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'THE BIRTH OF CCLOW AT THAT TIME WAS NO COINCIDENCE.'

**Convergences And Divergences In
Feminist Theorizing and Organizing Practices
During the Second Wave Women's Movement:
A Case Study of the Canadian Congress
For Learning Opportunities For Women (CCLOW)**

by

Edith Smith, M.A.

**A dissertation submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
for partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

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'THE BIRTH OF CLOW AT THAT TIME WAS NO COINCIDENCE.'
Convergences and Divergences in Feminist Theorizing
and Organizing Practices During the Second Wave
Women's Movement: A Case Study of the Canadian
Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women

submitted by Edith Smith, B.Soc.Sc., M.A.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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October 5, 1996

ABSTRACT

This dissertation combines the disciplines of feminism, adult education and sociology of education to examine the conditions under which feminist practices of theorizing and organizing in women's education converge and diverge during two decades of the women's movement.

In feminist theorizing, 183 items are studied to determine that the major themes in feminist writings during the 1970s and '80s involved the development of feminist theories of social inequality, the role of education (especially women's studies programmes) in transforming society, and the need for practices that are inclusive of a diversity of women. A systematic analysis of educational themes in feminist literature is presented.

Feminist organizing practices are examined through a case study of the development of the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW). It began as an ad hoc committee of the Canadian Association of Adult Education in 1973, with a mandate to promote women's learning opportunities. Within less than a decade, CCLOW was an autonomous organization lobbying governments on behalf of women learners. Today, with a national office and provincial/territorial networks, CCLOW works to ensure a feminist education as a means of empowerment for women.

The two types of feminist practices in education are portrayed as two spirals moving toward the goal of an equal and transformed society. The separate spirals converge at specific moments, providing an impetus for development. During their

individual expansion, the spirals diverge. This movement occurs within a socio-economic-political context which mediates the coming together and moving apart of the practices. The dissertation provides an analysis of these convergences and divergences during specific moments of the women's movement.

In the process, three specific objectives are realized. First, a social history of CCLOW is presented. Secondly, this story helps challenge pre-conceived notions which emerge from the use of inflexible boxes to differentiate between theoretical streams when applied to feminist organizations. And thirdly, this dissertation problematizes the previous dichotomous view of theory and practice by showing that the practices of both theorizing and organizing are affected by the wider context in which they occur. By working together, feminist practices ensure swifter, more effective social change.

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In any project of this length (in terms of the time spent on it as well as the number of pages), many people have to be acknowledged. Some had direct influence on this research, but others' involvement, while indirect, is also deserving of mention.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vii
List of Tables	ix
List of Appendices	ix
 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	 1
Paths to this Research Project	1
Paths to the Research Question	6
Map of What Follows	11
 CHAPTER TWO: FINDING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	 15
Searching for a Framework	18
Feminist Frameworks	20
Education for Social Change	20
Theorizing and Organizing in Feminism	25
Adult Education	32
Sociology of Education	39
A Multi-Disciplinary Model	45
 CHAPTER THREE: THE RESEARCH PROCESS	 53
Why This Research Project	53
Historical Sociology	54
The Historical Sociology Project	56
Historical Research	63
What is History?	63
Historical Approaches/Perspectives	65
Historical Research Process/Methods	67
Women's History - Critique and Contribution	72
A History of Women's History	75
Contributions to Historical Research	81
My Research Process	83
Collecting Data	85
Phase I: Feminist Theory	85
Phase II: Feminist Organizing	89
Phase III - Analyzing the Data	93
Concluding Comments	95

CHAPTER FOUR: FEMINIST THEORETICAL WRITINGS	96
A1 Writings Prior to 1900	100
A2 Writings from 1900 to 1959	104
B1 Writings from the 1960s	110
C1 Writings from 1970-1974	114
C2 Writings from 1975-1979	124
D1 Writings from 1980-1984	133
D2 Writings from 1985-1989	144
Concluding Comments	150
CHAPTER FIVE: CCLOW'S STORY	153
The Formative Years: 1973-1979	154
Building Onto the Foundations of the Structure: 1980-84	169
Promoting Feminist Education: 1985-1990	183
Conclusion	204
CHAPTER SIX: CONVERGING/DIVERGING FEMINIST PRACTICES	213
Influencing the Second Wave - Pre 1970	215
Context - Pre 1900	215
Feminist Practices - Pre 1900	216
Context - 1900-1970	217
Feminist Practices - 1900-1970	220
The 1970s Second Wave Women's Movement Formative Years	224
Context	224
Feminist Theorizing	228
Feminist Organizing	235
Converging/Diverging in the Formative Years	239
Expansion, Evaluation and Regrouping in the 1980s	241
Context	241
Feminist Theorizing	248
Feminist Organizing	258
Converging/Diverging in the Years of Expansion, Evaluation & Regrouping	262
Concluding Comments	267
CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS	271
REFERENCES	288

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Pros and Cons of Existing Frameworks	47
2.	Frequency of Occurrence & Number of Themes Mentioned for Each Chronological Time Period	98
3.	Chronological Summaries of Selected CCLOW Activities	206

LIST OF APPENDICES

1.	Chronological Bibliography of Feminist Theory	302
2.	Themes in Feminist Writings	320
3.	Canadian Women's Movement Archives, List of Files	328
4.	CCLOW National Office Archives, List of Documents	337
5.	Greta Hoffman Nemiroff, List of Personal Files	339
6.	Glossary of Acronyms	376

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

PATHS TO THIS RESEARCH PROJECT

A few years ago I completed my Masters thesis on the empowerment of women who return to formal education. The thesis examined whether the process of re-entry leads to empowerment and what its costs are on the women's private, everyday lives. It taught me about the spiralling process of personal empowerment where, over and over, women encounter stages of dissatisfaction and make choices to change their lives. This led to ideas about how this personal experience has the potential to lead to more collective social action. It piqued my interest in the process of social change through social movements, where I would move from individual women to focus on a larger group.

Then, in the process of doing course work for my doctoral degree, I completed a course on the development of adult education in Canada. For the course assignments I chose to focus my attention on adult women's education, but serious gaps were found when attempting to find information on the subject. It was discovered that while adult education focuses on social movements it doesn't consider gender to be "an issue". My interest in adult education for social change grew during the course of these studies and I wanted to address the contributions the women's movement has made to the field of adult education. This would provide an opportunity to move from the individual to a more collective level.

The third path toward my choice of research topic came from previous work using a feminist framework to study the lives of women, which produced an interest in how feminist theory is seen in the women's movement or in women's practices for social change. I felt that feminism could provide the tools I needed to examine theory and practice of the collective, women's movement. Together, these three paths led to a decision to combine a sociology of adult education focus with a feminist approach in order to study social change through the women's movement, with relation to the education of women, and to determine what links exist between theory and organizing actions.

At the substantive level of organizing practices, I was fortunate enough to have access to archival data on the origins of the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW). This organization began during the 1970s and is still active in promoting women's educational opportunities today, yet its history had never been recorded. Therefore, the first purpose of this research was to rectify the situation by telling CCLOW's story and adding it to the history of feminist actions in the Canadian women's movement.

In an attempt to research CCLOW from the perspective of others, I found only a couple of sources which even mention this organization. During conversations with leading Canadian feminists, including some who specialize in women's education, it was discovered that CCLOW's name was not familiar. Despite its existence for more than 20 years, the story of CCLOW (and sometimes even its existence) is generally unknown. An exception to this lacuna is Leslie Pal's (1993) discussion of CCLOW

as one of five feminist organizations which receive a "significant proportion of national funding" (p. 222). Pal devotes more space than any other source to outlining the development of CCLOW into a major influence of the Canadian state. "Its special expertise on women's learning and employment...has made it a respected voice on 'technical' issues, so that it has been able to combine feminist perspectives, policy advocacy, and expert advice" (Pal, 1993:236).

In this recognition of the role of CCLOW in the Canadian women's movement, Pal considers it on par with organizations such as NAC and the Canadian Day Care Advocacy Organization (1993:222) (which along with CRIAW have had their histories told). So why is CCLOW unfamiliar to feminist education specialists? I suggest that the reasons are two-fold. The first, as discussed more fully in Chapter Two, is that feminism has paid limited attention to the field of adult education. Therefore, as an organization that specializes in education for adult women, CCLOW does not fit into the normal parameters of feminist analyses of education which deal primarily with formal education, and in particular, with women's studies at the post-secondary level.

But even more importantly, the second reason has to do with the contemporary tendency, that developed from feminists influenced by socialism, of categorizing feminist actions into, what I refer to as, boxes or labels. When "socialist feminism" emerged in the latter half of the 1970s, its proponents articulated their theoretical stance in opposition to other existing approaches and began the process of establishing a hierarchy of feminist theories. Terms like "liberal feminism", "institutionalized

feminism" or "mainstream feminism" came to be used, often pejoratively according to Bashevkin (1996:222), to describe the older groups that worked to change existing laws and structures.

In Feminist Organizing for Change: The Contemporary Women's Movement in Canada, a 300 plus page account that is one of the few attempts at developing a history of the Canadian women's movement, Adamson et al. (1988) devote less than one line to CCLOW. It is named among others under "Institutionalized feminism" as an example of this category of feminist strategizing where "[t]he non-partisan equality-for-all stance of these organizations made them acceptable to the media and the government..." (1988:62).

I suggest therefore that CCLOW is virtually unknown partly because it is concerned with adult education but even more so because it has been labelled a "liberal feminist" organization based on one of its strategies -- advocacy and lobbying the government to change laws and structures to ensure learning opportunities are available for women. How many other groups are unknown because of this labelling tendency within contemporary feminism?

The creation of these boxes or labels are another problem that is addressed in this research. While differentiating between theories is helpful in explaining how diverse strategies for action emerge from a variety of visions of the cause of women's inequality, the problem occurs when the boxes are too rigidly applied, and when they are set up in hierarchies of effectiveness. What began as three or four theoretical approaches has now grown unwieldy today as more and more differences are added

and attempts are made to be totally inclusive of all potential groups of women.

Dumont found, when she was developing a history of the origins of the women's movement in Quebec, that "the vocabulary used in identifying the different tendencies and splits is not appropriate for the situation in Quebec" (1993:75).

The same understanding came to me when developing the story of CCLOW. Despite the tendency to write this organization off as a "liberal" or "mainstream" group, I discovered that no one box was appropriate throughout its history. Sometimes CCLOW used radical feminist strategies and sometimes ones that fit better under the socialist stream. While it used a liberal approach in some of its organizing practices, it is much more than that and the rigid application of boxes/labels does not allow for a true examination of this group's contributions to the Canadian women's movement. I will argue that to resolve the problems which arise from this rigid reliance on boxes which create hierarchies of different feminist strategies for change, we should follow the words of Elsa Barkley Brown. She uses the analogy of African American women's quilt-making, of craft through asymmetry.

It is not merely a question of whether or not we have learned to analyse in particular kinds of ways, or whether people are able to intellectualize about a variety of experiences. It is also about coming to believe in the possibility of a variety of experiences, a variety of ways of understanding the world, a variety of frameworks of operation, without imposing consciously or unconsciously a notion of the norm (cited in Parr, 1996:13).

Therefore, a complex organization, like CCLOW, leads to an interest in seeing how other organizations, with their own particular stories, have implications for broader social change through the relationship between theory and practice in the women's movement.

PATHS TO THIS RESEARCH QUESTION

Once the decision was made to combine three fields (feminism, adult education and sociology of education) to study social change through the women's movement with relation to the education of women, and the objectives set to tell CCLOW's story as an organization with multiple feminist strategies, it was determined that I would examine "Feminist Theory and Practice in Adult Education". In the original proposal for this dissertation, I presented a background to the issues of concern. Part of what I learned follows here.

Adult education's recorded history reveals that in the past its two major purposes were the development of specialized knowledge (workforce training) and educating immigrants into "responsible citizens" (language and citizenship training). Today, there is also an increasing emphasis on knowledge as power and education as a process of empowerment leading to individual and social change to eliminate class inequalities (Darville, 1989).

The review of the literature, in Chapter Two, reveals continued inattention to other forms of inequality; for example, little attention is given to the specificity of women's experiences despite research which indicates that women constitute the majority of participants in adult education and have the greatest need for education (Devereaux, 1985; UNESCO, 1990). Also, while there is a recognition that adult education is often associated with social movements (i.e. the co-op movement in the Maritimes), there is a silence regarding the impact of the women's movement on adult education.

To begin to fill these gaps, one must turn to centuries of writings by feminists on the role of education for social change and how this has been translated into the practice of educating women. While early feminists fought for, and won, women's "right" to an education, the second wave feminists initially struggled to "liberate" women by opening up new career opportunities in order to eliminate expectations based on limited social roles. As women took advantage of these newly liberated roles, there emerged a growing recognition of the need to be more critical of the education they were receiving; both its content and its practice were seen to be male-streamed and exclusionary. Debates ensued as to the best forum for a feminist perspective which presented knowledge of women, and departments of women's studies began to open across the country. Their specific mission was to develop curricula and methods which would begin from women's experiences. A major focus of these new studies was to make connections between the articulation of ideas or theories and action or practice which would lead to social change.

One organization which provides a potential model for the integration of theory and practice is the Canadian Congress of Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW). Its history reveals the links between its practice and the evolving feminist theories of education's role in social change. CCLOW originated, in 1973, with approximately 20 female members of the Canadian Association for Adult Education (CAAE), who formed an ad hoc committee to develop educational programs and learning opportunities for "transitional women" from all social strata.

A 1986 mission statement reveals the evolution of this institution: CCLOW's basic philosophy was now a dedication to addressing the root causes of inequities and to making constructive recommendations for their redress, with their most current goal being "to promote feminist education and the empowerment of women". From the beginning, CCLOW has vigorously promoted educational opportunities for women, by creating new programs and ensuring women have access to existing ones. Despite 20 years of existence, CCLOW's history has never been formally written and a systematic analysis of its work, both theoretically and empirically, has yet to be done.

From this background I proposed to do a case study of CCLOW, focusing on how feminist theory influenced its policies and practices and how these, in turn, influenced adult education in Canada. I suggested that one of the contributions of my work would be to argue that theory and practice were dynamic and mutually dependent. The original research questions I proposed, in order to understand CCLOW and the complexity of the women's movement, were:

- 1) How can selected debates in the theoretical texts of the women's movement be seen in the historical development of CCLOW?
- 2) And how has this transformed feminist theory and practice in adult education?

