advance. While this is cause for discussion, it is best conducted at another time. Research about women in Political Science should not continue to merely add women to the pre-existing research about the Michigan Model, Socio-Economic Model or Rational Choice theory, to name only a few. Research about women is important and much needed.²⁰

Women and Politics: "Legitimacy" and Pathbreaking

In his book *Women in American Politics* (1968) Martin Gruberg illustrates how women engaged in politics in the United States prior to the Nineteenth Amendment. He not only includes the formation of the League of Women Voters founded in 1919 and the National Woman's Party²¹ founded in 1913 by Alice Paul, but also refers to the Women's Christian Temperance Union founded in 1874, thereby offering a more inclusive examination of the multidimensional ways that women have engaged in politics during the last 230 years.

²⁰ Research about women penned by women scholars is often judged more harshly, as the work is often accused of being merely a polemic. This has held true in many cases in Political Science, as well as other disciplines. For a discussion of this see Bourque and Grossholtz in Phillips 1998; O'Barr 1994; Sapiro in Phillips 1998; Sylvester in Phillips 1998; and Zalewski 1998.

²¹ When it was founded, it was first called the Congressional Union for Women Suffrage. The name change became effective in 1916.

Susan Bourque and Jean Grossholz took the discipline to task for ignoring women as political actors, but also demonstrated how women were political subjects and agents. In much the same way, Jane Jaquette's edited anthology *Women in Politics* (1974) offers a thoughtful and varied examination of multiple areas of politics that range from political socialization, attitudes, elections, elite women, comparative politics, and theories.²² If one looks, there is a sizable group of research from the first wave of research about women. For the most part, however, mainstream research in Political Science has been untouched by this research. The founding of the Women and Politics research section of the APSA has been crucial to get more research about women out in the field and to legitimate the sub-field of Women and Politics.

The sub-field of Women and Politics is in its second decade in Political Science. While the section was given official status by the APSA in 1986, we can look back to Victoria Shuck's work in 1969-1972 as the beginning of the scholarly work in the field. The Women and Politics section has been crucial to the marking of the work as scholarly work in Political Science and by allowing other sub-fields to take a similar critical gendered lens to their particular "master" or classic readings and theories. Some critics opined that the official founding of this section would fragment research about women and by women Political Scientists. Critics argued that Women and Politics

²² This text also included a wonderful bibliography for multiple areas of Political Science and the nascent areas of research that examined women.

would become an academic ghetto. *Women and Politics* has gone through various iterations, as scholars attempted to examine the varied ways that women participate or think about politics. *Women and Politics* research offers another venue for examining politics and overall political participation. The section was influential to other sections' work in the discipline and to other sub-fields.

Within the discipline of Political Science, we find that the first major works about women shared at least one thing in common: admonishing Political Scientists for the absence of women in research and attempting to correct that absence. One early monograph that took the discipline to task was Rita Mae Kelly²³ and Mary Boutilier's *The Making of Political Woman: A Study of Socialization and the Role Conflict* (1978). Their book offered an examination of women's political socialization. They did not accept the tried, and perhaps untrue, explorations of women's political socialization. They asked relevant questions that assumed more political agency and political efficacy of women in the United States and abroad. We can examine the discrepant, and at times ridiculous, ways that the sub-field have either not studied women or the way they chose to study women. This book elucidated the ways that research about women has provided new and empowering scholarly examinations about political behaviors, action, resistance, and agentive acts by women.

²³ The late Rita Mae Kelly (1939-2001) was undoubtedly one of the path breakers in Political Science both by her activism, scholarly research, and leadership.

In the early 1980s, feminist scholars began to turn their attention to the historical issues and to challenge the standard representation of American social science during its formative years. The early studies were usually inspired by a desire to recover the names of 'lost' women social scientists and find female role models (Helene Silverberg 21).

The early research about women relied heavily on qualitative research to educate people about women's issues. This research was particularly focused on the Second Wave Feminist Movement that spawned from the civil rights and student movements. At this time, some of the research about women in Political Science borrowed from the nascent field of Women's Studies. Looking at the early work by Sheila Tobias and Florence Howe, it becomes evident that some disciplines were at the forefront of study about women and women's lives. Volumes of texts explained that through patriarchal structures, such as the family and government, men oppress women (Friedan 1963, Firestone 1971, Millet 1969). Therefore, texts were written in a narrative style to explain women's oppression in the home and society at large (Friedan 1963, Firestone 1971, Millet 1969).

During the past 10–15 years, feminist research has included more quantitative studies about political representation and voting behavior (Rinehart 1986, Deutchman 1986). The increase in certainty (evidence) and knowledge provides researchers with hard data to present as information or a possible answer. To this end, with women in politics, actual statistical data ensures that educated hypotheses are given to explain certain phenomena regarding women's political participation. Quantitative analyses forego the blanket generalizations that were often used to describe women's

situation(s), as if there were a singular experience in terms of pay equity. Instead, some quantitative research has examined the inequities with women's representation, the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and countless other women-centered issues with a systematic model.

The first generation of studies about Women and Politics offered a more realistic examination of politics in that it delves into unleashing the power of women as elites, candidates, volunteers, subjects, bureaucrats, and actors in the political system.²⁴ What has become evident is that with the increase in women as Political Scientists, we have seen a commensurate increase in research about women *in* Political Science studies and research about women in the discipline. The first generation of women who studied women are often defined or noted as bridge builders, instigators, or path breakers. They are the women who, by and large, helped the slow process of change in the discipline. I know move to the first sub-field for examination, Mass Political Behavior.

Mass Political Behavior: Womanly and Unwomanly Behavior

As a sub-field, Mass Political Behavior examines voting behavior generally speaking. This can include election predictions, election outcomes, the media, and specific analyses of voting behaviors. A rich area of analysis

²⁴ Scholars are now entering the second decade of substantive of research in Women and Politics and about women in Political Science. The second generation of scholars are currently conducting research about women and political participation, theory, and other germane topics in the various sub-fields.

that has examined women is the area of the media and its influence on candidates and subsequent voting. That is, Political Scientists understand that the media impacts candidates and therefore, impact elections. Extensive research has suggested that women candidates are treated differently by the media in press coverage. During the past fifteen years, this area of research has become a burgeoning sub-field in Political Science, communication studies and Women's Studies (Burrell 1992, Cook, Thomas and Wilcox 1994, Center for Women and Politics 1996, Costain 1992, Gelb and Palley 1982, Darcy, Welch and Clark 1987, Kahn 1994, Norris 1996, Sapiro 1983). These analyses are, for the most part quantitative, and have focused predominantly on women candidates in the United States. Research (Chapman 1993, Deutchman 1986, Firestone 1971, Kahn 1996, Sapiro 1983) has implicated sexism as one of the most plausible reasons to explain the reasons for such low numbers of women leaders at all levels of government.

Increasingly, research suggests that the media is the agenda setter for politics in such a fashion that adversely affects women candidates (Alexander and Anderson 1993, Huddy Terkildsen 1993, Kahn 1994, Norris 1996, Ramsden 1996). The news media is one of the most important sources of agenda setting in politics, both framing issues and building perceptions. In other words, the perceptions of the candidates are molded through the way the media writes its articles. The consultants and campaign managers can package a candidate in a particular fashion, but ultimately the ways in which the media frame, or zero in on, the candidates can help or hinder a

candidate. Previous research contends that the media influences reader or viewer perceptions of the candidates (Kahn 1996, Norris 1996, Ramsden 1996). Many do not acknowledge that, in most cases, the public recalls the issues that received the majority of the coverage, even if the issues were inconsequential.²⁵ Kim Fridkin Kahn's work states that women candidates' races are usually referred to as a "novelty" race and therefore not taken as seriously (1994). The research that examines the culpability of the media coverage of women and men has offered perspectives on this key component of Political Science and more generally speaking, office seeking. The research about women in this particular area has also parlayed information to researchers, students, candidates, political consultations, and other stakeholders.

Mass political behavior studies have examined the discrepant ways that the media covers women candidates and women incumbents. The media effects have proven to make a difference in both negative and positive ways for women candidates and incumbents. During the 1960s and 1970s, what little attention women did get in the print media was relegated to the women's page or only covered if it had a sensational aspect. In their article "The Media: Obstacle or Ally of Feminists?" (1991) Kim Fridkin Kahn and Edie Goldenberg investigate the ways that the news media covers women's issues. The authors explain that the Senate campaign coverage in 1984-86

²⁵ With the most recent presidential election, Bob Dole's age was a point of contention that repeatedly was infused into the press via his age, erroneous Dodger reference, fall from a platform, World War II veteran, etc.

only had about 2% of issue coverage that was devoted to women's issues. They argue that this lack of attention does not influence public opinion, but rather maintains the status quo regarding what is deemed news. They maintain that there are specific reasons for this lack of coverage: male gate-keeping and scarcity of authoritative sources and lack of contacts. As more women hold elective offices this will surely change.

This discernment of "difference" is further jettisoned with regard to women candidates as outsiders. Thus, the media framed the outsider status of each candidate. The media influenced the cultural perception of the campaign, which in turn affects the way that voters cast their votes. This type of research brought a fresh look into the field of mass political behavior and offered us a richer understanding of what causes people to cast their vote accordingly. The research was usable to real life situations about issues of gender. Other research has been incredibly useful to understanding gender and sex in Political Science research. Sex and gender have substantial baggage that require revisiting and understanding. Thus it is necessary to unpack how we think about gender and sex in Political Science research. One specific book that explored this point was *Gender Power, Leadership and Governance*, edited by Georgia Duerst-Lahti and Rita Mae Kelly (1995). Duerst-Lahti and Kelly first make an important point regarding use of sex as a category of analysis in Political Science research. Georgia Duerst-Lahti and Rita Mae Kelly eloquently explain how "gender" matters (1995).

Defining gender as simply two equal social categories makes the mistake of simply paralleling the use of sex as an analytical category. Many scholars today, especially those employing quantitative analysis, label categories as gender when in fact all they know is the reported sex of the respondent (Duerst-Lahti and Kelly 1995, 15).

They maintain that one of the weaknesses of some qualitative work is the trickiness of these categories and what they mean and do not mean. Their edited anthology suggested that we examine the interconnections of gender in leadership. Voters' perception of the candidates and ultimately the vote outcome. Gender is not a euphemism for woman in their book. They define gender, leadership and governance, and place how research affects these studies. They explain that scholars should look at feminism and masculinism as metaideologies, or underlying and pervasive, if not consciously recognized ideologies or belief systems (2).

This point regarding a metaideology guiding or influencing Political Science research was a radical argument that Rita Mae Kelly had espoused in other articles. From "The Changing Political Economy of Gender and Class: Methodology, Gender Power, and the Study of Politics" Kelly states:

Much of the research in political science dealing with sex differences and gender issues relies on survey research and statistical analyses using the individual as a unit of analyses. Empirical political science is predominantly concerned with opinions attitudes, self-identification, political preferences, and 'class' and 'gender' consciousness. The substantial and growing "Gender Gap" literature on voting, candidacy for office, campaign donations, office holding, and policy preferences is the dominant political science example of how the effort to understand the role, status, and position of women in society has slipped into and remains at the level of analyses of sex differences (5).

Thus, Kelly was aware of the role and effects of the media for women candidates and voter reaction are clearly important for any analyses of voting behavior, and for the candidates. The lens through which the voters view female candidates shapes their opinions. This opinion can then translate into a vote cast for a female candidate. The future holds an even more interesting relationship between female candidates, the media and voter, as they negotiate the sex-role stereotypes, gendered-framing, and overall news coverage. The point here is that examining gender is key to understanding how some voters cast their votes, give monies to candidates and "view" candidates' effectiveness. This is among the reasons that the media impact is important.

Prior to the increased examination of women and politics by the small, but growing, cadre of women scholars, gender was hardly examined as a serious component or part of the research. Sex-stereotypes news coverage refers to the media's insistence in reporting the news in such a way that there are references to the candidates' dress, looks, and demeanor in feminine or even masculine roles. Consequently, there is virtually no mention of her education, qualifications, or stances on issues. This is an example of gender framing. The media frame the coverage in order to continuously peg women as political outsiders, superstars or to focus solely on the compassion issues that the candidate *must be* concerned with. The degree to which the candidates represented themselves as the voters' answer under the rubric of sex-stereotypes is significant. The mood of the voters and biases of the

media influences the cultural perception of the campaign, thus influencing the election's outcome. Indeed, the political culture is of extreme importance to all of the candidates.²⁶ Margaret Hermann in *Political Psychology* explains at length that "perceptions, beliefs, motives, opinions, values, interests . . . and experiences" are of the utmost importance for candidates, voters, and the overall political culture (2).

The "Gender Gap" was more noticeable as women voted for Jimmy Carter in more concentrated fashion. The ways that women cast their votes increasingly became an area of research (and concern) after the 1980 election.²⁷ At this point, Political Scientist research "discovered" women's participation. Robert Shapiro and Harpreet Mahajan note, "Not only were women less supportive than men of President Reagan, but they had become less likely to consider themselves Republicans . . ." (43 1986). We know, for instance that women are more likely to vote for democratic candidates. Women are seen as another constituency that counts or needs wooing. Therefore, the initial interest in women's voting behavior at this time was due to the marked difference in the way that women were casting their votes. That is, Political Scientists found a rich area of interest regarding women's political participation.

²⁶ Pippa Norris specifically cites that the political culture *determines* the norms and values in a society, *Women, Media, and Politics* (1997).

²⁷ Ruth B. Mandel notes, "Ever since 1980, women have outvoted men in every election" (55 in Costello and Stone).

There is a rich area of research that delves into the distinct manner of the media and its gendered effects for women. The media, and later social scientists, found themes for election cycles. Some of the more famous themes that honed in on particular voting blocks were Year of the Woman, Soccer Moms, Waitress, and Angry White Male. Thus, women (and other groups) provide an audience and actor for the media. There are obviously multiple ways that the gender gap reveals itself in politics and the media coverage of politics.

Understanding the multiple effects that women candidates and incumbents face is critical. There is usually a focus on the so-called compassion issues for women candidates. In fact, when a woman candidate or politician does not fit within this schema, people react to it. Dianne Feinstein has been notoriously tough on crime and the death penalty. This has caused increased media attention due to the surprise of this concern being held by a woman! Kathleen Dolan and Lynne E. Ford (1995) explain that women legislators in the United States offer a gendered experience and viewpoint to their work, office, and policy focus. Lilliard Richardson Jr. and Patricia K. Freeman (1995) maintain that there are marked differences in legislative constituency service by women legislators compared to their male counterparts. This difference is embodied in their casework requests and overall access to their constituents. They end their study stating that, "An increasing body of literature demonstrates that women have a distinctive

impact: they affect the content of public policy and the way politics is done” (177).

This discussion about representative representation—the numerical representation of women and substantive representation—women representing women’s issues as women office holders is a burgeoning area of research in the sub-field of Women and Politics. There is no easy answer regarding which is more important. One point that is repeatedly validated from research is that women are less likely to support war and more likely to support compassion issues (education and welfare). Some would argue that the two (representative representation and substantive representation) are equally important. What each bring to Political Science is that gender and sex have a place in Political Science research. They reach into real politics and are practical areas to examine, as long as we can remember to disentangle them from the socio-historical era and overall context.

Moment of Watershed: 1992 and Women as Case Studies

Most of the critical work about women and the effect of sex role stereotypes was done initially by women scholars recasting or revisiting stories of women in politics. Women were pivotal to the research, coverage, and vote outcomes during the 1992 "Year of the Woman." Candice J. Nelson explained that the 1992 Senate races actually began in October 1991, with the gripping Anita Faye Hill and Clarence Thomas hearings conducted by the Senate Judiciary Committee. For many, the hearings became emblematic of

women's marginalization and derision in politics. The truth was that the hearings served as a powerful impetus for candidates, specifically women candidates, and to most who viewed the hearings or at least heard about them. Recall that it was during this year that we had the political outfall from the Tailhook investigation, Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas Hearings, and William Kennedy Smith and Mike Tyson rape trials. Not only within the popular press, but later in the scholarly examinations, we found that women were looking in disbelief at their television sets at the hearings, Court TV and Capital Hill and wondering what was going on in the U.S. When asked what instigated their run for office, both Carole Mosely-Braun (Wasn't she convicted of a crime?) and Patty Murray noted that they were disgusted with politics as usual and felt compelled to run for office.

Some candidates already knew they were going to run and the hearings only strengthened their case for the need for change. However, others sat fixed to their television sets watching the hearings and consequently decided to run for office. Ann F. Lewis, Democrat analyst and commentator, asserted that the 1992 entourage of women candidates "could be called the Anita Hill class" (R. Cook 3267).

Many can recall the famous photo of the seven congressional representatives (women) storming the Senate and being told that they did not belong. This, in itself, caused an outcry. It was at this point that old politics was given a mini-death knell and a new era was borne—one that Women and Politics scholars were ready to embrace. After this election, there

were many articles and monographs that focused both on the women and the political climate that precipitated these changes. To say that this moment was a turning point in politics is sheer understatement.

The Tailhook scandal became another example of the boy's club mentality with the horror stories of the third floor gauntlet, to the attempt to cover up the story. Paula Coughlin was the first to break the silence with her complaint against her fellow Navy servicemen who assaulted her (Salholz 30-36). Coughlin's story itself brought out an outcry against the Navy, however the smear tactics against her caused even more disdain for politics as usual in the predominantly male domain of the military. Therefore, the mood was set against a male establishment that was out of touch with the struggling nation, and, more importantly, out of touch with women voters and women's issues. An unattributed article in *Time* read, "After a series of scandals left Congress looking like a holding pen for unindicted criminals . . ." (62).

Georgia Duerst-Lahti and Dayna Verstegen explain, "The 'Year of the Woman' during the 1992 election cycle surely achieved prominence as a political phenomena known to all attentive public" (213 in Duerst-Lahti and Kelly). The political spectacle was neither the first, nor the last. They later note, "Political spectacles are manufactured" (213). Politics is manufactured, as some of the work about women in politics has deftly addressed. They might be manufactured by an article or a photo. The politics of 1992 was not manufactured by one incident, but rather many.

Betty Dooley, executive director of Women's Research and Education Institute (WREI) summed it up with, "Twenty years of the women's movement in the United States has laid the groundwork for 1992" (Mackenzie 32). Most of the candidates, though, had been grooming themselves for leadership roles in politics (Mackenzie 32). Now the time was right to run for office. To this end, the pattern in politics enabled a more comfortable milieu for political outsiders.²⁸

The 1992 elections benefited from an era of voter's discontent with the establishment that crossed many levels. The gender gap was reborn (although shortly) with an increased support of women candidates by women voters in both the pocketbook and poll booth. The 1992 election outcomes will be hard to replicate, unless sentiments against the male establishment are running high to predispose the votes for the political symbol of change, which for this election was clearly women/women's issues. The foundation has been created for women to do more "politicking" at the higher levels (Baer 570). The new numbers (post-1992 election) brought 18% women into the House of Representatives and 7% into the Senate (Wilcox). Examining election outcomes at the national level, we have seen the numbers increase during the last decade. Moreover, the 1992 elections generated more information and election outcomes about women in political office and

²⁸ However, it would be remiss not to mention that this atmosphere favored only Democrat women candidates.

women's political participation. There was a small, but burgeoning, area of research and the time was right, given the current political events.

Years of incremental political re-socialization regarding women in politics with the ERA, the Feminist Movement, and other women-related issues, had trickled into mainstream society. M. Kent Jennings contends that, "Attitudes and beliefs about such contemporary issues as abortion and pornography, the ERA . . . and indeed the women's movement itself seem likely to have deep roots in this nexus" (3). Here, Jennings referred to the political re-socialization that favored women in politics during the 80s. His observations, though, increasingly apply to politics today. Sue Tolleson Rinehart and Iva Ellen Deutchman each suggest with their own research that the Women's Movement and other factors have increased women's participation in politics. This increased participation that ebbed and flowed increasingly since the Civil Rights era ultimately set the stage to benefit women candidates in the 1992 elections based on the political atmosphere. Years of concentrated work in the field of Political Science were beset with a fortuitous set of events in politics. Ultimately, research about women and politics became both incredibly useful and history was made.

International Relations

Why look at this sub-field out of all the other sub-fields. As I noted earlier, many refer to it as the last male bastion in the field.²⁹ The debates in International Relations (IR) are more concentrated around issues of method, while in the sub-field of American politics the debates are about scope and methods. International Relations offers what many would call a good case study of a more "masculinized" sub-field. J. Ann Tickner, University of Southern California, began the voiced scholarly introspection into this phenomena with her scathing indictment of the field in her article, "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists" (*ISQ* 1997). Tickner begins:

Since feminist approaches to international relations first made their appearance in the late 1980s, courses on women and world politics and publications in this area have proliferated rapidly, as have panels at professional meetings (611).

She then continues by noting that the changes have been slow, if not non-existent, in International Relations looking at the theories and the applicability of these new (feminist) ideas. Tickner compares this silence to the phenomena of miscommunication and cross-communication between women and men, as explained by Deborah Tannen (212). Essentially, we have found ourselves in a "theoretical and practical divide." This divide was increasingly more evident by the mainstream research. I say this, as many

²⁹ Indeed, IR is widely regarded as the last male bastion in Political Science (see Confortini 2000; Ling 2000; Owens 2000; Parpart 1998; Staudt and Weaver 1997; Sylvester (in Phillips) 1998: and Tickner 1997).

who do feminist research are already trained in the traditional fields. Therefore, feminists are familiar with the malestream; whereas the same is not often true for the traditionalists. Moreover, many who employ feminist research methods or a "gendered" lens with their research were typically self-taught.³⁰

The debates about the study of women in the sub-field of International Relations became more heated when Robert O. Keohane and J. Ann Tickner became involved in a scholarly discussion that read like a heated conversation in the *International Studies Quarterly* (1998).³¹ Keohane's article, "Beyond Dichotomy: Conversations Between International Relations and Feminist Theory" begins with references to Tickner's complaints about the gendered hierarchy in the field. How Keohane can say that the work is not convincing is unbelievable.³² How security can be analyzed without a meta analysis and be good theory is dumbfounding. What it comes down to is his problem with critical theory, theory in general, and constructivism. This is the real problem—the *method* and *scope* of what is studied.

³⁰ Women scholars have decried this double-bind as truly problematic. Women must first know the mainstream research, and then spend time learning another method—another method that is often less valued by the mainstream, yet somehow necessary to their work. Thus, feminist research can be more than mere hobby, but needed to intellectually sustain the scholar.

³¹ It is important to note the Keohane was Tickner's mentor at Brandeis. Thus, the engaging conversation took place between former mentor/advisor and mentee/student.

³² Keohane is a well-respected scholar and has previously been lauded as a supporter of feminist research. However, in his response to Tickner some of his reservations about some feminist IR research comes to surface.

The conversation continues thanks to their fruitful dialogue and lasting work by many others. Feminist IR scholars, or those who painstakingly "do" IR in their feminist scholarly work, are familiar with this conversation. Marianne Marchand partakes in this engagement with her responses in, "Different Communities/Different Realities/Different Encounters: A Reply to J. Ann Tickner." Most notably she recommends that the field should be cognizant of the multiple feminist voices in IR and that more conversations are needed between those in the field. What is particularly helpful is her suggestion that scholars understand:

The importance is to recognize that the encounters are contingent upon embedded in different realities and that any attempt at making them more meaningful and substantive should address these different contextual realities as well (203 1998).

Tickner then responds to each (but more so to Keohane) with her article, "Continuing the Conversation . . ." (*ISQ* 1998). To begin with, she wryly notes that Keohane appears to want feminists only if they play by his rules. He does not question the foundation of the field or the manner in which IR is studied, thereby missing the distinct argument noted by Tickner and Marchand. Tickner responds to Keohane stating:

To conclude, Keohane ends his comments with the claim that we will only 'understand' each other if IR scholars are open to the important questions that feminists raise, and if feminists are willing to formulate their hypotheses in ways that are testable—with evidence (Keohane, 1998 197).

Ultimately, she notes that the scope of the discipline needs broadening.

Tickner calls for altering the scope of the discipline with the useful method of feminist analyses and different, critical theories.

It cannot be achieved without an understanding of, and respect for, knowledge traditions now on the margins, or outside of the social sciences, traditions many feminists believe are more suited to answering the kinds of questions they ask about international politics (209).

The gender regimes that Rita Mae Kelly wrote about are germane to criticism about Keohane's discussion. Kelly takes gender regimes from R.W. Connell explaining that gender regimes means "a term that references institutionalized practices and forms of the social ordering principles of particular gendered systems of domination" (10). I suggest that the status quo within the sub-field of IR is practicing a form of a gender regime. The regime slants toward a positivist mode of analysis. As Tickner explains, most of the critical feminist IR work is conducted within the post-positivist arena (205). The critical theories that IR scholars have used to liberate women's work in the field have also re-examined the old stories—the stories of wars, diplomacy, development, missiles, and muscle.³³ The ongoing issue within this sub-field is a larger epistemological debate concerning the marked legitimate theories. That is, the study of women in this sub-field is not yet an

³³ See Sandra Whitworth 1994; Peterson and Runyan 1999; Slyvester 1994, 2002, Zalewski 1998 for more information about these issues. For an engaging foray into how gender is taught in IR classes, see Deborah Stienstra's "Cutting to Gender: Teaching Gender in International Relations" (2000).

integral part of analysis or part of the questions of analysis. This is more than just a positivist and post-positivist debate in this field.

The recent, concentrated examination of globalization typifies how women are not included in the foundational examinations of nation, security, development, economies, and other related issues. Part of the critical anti-neoliberal capitalism fervor is a feminist, or more woman-focused, realm of research. While the field of International Relations is inherently more interdisciplinary than mainstream Political Science (Americancentric to say the very least).

Christine Sylvester's latest foray into this discussion via her book *Feminist International Relations* (2002) offers a lucid discussion regarding women and IR work. Specifically, she notes that Jean Elshtain, Cynthia Enloe, and J. Anne Tickner led the first generation of foundational work in the field with their respective studies. Sylvester notes that her review of these texts is more of her own genealogy and travels within the field. She states, "We believe that a new international relations tradition is needed to accommodate and theorize people, places, authorities, and activities that IR does not sight or cite" (12). Many of her articles and books have dealt with the tenuous relationship between feminist methods in International Relations research. In her previous monograph she warned:

I have argued that the discipline of international relations is sorely bereft of gender awareness, despite more than twenty years of activities by feminists and those on behalf of who they work—women—in the practical and theoretical endeavor of the field (1994 209).

International Relations is more than the analysis of regime types, governance, war, and the usual suspects within Political Science research. These issues, while important, are only one layer of analysis and one part of this rich sub-field. During times of crisis, we also see that the field holds particular pertinence.³⁴

Tickner has continued this much needed feminist analysis of the field with her latest article, "Feminist Perspectives on 9/11" (2002). In this article she reminds the reader that studying gender as a key component to IR research is needed. She states,

It is important to note that gendered social relationships are relationships of power; it is through these hierarchal relationships that male power and female subordination are sustained, albeit in various degrees across time and place (Tickner 2002 336).

Thus, Tickner reiterates the argument that there is a feminist perspective to add to IR research. Tickner is a feminist champion and responds to detractors in her countless presentations, articles and books. She demonstrates how different analyses are offered with the use of a "gender sensitive" lens in research.

³⁴ Bent Flyvberg explains that social scientists should try to not emulate natural scientists, investigate issues that matter and communicate our results to citizens (2001, 166). In the post September 11, 2001, the call to make research more relevant resonates more seriously. See Rick Valley, "How Political Scientists Can Help Fight the War on Terrorism," July 19, 2002. Countless other *Chronicle of Higher Education* articles have offered provocative thoughts regarding the change in research and outlook.

Fukuyama Monologues

Studying power is one of the major areas of research for Political Scientists. Power manifests itself in many distinct, and at times, controversial ways. In the field of International Relations, we have seen that the increase of women in the field during the last 30 years has led to a more focused examination of power under the guise of particular areas of research. One such research endeavor and examination into power or powerlessness is gender (or women) and development. Women and development or gender and development asked social scientists to look at the cause and effects of sustainable development, development as a security issue, human rights' concerns, the environment and other issues that effect women and children. For more than 30 years, scholars have examined Women and Development (WAD) or Gender and Development (GAD). However, looking into the journals one would be hard pressed to know about this history of scholarly work. Although gender has yet to become mainstream in IR as a subdiscipline, scholars who have begun to "gender" IR theory identify a number of concerns important to the development of a feminist IR theory. For example, Cohen et al (1997) noted that gains have been made for women politically and these changes have, in some cases, radically transformed politics; however, the gains are countered with systemic forms of domination that continue to oppress women across the globe. The thought of women in power in IR is problematic to some based on their political ideology and other biases. One such scholar, Francis Fukuyama, has been

particularly vocal about women leaders and women's foray into positions of power in international politics.

Francis Fukuyama's, Johns Hopkins University, incursion into the conversation about women in the research of International Relations was anything but scholarly, insightful, or respectful. Fukuyama states, "In other words, female chimps have relationships; male chimps practice realpolitick" (25). While chimps are the closest cousin to Homo Sapiens, his point is not only anthropomorphic, but plays into sexist notions of political behavior, or at the very least biological, determinism that most feminist scholars are critical of in their own work. "It is all too easy to make facile comparisons between animal and human behavior to prove a polemical point, as did the socialists who pointed to bees and ants to prove that nature endorsed collectivism" (26). However, the entire argument premised in his article contradicts his point. Does Fukuyama think that the reader would not notice his messy comparison? Furthermore, if feminists or others were to make similar claims about men or ethnic groups, scholars would be up in arms about the gross negligence in the research.

His comparison of the research to "chimpanzee politics" embodies the lack of seriousness or respect that some scholars bestow toward their women colleagues and discrepant areas of research.³⁵ Furthermore, Fukuyama maintains a tongue-in-cheek tone in his article as he argues that women are

³⁵ While Fukuyama is a "big name" in the field, it is worth noting that his politics are conservative and he makes no claims to being a feminist or in support of women. These two points are no coincidence.

just not "cut out" to be world leaders. His socio-biological comments persist throughout his writing. His discussion illustrates the manner in which a mainstream (male) scholar can hack offensively and inaccurately at feminist research and somehow people in the mainstream support his offensive without any critical introspection or commentary about the unscholarly-like manner of his attack. Fukuyama and his ilk obviously have some bias against women leaders and women Political Scientists. Surely, if these same claims were opined about a racial group, people would be up in arms about the repulsiveness of racism. However, it appears that women as scholars or as political subjects are fair targets.³⁶ If anything, he displays his own scholarly unfamiliarity with the vast amount of research in this area and displays his woeful misreading of feminist work. His piece is nothing short of polemic couched as academic research in *Foreign Affairs*.

Fukuyama's piece further polarizes and miseducates scholars about the depth and richness of work in the field that examines both the democratic piece and offers a feminist critical analysis of International Relations. Feminists do not so much prescribe a world run by women, but a world that takes women's issues into account—a world that includes inquiry that is important to women, one that *includes* women. There is something to be learned by the study of women as policy makers and political leaders, as

³⁶ Carol Cohn (1987) has dissected the manner in which masculine language is used and coined by defense intellectuals. The same holds true for many within the various subfields in Political Science.

well as their voting behavior, organizational strategies, and impacts on "real" political outcomes. He mistakenly refers to equity as the feminization of world politics. This analogy is nothing short of inaccurate at a time when feminist scholars are advocating for a more egalitarian politics and a more inclusive model of IR.³⁷

Lily Ling has taken Fukuyama to task for some of his ungracious and bullying tendencies. Ling presents Fukuyama's criticism as similar to a schoolyard bully's—incomplete and baseless. Moreover, she notes that his work is emblematic of hypermasculinity on the rise in the sub-field.³⁸ She notes that many of his complaints are unfairly given credence based on his track record rather than on the actual merits of the research. She astutely comments that Fukuyama's mainstream detractors might be apt to not criticize him based on his stature in the discipline. Tickner also added to the Fukuyama debates noting, ". . . his views feed into a conservative agenda that serves not to put women in control, but to keep them out of positions of power" (*ISA* 1999, 6). This conservative agenda can spill out of the scholarly work and into the workplace. With this in mind, women in IR have established various support and research groups in their professional organizations.

³⁷ Fukuyama's outcry is similar to the anti feminist rhetoric of the 1970s when conservatives lamented feminist support for uni-sex restrooms and other outrageous and apolitical issues.

Activism in IR: Feminist Networks

The support networks in IR are a more recent phenomena than in the American Politics subdiscipline. One major explanation for this can be the dearth of women scholars in the field during the last two decades. When a critical mass was attained, support networks became a more obvious mode of action and were founded for the most part during the last ten years. A part of the increased interest in examining women as subjects in other sub-fields of Political Science, The Feminist Theory and Gender Studies (FTGS) section of the ISA was founded in 1995. Meredith Reid Sarkees and Nancy E. McGlen found that the FTGS section has been incredibly important to women's participation at the annual ISA meetings. They note that women were "clustered on those panels sponsored by the Feminist Theory & Gender Studies and IPE sections" (1). They examined the 1995 ISA program and found that women were 74.7% of the participants in the FTGS section and compared this to the worse case of 13.8% in the Intelligence section (1).

The ISA also supports a Women's Caucus for International Studies (WCIS), which represents the interests of ISA members interested in issues germane to women and the study of women. The section represents the political and scholarly interests of its members. Much like any section, they also provide a place for networking, community building, and information

³⁸ Ling also notes that both Barbara Ehrenreich and Katha Pollit separately responded to Fukuyama's piece. However, I do not quote them here, as I am solely interested in how Political Scientists responded to his article.

sharing. The WCIS is seven years old and is a network of women scholars concerned with professional development and professionalizing the discipline.

The Society for Women in International Political Economy (SWIPE) was founded in 1991 and currently has more than 150 members. If anything, we should look to the recent or "newer" activist groups within IR or other sub-fields to ascertain whether they are utilizing new activist strategies or to assist them with their struggles. It is evident that the WCPS was instrumental in making some changes; however, these changes were not translated into the various sub-fields. We need to remember that women in these sub-fields do not live in an academic vacuum and that they might benefit from some of the institutional memory and skills that have been gained during the more than 30 years of the WCPS.

Of these organizations and networking for activism, ISA's FTGS section has proved to be a beacon for feminist activism and provides a Web-based outlet for communication via FEMISA.³⁹ At the 2001 ISA meeting in Chicago, Illinois, attendees repeatedly asked how they could encourage more people to join the ISA's Women's Caucus and SWIPE. Several attendees also acknowledged the problems with affiliating with feminist work or Women's Studies departments.⁴⁰ The FTGS section is currently reviewing how to deal

³⁹ FEMISA is effectively now an inactive list. At the March 2002, International Studies Association Feminist Theory and Gender Studies Business meeting it was noted that the list was currently inactive and that members would vote regarding its reactivation.

⁴⁰ I mention this anecdote because at each meeting or panel this point was raised. Please see Appendices for "observations" and the complete listing of conferences attended and referred to within the dissertation.

with this situation and the institutional treatment of faculty who are challenged or disparaged by conducting feminist work.

Women of Color: Higher Education and Political Science

A historiography of women in Political Science must include discussion of all women. Merely stating all women does not represent all women due to the reality of discrimination in academia. All women are not anglo-american women of middle-class background and most of the literature about women in academia is about mainstream (anglo-american, middle-class) women. Literature about women of color in higher education is lacking. Narrowing the search to Political Science made this even more difficult.⁴¹ There is a dearth of literature in this area. There is a small area of literature about African-American women in the academy and some literature about Latinas/Chicanas.⁴² However, looking for information about other racial or ethnic groups in higher education, or Political Science specifically, was difficult. It is also necessary to see how women of color experience academia

⁴¹ More essays and anthologies exist about women in the humanities than any other field in higher education. African-American women's writings about higher education are the most common, however, they represent a small percentage of the writings marketed for women in higher education. See the Liza Fiol-Matta and Mariam K. Chamberlain edited *Women of Color and the Multicultural Curriculum: Transforming the College Classroom* (1994) for two sample syllabi that integrate women of color into Political Science courses.

⁴² Many of the recent articles that I found about women of color were written as auto-ethnographies. That is, the author(s) spoke about her particular experience in academia. I specifically reviewed articles written by scholars from the Humanities, Social Sciences, and Education disciplines. For an interesting discussion about Chicanas see, Aragón 1998.

and I refer to not only the research coverage in academe, but also the women themselves.⁴³

Why use the term "women of color"? The power to name is controversial in many communities. I chose to use women of color instead of non-white women or a string of other terms: African-American, Latina/Chicana, Asian-American, and Native American. Literature exists within Women's Studies, English, History, and Feminist Theory regarding the reclamation of the term or title "woman of color." We can look to the groundbreaking anthology, *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*⁴⁴ (1982) and countless other monographs and essays. Why *not* study women of color? Women of color in academe explain that their particular race or ethnic background renders their experience different from their colleagues. It affects scholarship, politics, and day-to-day interactions. Anna AgantheLou and Lily Ling note the systemic multiplicity of race in academe that faculty face:

The academy has diversified faculty and curricula to provide access to more worlds, internally with ethnic studies, women's studies, and gay/lesbian studies . . . the U.S. academy falls short of its liberal promise. Publicly, it offers an array of multiculturalism while, privately, it bars real entry to those who are diversity's foremost agents (Forthcoming in *IFJP*).

⁴³ See Teresa Córdova in Trujillo 1998. Córdova discusses the "colonialism in the academy" in this article.