It didn't take very long into the research process to realize that there was little "feminist theory and practice" in adult education, thus there was no transformation. This was an issue in the women's movement but not in adult education. But I

continued to look for links between "theory" and "practice" in the education of adult women.

I collected the data to represent these two areas and was in the process of working with it, attempting to analyze and explain their historical developments when I noticed that, like theories in feminism, the notions of theory and practice were also rigidly treated in the traditional dichotomous vision of feminist activities. By asking whether theorizing was not also practice, I came to see a variety of 'practices', all of which were valid for different purposes and in different sites. I realized that I also wanted to stress the importance of understanding that there exist a variety of feminist practices toward social change, from a viewpoint that does not treat them as dichotomous, but rather as different actions toward one end. To return to Brown's analogy, there is a quilt made up of different pieces and each one is equally important in the overall picture.

Thus another objective that emerged was to attempt to unpack the notions of theory and practice in feminism, to argue that theory is practice and practice depends on theory. At that point I changed my terminology to reflect my new understanding; I now spoke of feminist practices of theorizing and organizing.

Another understanding I reached was that while there were times that one could see a direct relationship between the two activities, at other times they seemed to be far apart in their development, which led me to ask how this coming together and moving apart occurred. This question took me in a direction I had not anticipated -- that of the influence of the wider socio-economic-political context on feminist

activities. Rather than taking for granted the relationship between theorizing and organizing, it became clear that whether they converge or diverge depends on this context. Whereas I had seen that the spiralling toward and away from each other occurred, it was by adding the context that understanding of "why" came about. Joy Parr explains, "[t]he premise of women's history was that ... social, economic, and political contexts rather than biology, history rather than nature, created woman" (1996:13-14).

My research question needed to change to reflect the new direction I was now taking, in examining and analyzing the data collected. Ultimately, after numerous attempts, the final research question emerged.

Under what conditions do the practices of feminist theorizing and organizing in women's education converge and diverge over time, during the second wave of the women's movement? And what are the implications for social change?

This allowed me to not only focus on when and how the two feminist practices converged, but also on why this movement occurred, on the circumstances surrounding the convergences. My proposal had suggested that the data would be collected in interactive stages, but it turns out that the entire process of gathering and analyzing the data, and then explaining the histories of theorizing and organizing, were interactive.

The new question also, more clearly, matched my objectives. First, the focus on feminist organizing practices allowed for the telling of CCLOW's story. And secondly, this story helps challenge pre-conceived notions which emerge from the use

of rigid boxes to differentiate between theoretical streams when applied to feminist organizations. While it is difficult to make generalizations from a case study of an organization whose leadership is mainly white, Anglophone, middle-class women, the findings do allow for an argument that there is a need to re-assess the categories that other women's groups have been placed in. And thirdly, the question problematizes the notions of feminist practices of theorizing and organizing and ensures that one puts their convergences within a broader context that helps explain the conditions under which these practices come together.

MAP OF WHAT FOLLOWS

To guide the reader through the process of this report on research that examines how and why feminist theorizing and organizing of education converge and diverge during two decades of the second wave of the women's movement, a map of what follows is helpful.

Chapter Two deals with the problem of finding a framework which will allow for an analysis of the connections between the two feminist practices of theorizing and organizing. The issue of social change through education of adult women touches on three potential disciplines of study: feminism, adult education and the sociology of education. After establishing the criteria necessary in a framework for my research question, each of these three disciplines are examined to determine their pros and cons or their potential contributions to an analysis of my data. Finally, a multi-disciplinary model is presented which allows for an understanding from the point of

view of adult women in education, with an acknowledgement of the role of broader social conditions, and a recognition of the inter-connections of the practices of theorizing and organizing.

Once a model has been developed, Chapter Three then turns to the actual research process in terms of the methodological choices made and a rationale for them. In a reflective manner, it traces the process of the project, from choice of research question, through an examination of historical sociological research methods and the reasons why these are not considered appropriate for this research project. The chapter then turns to the discipline of history to examine its potential research methodology, including the contributions of feminist history. Once an understanding is achieved on how to do historical research, I then turn to a description of the actual steps taken in collecting data which represents feminist practices of theorizing and organizing, as well as the process involved in working with that data to make sense of it.

Chapter Four begins the description of the data. The focus of this section is on the practice of feminist theorizing and examines writings of the second wave of the women's movement, as well as those writings from earlier times which influenced contemporary feminists. The data involve an examination of a total of 183 items, broken into seven chronological time periods. A series of themes were developed to help categorize the variety of issues dealt with, and for each time period, the major themes and how they developed, are described. The three major issues found in these data, overall, include the development of feminist theoretical explanations of women's

unequal social position, feminist notions of equality in different theoretical streams, and the changing notions of diversity within feminism. While these themes could be applied to a number of issues, the focus of this research is on education of adult women, and the themes are therefore applied to feminist theorizing on education throughout this section.

Once an historical look at feminist theorizing is completed, Chapter Five turns to the second practice, to provide a social history of feminist organizing in education using the case study of the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women, from its beginnings in 1973 through to 1990. CCLOW's story is compiled by examining archival records and files from individuals as well as their national office and from the Canadian Women's Movement Archives. This is supplemented by interviews with women who played an active role in the organization's development. The story is told in three stages: the formative years of 1973-1979, building onto the foundations of the structure during 1980-1984, and the last stage of promoting feminist education from 1985-1990. In this social history, we see CCLOW move from its initial role as an ad hoc committee to building an autonomous and independent organization, to the stage of its recognition of education as empowerment for women.

Once the stories of the development of feminist theorizing and organizing have been told, Chapter Six provides an analysis of the links between them. This is done through the notion of the two practices spiralling toward their goal of social change, and the spirals converging and diverging, in terms of mutual influence, during

different moments of their history. In general, the idea of convergence can be understood as a coming together of ideas and activities about how social changes should occur. Chapter Six also uses certain events to indicate convergence between the two practices, and analyzes how and why these happen. This includes a recognition that feminist practices take place within a socio-economic-political context which mediates the moments of convergence and divergence. Using the same chronological time periods from the two previous chapters, this section answers the question of how and why feminist theorizing and organizing come together and move apart during the women's movement and the effects this has on social change.

The final chapter provides a summary of the research and conclusions, as well as an examination of the contributions of this work and its implications for future work. This includes issues like the need to analyze notions of theory and practice within feminism in a non-dichotomous fashion, in order to see instead that there are different types of practice that, when working together, can affect social change more quickly and efficiently.

This dissertation offers a reconsideration of how to study the women's movement in Canada. I attempt to show that more than a movement caught between liberalism, socialism and radicalism, the Canadian women's movement seems to be understood better by looking at the theory and practice debates. Thus, to study the women's movement, one should look at how the practices of theorizing and organizing converge and diverge within a mediating socio-economic-political context. This is what I've tried to do with CLOW.

CHAPTER TWO

FINDING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This project will provide answers to the question of how and why feminist theory and practice (more specifically, how changes in theoretical and organizing practices) converge and diverge over time. It does so by analyzing the history of the Canadian Congress of Learning Opportunities for Women during the 1970s and '80s. As well, it will address the ways in which the wider social/economic/political context conditioned differences in CCLOW's activities and goals while maintaining the initial vision of developing learning opportunities for women, working to end oppressive educational practices.

Influenced by Brian Fay's (1975) work on a critical social science, an appropriate model to study this historical development will be characterised by three features. The first is that it must allow for an understanding of the "actors from their own point of view" (p. 94). In other words, my framework must address the problems that arise from the experience adult women have with education and allow an analysis that is based on both gender and age.

Second, the wider social context must be considered. Fay suggests the importance of a recognition that "a great many of the actions people perform are caused by social conditions over which they have no control" (Fay, 1975:94). The historical development of both theorizing and organizing practices of the second wave women's movement took place within a particular socio-economic-political time

period which had an impact on their development. This must be accounted for in any framework.

The third factor of the desired model is that it be "built on the explicit recognition that social theory is interconnected with social practice" (Fay, 1975:94). In other words, theory and practice must not be presented in a dichotomous relationship but rather as mutually dependent. Such a framework is "clearly rooted in concrete social experience" in that it "arises out of the problems of everyday life, and is constructed with an eye toward solving them" (Fay, 1975:109). While this aspect of Fay's model presents the ideal of recognizing that there is always some connection, my model requires an understanding of the moments when the convergence is explicit and those when divergence seems to occur. I am attempting to understand when, and under what conditions, convergence/divergence occurs.

Since this dissertation explores the concepts of feminist "theory" and "practice" in the women's movement, it is important to first clarify what is meant by these two terms. Before examining the literature to determine how different frameworks view theory and practice, a discussion on how the two terms are conceived of and used in my research and analysis is helpful.

When using the word "theory", I am referring to any discursive texts which attempt to explain 'what is', based on a vision of 'what should be'. Sometimes, especially within feminism, theory includes suggestions or strategies for how to

achieve the vision¹. In contrast, "practice" is often used to refer to any activity leading to the potential of changing 'what is' to 'what should be' -- of attempting to create social change. As Brian Fay noted two decades ago

[n]ormally these notions are not considered together: on the one side there is social theory which seeks to explain social behaviour, on the other there is political philosophy which proposes ways in which our social theories may be used to change social behaviour, but no necessary connection is thought to exist between them (Fay, 1975:11-12, emphasis in original).

When viewed at another level, both theory and practice can be seen as activities. I will argue that theorizing which offers strategies for change should be included under my definition of practice, while practice with its social grass roots should be the basis of theory building. To avoid reproducing the traditional theory/practice dichotomy, I use the expression "the practices of theorizing and organizing" to refer to the two actions. Theorizing refers to activities involved in describing and explaining the actual phenomenon and the ideal (including the research involved and developing strategies for change). Organizing is meant to encompass any activity aimed at making concrete changes to the actual phenomenon in light of the ideal state envisioned (including but not limited to political action). While I view them as distinct activities, it will be argued that they are also mutually dependent and that change is most effective when this is recognized and acknowledged (see Porter, 1995:426).

¹ For a recent revisit of Howard Becker's validation of "taking sides" in theoretical work and the underlying reasons for this stance, see Porter, 1995. She discusses the "passionate commitment", of sociology's founding fathers, to change the worlds they lived in. This tradition, Porter argues, is best seen today in feminist contributions to sociology.

This chapter explores existing fields of study in an attempt to find a theoretical framework to help analyze the connections between different practices in the women's movement around the issue of educating adult women. Current disciplines are examined for potential contributions to the particular requirements of this research. Finally, a multi-disciplinary model is presented which allows for an understanding from the point of view of adult women in education, with an acknowledgement of the role of broader social conditions, and a recognition of the interconnections of theory and practice, of the practices of theorizing and organizing.

SEARCHING FOR A FRAMEWORK

In what follows, I argue that, as they currently stand, existing frameworks are inappropriate, while at the same time, three disciplines each have something to contribute to a study of the practices of theorizing and organizing around women's education in the second wave of the Canadian women's movement. There is a need, however, to open up notions of theory and practice; theory is more than abstract visioning and practice is more than traditional feminist strategies such as political activism (socialist notion) or withdraw and re-create (radical notion) or change from within (liberal notion). The ultimate goal of unity and inclusivity within the women's movement must account for "different strokes for different folks", depending on the context or site in which they work. Yet, as will become more clear, the development of feminist theorizing practices led to a point where the variety of approaches evolved into a series of labels which became hierarchically prioritized.

Through the social history of CCLOW', we can see that the theoretical and organizing work of different leaders in disparate time periods with distinct political/economic/ideological requirements and objectives led to diverse strategies to achieve their vision of developing learning opportunities for women. While their overarching vision remained constant, the specific objectives and activities changed. And this history shows that various feminist theoretical boxes or labels "fit" at different times. CCLOW's survival, development and growth are an example of the need for flexibility in notions of the relationship between theory and practice rather than the application of constricted boxes with prescriptions or blueprints for social change (Fay, 1975:109).

Changes in the theoretical discursive debates of the second wave women's movement (found in feminist writings) can also be seen in changes in the practice of feminist organizing in the arena of adult women's education (through a case study of CCLOW). Examining the relations between the two activities requires a framework which theorizes social change through adult women's education from the perspective of the actors involved in this area of feminist practice. Three disciplines address the issues of this research and each has the potential to offer such a framework:

Feminism, Adult Education and the Sociology of Education. To develop a framework for this project, each will be examined to determine how they address these issues of change in the relationship of theory and practice in adult women's education. Are the two presented as a dichotomy or as mutually dependent? As well, I will examine their potential contribution in creating a framework capable of analyzing the historical

development and mutual influence of feminist theoretical discursive practices and the organizing practices of CCLOW.

FEMINIST FRAMEWORKS

Education for Social Change

For feminists, the importance of experience, practice, and social change through collective action and social movements are givens. Mary O'Brien wrote that "[f]eminism is revolutionary because it is historical, but also because this is a history of struggle" (1982:252). As Margaret Benston states:

We are feminists because we believe not only that the evidence shows the oppression of women, but, further, that such oppression is wrong. We also believe that society should be changed to end all forms of oppression. Our scholarship is done in that context.... (1982:49-50).

For centuries women have been writing about the importance of education as a means of transforming lives. An examination of these discursive practices reveals the history of different visions of equality and their application to education as a vehicle for social change. These issues are discussed in greater depth in Chapter Four, on the development of feminist theoretical discourse, and in Chapter Six which analyses the convergences and divergences in the historical development of the practices of theorizing and organizing of education in the women's movement.

Writers who influenced the second wave feminists around issues of education include Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Astell who struggled for the rights of women to have an education equal to that of men. Feminists in the 1960s and 1970s went beyond the early themes of equality of rights, to fight for an end to oppression based

on limited social roles. A major theme in the literature of these decades was liberation from sexual stereotypes of women as merely wife and mother; a changing society required changing roles (see Appendix 1: Bird, 1968; Chodorow, 1978; Gornick & Moran, 1971; Janeway, 1971; Rossi, 1973).

One of the strategies recommended for women's liberation during the early stages of the second wave was education which would open up career opportunities for women. The literature reveals a recognition that adult women were re-entering higher education to expand on their roles (see Appendix 1: Astin, 1976; Bernard, 1964; Cross, 1971; Furniss & Graham, 1974; Rossi & Calderwood, 1973).