⁴⁴ *Bridge* was edited by Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa. In February 2002, U.C. Berkeley hosted the 20th year celebration of the publication of *Bridge*. See Anzaldúa and Keating edited volume *This Bridge We Call Home: Radical Visions for Transformation* 2002 for the ongoing dialogue about women of color.

People need to acknowledge race so that sustained dialogue can take place. With the pre-inscribed notions of identity come its followers that influence the production of knowledge. This alienation for women of color hinders the discursive analysis of issues in such a fashion that there are virtually no representatives to speak during intellectual exchanges. Bell hooks acknowledged this problem or lack of representation for African-American women in discourses of Postmodernism in, "Postmodern Blackness."⁴⁵ In contradiction to this notion, somehow people of color are responsible for discussion of race and ethnicity. We will remain at an impasse if we do not acknowledge in our discussions of Political Science research or the professorate that race exists and is more than a variable in an equation.

Why do we not discuss race? Richard Lowy delves into the metanarrative of the eurocentrism that influenced the behaviors of our Western sociopolitical culture and discussions about race. The oversimplification of eurocentric ideals became the lens through which we examined issues of race, religion and culture, thus obfuscating a "world view," but instead gave us *the* view of the world. Simply put, eurocentric ideals have influenced the way we think, especially about race and ethnicity.

The important socio-historical context for women of color and higher education is also important to understand due to historical issues of access. Affirmative Action was coined or first used on March 16, 1961 via President John F. Kennedy's Executive Order 10925, which required the use of

⁴⁵ This essay is a chapter in her book, *Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics* (1990).

Affirmative Action and prohibited discriminatory hiring practices by government contractors (Roberta Ann Johnson). Most agree that Affirmative Action refers to policies that encourage diversity.⁴⁶ The Civil Rights Movement and other Leftist Movements of the 60s and 70s were critical to societal change in the U.S. and abroad. With respect to women of color, we saw that their rates of enrollment in higher education steadily increased during this era. Many note that prior to Berenice Sandler's filing of a lawsuit, the Executive Order was not enforced. Thus, we saw Affirmative Action or diversity initiatives increase during the mid-1970s on college campuses. For about twenty years, this provided fodder for political partisans on each side of the Affirmative Action debate. The 1990s provided a less hospitable political terrain for Affirmative Action policy and we actually witnessed the retrenchment of many state and federal policies.

Another area of concern is the double-bind or double-burden that some faculty experience as both women and members of a racial or ethnic minority.⁴⁷ The double-burden that some women faculty find themselves in is the increased mentoring workload. This is exacerbated if the faculty member

⁴⁶ Opponents of Affirmative Action argue that the policy encourages preferential treatment and that unqualified candidates are hired. These points have little merit and many have responded to their inaccuracy. For a thorough discussion in this area see, Caroline Sotello Viernes Turner and Samuel L. Myers Jr., *Faculty of Color in Academe: Bittersweet Success* (2000) and Adalberto Aguirre, Jr., *Women and Minority Faculty in the Academic Workplace: Recruitment, Retention, and Academic Culture* (2000).

⁴⁷ This is also referred to as the double-consciousness. Essentially, for some faculty (women, people of color, gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transgender) there are multiple identities and constituencies that they belong to and subsequently serve. For more discussion in this area, see the Shirley Geok-Lin Lim and Maria Herrera-Sobek edited anthology *Power, Race, and Gender in the Academy: Strangers in the Tower* (2000).

is a woman of color, as she will soon find out that many students of color (regardless of department) will seek her. Tuesday Cooper noted how important professional networks were to the survival of African American women faculty in her dissertation, "The Sista' Network as the New Underground Railroad: African American Women Faculty Successfully Negotiating the Road to Tenure."⁴⁸ Cooper conducted a qualitative study into the professional lives of nine women while they were at various point along the academic ladder. Cooper states that the networks were unequivocally instrumental to the positive experiences of the women surveyed in her study. The networks are crucial to women academics across all disciplines. As I noted previously, the support the networks have repeatedly been mentioned as key to the survival and success of women in Political Science.

Cooper's study found what is common in many other studies about women faculty or faculty of color—they do more professional service, mentoring and advising than their white male colleagues. Annette Kolodny explicates that, "Whatever their rank, women and minority faculty members repeatedly find themselves burdened with responsibilities that have never been demanded of their white male peers" (87). This double bind or burden adds a different dimension to their professional and ethical work as cultural workers. Faculty are more visible to students of color who seek out mentors that share a common experience as someone traditionally marginalized in

⁴⁸ Cooper submitted the dissertation in the Education Ph.D. program at the University of Massachusetts Amherst Graduate School 2001.

mainstream society. That is, faculty of color often find themselves mentoring and advising students in their respective departments and other departments in their university. If they are one of the few African-American women scholars or Latina scholars on campus, this tokenization also become evidenced with increased committee service. However, this increase in work is often not taken into consideration by promotion and tenure committees for varying reasons. One's service work usually does not have the same amount of weight as research or teaching, although, it can be burdensome, time consuming, and expected.

Women of color or people of color matter in Political Science research. Thirty years ago, most Political Scientists did not think about the significance of Latino politics or the Latino vote (NALEO vi). During the past twenty years, there has been an increasingly stronger examination of Latinos in the U.S., as the group has grown exponentially. These examinations have not been equally dispersed among the social sciences. Political Scientists' examination of Latinos and Latino voters is a more recent phenomenon. There is a parallel between the way that marginalized groups are treated (or not treated) within the discipline.⁴⁹

Many scholars have noted the dearth of Political Science studies that focus on Latinos, for instance. Manuel Avalos conducted a study examining the number of articles in the *American Political Science Review*, *American*

⁴⁹ By marginalized groups, I include women, people of color and lesbians in this discussion.

Journal of Political Science, and *Journal of Politics* during the twenty-four year period 1964-1988 and found that only one article focused on Latinos in these journals (Avalos 15). Avalos did find that three comparable sociology journals: the *American Sociology Review*; the *American Journal of Sociology*; and *Social Focus* published forty articles focusing on Latinos during the same 24-year period. Avalos contends that unlike Sociology, Political Science as a field has not accepted "critical theory as a legitimate model of analysis of political phenomena" (Rodney Hero 175).

One of the most comprehensive and earliest works about Latinos was Browning et al, *Protest Is Not Enough: The Struggle for Blacks and Hispanics for Equality in Urban Politics* (1984).⁵⁰ Harry Pachon maintains that understanding Latino politics is challenging based on three points: discrimination based on race, association with a subordinate or conquered population, and the lack of machine politics (Hero 5). The points contribute to the environment that imparts political socialization to potential citizens, and most significant, potential voters. Moreover, there is virtually no discussion of gender and how this further complicates the analysis.

In 1995, the formation of the Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Section in the APSA provided a professional organization or section for Political Scientists interested in this scholarly area of research. The formation of the

⁵⁰ This monograph has been heavily awarded, cited, and criticized by a variety of scholars (Hero 178). The main criticism surrounds the passing reference to "the historical situation" of Latinos (Hero 178). This reference lacks any explication of the historical context that affects Latino politics, moreover, or Latino political behavior.

Latino caucus has also provided another site for networking and camaraderie for Latino/a Political Scientists. Organizations such as the National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO), Latino National Political Survey (LNPS), the National Latino Immigrant Survey (NLIS), Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, and the Southwest Institute for Research on Women (SIROW) have offered Political Scientists a more concentrated analysis of Latinos. Other groups have similar organizations that help establish a cohesive network of legislators and analyses of how their group participates in politics. Simply put, these organizations and networks have allowed for the widening of the scope of Political Science research. Other Political Science organizations have been instrumental to altering research in the discipline.

The organization for African-American Political Scientists or those interested in research about African-Americans can join the Black Conference of Political Scientists (BCOPS). The founding of the BCOP stemmed from controversy at the 1970 APSA meeting held in Los Angeles. This meeting was contentious. There was a boycott by African-American Political Scientists. The controversy stemmed from the lack of research about African-Americans and the lack of responsiveness by the discipline. The issue and subsequent boycott led to the founding of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists.⁵¹ More information about the organization can be found at <http://www.poli.ncat.edu/ncobps/>.

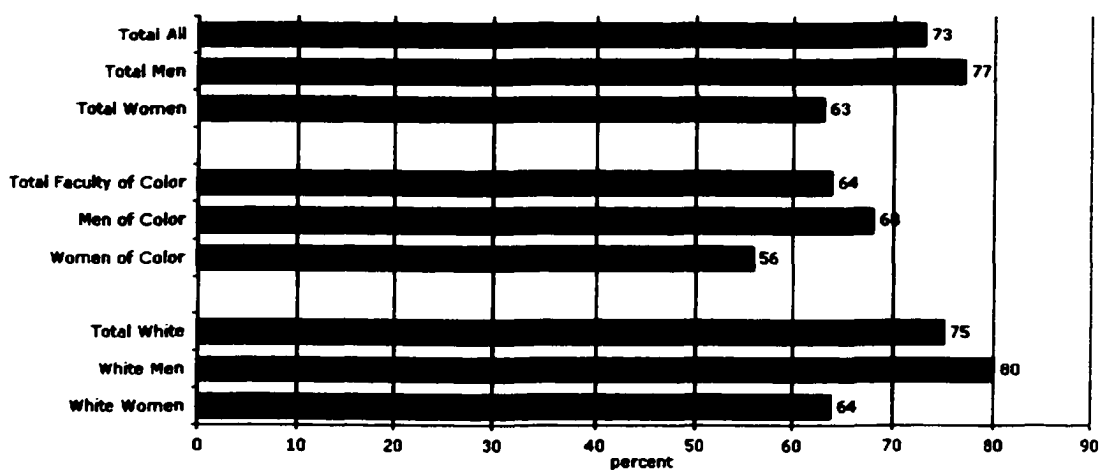
⁵¹ See Paula McClain and John A. Garcia, "Expanding the Disciplinary Boundaries: Black, Latino, and Racial Minority Group Politics in Political Science" in the *State of the Discipline II* APSA.

For information about the Asian Pacific American Caucus please see their website at: <http://www.apa-politics.org/index.htm>. Piete Te Lien's latest book *The Making of Asian America Through Political Participation* (2001) draws connections with the history of Asian immigration and acculturation in the U.S. and the presence of Asian American women in politics and in other economic indicators. Lien's book helps shed light on the practical concerns and participation of Asian Americans in the US and some citations in the text are also useful for reading about educational issues.

Clearly, it is also important to examine how women of color and people of color have managed in academe. Some tabular data enriches the previous discussion. Reviewing Table 5.1, we see a marked difference in both the general tenure rates for women and men of all races in 1997.

Table 5.1

Tenure Rates for Minority and White Tenure-Track Faculty, by Gender: 1997



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Fall Staff Survey, 1997.

Particular to Table 5.2 it is obvious that men fared better in terms of earning doctoral degrees from 1997-1998. The data is not disaggregated for specific fields. Thus, I argue that work needs to be done both in the areas of research and professional concerns for women of color. The data illustrates that, by and large, men of color succeed at higher rates than women. This is of concern given that women generally outnumber male students at the undergraduate levels. Therefore, there is a marked loss between undergraduate degree attainment and graduate degree attainment.

Table 5.2

**Changes in Numbers of Doctoral Degrees,
by Race, Ethnicity, and Gender: 1997 to 1998**

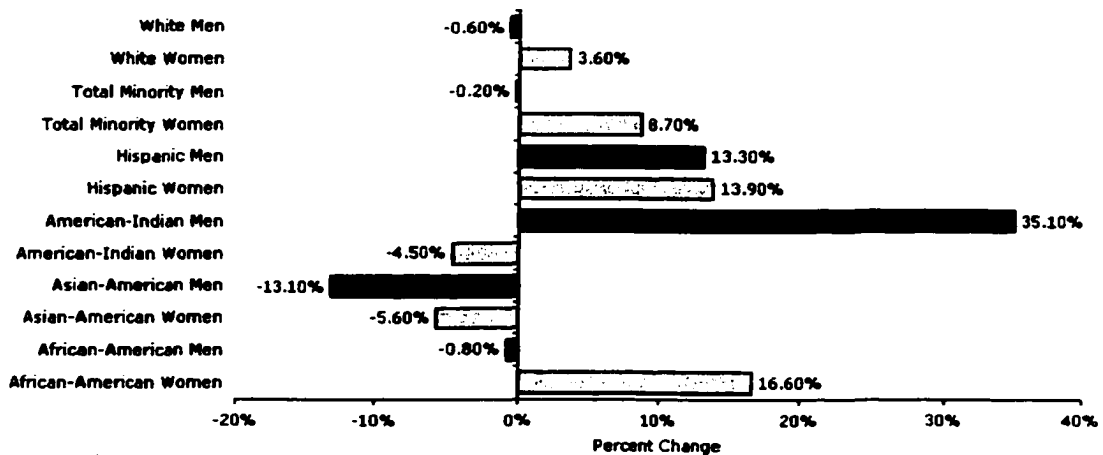


Table 5.3 is telling for the varied rates of diversity in Political Science. Shirley Tolliver Geiger and Toni-Michelle Travis conducted a study, "The Status of African American Faculty in Political Science Departments in the

Southern Region" (1997) and found across the board that African American faculty were underrepresented. The table with data from 1991-1998, while for all regions in the U.S., also illustrates the lack of representation. Reviewing the data it is obvious that the rates do not reflect the general population of the U.S.⁵² Moreover, each non-white group is woefully underrepresented.

Table 5.3

Political Science Faculty by Sex, Ethnicity,* and Tenure Status, 1991-1998

All Faculty Year**	All*** (Full-time only)	Women (Full-time only)	% Women (Full-time only)	% African American (Full-time only)	% Latino (Full-time only)	% Asian (Full-time only)	% Native American (Full-time only)
1991-92	9835 (8256)	1900 (1485)	19.3% 18.0%	5.7% 5.0%	1.3% 1.3%	3.0% 2.9%	0.1% 0.1%
1993-94	10997 (8535)	2303 (1643)	20.9% 19.3%	4.9% 4.6%	1.4% 1.5%	2.3% 2.8%	0.3% 0.4%
1995-96	12113 (8595)	2865 (1812)	23.7% 21.1%	4.9% 4.5%	1.6% 1.5%	2.9% 3.1%	2.8% 2.7%
1996-97	12195 (8773)	2827 (1832)	23.2% 20.9%	6.0% 5.0%	1.7% 1.5%	2.9% 3.2%	1.2% 0.6%
1997-98	11958 (8622)	2727 (1822)	22.8% 21.1%	5.3% 4.9%	1.8% 1.6%	0.5% 0.0%	0.6% 0.8%
1999-2000	11180 (8077)	2625 (1794)	23.5% 22.2%	5.9% 5.3%	2.4% 2.1%	2.3% 2.5%	1.0% 0.3%

SOURCE: APSA Annual Surveys of Department Chairs. 1991-1998 on Political Science Faculty by Sex, Ethnicity, and Tenure Status, 1991-1998.

* Ethnicity includes both male and female faculty.

** All Faculty includes both full and part-time faculty.

***All includes both male and female faculty.

⁵² See Census 2000 data report that African Americans are more than 12% of the U.S. population. Also, see Padilla and Chávez Chávez 1995 for a discussion about Latino faculty. This table was originally used in Lisa Brandes et al 2001.

Studying Difference and Intersectionality

The 2000 Census data demonstrates that the population in the U.S. is changing. The old modes of analyses used to understand participation are not going to predict or explain how all women vote or participate, as the population is becoming more racially diverse. Research needs to become more reflexive, and consequently, more methodologically diverse. Then, the results are presented in such a manner that attempts to speak to the general population. Political Scientists should strive for more thorough, if not more accurate, work.

There are weaknesses in Political Science research, when Political Scientists are not inclusive and do not consider multiplicity of identities. Econometric studies can be valuable; however, they have a harder time of studying the intersectionality of women's identities as citizens, and as voters. We know that there are interactive variables in equations. However, equations cannot always give us the answers. This is the critical part of econometrics. We need to be self-reflexive as scholars with our research projects. That is, we need to understand that Political Science is not merely a scientific endeavor—our laboratory includes the real world. Historians and other academics have noted this for a number of years. However, it is a more recent phenomenon in Political Science.

More current research has found that there has not been a marked increase in the number of articles that women Political Scientists publish in their home discipline. Other research has found, that for the most part,

women Political Scientists typically co-author articles increasingly more than male Political Scientists do (Kelly et al 1994). That is, when an article is published by a woman Political Scientist, she is usually sharing the authorship with someone else.

An acknowledgment or understanding of difference is necessary for the study of women. Does this constitute fragmentation in Political Science research? One could answer both yes and no. We are not looking for a new story of politics. Instead, we are seeking a new way of thinking, understanding, and "doing" politics. Most definitions of politics use the traditional binary to define political participation between conventional and unconventional politics. It should be of no surprise that the status quo defines and studies voting, letter writing, and volunteering as conventional political participation. However, one of the unconventional tactics is used by women and other disenfranchised communities: protest. The last five to seven years have witnessed an increase in the discussion and importance of intersectionality or positionality in Political Science studies. One of the first books in Political Science to look at protest and political participation from the position of women of color and lesbians was the anthology *Women Transforming Politics* (1997).

The editors, Cathy Cohen, Kathleen Jones and Joan Tronto of *Women Transforming Politics*, offer that the monograph of reprinted articles speak to the multiple ways that marginalized women are politicized or practice politics. Each chapter is a testament to the varied ways that women participate in

politics and how the multiple identities or intersectionality of their identities influences their experiences as citizens, activists, and community members in the United States. The text, as a whole, demonstrates that the old questions or definitions regarding political participation do not shed light on the discrepant ways that marginalized women practice politics or mobilize around the issues. This is part of Political Science research, but not often fully developed, or at least on the periphery. Understanding the political concerns of different groups of women can also help policy. That is, the stakeholders need to be understood and involved in policy outcomes. Taking "history" into account also sets the stage for a more determined and stronger analysis of how groups mobilize around issues or cast their votes. A story of politics is better told with the context or sociopolitical history or as some have called the "herstory."

Women Transforming Politics tells different stories about politics and women. Some of the "stories" enable the reader to better understand the pro-active way that women of color participate in politics as a means of protecting their communities. Other "stories" suggest that working poor women or rural women can mobilize if pushed or forced by multinational companies.⁵³ These discussions have transpired in other disciplines or interdisciplinary programs for far longer. However, some studies speak to this reality. Specific to women in the discipline both as a topic of study and

⁵³ See Michèle Barrett and Anne Phillips 1992; Diane Long Hoeveler and Janet K. Boles eds. 2001; Chandra Talpade Mohanty (in Phillips) 1998; and Sandoval 2000.

as Political Science scholars, we need to understand that multiple identities shapes the experience of political participation or participation in academia. Intersectionality is not merely a topic of study for some scholars, it is part of their lived experience. In the next section, I refer to some scholars who are pathbreakers in the discipline and also by virtue of their racial and ethnic backgrounds dealt with issues of "intersectionality" in their professional lives.