These ideas and strategies were premised upon what I call notions of equality of access which began with the concept of "sameness" where it was stressed that males and females had the same abilities for reason and learning and becoming rational beings. Therefore, it was argued, women should have access to the same education as men received (see Appendix 1: Wollstonecraft, 1792; Fuller, 1845). During the 1960s, equality of access shifted to an emphasis on "human-ness", where there was recognition of difference but a striving to have the best qualities of each sex bring about a more human equality through education. This is sometimes spoken of as a move toward a more androgynous society (see Appendix 1: Heilbrun, 1964; Bird, 1968). Both of these notions of access due to sameness or to human-ness can be seen in the literature on equality of opportunity which abounded at that time. It was assumed that women should be given the opportunity to try new things, whether in education or in the labour market. They returned to complete higher education

degrees in order to try to compete in the labour market and expand their previously stereotypical female roles.

Having achieved the opportunity to compete, feminist notions of equality in the 1970s turned toward the issue of "equality of treatment". It was a decade that turned away from editorializing and moved to document the practice of education. "The themes studied became more and more concrete, more and more related to the social transformation occurring..., closer and closer to the everyday lives of women" (Dumont, 1993:80). What became evident was that the stereotypical roles and expectations of society were reinforced through the education system. As discussed below, the documentation of educational practice revealed that women were underrepresented in textbooks, and

when they were represented, they were stereotyped. Boys were stereotyped in more powerful and active roles. Little girls in elementary school played with dolls while their brothers played baseball; mothers wore aprons and baked cookies, while fathers drove off to work; adult women were princesses and witches, while men were doctors and farmers (Gaskell & McLaren, 1991: 4).

Other research uncovered the difference in practice in terms of classroom treatment which was based on teachers' stereotypical expectations of different adult social roles (Eichler, 1979; Russell, 1979). Much of the difference in pedagogical practice was found to be due to a knowledge base that not only ignored women's multi-faceted lives but was also clearly androcentric. It became obvious to feminists of the 1970s, that equality of opportunity was impossible without equality of treatment within classrooms (Pierson, 1995). This was the beginning of realizing that gender is constructed by everyday experiences within schools, the family, the labour force, etc.

By the 1980s, a number of social changes had occurred: women were employed in many new occupations, they were being admitted into most educational faculties, and many universities already had, or were establishing, Women's Studies departments. Themes of women's education now centred around the issue of whether women should have autonomous spaces to study from a feminist perspective or whether the focus should be on integrating the re-discovered knowledge of women into the "malestream" (outside of women's studies departments and courses) curriculum (see Appendix 1: Bowles & Klein, 1983; Chamberlain, 1988; Pearson et al, 1989). Women's Studies came to be equated with education in most feminist scholarship in the 1980s.

This was also a decade of documenting women's experience with their "liberated" roles (see Appendix 1: Andersen, 1983; Fitzgerald et al, 1982). There were many critiques of education and analyses of gaps in traditional knowledge which had been produced from a sexist, and therefore biased, perspective (see Appendix 1: Eichler, 1980; Smith, 1987).

Addressing these themes from an historical perspective became the norm in much of the literature as feminists came to recognize that, for centuries, in the "malestream" of education women's voices had been excluded from knowledge. "Equality of results" required an equality of power. Women had been excluded from what was considered knowledge because they were not involved in positions of policy and decision-making. The new notion of equality required that women be included, not only in what was being taught but even more importantly, that women be included in

positions of power and authority, and this required a transformation of traditional educational structures themselves.

Retrieving women's voices, experience and power in order to fill in the gaps left from this exclusion became a priority in developing feminist theoretical discourse during the 1980s (see Appendix 1: Banks, 1981; Rosenberg, 1982). However, notions of inclusion also led to questions about which women's voices and experience should be included. Diversity within women themselves came to the forefront as a variety of women's groups began to raise their voices about their own exclusion from feminist scholarship (hooks, 1984; Ng, 1989; Nicholson, 1990; Spelman, 1988).

[A]s many women of color have argued, feminists...have been color-blind. They have ignored the significance of race and ethnicity and the relation of these to other forms of oppression. They have also been blind to other ways in which the female experience has been divided, such as disablement, age and sexual orientation (Gaskell & McLaren, 1991:9-10).

At the end of the 1980s, this continued to be an issue with which feminists struggled.

From this overview of feminist discursive practices, one can see the development of feminist ideas of the importance of education. It began, centuries ago, with struggles for the 'right' to an education for women, based on a notion of sameness or human-ness. Equality of opportunity themes included issues on treatment, moved to a focus on results, then on power. Finally, today, it is a struggle which realizes that education for social change must involve a transformation or change which is inclusive and achieved for all women, while acknowledging their differences.

Theorizing and Organizing in Feminism

As will be seen in greater detail in future chapters, early feminist activity in the second wave of the women's movement occurred along two different streams. The first saw society's sexism as the problem and worked towards eliminating discrimination through legal changes to social institutions. The other stream focused more on changing relationships between men and women because men were seen as the problem. If the focus was on sexism, 'anti-sexist' feminists attempted to remove barriers to women's full participation in the arena of their choice, but when the focus was on male privilege and control, 'anti-patriarchy' feminists recommended making changes to the entire patriarchal system by revaluing the feminine and building organizations along feminist principles.

In both streams, initial feminist theoretical discourse supplied evidence compiled from research on women's lived experience to offer explanations of why inequality existed and attempted to present a vision of a possible future equal society if particular strategies were used. Little attention was paid to comparing the two original streams; rather when a comparison was made it was between strategies used by "first" and "second" wave feminists (see Appendix 1: Greer, 1970; Schneir, 1972).

Both approaches also recognized the value of education in achieving their visions -- educating to expose discrimination and reveal the benefits of equality or educating to recognize the value of the female and her contributions to society. But education did not only mean teaching others or future generations; it also meant

educating women to see themselves and their roles more clearly. This was where consciousness raising (CR) came into play -- getting together for small group discussions

led women to conclude that change in consciousness and in the social relations of the individual is one of the most important components of political change. Women talked to each other to understand and share experiences and to set out a firsthand account of women's oppression (Hartsock, 1981:7).

Along with understanding and sharing experience, women came to realize the importance of theorizing, of planning strategies for change from the ground up - theories were developed, based on women's personal experiences (Hartsock, 1981). The knowledge gained from CR groups fed information on the reality of women's lives into courses in women's studies departments, but it also provided much of the evidence used in feminist theorizing. So initially, there was a convergence as experience at the grassroots and personal level played a major role in the practice of developing theories and their corresponding strategies for change.

By the 1970s, the women's movement was growing in North America. And, as with any social movement, it was encountering criticism from both outside and inside the movement itself. While there were initially two general streams in the 1960s, each working in their specific arenas, as the movement grew new perspectives on the basis for gender inequality began to develop. With the emergence of what is now referred to as a socialist theoretical approach to feminism we begin to see the differences between streams highlighted to a greater degree. Juliet Mitchell (1971) was the first to really address these differences. "[I]n a new movement forging new theory there is a wide political spectrum -- from Liberal-radical through to

revolutionary socialist and anarchist, with all the different tendencies within each" (Mitchell, 1971:44). Feminists (particularly those from the socialist stream) became concerned with assessing, categorizing and placing names/labels on the different approaches. The anti-sexist stream became known as "liberal feminism" while the anti-patriarchy stream was labelled "radical feminism". Originally, the socialist stream referred to itself by a variety of labels (for example, see Appendix 1: liberationist by Mitchell, 1971; revolutionary by Morgan, 1970; materialist by Kuhn & Wolpe, 1978).

In the context of this process of categorizing diverse theoretical approaches, the need arose for each different stream to justify its explanations and strategies. Moreover, ongoing internal feminist criticism fostered the notion that certain approaches were better than others, as opposed to merely having different foci. Thus defending a position did not only take place between feminists and others but also amongst feminists, a phenomenon most evident in debates between marxist and socialist feminisms (see, for example, Sargent, 1981).

Along with the reflexivity in theorizing, feminist organizing activities were also being categorized and labelled. The labels or boxes soon appeared on a hierarchy in terms of "appropriate" or "effective" strategies for change². Socialist feminists saw their plan as the best with radicals somewhere in the middle and liberals at the bottom of the hierarchy because their strategies of working from within an institution or system were considered to be non-threatening or not challenging enough

² The term 'boxes' is used to represent the inflexibility and rigidity the labels assumed.

(i.e., Adamson et al, 1988:174-5). Mitchell most clearly states this critique when she writes:

Today, it is, I believe, only 'liberal feminists' who cherish the illusion that social equality can be achieved in a democratic capitalist country without a revolution; 'radical feminists' believe that it can be achieved nowhere without the feminist revolution being paramount.

But liberal and radical feminism do share the position that women's oppression can be fought independently of other oppressions, where Women's Liberationists who follow a materialist analysis... believe it is a central, and yet intrinsic part of a larger revolutionary struggle.... (Mitchell, 1971:66).

While new approaches have been added since the early 1980s (i.e., "black feminism"; "cultural feminism"), some feminist theorists are beginning to question where the labels will end. For example, Allison Jaggar's 1983 writings on feminism describe four approaches which she labels liberal, marxist, radical and socialist. However, the most recent 1993 edition of her book on feminist frameworks (co-authored with Paula Rothenberg) moves toward a new differentiation based on the application of a variety of "lenses" in theorizing women's subordination. Despite the conceptual liberation inherent in this new approach, the authors maintain the labels while attempting to get away from them. These labels or boxes continue to persist and feminists are still asked which box they fit into.³

The differentiating of theoretical approaches also led to greater gaps between the activities of theorizing and organizing. Whereas initial theorizing grew out of real life grassroots experiences of women, as energy was spent on determining which

³ For the reader to better understand my perspective here, a personal example is provided. A few months ago I experienced this need for labels when submitting an article for publication. The journal's editors requested that I place myself within one of the streams in order for the readers to understand my perspective better.

theoretical approach was the "best", less attention was paid to what was actually happening in women's everyday lives. Developing "rational" explanations for women's oppression became more important than gathering the evidence from women's experience, thus widening the gap between theory and practice. While this could be seen most clearly in the dichotomy between academe and grassroots level activism, there was also a distinct move away from the role of community level consciousness-raising designed to educate women about the implications of the political on their personal lives. In her historical analysis of the development of the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIA-W), Christiansen-Ruffman (1991) outlines a number of models which conceptualize relations between academe and activists. One of these she entitles the "dichotomous model" and explains that

Dichotomies...and their legitimist, patriarchal education, are powerful ideologies. In a patriarchal and capitalist world, they create separations, barriers, distinctions and mistrust among people who are potential allies. ... They de-legitimize women's knowledge and the contextualized nature of women's perceptions and experiences (p. 260).

As described more fully in Chapter Six, increasingly, the primary activity of abstract feminist theorizing occurred in the academic arena, with less and less input from women's personal, everyday, lives and experience. bell hooks expressed a similar concern with this dichotomy and the increasing emphasis on academe in feminist work when she reminded feminists that

[t]he value of a feminist work should not be determined by whether or not it conforms to academic standards.... The educational needs of the under-educated woman must be considered by feminist activists if the written word

remains the primary medium for the dissemination of feminist ideas (hooks, 1984:111-112).

In sum, while feminist theorizing was becoming more "sophisticated" and less reliant on providing evidence of discrimination, it was also leaving behind its roots in the arena of feminist organizing. The theory-practice dichotomy was growing.

To some extent the dichotomy has been addressed or at least noted by feminists, although the greater tendency has been to avoid focusing on it to any great extent, in the Anglo-Canadian women's movement⁴. When discussed, the term "praxis" is commonly used. As Jaggar explains, this term was historically used to refer to 'conscious action'. She claims Marx then applied it to discuss "conscious physical labour directed toward transforming the physical world" (Jaggar, 1983:54), and it became synonymous with collective action. In Stanley's 1990 edited collection, Feminist Praxis, she refers to praxis as overcoming a 'theory/research divide' (1990:15). O'Brien, on the other hand, brings in the theory/practice divide in her articulation of praxis as a unity of theory and practice. "[S]ocial change can only be brought about by unifying knowing and doing, thinking and acting, the unity which the word 'praxis' attempts to catch and hold" (O'Brien, 1982:4). So while feminists, generally from the marxist/socialist stream, do occasionally mention the dichotomy, it is the exception rather than the rule. And while it may be noted, there is no focus on analyzing the extent of convergence/divergence between the two practices. I suggest

⁴ Linda Cardinal brought to my attention that this dichotomy is a problem that has been the subject of continuous debate within Francophone feminists, who have attempted a number of solutions to the problem. Action research is a common strategy with on-going efforts at bridging the gap between the two feminist practices.

that this is because it acknowledges divisions within feminism, a movement which attempts, ideologically, to unite and encompass all women in all sites. To address a dichotomy is to admit to divisions and conflicts that arise from them and I find that feminists avoid doing this, despite their actual existence.

What are the benefits of the different feminist theoretical approaches when attempting to find a framework to study the role of CCLOW's social-historical development in creating change? Having specific labels allows for a differentiation between a variety of notions when evaluating effective strategies for change. The perception of major barriers to equality will determine what should be done to eliminate it. Different barriers require a variety of actions and having theoretical approaches provides an opportunity to clearly see how the explanation and vision lead to specific actions. However, what happens when a case study doesn't fit any one of the boxes over its entire history? As will become clearer in Chapters Five and Six, CCLOW's activities can be seen as fitting into any one of the boxes, depending on the different goals associated with different time periods. Despite this, it is most often placed into the box of liberal feminist (see for example, Adamson et al., 1988:62). It is not the boxes themselves that are problematic, but rather the ways in which they've been used and misused as either devices of division or as inflexible blueprints to be followed in the name of theoretical parochialism. This labelling practice does not allow flexibility to study an organization that does not fit a particular box.

Because of both the reliance on the labels as well as the narrow view of education being equated with Women's Studies, there is a failure in current feminist frameworks on education to really address adult education as a site of change. Plus, they fail to provide an analysis of theorizing and organizing practices, the third criteria of my framework. Therefore, they do not adequately accommodate a case study of how the historical development of CCLOW, an organization aimed at the education of women, has acted as a vehicle to study feminist actions in adult education as a means of social change. As these frameworks presently stand, they don't allow for an analysis of the historical converging and diverging moments of mutual influence between theorizing and organizing.

However, since social change and transformation (in whatever way it is defined) is the goal of all feminist frameworks, they do provide an excellent base on which to build an analysis of gender which begins with women's lived experience in a particular socio-economic context. In other words, they do contribute to the first two requirements of my framework: 1) to understand the actors from their own perspective, and 2) to consider the impact of the broader context on developing feminist practices.

ADULT EDUCATION

Jack Mezirow (1981; 1990) has developed a theory of perspective transformation which stresses adult education as a field where the empowerment of students should lead to social change. His theory reflects a long-standing goal of

adult educators -- social transformation through education. In his classic text on the sociology of adult education, Eduard Lindeman stated his belief that "all successful adult-education groups sooner or later become social-action groups" (1945:12). There is an abundance of adult education literature which focuses on social movements or collective action (e.g., Antigonish Co-operative movement) as examples of the role of education in social action which led to changes in the private and public lives of Canadians. As yet, however, there is little recognition in adult education research of the contribution of the women's movement to social change through education. Gender remains, at best, an "add-on" category of inequality in most adult education research and theory.

In a recent special issue of the Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education (CJSAE) on "Feminisms in Adult Education", the editors agree that:

Since adult education is an historically community based discipline and has a longstanding tradition of emancipatory priorities, one would have thought that redressing the inequities of women would be well underway and a prevalent feature of the field. Regrettably ... this does not appear to be the case (Payeur, Taylor & Warren, 1994:i)

In conducting their search for information on women's experience, the editors found "considerable evidence suggesting that the work of women practitioners and the realities of women are not fairly represented in the adult education literature" (Payeur et al., 1994:1). The fact that this prominent Canadian journal in the field of adult education produces a "special issue" on feminism is an indication that it is considered a relatively 'new' perspective, despite a twenty-five year history of the second wave of the women's movement and occasional past inclusion, within this particular

journal, of articles outlining feminist concerns (i.e., Miles, 1989; Burge, 1990; Smith, 1992).

The hiddenness of women's participation in education is most evident when reviewing literature on the historical development of informal adult education in Canada. Whether the terminology used is continuing education, androgogy, education permanente or even life-long learning, it usually refers to education of "citizens" and generic workers or adults. Seldom is there a reference to the specificity of women's experience; most of the historical accounts of education in the informal sector actually deal with the education of men.

A history of Canadian adult education by two renowned Canadian historians, Gordon Selman and Paul Dampier, published in 1991 (17 years after the creation of CCLOW), seriously under-represents women's contributions to the field.

"Specifically, in that history of 301 pages, two pages were devoted to Adelaide Hoodless and the Women's Institutes, one paragraph to the women's movement, and infrequent references to women such as Florence O'Neill and Women's Canadian Clubs" (Payeur, Taylor & Warren, 1994:i). I could find only three passing references made to the existence of CCLOW in this history. In his section on "philosophical approaches and issues which are relevant to the practice of adult education" (Selman & Dampier, 1991: 18-34), Mark Selman makes absolutely no mention of feminist perspectives in the field.

Payeur et al. (1994) also find little recognition in adult education of the "mounting evidence" of "significant gender learning preferences and gender

perspectives on learning, gender differences in adult life change patterns, and structural differences and barriers facing women in education" (Payeur, Taylor & Warren, 1994:ii). Mezirow's (1987; 1990) theory on emancipatory learning has the potential to use a gender analysis in explaining concepts such as participation, motivation and barriers, and to provide concrete steps in the practice of self-directed learning. But, while recognizing that there are "different ways of knowing", and despite his research on adult women as learners, he makes no mention of the possibility of distinct women's ways of knowing.

This is a reflection of what Burstow (1994:6) refers to as the "male professional stranglehold" on adult education theorizing. Even the terminology and definitions reflect the male perspective. Burstow discusses the prevalent use of the term 'androgogy' and refers to the following definition, developed in 1975 by Knowles:

The body of theory and practice on which self-directed learning is based has come to be labelled 'androgogy', from ... the Greek word aner (meaning 'man'). Androgogy is defined therefore, as the art and science of helping adults (or maturing human beings) learn" (Knowles, cited in Burstow, 1994:5-6).

Knowles was writing "at a time when feminist consciousness was at a high point and when there was considerable feminist literature on male hegemony" (Burstow, 1994: 6), yet he seems unaware of the problem of making "adult" or "maturing human beings" synonymous with "male". And this definition and terminology continue to be used today. Sociologist Jane Gaskell and colleagues (1989:11-12) have noted a 'deficit model' in their work on inequality in schools. When looking for women in

adult education's theorizing, it would appear they have the deficit of not being male. There is a need for both feminist theories and organizing around this issue in adult education. As noted earlier, the CJSAE has acknowledged the importance of the first practice and CCLOW has been active in the second. But neither practice gets attention in the general adult education literature.

Despite their invisibility in terminology, theorizing and historical accounts of adult education, Canadian women are actively engaged in the "practice" of becoming more educated. In Devereaux's study of adult education in Canada, we see that the majority (56%) of students in both formal and informal adult education courses are women (1985:6). Yet, as Thompson (1983:65) illustrates in her study of continuing education in Britain, state funding for programs for women has favoured courses which reinforce patriarchal values -- courses like cooking, sewing, house management. A similar situation exists in Canada where women are the majority of students overall, and represent 80% of the enrolment in hobby, craft and recreation courses but only 39% of the enrolments in job-related courses (Gaskell & McLaren, 1987:307).

Gaskell & McLaren suggest a reason for this discrepancy: "[w]omen ... are less likely to be in jobs where employers will sponsor them. ... Even when they are in vocational courses, women are less likely to have the fees paid by the employers" (Gaskell & McLaren, 1987:307). The addition of this analysis is clearly from a sociological rather than an adult education perspective. Sharan Merriam, a professor of adult education, claims that most research in her field has little analysis of 'the

facts'. "[W]e look at problems in isolation unconnected to socio-political and economic realities; we haven't found ways for learners to benefit from our work" (Merriam, 1986:4).

Her article on "The research-to-practice dilemma" represents a very small field which problematizes the divisions between theory and practice in adult education. Influenced by one of the fathers of adult education, Roby Kidd, Merriam asks questions about the gap that has grown between researching and practising. She sees the difference as being one of activity: practitioners are "engaged in organizing learning or teaching adults" while theorists are "reflecting upon, or investigating in a systematic manner some dimension of adult education practice" (1986:4). 'The dilemma' or problems occur when they don't work together.

It would seem that the shared goal of improved effective practice could best be widely obtained: if researchers and practitioners worked closely together; if researchers dealt with relevant questions and problems from practice; and if practitioners knew about and applied findings from research (Merriam, 1986:4).

Unfortunately, she finds, this union is not that simple. Seldom is the same person involved in both activities and resolving the dilemma requires interaction and dialogue between the two sides. While the emphasis of most adult education in the past was on practice with little analysis of anything at all, Brookfield provides a glimmer of help when he states that the "relationship between the rise of professionalization and the pronounced shift in adult education away from grass roots community organizing and toward liberal and competency based graduate training" (Brookfield cited in Burstow, 1994:5) has reduced the interaction between research and practice, and

created a division between the two. This is similar to the shift which separated feminist theorizing and organizing practices as women's studies became "professionalized" in academe and it came to be equated with education. And in this way, the reality of women's experience with learning does not find its way into the research or theorizing of adult education. But here is a potential factor to help with analysis.

While there is some recognition of the mutual dependency of theory and practice, especially in Brookfield's and Merriam's work which calls for a convergence for effective change, most of the adult education literature examined tends to treat them as separate, as a dichotomy. And secondly, since gender remains an "add-on" in this field, little theorizing is done on it. At present, there is virtually no room to discuss the role of the women's movement in general or of CCLOW, specifically, in promoting social change through women's education. Therefore, this discipline too fails to adequately provide a framework for my purposes.

It does, however, contribute an analysis based on age since it deals with the reality of educating adults, as well as a basic premise of education for social transformation or change. And Brookfield's notion of the role of professionalization in creating divisions between activities offers a hint at a potential step in the analysis of the cause of divergence. It is a characteristic of the particular site, influenced by the larger context which leads to an inward, reflexive focus with a social distance from other practices/activities. Again, like feminism, this framework speaks,

partially, to two of my requirements: the perspective of the actors, and the relationship between theorizing and organizing practices.

SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

Lindeman's article, mentioned earlier, questioned why sociologists don't "do something about" adult education, which, almost 50 years after his statement, remains an "add-on" category in the field of sociology of education. There has been extensive research and analysis done on inequalities in schooling (including those based on gender), of equal opportunity to benefit from schooling, and of critical approaches to classroom practice. But the issue of how these are related to adult education is seldom addressed in the existing sociology of education literature. When the education of adults is recognized, it is generally in a single chapter added near the end of the textbook. An overview of a few theoretical approaches will be provided to examine their applicability in a study of the historical development of discursive and organizing activities with regard to learning opportunities for adult women.

The macro-level focus of theorizing by early sociologists of education was on the notion of education to maintain the status quo, to educate future productive members of society. This can be seen most clearly in structural-functionalists who view the educational system as an agent for the allocation of, and socialization for, future adult role performance. They stress the need for equality of opportunity, thereby making it fair to have "differential rewards for differential achievement" (Murphy, 1979:16).

This approach has been used when looking at the trends, motivation for study, and career goals of adult learners, especially in terms of how they will affect the smooth functioning of all social institutions. For example, the recent technological revolution has had an impact on professional development and retraining programs when the majority of students are adults who need to survive in the labour market (Campbell, 1984). According to Poonwassie (1995), upgrading of skills is now a major component of many professions. "Every established profession in Canada (law, engineering, dentistry, and teaching, to name a few) has a continuing education component, either through conferences and workshops or mandatory courses at a postsecondary institution" (Poonwassie, 1995:211). Initially the structural-functional approach focused on educating children, but with the greater demands of an industrialized nation requiring new training for its workforce, some attention has been turned to the re-education of workers. This 'technological functionalism' served as the dominant model for sociological research on education from the 1950s until the mid-1960s (Karabel & Halsey, 1977:9).

Influenced by more radical conflict theorizing, the next two decades were a period of reform and overhauling of Canada's primary and secondary school systems (Erwin & MacLennan, 1994:5). Critical conflict theories are found in two types of models. The marxists generally focus on how educational institutions reproduce the inequalities inherent in capitalism. They claim that while education appears to be based on merit and ability, in reality it acts as a legitimating mechanism for societal control and domination by the elite classes (Collins, 1979:9-11). The Weberian

power-oriented model sees education as producing status groups through credentials which lead to social power and open up positions in 'occupational communities' or professions. In this way, education is organized by the elite class which uses it to establish boundaries for the control and defense of status group membership (Collins, 1979: 134-5).

Research on equality within the education system from a conflict perspective became more prevalent during the 1960s and '70s. Equality of access and opportunity were popular buzzwords as investigations into inequality of these issues abounded. Associations were made between poverty and poor school performance leading to arguments for special treatment of poor and minority children in early childhood education (see, for example, Young, 1971). Schools were not leading to equality, it was discovered, and it was even possible that they were reinforcing class and racial disadvantages. This type of theorizing was especially prominent in the "new sociology of education", centred in Britain (Erwin & MacLennan, 1994:7). Bowles and Gintis (1976) brought this thinking to North America with their book Schooling in Capitalist America. It can be seen most clearly today, in Canada, in the work of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) in their Department of Sociology of Education.

While much of the early theorizing on how schools function to reproduce social hierarchies focused on class and racial inequalities, it did not take long for sociologists to turn their attention to the category of gender. The 1970 report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women stated clearly its findings that girls were

disadvantaged in school. It called for research to address issues of sex-role stereotyping and the under-representation of women in positions of authority within education. The many studies done in the remainder of the decade confirmed the Commissions' findings (e.g., Cullin, 1972; Eichler, 1979; Gaskell, 1977; Pyke, 1975; Russell, 1979). The well-documented assault on stereotyping in the schools, along with lobbying by women's groups led to provincial governments adopting policies on non-sexist educational materials and curricula.

The 1980s saw continued momentum in the concern for adding women into research, and it was most obvious in post-secondary academia. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, this was the decade of the development of Women's Studies courses, departments and publications. While feminist theorizing focused heavily on this level of education, most sociology of education conflict theorizing continued to deal with the education of children or adolescents. Attention was turned from sex-role stereo-typing to actual classroom practice with research on pedagogy. Concern with stereotypical sex roles in education led to investigations of how classrooms channelled students into sex-segregated jobs (see for example, Gaskell's 1987 work on high school's training for the labour market). Whether this research is referred to as feminist pedagogy or critical pedagogy, it puts the "focus on relations of domination and exclusion in the classroom" (Erwin & MacLennan, 1994:13).

While sociology of education does address the wider socio/economic context in which schooling occurs and has greatly expanded its research to include gender as a category of analysis, it continues to lag in the area of age. The focus continues to be

on changes in schooling in the traditional sense. Despite the recognition that learning today is a life-long process, general readers and textbooks used in sociology of education courses might, at best, devote one chapter to issues on adult education in Canada. In Ghosh & Ray's 1995 third edition of their text on Social Change and Education in Canada, for example, one chapter out of twenty-four discusses adult education and it fails to address gender issues within adult students -- just as in the adult education literature, they are treated as generic students. Only two sentences in this chapter even mention women, and this is in the context of the women's movement using adult education techniques to raise the consciousness of 'citizens' (Poonwassie, 1995:216). The 1994 text by Erwin and MacLennan, Sociology of Education in Canada: Critical Perspectives on Theory, Research and Practice, addresses issues in education from elementary school through university but makes no mention of adults engaged in learning activities.

Lindeman's 1945 call for a recognition that adult education is an area where we can see a laboratory of democratic experience in practice, as well as contemporary problem solving (to say nothing about its success at social change), remains largely unanswered by sociologists of education. In terms of a potential framework to study the mutual dependency of theorizing and organizing, sociology of education also falls short. Sociology is fundamentally a theoretical field, and while sociologists of education conduct research into and provide analysis of educational practices, they are

generally not actively involved in the schooling arena that they study'. I suggest that, like the 'professionalization' movement in adult education noted earlier, this is due to the nature of academe which values, more highly, theoretical knowledge rather than the practice of it. Their activity remains at the level of theoretical discourse, and the theory/practice dichotomy is clearly maintained. Even more important, theorists in the sociology of education do not provide an analysis of the relations between the two practices. Therefore, this field also fails to provide an adequate or complete theoretical framework for a discussion of bringing about social change through the development of CCLOW.