Pathbreakers: Women Who Have Resisted⁵⁴

Adaliza Sosa Riddell was the first known Chicana to earn a Ph.D. in Political Science in the United States. She earned her Ph.D. in the Department of Political Science at University of California at Riverside in 1974.⁵⁵ Sosa Ridell retired from the Department of Chicano/a Studies at University of California Davis. Sosa Riddell is known for her dry wit and sense of humor. Her dissertation, "Who Cares Who Governs? A Historical Analysis of Local Governing Elites in Mexicali, Mexico" referred to Robert Dahl's monograph *Who Governs: Democracy and Power in an American City* (1961). At the 2000 APSA conference in Washington, D.C., she noted that she did not

⁵⁴ This section is based on research, conversations with other Political Scientists and note taking at APSA panels. I have posted repeated queries to senior scholars in multiple areas for more information about the women pathbreakers and have been met with incomplete memories. Glenn Morris, University of Colorado, Denver, shared that there are not more than one dozen American Indian women Ph.D.s in Political Science. Morris is active in the APSA and in the American Indian Movement and knows personally the other American Indian professors in the US. Likewise, other contacts shared that they were not sure who was the first Asian-American woman to earn a Ph.D.

⁵⁵ McClain and Garcia note that in 1970 there were only four Mexican-American Ph.D.s in the country (257 in Finifter). This would mean they were all men. Even so, this number is incredibly shocking.

want to be a shark or a minnow in Political Science. She strove to be a dolphin.⁵⁶

Christine Marie Sierra⁵⁷ was the first Chicana to earn a Ph.D. in Political Science at Stanford University and the second to earn a Ph.D. in the discipline in the U.S. She earned her Ph.D. in 1983. Today, Sierra is a Professor of Political Science and Graduate Advisor at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. Her dissertation was, "The Political Transformation of a Minority Organization: The Council of La Raza, 1965-1980" (1983). Sierra's dissertation was one of the first Political Science dissertation about a Chicano group.

Velma Garcia-Gorena was the third known Chicana to earn a Ph.D. in Political Science in the U.S. She is an associate professor of Government at Smith College in Amherst, Massachusetts.

The first known African-American woman to earn a Ph.D. in Political Science was Mertz Tate. Tate served in a Department of History. The first known African-American woman said "to thrive" in Political Science was Jewel Prestage at University of Iowa in 1954.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Ultimately, Riddell's academic home was Chicano/a Studies at U.C. Davis. Again, we see a scholar not finding "success" in the discipline of training—Political Science. I add to this list Mary Lepper, Jo Freeman, and Rita Mae Kelly.

⁵⁷ Sierra is unofficially keeping count of how many Chicanas have earned Ph.D.s in Political Science. She stated that the number is currently in the thirties.

⁵⁸ *WCPS Quarterly* October 1999, 3. Thrive might sound subjective; however, Prestage worked within a Political Science department. Working within one's home department or department of training is viewed as an accomplishment.

Lesbian or Queer Politics: Political Power or Political Absence

Sexuality is both a site at which power is exercised, and a method through which individuals constitute themselves as political subjects: sexuality is political" (Blasius 1994 10).

Different women surely experience Political Science in varied manners.

Based on the hierarchal nature of academia, women of color and lesbian women have incurred discrimination in academia. Turner and Myers, Jr. explain that faculty of color deal with exclusion, isolation, alienation, and racism (2000, 22).⁵⁹ In much the same way, lesbian women also confront these same issues and homophobia. Why study or refer to lesbian politics? By not referring to lesbian politics, we assume that their political agency is either unimportant, or does not exist. Furthermore, this discussion needs to take place in order to instill changes in the academy.⁶⁰ The rich area of lesbian history suggests that this is inaccurate.⁶¹ Furthermore, if we understand that our research is about power and politics, then the absence of

⁵⁹ For an interesting discussion of these differences, allegations and consequences in a North American context, see M. Patricia Marchak, *Racism, Sexism and the University: The Political Science Affair at the University of British Columbia*, 1996. I include the findings and resolutions in the Appendices.

⁶⁰ See Louie Crew, ed. *The Gay Academic*. 1978. Palm Springs, CA: ETC Publications {the two chapters penned by a Sociologist or Political Scientist were male authors} ; John D'Emilio *Making Trouble: Essays on Gay History, Politics, and the Universities*. 1992. NY: Routledge; Shane Phelan *Identity Politics: Lesbian Feminism and the Limits of Community*. 1989. Philadelphia: Temple University Press; William G. Tierney *Academic Outlaws: Queer Theory and Cultural Studies in the Academy*. 1997. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications; Kenneth Sherrill, "Presentation of Findings of the Committee on the Status of Lesbians and Gays in the Profession" APSA Conference, New York, 1994; and Toni A. H. McNaron *Poisoned Ivy: Lesbians and Gay Academics Confronting Homophobia*. 1997. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

⁶¹ Karla Jay, Lillian Faderman, Bonnie Zimmerman and many other scholars have given provocative and thorough accounts of lesbian history and lesbian literature.

lesbian politics is reprehensible. Silence does not make for good research.⁶² Cathy Cohen, Yale University, explains that heteronormativity places heterosexuality as the norm within our culture and thereby privileges it. This then bifurcates our understanding or privileging of sexuality and makes lesbianism or homosexuality abnormal. Gender or race is physically or phenotypically visible; however, lesbianism is not. This makes the concerns of Lesbian academics different. Claire Young and Diana Majury, in "Lesbian Perspectives," note how most discussions about "Chilly Climate" concerns or others about women in academe somehow do not mention the needs of lesbians, women of color, disabled women, and others.⁶³ Their needs will vary from climate issues to various partner benefits.

Queer politics is best defined as politics that includes the needs of the entire lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community.⁶⁴ Queer Theory grew during the 1990s and 21st century.⁶⁵ Shane Phelan (1994) suggests

⁶² Janet Wright explains that silence in lived experience for lesbians also is problematic. See her article "Lesbian Instructor Comes Out: The Personal Is Pedagogy" in *The Feminist Teacher Anthology: Pedagogies and Classroom Strategies* (1998) for a discussion about "coming out" in the classroom.

⁶³ See *Breaking Anonymity: The Chilly Climate for Women Faculty* edited by The Chilly Collective, 1995.

⁶⁴ I am differentiating Queer Politics from Queer Theory. Queer Theory is immersed more so in the theoretical discussions about the bifurcation and fluidity of identity. For the purposes of this chapter, I focus on research that is more Political Science oriented.

⁶⁵ Cathy Cohen's "Punks, Bulldaggers and Welfare Queens," offers a lucid discussion about some of the problems with Queer Politics (2001 in Blasius). She explains that at times there is not enough concern about multiple dimensions of identity and that some adherents are guilty of setting up a binary of us vs. them, that is queers vs. straights. She contends that this analysis then makes issues of class, nationality, race, etc. invisible. Ultimately, she argues that this binary is not transformative. See Sheila Jeffrey's "The Queer Disappearance of Lesbians" for a similar discussion.

that four key points made for an inviting atmosphere for Queer Politics: The sex debates/sex wars/sex panics⁶⁶ of the 1980s exhausted lesbians. They saw a need for bisexual inclusion in the gay and lesbian Community; AIDS and the need for alliance building in the community; and the acceptance of post-structuralism (151). The Gay and Lesbian Caucus in the APSA was originally founded in 1987.

In 1995, *PS: Political Science and Politics* printed the survey results from a study conducted by the Committee on the Status of Lesbians and Gays (McNaron11). The survey was conducted in 1993 and submitted to chairs of departments and the general membership. The response rate was on the high end at 37%, according to the usual average rates of response, it is usually closer to 30%. Toni McNaron notes that of the membership response, 25% self-identified as lesbian, gay, or bisexual (11). Some of the responses actually offer a painful reality for lesbians and gays in the discipline. McNaron offers various homophobic comments that were written on the survey.

If we juxtaposed the statistics from their findings and some of the homophobic comments made in the survey, against the reality that an "out" lesbian professor is faced with the situation of dealing with homophobic students, we might then understand what lesbians face in the mailroom and

⁶⁶ These are quickly defined as a focus on the ending of pornography and violence against women versus a more pro-sexuality or sexual libertarianism espoused by other feminist groups. See Janni Aragon, unpublished thesis, 1995 *Women and Sadomasochism: Understanding Issues of Power and Consent*.

in the classroom, let alone in other areas of their lives. Not all lesbians choose to be out in the workplace, regardless, they should still feel a sense of respect and collegiality within their departments based on cultural and social mores regarding the protection or rights in the workplace. However, the reality for many is such that discrimination and homophobia is an endemic part of society. Judith McDaniels, an English professor, makes this connection well, stating:

The students I teach have been raised in a society that fears and hates homosexuals. When my students did not know that I was a lesbian, and when the material we were dealing with made homosexuality a topic of discussion or reference, I was in an extremely vulnerable position (37 in *Heresies*).

It is simple to merely wish away homophobia or discriminatory practices. However, it is also ignorant to act as if they do not exist in Political Science research and in the classroom. There is a commensurate connection between lesbian faculty in academia and the rise of scholarly work in the field(s) about lesbian/gay/bisexual and transgendered people. We can see the similarities between getting more women in the field and the increase of research about women.

M. V. Lee Badgett, Economist at University of Massachusetts, Amherst explain:

Social stigma, violence and discrimination have fostered a strategy of invisibility for many gay people, and the invisibility has made the lives of the broad range of gay people difficult to study (2001 1).

Lesbian politics or political participation (Queer Politics which includes lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people) is not regularly studied in

Political Science. When I conducted a J-Stor⁶⁷ search in the *American Journal of International Law (AJIL)*, *American Political Science Review (APSR)*, *PS: Political Science and Politics (PS)*, *Proceedings of the APSA (Proceedings)*, and *Political Science Quarterly (PSQ)* for Lesbian and Lesbian Politics, I found 23 hits.

Table 5.4

Journal	Years	Number
<i>AJIL</i>	1907-2002	0
<i>APSR</i>	1906-1998	3
<i>PSQ</i>	1886-1997	2
<i>Proceedings</i>	1904-1913	0
<i>PS</i>	1988-1998	20

The majority were articles in *PS: Political Science and Politics* and many included paper titles that were slated for upcoming APSA conferences. There were also two articles about AIDS research lacking in the discipline. There were three hits for the *APSR*; however, all three were book reviews and not substantive research. Two articles were found in *PSQ*. Generally speaking, short of the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender committee reports, lesbian politics were nowhere to be found in the searches.

Conducting a search for lesbian, I found 143 hits and most were in *PS* and varied from conference announcements, letters to the editor, the caucus

⁶⁷ J-Stor is a self-described "Scholarly Journal Archive" and can be found at www.jstor.org.

report, and calls for papers. My search for "lesbian" was more fruitful. I found 87 hits with *PS*; 40 with *APSR*, five with *PSQ*, 14 with *AJIL* and zero with *Proceedings*. There were some repeats and the initial count came to 146. The only problem here is that front and back matter is counted as a reference. If a book advertisement is in the journal as front or back matter, this subsequently counts as a reference. Likewise, calls for papers and conference programs also count. For instance, the *APSR* had 40 hits; however, nine were for front or back matter references and only five were for actual research articles. In *AJIL*, two were books received and two were book reviews; thus there were actually 10 substantive articles that dealt with human rights concerns for all women or AIDS research. Likewise, in *PSQ* two of the five hits were for front or back matter materials.

Doing the same with Women and Politics, I found 556 hits. However, doing the same search with Queer Politics three hits were found and two were preliminary program announcements and the third was a book review.⁶⁸ Clearly, Queer Politics is a newer area of research for Political Scientists. Political Scientists are not conducting research about Queer Politics. This might be due to publishing concerns, merit, promotion and tenure concerns or interdisciplinary research siphoning. That is, we have seen more work done about Queer Politics in Women's Studies, English, History, Cultural Studies, and other interdisciplinary programs.

⁶⁸ The *APSR* coding might problematize these findings, as some of the book reviews found for "lesbian" should have been included based on the use of "queer" in the book title.

Shane Phelan, "Politics that ignores our identities, that makes them 'private' is useless; but non-negotiable identities will enslave us whether they are imposed from within or without" (1989 170). The other point that Phelan makes counterpoints the notion of heteronormativity by acknowledging the particularity that lesbians face when engaging in politics: "Lesbians engage in politics whenever they become visible as lesbians, as they challenge assumptions about heterosexuality" (1994 148). Again, we see that when a group self-identifies in their research the work becomes labeled as more "activist" or more "political." Whenever a marginalized group does mix politics and research they become vulnerable to these claims about their objectivity. However, other researchers with a conservative or liberal bent do not garner as much criticism. Particular to women, we cannot assume that somehow all women inherently have the same gendered experiences in the world, let alone within Political Science and politics.

A conversation about Women and Politics must include a reference to the lacuna of study about lesbians. Articles and other scholarly research about lesbian or queer politics are virtually non-existent in mainstream Political Science. Instead, we can look to research about social movements, within Sociology, Women's Studies, English, or Anthropology for a richer level of analysis and overall coverage. This is not to say that there is no work in the field. We cannot use equations to solve all the questions we have within the field. And, we cannot blindly exclude lesbians out of our research.

M. V. Lee Badgett explains that, "Future political success is likely to depend on a broader public understanding of ongoing inequality, combined with explicit efforts to redress gay people's unequal position" (2001 258). When Political Scientists study power or powerlessness, it should include a discussion of identity. Consequently, any discussion of identity needs to include multiple identities and multiple communities.

Donald B. Rosenthal's draft of, "The Report of the Committee on the Status of Lesbian, Gays, Bisexuals (GLBT) and the Transgendered in Political Science," was discussed at the 2002 APSA meetings.⁶⁹ The preliminary draft suggests that some progress has been made since the first study conducted in 1992; however, there is more work to be done.⁷⁰ Specifically they suggest that work environments are a paramount concern for GLBT faculty and graduate students. Moreover, there is a concomitant concern that scholarly research about GLBT issues is marginalized in the discipline. Thus, there is a two-fold concern regarding representative and research related issues. These concerns are clearly compounded when we add issues of gender, race, class, and ethnicity to the discussion.

The Future: Where Are We Going?

Naomi B. Lynn, "Self-Portrait: Profile of Political Scientists" (95-123 in Finifter 1983) attempts to define Political Scientists. Lynn explains, "Political

⁶⁹ Rosenthal is a Professor Emeritus, University of Buffalo, State University of New York.

Science, as an organized academic discipline in American universities and college, was one of the flowering of higher education in this country in the decades following the Civil War" (95-96). Thus, the focus of the research reflects this grounding and influence. However, while Lynn noted this in 1983, the repercussions of this founding have been hard for the discipline to shake. Moreover, looking at the population data on college campuses today, we can extrapolate that if more women than men continue to enroll in college, we might eventually see a difference in the graduate school enrollments of women. This, in turn, might lead to an increase of women along the academic pipeline.

Today, studying Women and Politics is not the novelty that it was ten to twenty years ago. However, we should not become comfortable with the gains. We need to build on the current research about women in the field and more needs to be done than the mere reading of women into Political Science. We will need to see an increase in women in graduate school, political office, and along the academic pipeline to become professors. We will also need to see more research about women and politics and an increased legitimization of the sub-field. The two are connected, that is, there are more women studying women and more women in the various fields of Political Science.

A more fully integrative analysis is needed in order to better meet the needs of women and a changing population. Different questions need to be

⁷⁰ See *PS: Political Science and Politics* v28 September 1995: 561-74.

asked in order to understand change. Simply put, inclusive research makes sense and should be a part of "good" research. One expected outcome would be that research about women will not be viewed as a "novelty" and be part of Political Science. When women and research about women are part of Political Science we will see a difference in both the journals and in the department hallways in terms of equity and visibility. The next chapter speaks to the need for inclusive research by the exploration of women of color in Political Science, researchers, and subjects. The continuum of Political Science needs to change in order to be relevant to the 21st century, let alone the study of women. The Virginia Slim axiom, "You've Come a Long Way Baby" is certainly crude and Madison Avenue slick; however, the research about women in Political Science has indeed come a long way. The leaps and bounds during the last ten years alone have been inspiring and bode well for future research in the field and in academia at large.

This chapter illuminated the relevance between Women and Politics research and the manner in which it was studied. In much the same way, I reviewed some of the debates in International Relations regarding the use of a feminist lens for research. The inter-disciplinary debates and history behind the history are necessary to understand. Just as we know that all politics are partisan, we should understand the biases and struggles in research about women in Political Science. Political Science might portend an exemplar for other fields of how to change and embrace women and the study of women in the social sciences. As this takes place, we will hopefully see a

simultaneous increase in women running for public office at all levels of government. This promises not only societal change and change in the discipline of Political Science, but change in the manner in which women and their politicking are studied and understood by Political Scientists and other stakeholders. This is a propitious moment for women.

Conclusion: A Strong Afterword

This dissertation tells a story of women and Political Science. The story is interwoven with the historical founding of the discipline and the the implications for women's entry into Political Science. The next layer of the dissertation discussed the social pressure regarding women and higher education and changes that were subsequently made. I also reviewed the scope and method debates in the field. I illustrated that the formation of epistemologies is influenced by socio-political ethos of the particular era. What also makes the story of women and Political Science interesting is that many of these points are not specific to Political Science, but rather are endemic to the treatment of women in academe. Therefore, I included a discussion about the Women's Movement and Women's Studies and their influences.

This research examined women in higher education, narrowing the lens through the discipline of Political Science. Political Science offers a fruitful case study as its history in the United States spans more than 120 years and is one of the worst case examples of gender parity in the social sciences. Given that we are witnessing a concerted attack against the discipline with the Perestroika Movement, in particular. The Women and Politics section, and other caucuses and sections, have offered a different space for research and networking. It is an auspicious time to institute change that will positively affect the discipline.

How do women continue their project—their struggle in Political Science? Where are women in Political Science? We know from studies cited in the dissertation that women are more likely to be placed at teaching intensive college and that women professors by and large are paid less than male professors. However, both these points are endemic to women's position in higher education. Political Science is one cog in the machine of academe. The continued perseverance of women in the academic pipeline provides a multi-focused manner of struggle. Women faculty and women students also offer multiple areas of support in discrepant areas of society that can provide a networking base for women and others. Clearly, a concerted effort much like the multiple issue focus of the Women's Liberation Movement or Second Wave Feminist Movement needs replication for those concerned about the state of women in Political Science and women in higher education, broadly speaking.

We need to pay critical attention to policy that inhibits or prohibits the increase of women in academia. Political Scientists need to recruit more women into the field actively and support the retention of women graduate students and women faculty. We need sustained networking and mentoring for graduate students, women, and people of color. This, in turn, can lead to an overall increase in retention of all students in Political Science. If we increase this across the board, gains will be recognized.