However, sociology of education does contribute to my model an analysis of inequality within education, as well as a recognition of the importance of the context in which the education is occurring and for what purposes. In this way, it responds, in part, to the second requirement.

While each of the three fields examined is incomplete in themselves, each also has something to contribute to the development of a new model. Adult education addresses notions of education for social change and recognizes the need for mutually dependent theory and practice despite its failure to provide a space for an analysis of gender. The Sociology of Education has produced much research focusing on the "practice" of schooling leading to theorizing inequality, including the category of gender. It acknowledges the role of education in reproducing a system within

⁵ As mentioned earlier, sociologists of education associated with OISE, including Kari Delhi, Dorothy Smith, Paul Olson and David Livingstone, are notable exceptions.

particular socio-economic requirements. Feminism, beginning with women's everyday experience, provides analyses of gender inequality and the role of education for social change.

A MULTI-DISCIPLINARY MODEL

The discussion above, on theoretical frameworks found in the literature of Feminism, Adult Education, and the Sociology of Education, reveals that each is incomplete by itself. Yet each also has something to contribute to the development of a model which allows an analysis of the convergences and divergences between the historical development of the practices of theorizing and organizing of women's education in the women's movement, and how these links are mediated by changes in the wider context.

As detailed earlier in this chapter, a framework for my question would require:

- 1) a notion of verstehen, or the ability to understand the actors from their own perspective (adult women involved in education);
- 2) a notion of structure/agency in that there must be a consideration of the influence of the wider socio-economic-political context on the development of feminist practices within an historically specific time period (specific sites of activity during two decades of the women's movement); and

- 3) a notion of the relations between theory and practice which allows us to understand the moments of interdependence rather than seeing the two as a dichotomy (converging/diverging moments between two activities).

While the three features of the model are unmet, in their entirety, in any of the three fields of study examined, each does partially fulfil them. When applied to the specifics of this study, the pros and cons of each discipline can be summarized as per Table 1.

Recently, feminists concerned with adult education have recognized the gaps in the literature when one looks for gender and the contributions of the women's movement to social change (Smith, 1992). Arlene Tigar McLaren states that "because it is a major social institution, adult education has a responsibility to help change society so that ...[it] reflects women's as well as men's interests" (1987: 347). Angela Miles calls for a partnership between adult educators and feminists who are committed to "empowering the disadvantaged and contributing to social change" (1989:2). This partnership requires that previously erected distinct barriers between disciplines must be pulled down and crossed to allow a multidisciplinary approach to the subject of social transformation through social movements. Then the research findings of one field can benefit or contribute to knowledge 'for' those in other fields, as well as those who are involved at the grassroots level.

TABLE 1: PROS AND CONS OF EXISTING FRAMEWORKS

	FEMINISM	ADULT EDUCATION	SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION
	Pros/Cons	Pros/Cons	Pros/Cons
1) viewpoint of adult women in education (gender and age)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - gender - some age - little attention to adult women & education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - age - ignores gender 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - gender - little attention to adult education
2) consideration of influence of wider context on actions for social change (social-economic-political arena during women's movement)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - education needed for social change but narrow view of education - feminist action occurs within different sites with particular constraints - women's movement has goal of social change but inflexible boxes make it difficult to analyze a group like CCLOW 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - education movements occur in certain contexts - no attention to role of women's movement as a strategy for social change 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - education leads to reproduction of system of inequalities related to context in which it occurs
3) interconnections of theory/practice recognized & analyzed (convergences/divergences)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - dichotomy noted with little attention to specifics of when & why 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - interdependence recognized - some attempt at analysis based on notion of professionalization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - dichotomy maintained through academe - no analysis of relations of theory/practice

There is a definite need for a multi-disciplinary model which addresses the preceding gaps in theorizing and which allows one to study the historical developments of feminist discursive practices and CCLOW's organizing activities without the constraints of previous theory/practice dichotomies. This dissertation begins the process of responding to Miles' (1989) call for a partnership, by using a multi-disciplinary approach toward the development of a new framework.

In any analysis of historical developments one must address the notion of change; what are the changes that occurred in the historical development of the practice of theorizing and organizing in the second wave of the women's movement? While my dissertation focuses on feminist discursive texts to represent the practice of theorizing, and on CCLOW to represent the practice of organizing, the notion remains the same. Does change within one have any influence on change within the other? Schematically this relationship of mutual influence can be represented by a circle:

However, as will be argued in Chapter Six, this relationship occurs within a particular socio-economic context which has an influence on the changes which take place. As expressed by Erik Olin Wright in his model of mediation, "a given social process

shapes the consequences of other social processes" (1978:23). He suggests that a third variable must be considered in terms of the way in which it affects the relationship of the first two. This third variable, it will be argued, is the larger social context in which feminist activities occur.

As Jill Vickers has stated in her analysis of the Canadian women's movement, "our general political culture has exerted considerable force" (1993:59) on the progress of the movement. American and British feminists see state intervention as problematic, Vickers argues, but Canadian feminists have a view of the state as a "benign utility". Within Canada's context of "tolerance of ideological diversity, encouragement of dialogue and a service commitment" (Vickers, 1993:45), feminist activities have shown a willingness to "depend on the state for financial support [which] also moderates their stance" (p. 60). In other words, the women's movement has experienced more mediation from the wider social context because it has accepted state funding and been influenced by changes in this context. Therefore, for a discussion on changes in discursive and organizing practices within Canada, Wright's scheme would better be represented by a circular relationship with influences from the context outside of it.

Noted earlier is Christiansen-Ruffman's (1991) analysis of CRIAW's role as a bridge between Canadian feminist academics and activists. While she critiques the dichotomous model of work in these two spheres, she also offers a "feminist model" to understand better the links between the practices.

In the ideal feminist conception of the world, social relationships are not hierarchical or competitive but cooperative, egalitarian, and organic, based on feminist values. One might depict these relationships as a constantly interweaving and overlapping set of spheres that are in processes of developing and changing. ...

Academe and activism might both be part of overlapping and cooperating spheres. Hierarchies would be absent both with these areas of interest and in relation to one another (pp. 264-265).

If the models of Wright and Christiansen-Ruffman were combined, we could see the practices of theorizing and organizing as two spirals moving toward the goal of an equal and transformed society. The spirals are separate practices but they overlap periodically; the process is one of coming together and moving apart, of converging and diverging along the path to social change. But as Wright reminds us, this occurs within a context, represented by a surrounding sphere which has an influence on the movement of the spirals. And within this context, events occur

which influence the movement of the converging/diverging spirals. These are the Xs marked in the encircling context. The schema that represents this multi-disciplinary model is as follows.

This figure represents a model that will be used to answer the question of how and why the feminist practices of theorizing and organizing on women's education converge and diverge over a specific historical period of the second wave women's movement.

As stated earlier, Sharan Merriam found that improved practices could be best obtained if educational theorists and practitioners worked more closely together. I will argue that when the practices of theorizing and organizing worked together, social change occurred more smoothly and more swiftly. However, as the two activities moved apart and focused on developing on their own, they were at greater risk of being affected by the wider context. In fact, shifts within that context during the mid-1980s forced each activity to begin to retreat and the reliance on one another became necessary for survival. It is the general social context which affects the convergences and divergences between the practices of theorizing and organizing.

This model, based in a tradition of feminism, with contributions from adult education and the sociology of education, will allow us not only to problematize the notion of theory and practice within feminism, but it also accommodates an analysis of CLOW which reveals how the links between the practices are mediated by what is happening around them. The growth and development of the women's movement is most effective when the practices of feminist theorizing and organizing are mutually dependent and working together to influence change in the wider social context.

Prior to the presentation of the evidence in this research, the next chapter discusses the methods used to gather and analyse the data which describes the development of feminist practices in the area of adult women's education.

CHAPTER THREE

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The role of any section on methodology is a reflective one -- it provides the opportunity to reflect on what was done and to justify or rationalize the choices made along the way. The first choice made is the subject of the research or "why this research", which is closely followed by the methods used or "why research in this way". Terry Crowley (1988:5) has stated that the research challenges are choosing an "intellectually strategic issue", finding bodies of pertinent evidence and developing concepts to give meaning to it and then shaping the material into an argument. That is what this chapter addresses. I begin with the history of how this project came to be, move to the process I went through in learning about historical research methods and then discuss the actual research process of collecting and working with the data.

WHY THIS RESEARCH PROJECT

Chapter One discussed the three paths which led to a decision to study social change through the women's movement in relation to the education of women and to determine what links exist between the practices of theorizing and organizing. Access to theory was seen as unproblematic due to the abundance of published material but I needed a concrete situation to study action in the organizing of education. Through networking (or was it luck) I discussed the issue with one of the founders of a women's education group who was in possession of boxes of files on her work with this group. Being in the process of re-locating, she was happy to give away these

files in order to lighten her moving load. The organization she helped get off the ground was the Canadian Congress of Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW).

I chose to study CCLOW partly because of this easy access to documentation but also because its expressed goal, "to promote feminist education and the empowerment of women", directly related to my interests. Since the organization had never been studied other than internally, it was decided that my research would provide a social history of its origins and development through two decades of the second wave of the women's movement.

As a sociologist, I was unfamiliar with conducting historical research and realized I needed to situate my research within a methodological context to develop a social history. I turned my attention to filling my knowledge base on historical methods.

HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY

Historical sociology is often considered to be the place where historians and sociologists meet. Abrams defines it as

the attempt to understand the relationship of personal activity and experience on the one hand and social organisation on the other as something that is continuously constructed in time. It makes the continuous process of construction the focal concern of social analysis (1982:16).

A decade later, Theda Skocpol stated that historical sociology is that "continuing, ever-renewed tradition of research devoted to understanding the nature

and effects of large-scale structures and fundamental processes of change" (1984: 4).

She mentions some characteristics of historical sociology:

- 1) it asks questions about social structures/processes which are understood to be concretely situated in time and space;
- 2) it addresses processes over time and explains outcomes in temporal sequences;
- 3) it focuses on the interplay of meaningful actions and structural contexts which allow us to make sense of both intended and unintended outcomes in any situation; and
- 4) it highlights the uniformity and variation in particular social structures and patterns of change (Skocpol, 1984:1).

In his recent book, The Rise of Historical Sociology, Dennis Smith greatly simplifies Skocpol's description by defining historical sociology as "the study of the past to find out how societies work and change" (1991:3).

As mentioned earlier, historical sociology is considered the meeting ground, or the link between historians and sociologists. Both historians like Marc Bloch, Fernand Braudel, and E.P. Thompson and sociologists like Karl Marx, Barrington Moore and Max Weber are claimed by both disciplines. When their "analysis emphasizes the chronology and individual sequence of solutions, it belongs to the historian; where it emphasizes the pattern of the solutions, it belongs to the sociologist" (Bendix, 1963:537).

The Historical Sociology Project

Two excellent books provide a very complete explanation of the historical sociology project. Theda Skocpol (1984) discusses the overall research agenda of historical sociology as it existed in the early 1980s and provides extensive examples from research. Dennis Smith (1991) places the field of study into three stages: prior to 1960, the '60s-1980s, and with some overlap, the mid-1970s to the present. Since the two books are so distinct, each will be summarized separately, in order to gain an understanding of the content and methods of historical sociology's research.

In Vision and Method in Historical Sociology, Skocpol discusses five types or aspects of the research agenda. The first is that historical sociology deals with classical research issues such as industrialization, revolution and bureaucratization. In the process they build on classical studies such as Weber's concept of bureaucracy (i.e. Perry Anderson) or Marx's study of industrialization and the formation of the working class (i.e. E.P. Thompson) (Skocpol, 1984:6).

The second point she notes is that in building on the classical studies, historical sociology breaks new ground by asking new questions and thereby provides new ways of arriving at arguments. She uses I. Wallerstein's work on a capitalist world economy and S.N. Eisenstadt's research on historical bureaucratic empires as examples here.

For many of these scholars, the very shape of their historical studies seems to have been significantly determined by dialogues with existing grand theories. ... For others, concern with historical problems as such has been primary, and their critical dialogues with the general theories have been correspondingly more nuanced (Skocpol, 1984:12-13).

The third characteristic of the research agenda is that historical sociologists may attempt to introduce historical particularity and variety into grand theory. Scholars like Eisenstadt and Anderson use basic theoretical perspectives to explain large-scale structures and long-term development while Thompson uses theoretical ideas as benchmarks to characterize historical instances (Skocpol, 1984:13-14). Each, however, stays very close to the grand theories and their arguments are either specifications or reworkings of them.

Another group, however, uses grand theory to generate new theoretical arguments, the fourth characteristic of historical sociology's research agenda. I. Wallerstein uses an historical critique of modernization theories and Marxist evolution to devise a new grand paradigm which sees a capitalist world system as a single totality. Charles Tilly explores the tensions between Marx and Durkheim to argue that there is no such thing as general social change, but rather that there are "epochal processes" of change (Skocpol, 1984:15).

The last aspect of historical sociology research is exemplified by Marc Bloch and Barrington Moore who have a "problem-oriented" approach to historical sociology. They use whatever theoretical resources are useful and valid to make sense of particular historical patterns being studied because their aim is to "devise good questions to put to history" (Skocpol, 1984:17). This type of scholar spends little time arguing with or trying to displace theories, but rather, like Bloch (an historian), sees theory's purpose as being to help look for better evidence from the past, or like Moore (a sociologist), uses historical case studies to develop better

arguments. Skocpol states: "In the final reckoning, problem-oriented historical sociologists...may tell us even more about social structures and social change than do historical sociologists who rework, or argue with, overarching theoretical paradigms" (Skocpol, 1984:19).

What about the specific methods used by historical sociologists? Skocpol claims that there is such a great variety that "no mechanical recipes for proper methods" exist (1984:361). She does however discuss three major strategies. A general strategy is to apply a single theoretical model to one or more possible instances. Scholars like I. Wallerstein take a general model and apply it to analytically distinct cases, and in the same manner as comparative historians, they draw on primary records for data to add to their understanding of the general concept (Skocpol, 1984:363-4).

A second strategy discussed by Skocpol is that which answers "What Happened", one which is skeptical of general models and causal hypotheses and instead, attempts to develop meaningful historical interpretations. This is exemplified by scholars like E.P. Thompson who pay careful attention to "culturally embedded intentions of individuals or group actors in the historical setting" (1984:368). The purpose of their comparative research is to "clarify particularities through contrasts, not to show the repeated applicability of a theoretical model" (p. 372). They are always aware that the audience of their published work is larger than the academic community and therefore they choose their topics and develop their arguments with

not merely comfort; it should provide a challenge, and understanding which helps toward change. A history is required which leads to action: not to confirm, but to change the world" (Thompson, 1988: 20). In the telling of CCLOW's story, my research is intended to challenge feminist notions of 'categorizing' theories and organizations as well as to challenge the dichotomous model of theory and practice.

In summary, with a more multi-disciplinary focus and the influence of the social sciences, history has seen the introduction of new perspectives leading to new questions and the need for new sources of evidence. It has been transformed.

[B]y introducing new evidence from the underside, by shifting the focus and opening new areas of inquiry, by challenging some of the assumptions and accepted judgements of historians, by bringing recognition to substantial groups of people who had been ignored, a cumulative process of transformation is set in motion. The scope of historical writing itself is enlarged and enriched; and at the same time its social message changes. History becomes, to put it simply, more democratic (Thompson, 1988:7-8).

While this discussion has revealed the changes in general historical research in the past few decades, my work focuses on a social history that involves a more specific issue of women's history within the context of education.

WOMEN'S HISTORY - CRITIQUE AND CONTRIBUTION

A major contributor to this transformed history has been the field of women's history. Since the late 1960s, women have been writing critiques of history and through their action have changed both the content of historical research and its methods, including the concepts considered significant for research, the sources of valid data and the techniques of gathering this data. One of the contributions of this

regarding valid use and by supplementing this material with other data from primary investigations, the pitfalls will be dealt with. Its potential of "intimate dialogue with historical evidence" and the possibility of constructing better social theories far outweigh its limitations (Skocpol, 1984:384-5).

To summarize Skocpol, rather than specific research methods, the three historical sociological approaches (general model, meaningful interpretation and alternative hypotheses), while all using a comparative method, each has a different strategy because of its focus and goals.

In The Rise of Historical Sociology, Dennis Smith discusses three stages or phases, each "marked by a specific political 'conjuncture' and a characteristic mood among historical sociologists" (Smith, 1991:4). The first phase, up to the mid-1960s, occurred during the time that capitalist democracy was seen as the answer to "solve any major human problem without fundamental institutional changes. The 'American way' ruled" (p. 4). From a structural functionalist perspectives, some scholars like S.N. Eisenstadt focused on conditions of democracy which were seen as necessary for maintaining an integrated social order. Their research reflected their concern with political social systems and movements which might resist traditional ways of doing things.

The second phase saw a transformation of historical sociology. By the mid-1960s, its agenda was dominated by power, privilege and social justice as scholars remembered that social actors were 'human beings of flesh and blood' (Smith, 1991:41). Influenced by ideas of historians such as Marc Bloch, the tone of this

phase was set primarily by its contemporary politics, especially protest movements for human rights. Marxist approaches became fashionable as historical sociologists rediscovered domination, inequality and resistance. This is exemplified, according to Smith, by the works of scholars such as Barrington Moore, E.P. Thompson, Charles Tilly and Theda Skocpol (1991:5). The first two were especially concerned with: the costs and benefits of capitalism on human beings, the conflicts and accommodations between class and the state organization, and the potential collective will and action arising out of these conflicts (pp. 56-65).

Although influenced by the work of Moore, Tilly and Skocpol belong to both the second and third phases as each focused on domination and resistance within societies but also looked at the developing relations between states on a global, as opposed to a national or cross-national, perspective (Smith, 1991:68).

Moore is a good example of the typical methodology used: comparisons as a way of testing empirical generalizations which might explain specific cases. He uses cross-national comparison leading to the indication of the unique character of each individual case as well as producing generalizations which would refer to several cases (Smith, 1991:60, 72). P. Anderson uses comparisons to bring out contrasts among nations or civilizations taken as a whole (Skocpol, 1984:36). Skocpol used comparisons to support causal explanations about social revolutions through the application of the methods of "agreement and difference" (Smith, 1991:73). Tilly's work, while comparative in the sense that he shows how a general social model holds across different national contexts (Skocpol, 1984:36), is also open-ended. His

historical sociology is a process of never-ending explorations of conflict and collective action, where he is constantly raising questions and his conclusions tend to be provisional, almost always pointing toward further enquiry (Smith, 1991:78).

The third phase seen by Smith begins in the mid-1970s as historical sociologists gain self-assurance and become much more ambitious. "As old political boundaries become more permeable, new imaginative resources were brought into play" in historical sociology (Smith, 1991:5). With the work of Anderson and Wallerstein we can see a return to and reworking of classical Marxism as the perspective returns to grand theory and global perspectives. The focus moves away from 'human beings of flesh and blood' toward Perry Anderson's "complex articulations of multiple modes of production within specific social formations" and Immanuel Wallerstein's "complex articulation of multiple social formations within specific modes of production" (p. 104). Fernand Braudel, the historian, is another example of the move away from happenings of daily life and toward a broad evolutionary approach to massive, slow-moving structures (Smith, 1991:108, 119). All of them illustrate the shift back to grand theory in their complex, global, comparative historical sociology.

What can be gained from the use of current historical sociology? Its content remains large scale, general, abstract and focusing on political sociology. Its methods are seldom discussed by the authors and even in surveys of historical sociology, methods are referred to as strategies of "generalizations leading to specifics" then usually "back to generalizations".

How can this grand theorizing be applied to a case study of social change at a micro level? How can feminist research concerns about empowerment and validation of individual voices be addressed in a field which focuses on abstract grand theory and large scale comparative structures? Perhaps, history, especially social history, has more to offer to someone who is interested in the development of a specific organization at a particular time period. I turned there next, looking for methodological inspiration.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

In an attempt to gain an understanding of the importance of, and the process of doing smaller scale historical research in sociology, the next logical place to begin is to determine what is meant by historical research? How do historians define their particular field and method of study? What do they research and how do they "do" it? What are their particular methodological strategies? What can a sociologist learn from them?

What is History?

Most modern historians claim that their influence stems back to two historians from the 19th century, Leopold von Ranke and Fustel de Coulanges. Ranke defined the historian's only aim as the ability "to describe things 'as they happened, wie es eigentlich gewesen.'" (cited in Bloch, 1953:138). Coulanges claimed that in history "we are concerned at the same time with the study of the individual man...and with

the study of the social man" (cited in Bloch, 1953:25). In 1908 Paul Mantoux wrote that "the task of history is to commemorate the past" (cited in Braudel, 1980:66). History, then, is the study of what happened to man in the past.

Over the past few decades, historians have not really altered these definitions and goals. In the 1950s, Marc Bloch described history as an endeavour toward better understanding of men in time (1953:27). Edward Carr saw history as "an unending dialogue between the present and the past" (Carr, 1961:24). He claimed that historians need to "master and understand" the past in order to understand the present.

How is this different from the study of man in the social sciences, especially in sociology? Fernand Braudel, whose works are recognized and claimed by both sociology and history, attempted to answer this question with the concept of time, describing three different approaches to history depending on the type of time used. "All historical work is concerned with breaking down time past, choosing among its chronological realities" (Braudel, 1980:27), but there are different time spans. Traditional history is concerned with the short time span, with the individual and the event or what he calls *l'histoire evenementielle*. The new economic and social history of the mid-twentieth century puts "cyclical movements" in the forefront of its research and is committed to that type of time span. The third approach discussed by Braudel is a history "capable of traversing even greater distances, a history to be measured in centuries...: the history of the long, even of the very long time span, of the *longue duree*" (1980: 27). This is where, he believes, history and sociology have tended to meet.

The difference between the two disciplines, according to Braudel (1980:49, is precisely this concept of time.

What is profoundly interesting to the historian is the way these moments cross one another, and how they interact, and how they break up: all things which can be recorded only in relation to the uniform time of historians, which can stand as a general measure of all these phenomena.

While historians are never free from the constraint of time, sociologists "almost always seem to manage to avoid it, by concentrating either on the instant, which is always present as if suspended somewhere above time, or else on repeated phenomena which do not belong to any age" (Braudel, 1980: 50). The exceptional sociologist is Karl Marx, whose genius "lies in the fact that he was the first to construct true social models, on the basis of a historical *longue duree*" (Braudel, 1980:51). Because of this, his influence has extended beyond sociology, into history, and it can be seen in the changes in historical approaches in the past few decades.

Historical Approaches/Perspectives

The history of historical research perspectives reveals the influence of other disciplines, especially those of the social sciences. Traditional research was preoccupied with political and constitutional matters regarding national development, and with the historical lives of social leaders, especially political, diplomatic and military figures. A critique of this aspect of the traditional approach and its focus on elites, is often made by feminist historians but will be dealt with at greater length later in this chapter.

During the 1970s a major change occurred as historians broadened their horizons and began to ask questions and raise topics that were once considered outside the bounds of history. The foremost influence on historians of the '60s and '70s goes back to French historians like Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre and others who founded the journal Annales: Economies-Societes-Civilisations, now referred to as the Annales School. Taking Marxism as their base, they proposed the study not of leaders alone, but of society as a whole. In 1922, Febvre wrote: "Not the man, never the man, but human societies, organized groups", were objects worthy of the historian's focus (cited in Crowley, 1988). This new school of historians "proposed l'histoire structurelle, which asked new questions of neglected historical sources in order to produce a broadly based social and economic history" (Crowley, 1988:2). Braudel was a member of the second generation of Annales scholars and his concept of the "longue duree" influenced historians to focus on "the problem", rather than a particular time period or region.

Also influenced by Marxism were British historians such as Eric Hobsbawm and E.P. Thompson who promoted using humanistic values in judging and interpreting historical events. They too went beyond the study of political elites and called for a history "from the bottom up", a history of the masses, or of "ordinary" people. The new "social history" emerged as a reaction against economic and labour history, focusing less on developmental "histories of trade unions and working-class parties and more on analysis of the working class itself and its conditions of life" (Eley and Nield, 1980:250).

Whether historians followed the British path or that of the Annales school, history was broadened to include geography, demography, climate, family dynamics, prices, food, transport, and other areas of life "truly revealing of the variety of ways in which social groupings and social classes have manifested themselves in the past" (Crowley, 1988:2). The new social history also opened the way for the study of a diversity of "minority" groups, including women.

With a changing emphasis of historical subjects came a new methodological awareness. "Whereas most historians active during the middle third of the twentieth century did not feel obliged to explain their frame of reference, their methodological orientations, or their theoretical constructs, the pendulum of opinion has now swung heavily in the opposite direction" (Kammen, 1980:31). However, as Crowley states, the term "methodology" remains very ambiguous in history. "There is no agreement whether methodology refers to the concepts peculiar to historical work in general or to the research techniques appropriate to the various branches of historical inquiry" (Crowley, 1988:5). The following discussion of the research process of history incorporates both ideas of methodology.

Historical Research Process/Methods

Crowley states that despite the differing types or approaches to historical inquiry, the real challenges facing historians today remain unchanged:

how to choose an intellectually strategic issue to investigate; how to find a body of pertinent evidence; how to develop concepts to organize and give meaning to the evidence; and how to shape the material into an intellectually lucid statement or argument. (1988:5)

The first challenge, finding an issue to investigate, depends on which type of historian you are (economic, labour, political, social, etc.) which in turn determines where your focus will be (working-class culture, trade unions, revolutions, family, etc.). That is not too difficult for me: my type is social history with a focus on education for adult women.

While the challenge of finding a body of pertinent evidence may be unchanged, the actual data sources have expanded with the new social history of the last few decades. As well, the influence of the social sciences have led to the addition of computers to aid in the compilation of census data on a large scale, especially in the field of demographic historical methods. Concern for history from the "bottom-up" has also opened new types of data sources. Whereas traditional history relied on official documents such as government, institutional and military records, the new history, recognizing that public documents are shaped by, and are by-products of administrations of the state (Scott, 1990:59), turns to evidence from the "bottom-up": autobiographies, diaries, family papers, and other more private, household, sources. Crowley claims that the only rule about documentation is that "all valid historical sources pertaining to a topic be sought out" (1988:6). Bloch found that the variety of evidence is nearly infinite, and "[e]verything that man says or writes, everything that he makes, everything he touches can and ought to teach us about him" (1953:66).

As discussed later, my "evidence" or data are primarily published discursive texts and CCLOW archival material. This is supplemented by women's actual voices through interviews with CCLOW founders and directors.

Despite the varying sources, the basic premises of determining their reliability and validity remain the same. In his book on documentary sources, John Scott (1990:6-8) names four criteria for assessing the quality of the historical evidence:

- 1) authenticity: Is the evidence genuine and of unquestionable origin?
- 2) credibility: Is the evidence free from error and distortion?
- 3) representativeness: Is the evidence typical of its kind, and, if not, is the extent of its untypicality known?
- 4) meaning: Is the evidence clear and comprehensible? What does it tell us?

These criteria are basically unchanged from those that Bloch (1953) used in discussing the need for "internal criticism" of documents: to establish their validity through cross-examination, to look for forgery and fraud in determining their authenticity and accuracy. In order to ensure that these criteria were applied in my research, I used a review and interview technique. A draft of the chapter on CCLOW's story was forwarded to participants in the organization for review, to check out whether my interpretation was accurate. At the same time, I asked these women to respond to a number of questions, in order to fill in gaps in the archival documentation.

Crowley's third challenge of historians is to develop concepts to organize and give meaning to the evidence. The primary concerns or questions of any historical study involve establishing causality (Bloch, 1953; Carr, 1961), examining change

and/or progress (Carr, 1961; Crowley, 1988), and gaining an understanding or "verstehen" of a particular event or time frame (Bloch, 1953; Carr, 1961).

Historians have always been concerned with maintaining a nonjudgemental approach where they let the "facts speak for themselves". With the emergence of the new history, influenced by the social sciences, the issues of judgement, impartiality and objectivity have been raised as historians came to realize that the concepts determined as historically significant in any study were, in fact, chosen subjectively; they could change at any time, depending on the purpose or explanation sought by the researcher (Thompson, 1988).

...from the multiplicity of sequences of cause and effect [the historian] extracts those, and only those, which are historically significant; and the standard of historical significance is his ability to fit them into his pattern of rational explanation and interpretation. ... Interpretation in history is...always bound up with value judgements, and causality is bound up with interpretation (Carr, 1961:99, 101).