We need to address the divorce from practical politics or activism within the discipline and how this innocent separation has affected the

curriculum, analyses, pedagogy, and students and faculty along all levels of the pipeline. We need to understand that partisanship and policy are imbued with any discussion of hiring, retention, and promotion. Until we admit this connection, we will blindly wonder why we do not see a more diverse pool of graduate students and faculty. I suggest that we examine success of the WCPS, Latino Caucus and other networks within Political Science.

We can learn from women's organizations and their forms of networking and pressure tactics. Women's organizations still thrive on university campuses and involve women students, junior faculty, and senior faculty. These organizations provide an integral part of the organized approach on campuses, in departments, and within professional organizations. There is more than a thirty-year history of organized focus of women's activism in higher education via caucuses, committees, and faculty associations. Today, many of these women's organizations persevere in order to continue to meet the needs of women in higher education and ensure that gains are made along all levels of the academic ladder. These faculty-supported networks not only support all faculty, but ultimately staff and students. The tactics and tricks of the trade from these various caucuses and professional networks have something to teach the larger discipline of Political Science and higher education. In fact, many members of these networks have stated that there is a trickle-down effect for them. They learn successful strategies from their colleagues in their professional networking

groups and return to their campuses with a renewed vigor to instill change.¹ Here, academics and administrators are responsible for attempting to make change. Political Scientists, as scholars who study the allocation of goods and services, should understand how crucial it is to pay credence to the issues of collective action and the reality of how slow social change can be.

I suggest that Political Scientists take special care with supporting institutional change that will help all those concerned with the field: students, staff, administrators, and faculty. Changing the faculty will not happen overnight, but the concerted support of change is needed across the board. Political Science as a discipline can become an exemplar of policies and outcomes that can beset change in higher education. We should strive for change in Political Science. This change can be met by looking at successful strategies in other departments and campuses. We also need to comprehend the importance of equity, pedagogy, and support networks. While these might appear discrepant points, we know that more women are needed along all stages of the pipeline. We should also be aware that some argue that the current educational models offer a masculine model of higher education. Lastly, support networks are key to many women academics and other marginalized academics success in academe. I refer to these points in this essay.

¹ See www.wage.org for a discussion of this. Also see *The Strategist, WCPS Newsletter*, Freeman 1999 and www.jofreeman.com, Roland Martin 2000.

Interdisciplinary Change in Academe

Interdisciplinary disciplines, such as Women's Studies, contribute to the sub-field of Political Science. In addition, they also offer an instrumental example of how higher education is moving in the future. More disciplines are acknowledging that the scope and methods of their training are enhanced by an increased viewpoint. I believe that a more interdisciplinary Political Science will best meet the needs of students and scholars. The scope and method of Political Science needs to wholeheartedly accept and respect qualitative, anthropological-like work to the same degree that quantitative work or "science" is respected in departments and from the journals and professional organizations. Currently, the interdisciplinary nature of Political Science is one that gives carte blanche acceptance to the appropriation of methods from Economics and Psychology. This makes work or methods borrowed from Women's Studies, Anthropology or History, for example, problematic. This is especially true during placement, merit, and tenure promotions. Thus, I ultimately proffer that Women's Studies has more to offer Political Science. I end this chapter with a detailed explication of one manner that we can alter some of the current problems facing women and other underrepresented faculty.

Sandra Harding noted at the 2002 Pacific Southwest Women's Studies Association conference, that educators can transform society.² She explains

² Harding's keynote speech took place at Cal Poly Pomona on April 19, 2002, as part of the 12th Annual Pacific Southwest Women's Studies Association conference.

that education should transform our consciousness. We need to take these words to heart, so that people can realize that education and educative success for academics is a concern for multiple stakeholders and communities. A shift in consciousness might also inform stakeholders about the importance of educative reciprocity. We need to revisit the notion of care and reciprocity in education.³

These concerns and outlined points are not just of concern for Political Scientists in the U.S. or the West for that matter, but rather should be of concern on a global level. The United Nations has outlined how education is an important part of the larger project to help developing nations. Simply put, we need to remember that education is not a privilege and that education provides learners and teachers the tools for change and success.

Mary-Louise Kearney of UNESCO explains:

Higher education institutions have, historically, provided their societies with skilled human resources—notably social and economic decision-makers and specialists in all professional fields" (4 In Kearney and Ronning).

Campus Diversity

In the late 1990s, and continuing throughout the early years of the new century, administrators at universities have been trying to figure out new plans to recruit and retain a diverse faculty. However, the socio-political climate lends itself as an unfriendly one to establishing equitable reforms. This would best explain how the 2000 University of Arizona's Millennium

³ See Nell Noddings 1984 and 1992.

Project and the University of Wisconsin's latest "Report on the Status of Women," both offer the same suggestions that the original Commission on the Status of Women in Political Science report suggested more than thirty years ago.

The university systems' standardized versions of placement, merit, and promotion have not only failed women in Political Science, but consequently have failed people of color and other disenfranchised groups in the university. It is widely understood that today most campuses exist in an Anti-Affirmative Action era. If we take a step back, it becomes evident that in the 1980s and early 1990s the major benefactors of Affirmative Action and other gender parity programs were white (Anglo) women. I doubt we can say that this is still the case without dispute, as the latest data from many sources note the decrease along the academic pipeline for all women.

I suggest that that universities revisit their equity programs in such a manner that they do not offer us window dressing or placate varying constituency concerns. Instead, university administrators need to make a solid effort to better integrate their campus' professorship so that it truly demonstrates the diversity of their students and the changing make up of the United States. A multi-focus approach is necessary. The general population in the U.S. is quickly becoming more diverse, but somehow the faculty in most colleges and universities remains at the same rates as 10-30 years ago.

Teaching and Transgression: Moving Beyond Masculine Models of Education

Higher education has been the domain of primarily masculine models of theories and of teaching. Many studies explain that nurturing teaching is primarily dispensed or understood at the primary and secondary levels of education. Whereas in higher education, research is more highly valued, while caring or nurturing work, such as teaching, is typically given less value, esteem, and compensation. The masculine educational models strengthen traditional sex role socialization. Linda Nicholson explains that the 19th century offered the "feminization of the teaching profession" (in Stone, 1994, 79). She makes the astute connection between the ways in which gendered expectations vary. That is, girls' obedience is honored and expected within the primary and secondary systems; whereas, boys' (male) competitive spirit is respected and celebrated within higher education (80-81).⁴

In *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education*, Megan Boler offers that, "Women were conscripted as schoolteachers to function as what I call the 'caring police,' a description of women's role in pastoral power."⁵ Therefore, the notions of acceptable womanhood or acceptable employment positions translated into the belief that women's roles as schoolteachers were

⁴ When girls or boys transgress these boundaries, they are marked as not meeting gendered expectation. Boys get called sissies and girls or women get referred to as bossy or a bitch. See Simmons 2002.

⁵ Nel Noddings (1994, in Stone) shares Boler's points regarding the fixation with women and caring in education. However, Noddings notes that teachers should care about teaching and producing a knowledgeable student and not be focused on the caring teacher as woman. Thus, male teachers should care, too.

normalized. During the turn of the century the 'ideal of womanhood', 'the cult of domesticity' centrally required women's proper emotional behavior

(42). Boler opines:

Following the turn of the century, the social sciences become a dominant force in educational theories and practices and are systematically applied to maintain conformity. Though Protestant values remain embedded in cultural ideologies, educational curricula and debates are increasingly shaped by questions of scientific measurement. With the growth of the social sciences, new forms of control are introduced (45).

Therefore, teaching being deemed as an acceptable vocation for women was part of the means for control. Kathleen B. Jones in *Compassionate Authority*, offers a provocative discussion regarding the multiple ways that we read or understand authority and how authority is gendered. While Jones focuses on contemporary debates within feminist theories, her points are easily applied to the problem with gendered (women's) authority within higher education.⁶ Thus, to borrow from Jones, authority does have gender. How do we disentangle gender from authority in higher education? And, how do we disentangle women from gender? We know from research about faculty evaluations that students are more likely to subject women professors to a higher standard of "caring" norms. Students expect women professors to possess "care" attributes. Students are likewise more likely to comment on

⁶ To be sure, this is not the case where gender automatically equals women. Instead, I suggest that authority does not include women. Therefore, this authority within higher education and teaching pedagogies is such that women are invisible. And, as Silverberg (1998) explicates, the foundation of the social sciences was established without the equal inclusion of women.

women professors dress and appearance.⁷ This is just one example of how women professors encounter academe differently. We need to comprehend the depth of gender's tentacles into academia and how this affects the foundation.

Presumably, it is fair to construe that these gendered norms for girls and boys, and women and men persevere and form our notions of cultural and educational norms. I argue that the masculine models or ethos combined with a more structured corporate model prohibits women's success. Both models work under the guise of fairness and equity, but the reality is that cursory attention is paid to gender parity and that the most keen concern resides with the bottom line—money.

In the university, "women" and "women's issues" have remained largely absent from mainstream research in Political Science. This situation is attributable, in part, to the dearth of women Political Scientists, and to the often alienating, positivist methods that have dominated Political Science research. It follows that many feminist Political Scientists have been critically introspective of these key problems within the field, and have offered ways of rectifying this point.

A common theme in books about academia authored by women is the notion that women academics often experience academia in a markedly different way than their male colleagues do. Political Science is no different in

⁷ For an engaging discussion of evaluations see Anderson and Miller 1997 and the WMST-L File about Gender and Student evaluations at www.umbc.edu/wmst/wmsttoc.html.

this respect. There is a large amount of literature that contends that women have been intentionally discriminated against within academia. Emily Toth explains, "Among academic men, women are still regarded as outsiders-interlopers" (Toth, 39). Moreover, she later notes that, "For studying women there are archives never opened, papers never read, manuscripts never discovered, oral histories never recorded" (45). Without research and new textbooks that note these previously invisible lives, the next generation of scholars would remain ignorant and get "trained" with incomplete information. Thus, we have the *malestream* replicating itself and making women invisible. Jane Roland Martin criticizes the way gender is marked in higher education, "By placing women outside the educational realm or else making them invisible within it, the contemporary paradigms of philosophy of education also contribute to the devaluation of women" (in Stone, 1994, 115). Feminist pedagogy, which by definition places a collaborative teaching environment grounded in feminism at its core, attempts to counter this marginalization of women in academe by offering different way of understanding education.

There is a vast amount of research that discusses what would transform disciplines or academia. These interesting and varied monographs vary. However, a common thread that seamlessly exists between many of them is the notion that the system needs some reform, if not outright transformation. Overall, the issue of altering higher education or any discipline is one that ultimately deals with business, political, and educational

interests. These are then also infused with partisanship, or at the very least, ideological concerns that often up the ante. Business interests or corporate interests have been part of the university culture for more than the last 20 years. Some complain that the last 30 years have been fraught with an increased use of business models and business nomenclature that have supplanted the educational focus of the traditional university. Michael Apple laments, "For all too many of the pundits, politicians, corporate leaders and others, our education *is* a business and should be treated no differently than any other business" (1-2). Many, like Apple, decry this notion of education succumbing to business culture and moving away from teaching and research.⁸ Pamela Cotterill and Ruth L. Waterhouse explain:

Changes in higher education since 1992 have affected all of us who work within it. Higher education is now characterized by greater managerial power, tighter hierarchical structures and limited involvement in the decision-making process for those below senior management level (9).

Have these changes led to better research or a better learning environment for students?

In *Teaching to Transgress*, bell hooks borrows from the teaching pedagogy of Brazilian scholar, Paolo Freire, stating that ultimately our work is best understood to be the work of a cultural worker. This offers a multi-dimensional explication of pedagogy in higher education. This also

⁸ Apple specifically blames capitalism and neoliberalism for the business and consumer models that have abrogated the educative missions of the university. "The idea of the 'consumer' is crucial here. For neoliberals, the world in essence is a vast supermarket. 'Consumer choice' is the guarantor of democracy" (39).

acknowledges a more inclusive critique of teaching as important work. We need to use these critical tools to understand what I refer to as some of the problems endemic to academia as an institution. Feminists have examined the simultaneity of oppression—both cultural and political hegemony—and their academic or scholarly work is often understood as an act of resistance. This way of thinking has been described by many as thinking against the grain. In fact, many feminists and other left-leaning academics cite the work of Paulo Freire as key in their development of teaching pedagogy and to use his terminology, position as "cultural workers."⁹ Freire and those of a shared theoretical teaching pedagogy suggest that we offer a more democratic teaching model. This teaching model would benefit the student and the teacher and move away from the capitalist focus of education. Likewise, Freire explicates:

Our political, social, pedagogical ethical, aesthetic, and scientific responsibility, as social and historical beings, as bearers of a subjectivity that plays an important role in history, in the process of this contradictory movement between authority and freedom, is of unarguable importance (88).

Thus, Freire and his adherents view education with a keen eye to the holistic nature between the teacher and learner not outside the vacuum of the socio-political context. During the two decades, we have seen that feminists have widely adopted Freire's teaching pedagogy. In fact, most academics sympathetic to Freire's writings are aligned on the political left. Thus, it is

⁹ See Paulo Freire, *Teachers as Cultural Workers: Letters to Those Who Dare to Teach*. Translated by Donaldo Macedo, Dale Koike, and Alexandre Oliveira. Boulder: Westview Press, 1998.

necessary to understand the connections between education and history.

Freire's logic is that the old style pedagogy is one that marks the teacher as the master and the student as a slave. This is anything but liberating.

However, Freire's understanding of history provides a needed examination.

The socio-historical context is key to understanding the past and current predicament of women and other disenfranchised groups in academia as students and scholars. That is, we cannot simply tease out gender, race, or class. Moreover, merely getting more women and "others" into graduate programs is only the first step. The institution and organizations need augmenting; however, before this can take place there needs to be an acknowledgment that claims to neutrality do not exist and that the founding ideas of the university and the "academic" system are at its roots biased.¹⁰ There are multiple levels to this oppression based on any configuration of gender, race, and/or class.

Similar to Freire's, use of cultural workers is Carol Ascher's explanation of faculty as mental workers. She states in reference to work as a coordinator of women's studies in the early 70s, "One element of the university I had never seriously considered is its exaggerated reproduction of capitalist society's division between mental and physical labor. Faculty are mental workers . . . (*Heresies* 7, v2 n3). Then, we see non-faculty as physical laborers, which only sets yet another hierarchy in academia. This is

¹⁰ Donaldo Macedo notes that "Objectivity always contains within it a dimension of subjectivity; thus it is dialectical" 1998, xii. See *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy, and Civic Courage* by Paulo Freire, translated by Patrick Clarke. Boulder: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

problematic. Academia is hierarchical and feeds into institutionalized sexism, racism, and classism. We need to understand that mental work or cultural work, while important, are not more important than other work. What I suggest here is that we smash the notion of "Ivory Towers" and academic elitism. The elitism and recent corporatization of academia have been the two largest impediments to change.

Carolyn Shaw Bell shared:

Our situation today can best be described as a society trying to assimilate a revolution. The revolution that has occurred has shattered conventional assumptions about the status of women" (123 in Laurily Epstein).

While this statement is from a dated monograph, it still applies. It is frightening that it *still* applies. We are in a state of stasis and, I would argue, as women academics we are in a state of crisis. The Women's Movement was absorbed by liberal groups in academia and has not moved forward enough to continue to help women. We need to re-radicalize the movement and those sympathetic to it in order to make more changes that will support women along the academic pipeline.

Repeatedly, we have seen that various feminist scholars and other cultural critics have noted the abysmal representation of women along the academic pipeline. Yet, examining both anecdotal and statistical evidence, we find that the increase along gender parity lines is criminal. Particular to Political Science, the caucus, as previously noted, holds the esteemed position as one of the first academic women's professional organization. They

published their first report more than 30 years ago and we find that the representation of women in the field has increased slowly.

More research clearly needs to be conducted in this area that takes these points into consideration. I believe that it would be wise to revisit Affirmative Action policy for faculty recruitment and retention. The only way that we will see substantive changes that will benefit women and other underrepresented groups are for more pro-active reforms. Racism and sexism are an unfortunate part of our society and these biases infiltrate the classroom, hiring, promotion, and tenure committees. To not acknowledge this is to participate in foolishness and bury one's head in the sand. The stakeholders involved in higher education—students, faculty, administration, and legislators—need to understand that these are valid concerns for all of society.

Best Practices: Revisiting the Ph.D. and Re-Visioning the Ph.D.

One manner that is more easily malleable in higher education is the graduate school process. It is at this level that change can be made that can positively encourage women graduate students and other marginalized graduate students along the pipeline. Presumably, change could be instituted less painfully at the curricular level. This might be the location for the change in Political Science. Political Scientists have examined curricular concerns and the doctoral programs in many articles in *PS: Political Science and Politics* and other regional journals. The national and regional conferences also

provide an opportunity for discussion and evaluation of the state of doctoral programs. What follows are what I have called, "Best Practices," a sampling of conferences, meetings, and Web sites that have taken a pro-active effort to institute change and help others in academia.¹¹

The APSA has been involved with the institution of the "Shaping the Preparation of Future Social Science and Humanities Faculty" program. This program was funded through a grant awarded by the APSA. The program was sponsored by the Council of Graduate Schools and the Association of American Colleges, and included doctoral and non-doctoral granting universities with the intent to better prepare doctoral candidates for careers. The chosen programs are: University of Colorado at Boulder, Howard University, University of Illinois at Chicago, and Indiana University. Each set of programs has a minimum of "partner" programs that vary from community colleges, comprehensive universities, and other doctoral granting universities. The overall intention of the program is to increase the professional preparation for future Political Science faculty. A more active cross-pollination between the different colleges and university campuses has proven positive for students and faculty.

During the last few years, the APSA website has included results from other studies regarding graduate student retention and career strategies. Some of the highlights of studies have even been published in PS: Political

¹¹ It is common within the corporate environment to refer to successful strategies as "Best Practices." Education scholars have borrowed this term to codify winning strategies. See Daniels and Bizar 1998; O'Dell 1998; Zemelman et al 1998.

Science and Politics. One such study was from a well-known plenary from the 1999 meeting of the Council of Graduate Schools was, "Career Paths of Ph.D. Recipients: Final Results from the Ten Years Later Study." Joseph Cerny and Maresi Nerad outlined five key components for improving doctoral education.¹² The first focused on the need for more time, money, and effort for educating and placing students. That is, students need to understand the particularities of the academic world, business world, and non-profit employment. There is not enough career training. The second point was the continued support of students throughout their academic careers. This includes the importance of mentoring and networking. The third point was an increased focus on post-doctoral appointments. The fourth point was increasing the assessment of doctoral program evaluations by students. They suggest regular surveys and exit surveys. The fifth point was that universities should better meet the needs of dual career couples. These results, while not specific to women students, are important to understanding doctoral education and retaining women students along the pipeline. Political Scientists can infer that the concerns outlined affect women students, too.