This third challenge can also be seen as one of analysis, although this is one area for which historians have been greatly criticized. It has been said that history is mere story-telling, describing of events without asking why it has occurred.

what a curious contradiction there is in the successive attitudes of so many historians: when it is a question of ascertaining whether or not some human act has really taken place, they cannot be sufficiently painstaking. If they proceed to the reasons for that act, they are content with the merest appearance (Bloch, 1953: 195).

The new historians have attempted, by expanding their potential theoretical frameworks, to make analysis a major aspect in any project, to go beyond a mere description of, or telling the story of, events. In Chapter Six, I have attempted to

place "the facts" within a broader context which takes into consideration the socio-economic-political context in which the "facts" were occurring.

The final challenge is shaping the material into an "intellectually lucid statement or argument" (Crowley, 1988:5). Historical writing is comprised primarily of two styles of argument: narrative and analytical. Shafer differentiates between them: "Narrative is story, often with description as a simple sort of near-analysis. Analysis is examination of topics, groups of events or ideas, with only incidental attention to individual occurrences" (Shafer, 1980:12). The first style is important as a "communication link between scholar and public" while analysis is "characteristic of the bulk of scholarly publication", often large and complex studies with much greater emphasis on meticulous research into source materials and evidence (Shafer, 1980: 12, 13).

Both of these historical styles can be seen in this dissertation. The data presented in Chapters Four and Five, on feminist theorizing and organizing, is done in a descriptive, narrative story style. Chapter Six, which attempts to find links between the two practices, uses a more analytic style in explaining their convergences and divergences.

The challenge of presenting an argument, combined with a recognition of the inability to have a truly "objective" history, has also led in recent years to a recognition of history as a potential force for social change. This can be seen in the focus on empowerment with the emphasis on giving ordinary people a voice, and the understanding that with that voice comes self and group confidence. "History should

not merely comfort; it should provide a challenge, and understanding which helps toward change. A history is required which leads to action: not to confirm, but to change the world" (Thompson, 1988: 20). In the telling of CCLOW's story, my research is intended to challenge feminist notions of 'categorizing' theories and organizations as well as to challenge the dichotomous model of theory and practice.

In summary, with a more multi-disciplinary focus and the influence of the social sciences, history has seen the introduction of new perspectives leading to new questions and the need for new sources of evidence. It has been transformed.

[B]y introducing new evidence from the underside, by shifting the focus and opening new areas of inquiry, by challenging some of the assumptions and accepted judgements of historians, by bringing recognition to substantial groups of people who had been ignored, a cumulative process of transformation is set in motion. The scope of historical writing itself is enlarged and enriched; and at the same time its social message changes. History becomes, to put it simply, more democratic (Thompson, 1988:7-8).

While this discussion has revealed the changes in general historical research in the past few decades, my work focuses on a social history that involves a more specific issue of women's history within the context of education.

WOMEN'S HISTORY - CRITIQUE AND CONTRIBUTION

A major contributor to this transformed history has been the field of women's history. Since the late 1960s, women have been writing critiques of history and through their action have changed both the content of historical research and its methods, including the concepts considered significant for research, the sources of valid data and the techniques of gathering this data. One of the contributions of this

"new" research has been to reveal that it is in fact not new at all -- that women have been raising issues about the androcentricity of historical research for centuries. The following history of women's history will deal only with the contemporary scene in order to show how this branch of historical research has aided in the transformation process discussed above.

In 1969, Gerda Lerner, one of the mothers of modern women's history, wrote: "The literature concerning the role of women in American history is topically narrow, predominantly descriptive, and generally devoid of interpretation" (p. 53). Since that statement was made, numerous other critiques of traditional history have emerged. At the beginning these comments sounded like they were being made by the new social historians, with little or no mention of women.

Traditional history has been most concerned with the re-creation of the elite intellectual, military, economic and political powers that fashioned the course of events. ...[T]hey are records of diplomatic decisions, military maneuvers, and economic exchanges. ...History has been the record of those who controlled other people's lives (Rosen, 1971:541).

Gradually, however, the critiques came to address the topic of the neglect of women and a recognition that women were not just another aspect of the new social history but a field unto themselves.

Historians' neglect of women has been a function of their ideas about historical significance. Their categories and periodization have been masculine by definition, for they have defined significance primarily by power, influence, and visible activity in the world of political and economic affairs. ...As long as historical inquiry equates initiative and mastery with life, the lives of women are historical anomalies (Gordon, Buhle and Dye, 1976:75).

Sally Alexander and Anna Davin wrote about the sub-fields of history to show that political, labour and social histories all need to be re-evaluated. In labour history, the separate spheres and the "ideology which subordinates both women and domestic life, are features of capitalism which are invisible and unquestioned" (1976:4). While political history does discuss the suffragettes, in general women are peripheral both to production and to class struggles. Linda Gordon concurs: "political historians still look only at the queens among us. ...the power of the rulers is far easier to see than the power of the ruled" (Gordon, 1986:24). Social history brings areas outside the political or labour sphere into history, but when it does deal with women, they are "tagged on, not integrated into the overall understanding of society" (Alexander & Davin, 1976:4).

Berenice Carroll writes about the bias against the idea of a women's history, by quoting from a letter she received from historian Christopher Lasch, who is sceptical of the insistence that women have been neglected as historical actors. He thinks it is more important to ask questions.

What we need to know...is what are the consequences of this neglect? What do we fail to see by not looking at women's history, or from it that we did not know before? That is: how does a better understanding of the history of women enhance our understanding of other issues as well? (cited in Carroll, 1976:xi)

This illustrates that, to resisting male historians like Lasch, women's history was seen to be justified only if it illuminated what "'we' want to know about 'other issues'" (p. xi). Despite the resistance to women's history, it emerged strongly during the 1970s and continues to grow to this day.

A History of Women's History

1) Compensatory History⁶

The first stage of women's history was one of compensation -- discovering and reinterpreting what was missing in traditional history, resurrecting and reassessing the lost women of history. Lerner has referred to this stage as the one of "women worthies" (1976:357). Many anthologies were compiled with works by women of the past and re-prints of previous writings were produced (i.e. the work of Mary Beard and Simone de Beauvoir were "rediscovered" during this phase). In addition to recovering these source materials and ensuring that new sources were made available in libraries and archives, this was also a time when women's historians worked to make this field acceptable in academic teaching and research.

It didn't take long before "compensatory history" received criticism. Smith-Rosenberg claimed that much of it was too politically-oriented, like traditional history. While it had produced important individual studies, it was accepting the traditional hierarchy of significance, "a hierarchy structured around public policy" (1975:186), as well as traditional political periodization and political theories of causation. They did not "ask how questions concerning the uniqueness of women's experience might alter our view of social structure and social change" (p. 186). Ann Gordon et al. also agreed that writing about "women worthies" reflected traditional historical assumptions that "it is only when women are behaving in ways usually

⁶ The terms "compensatory history", "contribution history" and "connecting history" were first introduced by feminist historian, Gerda Lerner (1976) in her essay on the levels used by scholars approaching women's history.

regarded as masculine - that is, politically -- that they merit historical discussion" (1976:77).

A call went out for a new type of women's history which would go beyond compensation.

Women's history must contain not only the activities and events in which women participated, but the record of changes and shifts in their perception of themselves and their roles.

...women have shaped history through community-building and participation in politics. Women built community life as members of families, as carriers of cultural and religious values, as founders and supporters of organizations and institutions. ... Historical interpretation of the community-building work of women is urgently needed. (Lerner, 1979:161,165)

Ann Gordon et al. wrote about needs for women's history: the need to document women's awareness of social change and their ways of dealing with it; the need to understand how women resisted or tried to circumvent the restrictions placed upon them and how they came to terms with their societal role (1976:83).

Hartman and Banner (1974:vii-ix) suggested that new research should be concerned with:

- 1) groups of women who were not figures of outstanding public achievement, but who shared a set of common experiences;
- 2) placing women within their social context rather than "extracting" them from history;
- 3) myths and opinions concerning women's roles in society.

To go beyond compensatory history would require more than changing the content - it would also require new methods. Hartman and Banner propose that much of the new

information could be found by expanding the notion of data sources to include such things as women's magazines, household manuals, novels, sermons as well as re-evaluating traditional materials like diaries and institutional papers.

2) Contribution History

In the second stage of women's history, that of "contribution history", there was a greater emphasis on women's place and their roles in the general development of society and culture (Fox-Genovese, 1982). Rather than dealing with individual worthy women, there was now a recognition of collective action and contributions of women as a group. Influenced by the emerging new social history, women's contribution history applied the demographic techniques of computer analysis to help answer questions about women's experience in a male-dominated society (Lerner, 1979). Following Lerner's 1969 suggestions, women's history now looked at different aspects of women's roles such as what impact prescriptions of behaviour had on actual behaviour, of how "the ideas society held at any given moment in regard to women's proper 'place' could be distinguished from what was actually women's status at that time" (Lerner, 1969:60).

These new questions about women's experience led to the discovery of new data sources, such as women's diaries, correspondence, oral history, and family papers, in which women's voices could be clearly heard. They also led to new categories added to research, such as women's sexuality, friendships, clubs and birth

control, which in turn led to new interpretations on women's experience and contributions to society and culture.

Whereas contribution history had moved from individual worthy women to women's lives in general, problems arose with the concept of all women being treated as part of one group. Smith-Rosenberg (1975), called for a recognition of differences among women, not just between women and men. The concept of recognizing the specificity of diverse experiences, she claimed, would require new sources of data since, for example, working class women may not have left written diaries or correspondence in the same magnitude as middle class women, if at all.

Gerda Lerner (1976) also saw problems with the stage of contribution and suggested the need to go beyond the conceptual frameworks being used because they continued to apply male defined categories of significance to the lives of women (p. 360). Fox-Genovese spoke of the need to stop adding women and begin reformulating; she wanted women's history to be placed into history and discussed some of the implications of such a move. She concluded

the primary theoretical implication of the confrontation between women's history and official history is this recognition of gender systems as a primary category of historical analysis - as deeply ingrained in social and economic formations and the political institutions to which they give rise as class relations (Fox-Genovese, 1982:15).

Joan Kelly suggested that placing women into history would have the effect of revitalizing theory by problematizing three of the basic concerns of historical thought: periodization, the categories of social analysis, and theories of social change. In terms of periodization, she suggested that looking for times of change in women's

potential for liberation or repression of it would lead to an unsettling of accepted notions of progress. It would reveal that traditionally viewed periods of 'progress' were really periods of loss of status for women, and Kelly used the Renaissance, French Revolution and Athenian times as examples. Adding sex as a social category would lead to accounts of 'Women as Other' and would problematize 'otherness' as being socially constructed. Accounting for the unique experience of 'others' would lead to new ideas of social change. Recognition that change in the organization of production both within and outside of the family led to changes in roles which led to action in reconstituting the family and society, could lead to a better understanding of women as actors not just as victims to political and economic systems (Kelly-Gadol, 1976).

Out of this second phase in women's history grew an awareness of inadequate concepts and questions, the development of new definitions, new concepts and appropriate comparisons. It was now time to test them by placing women's history into history.

3) Connecting History

Thus, the third and current phase is one of connections - between women's history and other histories such as social history, family history, etc. in order to incorporate the new knowledge and new concepts and new methods. There is an insistence that the role of women in historical events must be illuminated and discussed in every case and in every kind of historical research, and that the

androcentric assumptions of traditional research must be continuously exposed (Lerner, 1979:xiv). By having women's history add to the overall field, critiques by resistant historians, such as Lasch, are then addressed.

In this third stage there has been a move from a history of women to a feminist history, as can be seen by the variety of emphases: on gender as a primary category for historical analysis (Scott, 1988); on the need for studying women's culture (Silverman 1982, 1988) through new methods such as discourse analysis (Lewis, 1992); on the need to research the concepts of power and resistance and women as social actors (Lerner, 1979; Scott, 1988); on the benefits of focusing on subjectivity through the use of literary and psychoanalytic approaches (Offen et al., 1991); and on the need to look at the universal aspects of female experience (Stock-Morton, 1991).

The variety of data sources also reflect a feminist approach with a focus on the diversity of 'voices'. With a re-interpretation of old sources, new information is emerging on the lives of women of colour or native women (i.e. Van Kirk, 1984); with a search for data on women's 'lived experiences', new sources of data are being discovered (for a discussion on the process of re-discovery, see McMullen, 1990). With a recognition of differences based on categories such as race, language, ethnicity and class, oral history is currently a favoured method in feminist history (Pierson, 1991). This allows all voices to be heard rather than only those who leave "official" records.

But feminist history also goes beyond merely reclaiming voices by realizing that the task also involves the need to "contextualize" individual and group voices, to reconstitute the world which the subjects were shaped by, and helped shape. In this new phase, feminist history has become sociological.

Contributions to Historical Research

By asking the question "What difference did it make that women were or were not included in this activity?", feminists altered history as it had been practiced for centuries. The search for an answer led to a re-examination of the content, periodization, and methods of traditional history. Carl Degler claims that feminist history has required historians to rethink old formulations and explanations of events, to look at women's lives instead of assuming they had the same experiences as men, and to devise fresh methods (Degler, 1981).

Ruth Pierson and Alison Prentice found that feminist questions have led to new inquiries about inequalities, a new understanding of the importance of a sense of history to one's self, new exciting issues which arise out of new schemes of periodization, as well as to new primary data sources such as scrapbooks, photographs, oral history, reminiscences and even recipe books (Pierson and Prentice, 1988). These types of sources provide a validation of many voices rather than merely those women who were literate or had the leisure time to record their experiences.

Linda Gordon (1986) recognizes the unique contributions feminist history has made to historical research methods by defining what counts as evidence, collecting new forms of evidence, using theoretical frameworks to generalize from specifics and by drawing conclusions which lead to more questions. Eliane Silverman (1988) takes the contributions beyond new questions (i.e. birth, copulation, death) and new frameworks (which integrate gender, race and class as variables) to the classroom, where she sees feminist history as helping students learn to identify with the subjects of research. With these approaches "women's history critically confronts the politics of existing histories and inevitably begins the rewriting of history" (Scott, 1988:27).

Feminist history has successfully challenged and changed traditional historical research. It has introduced multidisciplinary frameworks and data sources as it asks questions from a variety of formal disciplines. Feminism recognizes the need for a sense of one's past to help establish a sense of self, as individuals and as a group.