Likewise, the Re-Envisioning the Ph.D. website¹³ offers a programmatic for graduate students, faculty, and administrators. The site suggests a more holistic approach that can best meet the needs of graduate students and

¹² See www.apsanet.or/about/chairs/pff/cqsessay.cfm for more information or contact the authors.

¹³ <http://www.grad.washington.edu/envision/>

others involved. The site maintains information for faculty, graduate students, international links, updates, and successful strategies. Two other similar sites are the Responsive Ph.D.¹⁴ and the 2000 National Doctoral Program Survey.¹⁵ The survey results are pertinent for those interested in the current needs and assessments of doctoral students in the U.S.

Listservs

We can see that there are numerous studies, books, Web sites and resources for departments and universities. There are also listservs, electronic lists that members can subscribe to for articles and electronic mail posts. A list that is geared toward all academic professionals (with a special emphasis toward advanced graduate students, post-docs, and new professors) is Tomorrow's Professor Listserv, which is moderated by Richard Reis, Stanford University.¹⁶ There are more than 9,500 subscribers to the list, with more than 79 different countries represented. The list has posted articles that vary from academia and gender concerns, lecturing, grant writing, to teaching pedagogy. The site touts Tomorrow's Professor, "Desktop faculty development, one hundred times a year."

What remains to be seen is the overhaul of doctoral programs. Many complain about the system and how students' needs are not met. The

¹⁴<http://www.woodrow.org/responsivephd/>

¹⁵ <http://survey.nagps.org/>

conversations and assessments must continue in a more organized fashion in order to facilitate change. However, a major concern is state, and more importantly, university autonomy. Another important component to this discussion is curricular concerns. Lynn Westbrook suggests, "Interdisciplinarity is the purposeful weaving together of two or more disciplines that are usually considered to be quite unconnected in order to reach a new understanding, create a new academic end product, or advance research on a particular question" (26). Many groups realize that interdisciplinary collaboration is necessary for coalition building. Further, others realize that outright new disciplines or the need for interdisciplinarity cooperation provides the necessary infusion for partnership and growth.

Many find that the impetus for collaboration or networking comes from conferences and meetings. Monographs have been penned about the varied skills, stories, and tools that are needed for surviving in academe. I present a small sample of some of the conferences and articles that have made an attempt to positively change the status of women in Political Science and higher education. I believe that the culled examples are suited for most disciplines in higher education; however, I refer to those that are geared more for the social sciences.

Conferences and other Support Group Systems. The Black Women in the Academy conferences sponsored by Howard University's African American

¹⁶ <http://cis.stanford.edu/structure/tomprof/listserver.html>

Women's Institute¹⁷ offer a much-needed space for networking and presentation of research by, and for, black women. The 2nd National and International Conference on Black Women in the Academy held June 24-27, 1999 in Washington, D.C showcased work that varied from health, education, and race relations to name a few themes.¹⁸

In March 2000, the Women's Research Caucus at the Women in Higher Education Conference (WIHE) met in Minneapolis, Minnesota.¹⁹ The Women in Higher Education Conference discussed issues and concerns for faculty, staff, and students. The outcome was the presentation of action items and suggestions for faculty, administrators, and staff in order to institute change on college campuses. The caucus meetings were interactive and attendees were informed that the findings could also be instituted at your home institution. Each attendee was later sent a three-inch binder with the findings and best practices. The website also posted all the findings from each caucus meeting. The intention was for the findings to serve as a resource for attendees and others.

I participated in the caucus meeting, "Revolutionize the Institution of Academia." The first caucus meeting theme was: issues of concern and how we need to "Revolutionize the Institution of Academia." Some of the areas of

¹⁷ <http://www.aawi.org/>

¹⁸ <http://www.aawi.org/abstracts.htm> for more information

¹⁹ I attended the conference and served on one of the caucus working groups. Please see <http://teleconference.board.umn.edu/> for a list of the summarized caucus results.

concern were noted as: doing research on women, women's research as worthy and significant, diversity issues, historical narratives needing more refereed outlets, more publications resources for women, flexibility in maintaining research progress and service, validation for research on women, access/networking (who else is doing it across disciplines), mentorship/guidance/support, more congeniality and less competition among faculty, integrating research on women across the curriculum, seeing research as central, balancing teaching/research/service, evaluating and expanding definition of scholarship, increasing funding sources for staff, students, and faculty, re-evaluating feminist epistemologies, increasing the pipeline for women, and family and life balance issues. These issues are the core issues of concern for women workers in disparate fields.²⁰ The key concerns centered around funding, research, education, and staff issues. If we move beyond thinking that these are "personal" issues and understand that they are significant personnel issues, then changes can be made more swiftly.

For those women with no support systems and no mentors, the picture is bleak. Perhaps this is why the majority of information that I have examined extols the benefits of networking and seeking mentors. While the world of academia might seem less inviting to women, ultimately women

²⁰ The attendees in the caucus varied from tenure-line faculty in various fields to tenure-line librarians and professional staff, as well as one graduate student.

have the onus to be responsible and seek out help, networks, friends, and mentors.

The Women in Higher Education (WIHE) Newsletter available on-line to subscribers²¹ has been active for more than ten years. The home page of the Web site touts, "The only national monthly practitioner's news journal to enlighten, encourage, empower, and enrage." Mary Dee Wenninger, founder, notes that it is one of the only monthly newsletters for women in higher education that offers new articles, reprinted articles, job posts, conferences, and other pertinent information for women in higher education. The site also has a page of current statistics regarding faculty salary earnings, the number of women presidents, number of women CEO's of corporations, and other information.

Another organization set on supporting women is the National Initiative for Women in Higher Education NIWIHE.²² Their philosophy, as stated on their Web site, states: "NIWHE advances research, analysis, and collective action to achieve gender equity and engage women's leadership to create diverse, democratic educational institutions." It is a rich, informative site with links to countless other sites, conferences and texts about research, pedagogy and mentoring, and countless other points. This is part of the initiative born from the WIHE conference held in Minneapolis, Minnesota in March 2000.

²¹ <http://www.wihe.com>

²² <http://www.campuswomenlead.org>

SisterMentors, dissertation support groups for women of color.²³ They note: "We are a project of EduSeed, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, that promotes education among women and people of color—historically disadvantaged communities." Dr. Shireen Lewis founded the group in 1997. Lewis is also the executive director for EduSeed, "a non-profit that promotes education among historically disadvantaged communities."²⁴ Currently, SisterMentors only serves doctoral candidates in the greater Washington D.C. area, however, they do have an electronic list that allows anyone to subscribe. According to Dr. Lewis, they have fielded many inquiries about setting up similar groups in other areas, but at this time have chosen to maintain only the one location. According to testimony from women involved in this group, the support is priceless. The attrition rates in graduate school are incredibly high and a great number of students drop out "all but dissertation" (ABD). Dissertation writing groups and mentoring groups can help vanquish this "ABD syndrome."

Another organization geared toward women is We Advocate Gender Equity, which was founded at U.C. Irvine in 1992. The first statewide meeting was held in 1993. The WAGE Web site: www.wage.org states that while they were not established by the U.C. system, they do attempt to solve university-wide problems regarding issues of discrimination. Its mission is:

²³ <http://www.sistermentors.org/home.htm>

²⁴ See <http://www.eduseed.org>

To end gender bias and achieve gender equity in the education, hiring, retention, promotion and compensation of women in the academic community within the University of California and other academic institutions (www.wage.org).

The members are either faculty on the tenure track, non-ladder faculty or staff, researchers, non-senate academics, or advanced graduate students.

Today, they welcome members from U.C. campuses and other college campuses. They decry the tactics that the U.C. system uses in the discrimination cases and offer useful information through their Web site, newsletter, and bi-annual meetings. WAGE is one of many women's support groups that serves both as an advocacy and as pressure group.

Many of these attempts to change the institution of higher education also reference how the actual implementation of educating graduate students and the curriculum require re-inspection.²⁵ That is, the Ph.D. programs need scrutiny in order to ascertain why we still have such an incredibly high attrition rate. Furthermore, by re-examining the Ph.D. process and curricular concerns, we can better serve the students who are taught by the fledgling academics. And, we might want to wonder why women are enrolled overwhelmingly more at the undergraduate levels, yet their admission rates are markedly lower at the master's and Ph.D. levels.

²⁵ Mariam K. Chamberlain states, "Curriculum change is part of the normal process of higher education, responding in part to the advancement of knowledge in the various disciplines and in part to the changing composition and needs of the student body" (xiii). Therefore, curricular changes have happened and will continue to take place. Likewise, Arlene Sgoutas agrees that curriculum reform can help transform a discipline, especially if marginalized groups such as women of color are involved in the process (183 in Hoveler and Boles).

The Future: Political Science and Higher Education

I presented one story of women in Political Science. There is room for future research that continues the examination of the needs of students, women of color (at the graduate student and faculty levels), and gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender students and faculty. There is a lack of substantive research in these areas, which must also be addressed. Given the lack of substantive research and data, this part of the dissertation was lacking. Further research that offers both quantitative survey results and ethnographic interview data would be particularly useful.

A politics from the bottom-up approach can best serve the field of Political Science. Analyses from a more integrated or inclusive point of view might help the field and the professorate. In short, I argue that the mainstream takes its cues from some of the success of the WCPS, Latino Caucus, and other "out group" or "unconventional" academic activists. This change would need to incorporate the needs of students and all faculty.

Joan Tronto states, "Until there is a political demand to make political knowledge more humane, wishes for a democratic, moral, political science that is respectful of all people may remain a wish outside the walls of academe" (105). We might see more changes coming at the department level than the larger discipline.

A transformative education is not polemic, but rather a return to progressive notions of how education acts should raise the critical and creative thinking skills of students and engage their interest in life-long

learning and community building. This is not so much the advocacy of a partisan education, but an educative experience that can sustain students and teachers. A transformative Political Science will undoubtedly be good for women Political Scientists and for research about women *and* politics.

Increased vigilance and creativity is needed in order to counteract what is essentially partisan politics and attacks against women in higher education. Women and sympathetic stakeholders require new tactics and networking to persevere. The increased use of cross-communication into multiple communities provides a winning tactic and means to better problem solving. Jane Roland Martin explains that one fear (of many) is that with increased diversity in the curriculum we will experience a loss (2002). However, she explains that the cultural wealth afforded within our educational systems can increase the dissemination of culture resources. This optimism can exist with Political Science. Political Science is a rich discipline that needs to disseminate and respect the varied areas of research better. At the same time, this legitimacy and equity is also needed for women researchers, women professors, women students, and other women who are professional Political Scientists. To be clear, Political Science provides one snapshot from one discipline in higher education. This research heeds Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus' warning that there is a tendency for Political Scientists to be, "the product and prisoner of its past" (1967 2). Likewise, Gabriel Almond echoed this sentiment with his reference to the "problem of generations and professional memory" (1990 7). This part of the history

needs telling in order to educate and revitalize scholars in Political Science.
We should aspire not to continue to repeat the same mistakes the previous generations of Political Science scholars made.

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**Appendix A:
Constitution of the American Political Science Association**

Article I: Name

This Association shall be known as the American Political Science Association.

Article II: Purpose

1. It shall be the purpose of this association to encourage the study of Political Science, including Political Theory, Political Institutions, Politics, Public Law, Public Administration, and International Relations.

2. The Association as such is nonpartisan. It will not support political parties or candidates. It will not commit its members on questions of public policy nor take positions not immediately concerned with its direct purpose as stated above. But the Association nonetheless actively encourages in its membership and in its journals, research in and concern for significant contemporary political and social problems and policies, however controversial and subject to partisan discourse in the community at large these may be. The Association shall not be barred from adopting resolutions or taking such other action as it deems appropriate in support of academic freedom and of freedom of expression by and within the Association, the political science profession, and the university, when in its judgment such freedom has been clearly and seriously violated or is clearly and seriously threatened.

Article III: Membership

1. **Annual Members.** Any person sharing the objects of this Association may become a member upon payment of annual dues. All classes of dues, including life membership and reduced annual fees for retired members and students shall be set by the Council.

2. **Life Members.** Any person paying dues of a life member in a lump sum, or in installments spread over not more than ten years, shall become a Life Member of this Association and thereafter be exempt from further dues.

3. **Student Members.** Any graduate or undergraduate student registered in a college or university may become a Student Member of the Association upon payment of dues and may remain such while he or she is so registered, but for no more than five years, by paying annual dues.

4. Family Members. Another person in the family of a member may become a Family Member upon payment of dues, and may remain such as long as there is another Association member in the family, by paying annual dues.

5. Retired Members. Any member who has been a member for twenty-five years prior to retirement shall be entitled, on retirement, to continue membership at the retired members dues rate.

6. Institutional and Library Memberships. The dues and privileges of Institutional and Library Members shall be fixed by the Council but dues may not be less than those for Annual Members.

7. Privileges of Members. Each member, other than a Family Member, shall be entitled to a copy of each number of the *American Political Science Review* issued during his or her membership. All members, upon payment of such registration fee as the Council may approve, shall be entitled to attend and to participate in the Annual Business Meeting of the Association.

Article IV: Officers

1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, a President-Elect, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and sixteen elected members of a Council, all of whom shall be elective officers and who shall represent the Association in its corporate capacity. In addition, there shall be an Executive Director of the Association, a Managing Editor of the *American Political Science Review* and such other appointive officers and committees as are hereinafter provided for.

2. The elective officers, together with the Executive Director, the Managing Editor, and the Chair of the Program Committee, shall constitute the Council of the Association. Ex-Presidents of the Association, and upon invitation of the President, the chair of any committee of the Association and nominees to the next year's Council, may attend meetings of the Council and participate in its discussions but have no vote.

3. The President, the President-Elect, the Treasurer, and four other elected members of the Council appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Council shall constitute the Administrative Committee of the Council.

Article V: Elective Officers

1. The elective officers, except the President, shall be chosen by a vote of the members of the Association attending the Annual Business Meeting, a

quorum being present, provided that whenever there is a contest for any elected office or offices such elections shall be conducted by mail ballot of the entire individual membership. In the latter event the Executive Director shall distribute ballots within thirty (30) days following the Annual Business Meeting and under such other conditions as the Council may prescribe, and he or she shall count only ballots returned within thirty (30) days following distribution; each contested election, except as specified below for the President-Elect, shall be determined by a plurality of those voting on the particular office; if the number of nominees shall appear on the mail ballot, members shall be entitled to vote for a number equal to the number of offices in the set, and the nominees ranking highest in the pole, in a number equal to the number of offices, shall be declared elected. The President-Elect shall be chosen by the above method only if there are two and only two nominees for the office. Should there be three or more nominees for President-Elect, ballots for that office shall be so designed as to enable members to designate their rank-ordered preferences by placing numbers beside the names of the nominees ("1" for first preference, "2" for second preference, and so on for each nominee). If no nominee receives at least fifty-percent-plus-one of the first preferences, other preferences shall be added from the first preference ballot of each eliminated nominee according to the standard method of the alternative vote system, which shall be prescribed by the Council in advance of nominations, until one nominee receives at least fifty-percent-plus-one of the aggregated preferences and is declared the winner. The President-Elect shall automatically succeed to the office of President upon the completion of the President's term, or upon the occurrence of one of the contingencies provided for in section three of this article. The term of elective officers, except members of the Council and the Treasurer, shall extend for one year measured from the end of the program of the Annual Meeting, except that an officer's term shall in no event expire until his or her successor assumes office. The terms of the members of the Council shall extend for two years, similarly calculated, and one-half shall expire each year. The term of the Treasurer shall also extend for two years, similarly calculated.

2. After each annual meeting the President shall appoint with the advice and consent of the Council and with due regard to geographical distribution and the fields of professional interest, three members to a Nominating Committee of six, to serve for two-year terms; and he or she shall designate the chair. The Committee may canvass the membership directly or indirectly for suggestions, and shall submit to the next Annual Business Meeting one nomination for each elective office to be filled, except the Presidency. These nominations shall be announced to the membership, by any convenient means, well in advance of the Annual Meeting. Additional nominations, sponsored by at least 10 members of the association, may be

offered from the floor at the Annual Business Meeting, upon 24 hours advance notice to the secretary.

3. In case of death, resignation, or inability of the President to perform the duties of his or her office, the President-Elect shall immediately succeed him or her and shall be President for the remainder of the term unless that is less than four months, in which case he or she shall serve out the unexpired term and one additional year. In case of an interim vacancy in the office of President-Elect, the Nominating Committee shall forthwith proceed to nominate and the Council shall elect a new President-Elect to serve until the end of the next Annual Meeting. Actions to fill a vacancy may in case of need be taken by mail, telegraph, or telephone, without a meeting. At the next Annual Business Meeting the Association shall confirm the Council's action by electing the President-Elect to the office of President or instead may elect another member as President, or may take such other action as in its discretion the situation may require, to the end that there shall be in office at all times both a President and a President-Elect. The Council may fill an interim vacancy in its elective membership until the end of the next Annual Meeting.

4. The elective officers, except the Secretary and the Treasurer, shall be ineligible to succeed themselves in office. After a lapse of two years, a former member of the Council may be elected to another term.

5. Nominations for the office of Treasurer should be from among members of the Association who, at the time of the nomination are serving as members of the Council or who have completed service during the preceding year.

Article VI: Appointive Officers

1. The Executive Director of the Association and the Managing Editor of the *American Political Science Review* shall be appointed by the Council, after it hears the recommendation of the President. They shall have terms to be fixed in each case by the Council; and they shall be eligible for reappointment.

2. There shall be a Board of Editors of the *American Political Science Review* to assist the Managing Editor, and the Council may determine its size, method of appointment, and tenure.

3. The Council may establish other offices, boards and committees, as the business of the association may require, define their tasks and powers, and fix their terms and methods of appointment.

Article VII: Management of Association and Duties of Officers

1. The membership of the Association duly assembled in the Annual Business Meeting or in a special meeting called shall consider policy questions brought to it, and may vote to confirm, revise, or repeal the action of the Council, or any officer. Whenever one-third or more of those present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting vote to repeal, revise, or substitute the judgment of the Meeting for an act of recommendation of the Council, or any officer, the question shall be submitted to the entire membership in a mailed, secret ballot under conditions prescribed by the Council and shall be determined by a majority of those voting by mail on the question. One hundred members shall constitute a quorum for the Annual Business Meeting. The Association shall meet annually at a time and place designated by the Council. The Council and the officers shall make every effort to acquaint the members with the business of the Association and with the issues involved in the agenda of the Annual Business Meeting or in a ballot by mail, and to provide sufficient time at business meetings for deliberations and votes.

2. Subject to the foregoing, the Council shall be the governing body of the Association and have general charge and supervision of its business and interests in accordance with this Constitution. The Council shall meet once a year before the Annual Business Meeting, and oftener at its discretion or on call of the President. Nine members shall constitute a quorum, and a majority vote of the members in attendance shall control its decisions. The Council may call special meetings of the Association. It shall receive reports of all offices and committees; adopt the budget and appropriate money; and give its recommendations upon all questions (except the election of officers) to be presented to the Annual Business Meeting. It shall receive an annual audit of the Association's accounts. It may give directions to officers and committees, and adopt the rules for the regulation of the Association's business. In the event of an emergency which prevents the holding of the Annual Business Meeting, the Council may exercise all the powers of the Association including the election of officers.

3. The President shall preside at business meetings of the Association and the Council. Except as may be otherwise provided, he or she shall appoint all committees of the Association. He or she shall see to it that the business of the Association is faithfully transacted.

4. The Secretary shall approve and have custody of the minutes of business meetings, of the Council and of the Association; and he or she shall report the actions of the Council to the Annual Business Meeting.

5. The Treasurer shall review and approve the arrangements for the receipt, custody, and disbursement of the Association's funds, and for keeping the Association's accounts. He or she shall arrange for the annual audit, and present the auditor's report to the Council. He or she shall report the Association's financial condition to the Annual Business Meeting. He or she shall review the Association's investments and make recommendations of investment policy to the Council. He or she shall seek to advance the interests of the Association in adding to its financial resources.

6. The Managing Editor of the *American Political Science Review* shall edit and publish the *Review*, with the advice and assistance of the Board of Editors, and report its affairs to the Council.

7. The Executive Director shall be the chief executive of the Association and transact business. He or she shall have charge of the central office of the Association. He or she shall formulate plans and policies for the accomplishment of the Association's objectives, and upon the approval of the Council shall be responsible for their administration. All appointive committees shall look to him or her for advice and assistance in their work. He or she shall have custody of the Association's funds, discharge its obligations and maintain its accounts. He or she shall make an annual report to the Council and consult with the President as questions of policy currently arise.

8. A Program Committee shall be responsible for preparing the professional program of the annual meetings of the Association. A Committee on Local Arrangements shall be responsible for assistance with accommodations and entertainment for members attending the annual meetings.

9. The Association Trust and Development Fund shall be administered by a Board of Trustees. The Treasurer of the Association shall serve as ex-officer as Chair of the Board. Six other Trustees shall be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Council. No more than two of the appointive Trustees shall be currently serving as members of the Council. Each appointed member shall serve for a term of three years and be eligible for one additional three-year term, for a maximum service of six years. Of the first six appointments to the Board, two shall have three-year terms; two two-year terms; and two one-year terms as determined by drawing lots at the first meeting of the Board. Thereafter, two appointed members' terms shall expire on the first day of January of each year. The Fund shall consist of all endowment and trust funds and such other funds as may be assigned to it by the Council, and with appropriate professional advice, the Board of Trustees shall direct the investment of the Fund's resources. On the first day of July of each year, the Board of Trustees shall assign to the Association's general operating funds all moneys from interest

and dividends earned by the Fund since the first day of July in the preceding year. At least once annually, the Board shall publicly issue an official accounting of the Fund's receipts, investments, and expenditures. The Council may, at its pleasure, assign any surpluses from the general operating funds to the Trust and Development Fund. No appropriation shall be made from the Fund's capital except (1) upon a request of the Council approved by at least four members of the Board of Trustees; or (2) if the Council so directs at a subsequent Council meeting, after hearing the position of the Board of Trustees. The Board shall act upon any request of the Council within thirty (30) days of the Council meeting at which the request is first made.

10. Other committees may be created, for stated periods and stipulated assignments. They shall report to the Council and thereupon be discharged. Unless specifically approved by the Association or the Council for that purpose, their reports shall not be deemed to state the views of the Association nor commit it in any way.

Article VIII: Resolutions

Resolutions may be proposed by any member of the Association under conditions prescribed by the Council. All resolutions shall be referred to the Council for its recommendations before submission to the vote of the Association at its Annual Business Meeting. Notice of this provision shall be given to the members of the Association in advance to the Annual Meeting. Whenever one-third or more of those present and voting at the Annual Business Meeting vote in support of any resolution, the question shall be submitted to the entire membership in a mailed secret ballot under conditions prescribed by the Council and shall be determined by a majority of those voting by mail on the question.

Article IX: Amendments

1. Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed by the Council or by fifty (50) members of the Association. The Council may transmit all proposed amendments to the next Annual Business Meeting and may make recommendations on those amendments originating outside the Council.

2. The Council shall have any proposed amendment printed in an official publication of the Association prior to the next Annual Business Meeting. The Council shall then place the proposed amendment on the agenda of the Business Meeting. The Business Meeting may accept or reject the proposed amendment with or without further amendments to it. Within thirty (30) days the Executive Director shall submit amendments supported by at least forty percent of those members present and voting at the Annual Business

Meeting to the entire membership for vote by mail ballot. Ballots must be returned within thirty (30) days to be counted. A proposed amendment shall be ratified if approved by a majority of those voting. An amendment shall take effect immediately upon ratification unless the amendment itself provides otherwise.

**Appendix B:
Women's Caucus at 30
Tonight's Celebratory Program
"Taking Care of Ourselves"**

The Evenings Host		Toni-Michelle Travis
Welcome		Molly Shanley
The Founding		Dorothy Stetson
In Appreciation of our Founding Mothers	Carol Barner-Barry Berenice Carroll Kay Klotzburger Judith Steihm Audrey Wells	Toni-Michelle Travis
The 1970s: When Politics Was Political		Kristen Monroe
Fight for the ERA		Jane Mansbridge
The 1980s: The Caucus Has Arrived		Rita Mae Kelly
Creating the Research Section		Sue Carroll
The 1990s: "Far from the goal of equality in the profession"		Mary Hawkesworth
Our Award Winners: Remembering the Outstanding		Molly Shanley
Good Guys: Who Dared to Go...	Martin Gruberg Walter Beach Theodore Lowi James MacGregor Burns	Toni-Michelle Travis
Pioneering Women of Color: Toward a History	Jewel Prestage Mertz Tate	Georgia Duerst-Lahti Dianne Pinderhughes
More Steps Forward: Upcoming Ought Years		Georgia Duerst-Lahti

Special thanks to all of the women, present tonight and with us in spirit, who mustered the courage to create and sustain the Caucus. Especially in the early years, you risked your careers so that the discipline might be better for all of us. No free riders among you! You have also modeled how to "take care of ourselves." We who now follow in your footsteps are grateful.

*On behalf of all women in political science,
Georgia Duerst-Lahti
President 1999-2000*

Caucus Presidents

1968-71	Kay Klotzburger
1972	Evelyn Stevens
1972-73	Marie Rosenberg-Dishman
1973-74	JoAnne Aviel
1974-75	Ruth Cowan
1975-76	Naomi Lynn
1976-77	Maria Falco
1977-78	Susan Tolchin
1978-79	Betty Nesvold
1979-1980	Sarah Slavin
1980-81	Ann Matasar
1981-82	Marianne Githens
1982-83	Jeanne-Marie Col
1983-84	Marian Lief Palley
1984-85	Diane Fowlkes
1985-86	Rita Mae Kelly
1986-87	Janet Clark
1987-88	Arlene Saxonhouse
1988-89	Barbara Nelson
1989-90	Kay Lawson
1990-91	Karen O'Connor
1991-92	M. Margaret Conway
1992-93	Anne Schneider
1993-94	Jennifer Hochschild
1994-95	Toni-Michelle Travis
1995-96	Jane Mansbridge
1996-97	Judith Steihm
1997-98	Mary Hawkesworth
1998-99	Molly Shanley
1999-2000	Georgia Duerst-Lahti
2000-01	Martha Ackelsberg
2001-02	Judith Baer

Appendix C

Helpful books not listed in Works Cited.

Allison, Alida and Terri Frongia, PH.D, eds. 1992. *The Grad Student's Guide to Getting Published*. New York: Prentice Hall.

American Psychological Association (APA), Committee on Women in Psychology. 1992. *Survival Guide to Academia for Women and Ethnic Minorities*. Washington, DC: APA.

Basalla, Susan and Maggie Debelius. 2001. *"So What Are You Going To Do With That?" A Guide to Career-Changing for M.A.'s and PH.D's*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Hawley, Peggy, Ph.D. 1993. *Being Bright Is Not Enough: The Unwritten Rules of Doctoral Study*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher.

Newhouse, Margaret. 1993. *Outside the Ivory Tower: A Guide for Academics Considering Alternative Careers*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Appendix D

Archival Research and General Library Research

**Duke University, Perkins Library
2000 and 2001**

**Harvard University, Law Library
2000**

**Radcliffe, Arthur Schlesinger and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library
2000**

**San Diego State University, Library
Ongoing visits**

**Smith College. Sophia Smith Library
2000**

**University California Los Angeles, Library
2001 and 2002**

**University of California, Riverside, Tomas Rivera Library
Ongoing visits**

**University of California, San Diego, Library
Ongoing visits**

**University of California, Santa Barbara, Library
2002**

Appendix E

Websites

For Chicana/Chicano Studies Foundation (FCCSF)
www.forchicanaostudies.com

Office of Women in Higher Education (OWHE)
www.acenet.edu/programs/owhe.about.cfm

Black Issues in Higher Education
www.blackissues.com

American Association of Colleges and Universities (AACU): Preparing Future Faculty Initiative
www.aacu-edu.org/Initiatives/futurefaculty.html

The Chronicle of Higher Education
www.chronicle.com/teaching

National Teaching and Learning Forum
www.ntlf.com

Speaking From the Margins
<http://www.speakingfromthemargins.org/index.php>

Sister Mentors
www.sistermentors.org

Organizations such as the National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO)
www.naleo.org

Tomás Rivera Policy Institute
<http://www.trpi.org/>

Southwest Institute for Research on Women (SIROW)
<http://info-center.ccit.arizona.edu/~ws/newweb/sirow.html>

Re-envisioning the PhD A two-year research project poses the question: "How can we re-envision the Ph.D. to meet the needs of the society of the 21st Century?"
<http://www.grad.washington.edu/envision/>

A Yellow Wood, alternative careers site for humanities PhDs. Sponsored by the University of California, Santa Barbara.
<http://yw.english.ucsb.edu/>

Tomorrow's Professor Listserv
<http://cis.stanford.edu/structure/tomprof/listserver.html>

CampusWomenLead is a moderated listserv organized by the Association of Colleges and Universities and its Program on the Status and Education of Women in affiliation with the National Initiative for Women in Higher Education. To join post a message to campuswomenlead@list.acu-edu.org

Appendix F

Organizations

American Political Science Association
www.apsanet.org

Asian Pacific American Caucus
www.apa-politics.org

Feminist Theory and Gender Studies Section of the ISA
<http://csf.colorado.edu/femisa/>

International Studies Association
www.isanet.org

Midwest Political Science Association
<http://www.indiana.edu/~mpsa/>

National Conference of Black Political Scientists
www.poli.ncat.edu/ncobps

National Women's Studies Association
www.nwsa.org

Race, Ethnicity and Politics Section
<http://www.apsanet.org/~rep/listserv.htm>

Southern Political Science Association
<http://www2.gasou.edu/spsa/>

Western Political Science Association
<http://www.csus.edu/ORG/WPSA/>

Women and Politics Section of the APSA
<http://www.apsanet.org/~wpol/index.htm>

Appendix G: A Medieval Sociology of International Relations

The plethora of different camps and schools in international relations can be intimidating to the beginning student. What with realists, liberals, constructivists, quantitative analysts, formal theorists, etc. it is often difficult to keep straight who is who, what they do, and what their relations to each other are. Careful analysis reveals however, certain patterns within the discipline that resemble other social milieus in the earlier historical eras. In particular, the social structure of medieval Europe offers a compelling template for comprehending the state of the discipline. The social groups of the period and the relations between them are almost identically replicated in the modern study of international relations. Let us examine the three orders of medieval society, the nobility of bellatores, the peasantry of laboratores, and the priesthood or oratores, and see what parallels we can find.

The Nobility

The nobles in the international relations are the scholars at the top universities, typically on the East Coast but with some outliers such as Chicago and Berkeley. Like their medieval counterparts, the nobles of the IR field have a few useful skills and do very little see that can be characterized as work. Much of their life is spent in social activity. As the medieval nobles could spend entire weeks at jousting tournaments, today's nobles spend inordinate amounts of time going to seminars, workshops, conferences, invited lectures, not to mention lunches, sherry hours, honorary dinners, and buffets. They organize edited volumes, participate in edited volumes by their friends, and review edited volumes for presses. The life of the nobility is a constant round of intense social interaction, and they train for it from early graduate school by attending parties on a regular basis.

The most important function of the nobility, however, is paradigmatic war. As the nobles of old viewed combat as their central *raison d'être*, the nobles of international relations view inter-paradigmatic conflict as their main calling. These modern bellatores group together in feudally organized camps, called paradigms, which typically are led by a charismatic elder peer of the realm. This Duke or Earl possesses many fiefs to distribute to loyal followers for services they render in battle, and maintains a household of graduate student retainers in the castle keep that perform the necessary services needed to keep the house running. These lucky pages also learn the use of essential tools they will need to succeed in combat, including the Polemic, the Diatribe, the Magisterial Pronouncement, the Tendentious Case Study, the Testy Reply, the Condescending Retort, and the Sweeping Unfalsifiable Claim. The pages also learn the social graces and decencies of chivalrous

conduct, including the proper use of the pipe in gesturing, and the correct color for suede elbow patches on tweed jackets.

Two of the oldest paradigms are Realism and Liberalism. These groups have done battle since time immemorial and typically focus on material factors, fighting over office space, funding, post-docs, etc. While Realists emphasize the role anarchy in preventing cooperation and leading to conflict, Liberals argue that it is possible to cooperate under anarchy, especially over the issue of fighting realists. A more recently formed paradigm, Constructivism, emphasizes the non-material or spiritual side of combat, much as the chivalric knightly orders such as the Templars and the Hospitalers rejected worldly ties to focus on fighting the Saracens. The nobles then, form the peak of society. Their dominance of the field is almost unchallenged. The other strata of society can only look on and envy them.

The Peasants

The peasants of the international relations world are the quantitative methods scholars. Like the laborers of old, the life of the quantitative scholar consists of much work and little reward. Grubbing about in the fields gathering data under the hot sun, painstakingly assembling data-sets in the barn, and then going through all the tedious work involved in grinding the data into flour and baking it into something edible, these scholars are familiar with toil. Tied as they are to the land, they lack vision and typically eke out their subsistence livelihoods at lesser ranked universities, publishing their paltry findings in non-prestigious journals that no one but other peasants reads. Given their slender means, they are constantly in danger of famine at tenure time, and even if they manage to acquire a modest holding they can be wiped out by floods of better methods or sudden shifts in market demands from journal editors. One of the few sources of pleasure for peasants are the annual folk festivals, or conferences that specialize in quantitative IR. Here the quantitative scholar can relax among his own kind, quaff a tankard of mead, and temporarily forget the existence of nobles and their overweening privilege.

A ray of hope for the peasant is the possibility of revolution. Usually these peasant revolts are met by the nobility with merciless and successful repression, but in one corner of the map a rebellion seems to have achieved some limited success. The democratic peace literature arose in the peasant community, and matured as folk wisdom, but was later turned into a means of mobilizing in solidarity against aristocratic oppression. The nobles fought back of course, but for once their heavy cavalry was repulsed by the Swiss pike bearing democratic peace researchers. It is still too early to tell whether this is a temporary aberration, or whether this heralds a new era when the life of the peasant will improve at the expense of feudal nobility.

The Priests

Like medieval priests, the oratores, the formal theorists in international relations claim special access to divine knowledge, available not through observation of the corrupt and impure world but through revelation and contemplation of the perfection of the divinity. Highly respectful of learning and abstract debate, the high formal theorists do not work whatsoever, other than to study the sacred dogma and refine ever more minutely the laws and teaching of the Holy Theory. Their debates on such arcane questions as, "How many angels can dance on the head of a subgame perfect equilibrium?" can get quite heated, but remain largely incomprehensible and irrelevant to the laity. Their function is to reveal the word of God to the lesser mortals, and to guide them in walking the correct path towards rational choice.

The oratores maintain and add to the sacred body of scripture and like their medieval counterparts, employ a rarefied language unavailable to the laity, Latin in the old days, formal theory today. This conveniently makes it difficult for the laity to question the guidance given or interpret the sacred texts for themselves. Also like their priestly forebears, today's oratores depend on the patronage of the nobility for their livelihood and in turn lend legitimation to their order. While the priests justified social stratification as the will of God, rational choice scholars lend support to the nobles by taking the vague self-serving verbal utterances that pass for theory among the aristocrats and formalizing them in game theoretic terms, lending them the sanction of Holy Theory. In exchange for this service, selected priests and monastic orders are endowed with sumptuous abbeys and bishoprics at the elite universities. Of course not every man of God is so lucky, many a wandering mendicant friar ekes out a sad existence selling clumsily faked fragments of the true Theorem to credulous peasants. Indeed the reluctance of the formal theorists to fight wholeheartedly for any of the paradigms only confirms the nobility in their belief that formal theorists are cowardly and lacking in virility. For their part, the priests look on the nobility as undereducated and deficient in proper piety towards Rational Choice Theory and his ministers on earth, as well as being excessively rude and belligerent.

As these examples indicate, the medieval world is a rich source of insight into the social structure of modern international relations scholarship. The medieval bellatores, and oratores find their counterparts in the discipline as we know it today. It will be interesting to see if the forces change in the medieval world, fairs and the increase of trade, improvements in navigation, etc. will have a corrosive effect on the social hierarchy of IR, as they did in the medieval period. This question must be left for future research.

Appendix H

"Pieces on Our Craft: The Roadrunner and Coyote Guide to IR Theory"

To reach our students we must sometimes speak to their earliest recollections.

R. Kramened, 2001

Realism:	Coyote seeks to secure food by using force to overpower Roadrunner.
Result:	Coyote gets anvil on head.
Neorealism:	Coyote uses vast intellect to recognize structural requisites of system, and decides the best course is to secure food by using force to overpower Roadrunner.
Result:	Coyote denies anvil (which represents slippery slope of reductionism) has landed on his head.
Idealism:	Coyote comes to believe that Coyotes and Roadrunners can live in peace if critical institutions are altered to allow for greater transparency in their interactions. Between servings of roasted Roadrunners who believed this, Coyote suggests it to other Roadrunners.
Result:	Coyote is shocked and appalled when Roadrunners begin assaults with anvils.
Marxism:	Coyote is bourgeois class seeking to use state/will to crush the life out of the working class Roadrunner who is so strong and fast from the "hurry-up" tactics of the greedy bosses that the state/anvil is eventually turned against the Coyote.
Result:	Hypothesis that repeated blows with the anvil will force the Coyote to wither away.
Behavioralism:	Midwestern Coyotes do empirical studies to test the hypothesis that there is an inverse anvil-to-Roadrunner correlation.
Result:	Coyote gets published!

- Interdependence:** The point is not whether the Coyote can catch the Roadrunner, the point is that in this specific issue-area (food procurement) there exist certain norms, rules, and decision-making procedures that have developed to deal with functional needs of various actors. Instruments of power from one realm (e.g. blacksmithing, which provides anvils) cannot necessarily be used to deal with others, though some linkages might hypothetically exist. Important interdependence scholars acquire rocket shoes based on the relative dominance of technology of the hegemonic Coyote homeland. Many individuals without affiliations on their nametags who are sitting quietly in the audience shake their heads in agreement and take notes.
- Result:** Coyote acquires rocket shoes and uses them to chase Roadrunner, but runs headfirst into an anvil.
- World-Systems:** Coyote recognizes own semiperipheral status and refuses to act as a sub-imperialist vis-à-vis the peripheral Roadrunner.
- Result:** Core powers (advertisers on cartoon shows and the lackeys who draw for them) drop anvil on Coyote's head, but give the credit to the Roadrunners to keep them fooled into thinking they have some say in the social order.
- Neoliberal Institutionalism:** Coyote attempts to earn relative gains by using ever-more-sophisticated methods of coordinating the capture of the Roadrunner.
- Result:** Coyote, near blind from hunger, cannot avoid oncoming anvil. Insists nonetheless that this isn't the norm.
- Gramscism:** Coyote writes a book about how Coyotes always catch and eat Roadrunners, thinking Roadrunners will read it too. It gets bad reviews. Coyote is confused and frustrated.
- Result:** Coyote suffers years of intellectual isolation. "Self-Anviled."

Feminism: "Coyote" denies the role of the violent hunt in food procurement, and suggests an alternative ontological foundation for building society in which neither "Roadrunner" nor "anvils" so central to aggressive phalocentric discourses play a significant role.

Result: Coyote dies when vegetarian alternatives fail to provide sufficient protein. In a supportive gesture everyone sends a card.

Evolutionary IR: As opportunities, constraints, alternatives, and preferences are neither given nor fixed, Coyote will use trial and error to find a way to catch the Roadrunner in the context of an ever-changing environment.

Result: Harboring great hope for the future, and in deep thought while planning for new challenges, an anvil lands on the Coyote's head.

Poststructuralism: Coyote denies socially constructed need for food. Engages in endless debates with Roadrunner.

Result: Roadrunner Doesn't get it, Coyote dies of malnutrition, but no conclusion that might constitute the anvil of metanarrative may be derived from this.

Macro-Historical IR: Proto-Coyote ancestors eat Roadrunners, cyclically falling for the old anvil trick, or learning to avoid it, in successive 500-year logistics.

Result: World accumulation of millions of anvils, and the struggle to control them, requires significant additional study.

Rational Choice: Coyotes that use the most efficient strategies will survive. Coyotes that fail to catch Roadrunners will never be heard from again. Coyotes that catch Roadrunners will be dominant in nature, song, and story.

Result: Overwhelming verification that nobody would watch a cartoon about an unsuccessful Coyote.

International Studies Perspective v2, issue 3, (August 2001). Inside back cover, n.p.n.

Appendix I

American Political Science Association Presidents

Frank J. Goodnow	Edward S. Corwin	Harold D. Lasswell	Charles E. Lindblom
Albert Shaw	William F. Willoughby	E.E. Schattschneider	Seymour Martin Lipset
Frederick N. Judson	Isidor Loeb	V.O. Key, Jr.	William H. Riker
James Bryce	Walter J. Shepard	R. Taylor Cole	Philip E. Converse
A. Lawrence Lowell	Francis W. Coker	Carl B. Swisher	Richard F. Fenno, Jr.
Woodrow Wilson	Arthur N. Holcombe	Emmette S. Redford	Aaron B. Wildavsky
Simeon E. Baldwin	Thomas Reed Powell	Charles S. Hyneman	Samuel P. Huntington
Albert Bushnell Hart	Clarence A. Dykstra	Carl J. Friedrich	Kenneth N. Waltz
W.W. Willoughby	Charles Grove Haines	C. Herman Pritchett	Lucian W. Pye
John Bassett Moore	Robert C. Brooks	David B. Truman	Judith N. Shklar
Ernst Freund	Frederic A. Ogg	Gabriel A. Almond	Theodore J. Lowi
Jesse Macy	William Anderson	Robert A. Dahl	James Q. Wilson
Munroe Smith	Robert E. Cushman	Merle Fainsod	Lucius J. Barker
Henry Jones Ford	Leonard D. White	David Easton	Charles O. Jones
Paul S. Reinsch	John Gaus	Karl W. Deutsch	Sidney Verba
Leo S. Rowe	Walter F. Dodd	Robert E. Lane	Arend Lijphart
William A. Dunning	Arthur W. MacMahon	Heinz Eulau	Elinor Ostrom
Harry A. Garfield	Henry R. Spencer	Robert E. Ward	M. Kent Jennings
James W. Garner	Quincy Wright	Avery Leiserson	Matthew Holden Jr.
Charles E. Merriam	James K. Pollock	Austin Ranney	Robert O. Keohane
Charles A. Beard	Peter H. Odegard	James MacGregor Burns	Robert Jervis
William Bennett Munro	Luther Gulick	Samuel H. Beer	Robert Putnam
Jesse S. Reeves	Pendleton Herring	John C. Wahlke	Theda Skocpol
John A. Fairlie	Ralph J. Bunche	Leon D. Epstein	Susanne Rudolph
Benjamin F. Shambaugh	Charles McKinley	Warren E. Miller	

*Bunche was the first African-American APSA President.

**Shklar was the first woman APSA Presidential.

Appendix J

Evaluation of Election Procedures (Sent 20 September 2001)

Dear colleagues:

The Elections Committee has been asked by the APSA Council and President Robert Putnam to examine the process by which it selects the Council and officers and in particular to consider whether we should routinely have competitive elections. As part of this process, we would like to learn your views on the issue. Is the current system satisfactory, or should it be changed to institutionalize competition? If there were to be institutionalized competition, should there be competition for all positions?

If not, for which ones? Should there be slates of candidates? What would be the general criteria for nominations? Should the Nominating Committee propose candidates that represent different approaches or schools of thought? Should the Nominating Committee itself be elected instead of or in addition to the election of officers? Should the instructions to the Nominating Committee be changed, and if so, in what way?

We would like to have your thoughts and observations by November 1. Please email your comments to elections@apsanet.org They will be forwarded to the committee members.

We refer you to Article V of our constitution, which specifies our current election process. You can review this at <http://www.apsanet.org/about/governance/constitution.cfm>

Thank you for your help.

**Gary Jacobson, Chair
Randy Calvert
Valerie Martinez-Ebbers
Lynn Mather
Robert Price
Susan Welch**

Appendix K

Potential Virtual Mentors (*WCPS Quarterly* 1998 v 15, n4 p2)

Carole Chaney (now Kennedy), San Diego State University, Women and Politics; Voting Behavior, Methodology; Campaigns and Elections

Diane Duffy, Iowa State University, Comparative Politics; Public Policy; Political Psychology

Mary Hale, University of Texas, San Antonio, Public Administration; Health Policy; Women and Politics

Kristen Monroe, University of California Irvine, Empirical Political Theory; Political Psychology; Political Economy

Pernilla Neal, Dickinson College, International Relations; Non-state Actors; International Crime; Technological Innovations and Diplomacy

Laura Olson, Lehigh University, Public Policy

Barbara Perry, Sweet Briar College, Public Law and Courts; American Politics

Sally Stoecker, American University, Comparative Politics, Soviet/Russian Military Affairs; Organized Crime in post-Soviet Russia

The two virtual mentoring matches:

Mary Hawkesworth, University of Louisville (now at Rutgers), mentoring Jocelyn Boryczka, The Graduate School, CUNY

Kim Marten Zisk, Barnard College, Columbia University, mentoring Haco Hoang, Boston University

Appendix L

**Curriculum Vitae
Janni Aragon
c/o Political Science UC Riverside,
Riverside, CA 92521
Janniaragon@janniaragon.com
www.janniaragon.com**

Dissertation: *The Movement into the Academy: Women and Political Science*

Ph.D. University of California Riverside, Political Science

**M.A. University of California Riverside, Political Science
Political Theory, Mass Political Behavior, and Gender & Race**

**M.A. San Diego State University, Liberal Arts and Sciences
Thesis: *Women and Sadomasochism: Understanding Issues of Consent***

B.A. San Diego State University, Women's Studies, minor in Political Science

Fields of research interest:

Feminist Theories and Methodologies, American Politics, Women & Politics, Transnational Feminism

Teaching Experience:

Internship in Political Science	Fall 2002
Model United Nations, UC Riverside	Fall 2002
Women's Studies: Sex, Power and Politics, SDSU	Spring 2002
Women's Studies: Sex, Power and Politics, SDSU	Spring 2001
Introduction to Political Science, Mesa College	Spring 2000
American Politics, Mesa College	Spring 2000
Introduction to Political Science, Mesa College	Fall 1999
American Politics, Mesa College	Fall 1999
Introduction to Political Science, Mesa College	Spring 1999
Introduction to Political Science, Mesa College	Fall 1998
American Politics, Mesa College	Fall 1998

Teaching Assistant Experience at UC Riverside:

American Politics	Fall 1998
Modern Political Ideologies	Winter 1998
Introduction to Ethnic Studies	Fall 1997
World Politics	Spring 1997
Constitutional Law	Fall 1996
American Politics	Spring 1996
Modern Political Ideologies	Winter 1996

Grading Experience:

Constitutional Law, Criminal Justice, UCR	2001
International Women, UCR	2000, 1999
Public Policy, UCR	1997
Women's History 1620-1865, SDSU	1994, 1993

Publications:

Reprint. Forthcoming. Anna Sampaio and Janni Aragon, "Feminismos Filtrados: Regulamento de Corpos das Mulheres em Ciberespaço," en *Internet e Política: a Teoria e a Prática da Democracia Eletrônica*, edited by Jose Eisenberg and Marco Cepik. UFMG: Belo Horizonte, Brazil.

2002 Summer. "Women's Caucuses and Committees" in *Women and Higher Education: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Ana Martínez-Alemán.

2002 State University New York Press, "Coincident Revolutions and the Dictator's Dilemma: Thoughts on Communication and Democratization" co-authored with Chris Kedzie in *Conflict, Cooperation and Information*, edited by Juliann Allison.

2001 Winter, "Filtered Feminisms: Cybersex, the Representation of Women in Cyberspace," co-authored with Anna Sampaio. *Women's Studies Quarterly*. Special issue on Women and Technology, edited by Lee Quinby.

2000, "Sadomasochism and Leather," in *Lesbian Histories and Cultures: An Encyclopedia*, edited by Bonnie Zimmerman.

Reprint. 1998. Routledge, "To Boldly Go (Where No Man Has Gone Before): Women, Representation and Identity Politics in Cyberspace," co-authored with Anna Sampaio, in *The Politics of Cyberspace*, edited by Chris Toulouse and Timothy W. Luke.

1997 *New Political Science* Fall, "To Boldly Go (Where No Man Has Gone Before): Women, Representation and Identity Politics in Cyberspace," co-authored with Anna Sampaio.

Book Reviews:

Review of more than 30 books for the 2002 Race, Ethnicity and Politics Section Book Awards of the American Political Science Association, with particular attention to Political History and Political Theory Submissions.

Review of American Government Survey Text, Addison, Wesley and Longman Publishers, 2002, no title at time of review.

Blind review of an Introductory Politics text for Addison, Wesley and Longman Publishers 2001, *Which Side Are You On? An Introduction to Politics*.

Reviewed Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey M. Berry, and Jerry Goldman. 1996. *The Challenge of Democracy*, 5th Edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company for the Women and Politics Caucus of the American Political Science Association 1997. The review was to judge the treatment of women's issues in introductory American Politics texts.

Selected Research Experience:

October 2001 -December 2001 Research Assistant for Professor Juliann Allison, Department of Political Science, assisted with the galley and index for *Conflict, Cooperation and Information*.

December 2000 - July 2001 Research Assistant for College of Engineering, Center for Environmental Research and Technology, Gail Tonneson.

April 2000 - November 2000 Research Assistant for College of Engineering, Center for Environmental Research and Technology, Jim Lents and Juliann Allison.

December 1998 -2001, Research Assistant for Professor Juliann Allison, Department of Political Science in various research areas: environmental issues (sustainability, sovereignty, policy), ecofeminism and peace theories, and feminist international relations theories.

April 1997 through February 1998, Research Assistant for Carlos Velez-Ibañez at the Ernesto Galarza Institute for Public Policy for the "Colonias" project.

November 1994 through December 1995, Project Assistant for National Diffusion Network and Editorial Assistant for the *Iowa*

Basic Skills Survey for Comprehensive Adult Student Assessment System (CASAS).

August-November 1994, Research Assistant for the request for proposal to the California Department of Social Services on the Greater Avenues for Independence (GAIN) Report for CASAS.

Archival Research Experience:

Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, 2001 and 2000

UCLA, Los Angeles, CA Fall 2001

Smith College, Northampton, Mass. Fall 2000

Arthur Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass. 2000

San Diego Historical Society, San Diego, CA 1994, 1995

Honors and awards:

International Studies Association Grant 2002, 2001

APSA Service Learning and Political Education Stipend 2001

Women's Studies Research Grant, Duke University, Perkins Library NC 2001

Sophia Smith Archives Grant, Smith College, MA 2000

Graduate Student Association Mini-Grants: 2002, 2001, 2000, 1999, 1997, 1996

Student Conference Award, Master of Arts in Liberal Arts & Sciences 1993

Conference Appearances:

"Women in Political Science: How Far Have We Come and How Far Do We Have To Go?" Roundtable Participant, American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, September 2002.

"The Re-Production of Knowledge in International Relations: Women and Interdisciplinarity," organized and participate on this roundtable at the International Studies Association Conference, New Orleans, LA, March 2002.

"Nationalism and Gender Politics in the Eighteenth Century: Queen Caroline Matilda's Misfortunes in Denmark," co-authored with Chris Laursen, Western Political Science Conference, Long Beach, CA, March 2002.

"Political Science Students: Contemporary Needs and Future Career Preparation" co-authored with Eric Davis, Southern Political Science Association, Atlanta, GA, November 2001.

"Virgins and Whores, Sluts and Goddesses: Negotiating Female Sexuality within Contemporary Cultural Discourses," Pacific Southwest Women's Studies Association Conference. April 2001, Moderator.

"Feminist Epistemology and International Relations," co-authored with Juliann Allison, Pacific Southwest Women's Studies Association, San Diego, CA April 2001.

"'Why So Slow' in Political Science? The Politics of Publications and other Concerns for Women in the Discipline," Western Political Science Conference, Las Vegas, NV March 2001.

"Political Science Students: Contemporary Needs and Future Career Preparation," Roundtable Participant, Western Political Science Conference, Las Vegas, NV, March 2001.

"Feminist Methodologies: Political Science and the Concept of Care," co-authored with Juliann Allison, International Studies Association, Chicago, IL, February 2001.

"Filtered Feminisms: Cybersex, the Representation of Women in Cyberspace," co-authored with Anna Sampaio, Western Political Science Conference, San Jose, CA, March 25, 2000.

Western Political Science Conference, Seattle, Washington 1999. Discussant.

"Feminist Languages," American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C., August 1997.

"The Cross-Disciplinary Narration of Identity Politics," National Women's Studies Conference, St. Louis, MO, June 19-22, 1997.

"The Contextualization of Women's Sexuality: Re-thinking Sex/Desire." Western Social Science Association, University of New Mexico, April 25, 1997.

"Women's History is *Our* History," presented at the Third Annual Mujeres Unidas Conferencia de la Mujer, UC Riverside, March 8, 1997.

"To Boldly Go (Where No Man Has Gone Before): Women, Representation and Identity Politics in Cyberspace," co-authored with Anna Sampaio, American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, August 30, 1996.

"Revised Strategies: Women Candidates in 1992 As Outsiders," presented at the Carrie Chapman Catt Center at Iowa University, March 2, 1996.

Professional Affiliations:

American Political Science Association (APSA)

Western Political Science Association (WPSA)

**Women's Caucus for Political Science, APSA & WPSA
International Studies Association (ISA)
Feminist Theory and Gender Studies, ISA
Graduate Women Scholars of Southern California
Women of Color Caucus, National Women's Studies Association
(NWSA)
Pacific Southwest Women's Studies Association
We Advocate Gender Equity (WAGE)
Society for Women in International Political Economy
American Association of University Professors
American Association of University Women**

Professional Service:

**Virtual Mentor, Women's Caucus for Political Science, 2002
Conference Planning Associate for the 2002 Pacific Southwest
Women's Studies Association Conference, Cal Poly Pomona
University
Race, Ethnicity and Politics Section Best Book Awards Review
Committee, American Political Science Association, 2002
Women of Color Committee, American Political Science Association,
2002
Representative at the Coalition for National Science Funding Exhibit
and Reception. To "showcase" Interdisciplinary Collaborative
Projects at UC Riverside, June 2001, Washington, D.C. I also
visited legislative aides of various congressional representatives.
Co-Mentor for Graduate Women Scholars of Southern California,
Spring 2001 to 2002
Commission on the Status of Women, Women's Caucus for Political
Science 2000-2003, Western Political Science Association
Commission on the Status of Chicanas/Latinas, 2000-2003, Western
Political Science Association
Abafazi- Women of Color Caucus, National Women's Studies
Association, Essay Competition Evaluator, 2001
Conference Planning Committee for the 2001 Pacific Southwest
Women's Studies Association Conference, San Diego State
University
Volunteer at the Frontline Feminisms Conference, 1996, University of
California, Riverside**

Guest Speaker, San Diego State University, Department of Political Science, "Graduate Education in Political Science: Successful Strategies for Students," 1996

Mentor for the Mentoring Summer Research Internship Program, University of California, Riverside, 1996

Selected Community Service:

Action Triad, Community Activist for a local feminist group, San Diego County.

La Jolla Country Day School, Guest Speaker for Women's Studies Course, Fall 2000

San Diego State University Faculty/Staff Children's Center, Associated Students Board, Fall 2000-Winter 2000

Community Captain Coordinator, E-mail Coordinator and Board Member of Las Madres, The Parent Connection sponsored by Scripps Memorial Hospital, 1998-2001

Election Day Polling Worker, San Carlos, CA 1994

Educational Opportunity Program Peer Tutor for Political Science and Women's Studies courses, San Diego State University, 1991-92

Language and Computer Skills:

Spanish-reading proficiency and basic speaking skills

Access, Powerpoint, Excel, Word, and familiarity with SPSS, Q.S.R. NUD*IST

Electronic Lists use in courses

Dissertation Committee:

**Dissertation Director, Juliann Allison, Political Science, UC Riverside,
John Christian Laursen, Political Science, UC Riverside,
Christine Gailey, Women's Studies, UC Riverside**

References available upon request from dissertation committee members and other faculty familiar with my research projects and professional work.