Attempting to apply a feminist historical approach to sociological research today presents similar challenges to those that Gerda Lerner wrote about in 1979.

Women's history asks for a paradigm shift. It demands a fundamental re-evaluation of the assumptions and methodology of traditional... thought. It challenges the traditional assumption that man is the measure of all that is significant, and that the activities pursued by men are by definition significant..... It challenges the notion that civilization is that which men have created, defended, and advanced (Lerner, 1979: 180).

In 1978 Veronica Strong-Boag also wrote of some of the needs for Canadian feminist historians. They included:

- 1) micro-analytical data compilation to understand the female role and function in the social world;
- 2) revising standards of historical significance - to include personal, intimate experiences of individuals from different groups in society;
- 3) expanding our understanding of social change and stability through an exploration of the individual's life-cycle and the milieu in which it evolves; and
- 4) studying the mechanisms of collective action and resistance to avoid the old trap of woman as victim (1978:72-73).

Feminist history has solved many of the problems sociology traditionally has had with history: its lack of social context, its concern with specific times and places rather than with patterns, its description rather than explanation or analysis, and its absence of theoretical bases. And it provides a very useful methodological framework for my research interests of the experience of women in their role of collective action toward social change.

MY RESEARCH PROCESS

Having gained an understanding of historical research methods, I was now ready to develop a plan to create a social history of feminist theorizing and organizing in education during the second wave of the Canadian women's movement. What follows is an overview of the methods employed in my research. I encountered and

kept in mind Gloria Redekopp's (1993:58-61) outline of the specific tasks of a feminist social history, which include:

- 1) retrieving women (and their organizing) from obscurity;
- 2) giving women a chance to speak for themselves, giving voice to their reasons for action and their intended goals;
- 3) describing the obstacles to their action and women's strategies and prescriptions for eliminating them;
- 4) explaining (and analyzing) women's reality as active participants in their social world.

I had chosen an organization whose story had never been told (retrieving from obscurity) and intended to give voice both to its action and goals, to the obstacles/constraints on these actions and to the strategies CCLOW developed as an active participant in the world of adult education in Canada.

My research plan involved three interactive stages including first, to collect data in the form of feminist theoretical writings from the second wave of the women's movement. The second stage was to produce a social history of CCLOW to determine how feminist theoretical debates could be seen in this history. Once this was completed I could then look for the links or connections between the abstract level of theoretical debates and the concrete level of organizing of feminist education to see how two feminist practices converged in the arena of adult education for women.

The time period chosen partly reflects traditional history's concern with a short time span but also social history's focus on "cyclical movements", the first two types of periodization discussed earlier. As well it reflects Braudel's concept of the "longue duree" which encouraged historians to focus on "the problem". The women's movement was the cyclical movement chosen while the problem was the practices of theorizing and organizing within it.

While the movement, as well as theorizing and organizing in it, continues today, I decided to choose a portion of it - two decades - to cover the origins of both practices from the start of the second wave of the women's movement in the early 1970s through to the end of the 1980s. This specific period would then reflect an example of how convergences and divergences of feminist practices occur within a changing socio-economic-political context. While there is a beginning to this research topic, one could continue to study it in the future.

COLLECTING DATA

Phase I: Feminist Theory in the Women's Movement

The first phase of data collection involved compiling a bibliography that adequately reflected feminist theoretical writings of the women's movement. I was looking for feminist publications, in general, with specific note of those that discussed women's education and learning opportunities. The early preliminary listing was comprised of "women worthies" -- those authors who were considered authorities in their field (i.e. Simone de Beauvoir, Betty Friedan, Germaine Greer). This list came

about from past years of studying, doing research and writing papers on feminism and from writings that had been used in courses I taught on gender issues and social roles.

To supplement the preliminary listing and to focus more specifically on the contributions of feminist education theories, I conducted extensive library searches. The first step involved examining the library holdings at both local universities. Using key words such as "women and education" or "women's education" produced nothing. When I used more general subject headings such as "feminism - Canada" I saw listings of up to 38 items, but the majority of these were publications from the 1990s. Since the time frame I was writing about was the 1970s and 1980s, only 13 of the 38 items were acceptable for my bibliography. This search also revealed the gaps in writings from a Canadian perspective. Published works on feminism in Canada tended to be more empirical than theoretical, with an emphasis on reporting on specific research projects in areas such as women and the law, recovering Canadian women's historical figures and women and work issues. So I was forced to rely, as Canadian feminist historians had, much more heavily on writings from the United States and Britain, as these two countries produced feminist writings with a more theoretical focus.

Using key words such as "women - education - Canada" produced a listing of 15 holdings, with the majority published during the time frame of my research. A number of these, however, were documents published by CCLOW, and were already being used for Phase II, the case study of organizing in women's education. Once again, I had to rely on non-Canadian studies of women's education. And using key

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words such as "women's studies - Canada" only led to one new item for my bibliography. Adding the words "adult education - Canada" led to a listing of 30 items but not one addressed gender or women. When I combined "adult education" with "feminism" no items were found.

I also did extensive CD-Rom searches of "Sociofile" (on sociological documents), "Dissertation Abstracts" and "ERIC Documents" (on educational research items) which again, led to very few useful items for the bibliography. The advantage of this method of bibliographic searching is that you learn about articles, documents and unpublished papers from around the world. This is also disadvantageous in that many of the items listed are unattainable. And perusal of the abstracts in the CD-Rom listings revealed very few that were useful for my purposes. In the end I found the most productive method for compiling my bibliography was to rely on others' writings and the references used in their works. In this way, my bibliography continuously grew in the process of collecting the actual data by reading the items selected.

All of this led, eventually, to a bibliography (see Appendix 1) of 183 items - articles, papers and books of writings by feminists on the women's movement, theories of women's oppression and the role of education in bringing about a more equal world. While I had intended to make the latter the major focus of my readings, there were not enough publications on this specific issue and I was forced to look for more implicit references to learning through general theoretical writings on the women's movement.

With the bibliography in hand, the next step was to read all of the items, to determine what feminists were focusing on in different time periods. I compiled a listing, intending to use decades as the chronological markers of the writings. However, this method became cumbersome and I then broke up the 1970s and 80s into half decades, primarily to make the data more manageable. It appeared to work in the sense that authors, influenced by the same sources, wrote on similar issues during specific time periods and these writings, in turn, provided an influence for future writings. So the chosen periodization was arbitrary in the first place but turned out to be very useful in the final analysis. When comparing theoretical writings to the practice of organizing, it was also found that the time periods chosen worked well with changes in focus during CCLOW's historical development. Changes here tended to occur in half decades, as further discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

Each of the bibliographic entries was read with extensive "reading notes" made of the general purpose of the author, specific focuses of the item, quotable phrases and any suggestions for social change. Needless to say, this produced hundreds of pages of notes which then had to be summarized and summarized again, and compiled into some sort of workable data. After numerous sorting and summary processes, it was still obvious that I needed to come up with a manageable framework to deal with all this data from written feminist works.

Based on the knowledge that I had gathered from past experience in the field as well as from the specific readings for this work, I compiled a list of 28 themes related to women's education. Recent publications by Gaskell and McLaren (1991),

CRIAW (1993) and Pierson (1995) deal with similar themes in their analysis of feminist education, thus validating the ones I compiled. A few of the themes were later combined and the final list I used was reduced to 24 themes, as discussed in Chapter Four and described in Appendix 2.

The next step involved going through the summaries again and noting which of the specific themes were addressed in each bibliographic entry. Occasionally an item focused on primarily one of the themes, but in general, each dealt with more than one. Once the theme survey was completed I produced the table on "Frequency of Occurrence and Number of Themes Mentioned for each Specific Time Period" which is found in Chapter Four. This allowed me to identify the major themes or issues dealt with in feminist writings during each time period covered in the data collection of this phase. It brought about a way of focusing on the primary concerns and thoughts of feminist writers and how these developed over time. And this is what is described in Chapter 4, on "Feminist Theoretical Writings".

Phase II: Feminist Organizing in the Women's Movement

Phase II of my data collection shifted the focus from published theoretical writings by feminists to the actual concrete organizing of these ideas by CCLOW. It began during a conversation I had with Greta Hoffman Nemiroff, one of the founding members of both the national organization and the Quebec chapter of CCLOW. In the discussion of my initial research objectives to study the theory and practice of feminist adult education, it was suggested that CCLOW could act as an ideal case

study. Nemiroff was in the process of moving and happily agreed to donate three boxes of old files from her work with the founding of CCLOW, the provincial directorship and her position as board member. This archival material formed the initial and, ultimately, the majority of the data used to compile CCLOW's history.

The painstaking process of going through these boxes involved examining each item in each file folder and making lists of them (see Appendix 5). A number of the files were directly related to the provincial activities but there were also many that produced valuable documents on the origins of and process of establishing CCLOW as a national organization. These included extensive correspondence as well as early fund-raising attempts and drafts of memos to create a mission statement along with its goals and objectives.

As is the case with any individual's filing system, there was some overlap and the data collection process involved sorting files into a workable format. For me, this involved making chronological lists of the file contents in order to get an understanding of how CCLOW developed over time. Nemiroff's work with CCLOW ended in the middle of the 1980s decade, however, and before long, I realized that the files I received from her were not enough to complete CCLOW's history for the two decade time period I had established as my research frame. There were also gaps in terms of particular documents and publications that I felt would be helpful in determining the organization's focus and primary goals during some of the years covered in the files.

The next place I went to search for the missing information was the Canadian Women's Movement Archives, located at the University of Ottawa. These archives were relatively new and still in the process of developing an accurate catalogue of their holdings, many of which were yet in boxes, waiting to be processed. Therefore, the collection of data here was also one of search and rescue. Again, I went through each file and made listings of the contents (see Appendix 3). I then compared them to those received from Greta Nemiroff to see which of these were not already in my possession. I photocopied items which I was missing and which were helpful for my purposes, as well as making notes of other items.

With these two sources I could begin the process of producing chronological summaries of CCLOW's history from its initial establishment in 1973, through its incorporation as an autonomous organization. I could now begin to see how the organization developed from one focused on creating a knowledge base of existing learning opportunities for women to one which advocated for change in public training programs and worked with the private sphere to develop educational opportunities which incorporated women's specific needs and styles of learning.

There continued to be gaps in the documentation I now had in my office, however. Through contact with CCLOW's national office in Toronto, I eventually received access to their own archives to retrieve those missing items (see listings of documents received in Appendix 4). The process of getting access involved sending a copy of my dissertation proposal and having a number of conversations with Pamela dos Ramos, the national president at that time, who then reported my needs to the

President's Advisory Council. After much consideration and agreement on certain restrictions such as honouring certain confidentiality conditions, I was given access to CCLOW's files. The items retrieved from their archives provided the final data necessary in the collection stage. With them I was able to complete the chronological history of this organization's development during the two decades of my dissertation's focus.

Once the chronological summaries were produced, I was then able to search for themes, just as I had done in the data of feminist theoretical writings. What I was looking for when writing Chapter 5 on feminist organizing in telling "CCLOW's Story" was not only a way of describing a social history of the concrete practice of feminist education but also the development of an organization over time. Themes here were determined by examining the documents for annual activities, foci and proposed goals and objectives. The half-decade periodization chosen in Phase I worked well as changes in focus and objectives tended to occur in these time periods.

Once a draft of the chapter on CCLOW's story had been completed, I determined that it should be checked for authenticity in my interpretations. I obtained names and addresses for three women who had been active in CCLOW's development, and each represented a portion of the half decade periods I'd chosen. They all received a copy of the drafted chapter and a list of questions to think about when remembering their experiences with feminist organizing during the stages they were involved in. While I felt I'd given a more than adequate deadline, it turned out that the process was more difficult than I'd envisioned. Work and family

responsibilities interfered with their ability to sit and remember the past. However, in the end, I did receive feedback from two women, Lynn Fogwill and Aisla Thomson (representing the first and last half decades, respectively). Because of geographical distance, Lynn and I corresponded by electronic mail but I was fortunate to be able to spend an afternoon with Aisla when she arrived in Ottawa for business. As well, we corresponded by mail to confirm what was discussed in person.

Each of these women provided valuable feedback, in terms of clarifications, corrections and vivid memories of their past and current experiences with feminist organizing in education through CCLOW. My abstraction of CCLOW's story from archival data was validated by the feedback I received from them. Their words are used throughout the following chapters. While I never received a response from the person representing the middle portion of CCLOW's story, both Lynn and Aisla were able to fill in some of the gaps and respond to my questions of that time period.

With the completion of documenting and checking on the authenticity of my telling of CCLOW's history and the chronological summaries of its practice, the stage was now set to look for links between theory in writing and organizing in education as a means of social change.

PHASE III - ANALYZING THE DATA

The question that this research addresses is how and why feminist practices of theorizing and organizing converge and diverge over time. The educational vehicle

used for this work is the historical development of CCLOW as an example of organizing in two decades of the second wave of the women's movement in Canada.

To address the first part of the question -- how -- it was necessary to analyze the collected data to determine whether there were parallels between the two feminist practices. This was accomplished by comparing the themes of each and determining the relationship between them. As will be seen in Chapter 6, theorizing and organizing began at the same place when theoretical writings were heavily influenced by organizing at the grassroots level. This was the point at which empirical data from the concrete level of feminist organizing was first used to develop theory. By the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, the two practices were growing apart, each moving in their own direction. While there continued to be some parallel focal points between the two, the direct relationship was no longer clear. In the mid to late 1980s, with a backlash against feminist ideas and a social environment of economic restraint, a regrouping occurred both within specific feminist organizations and within the movement as a whole. At the same time, feminism was beginning to address, seriously, the issue of inclusivity which, again, brought theory and organizing back together in a recognition that they were mutually dependent. Overall it becomes clear that the inter-relationship and development of feminist theorizing and organizing shows converging and diverging moments over the two decades studied here.

To address the second part of the research question -- why the spiral movements converge or diverge -- one must turn to the socio-economic-political context in which these practices were occurring. As alluded to above, this larger

context acts as a mediating factor on the development of feminist discursive practices as well as the development of organizations such as CCLOW. The analysis of feminist practices is placed with this wider context in Chapter 6.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

In this reflective look back at the stages of selecting a topic, developing appropriate methods, then collecting and analyzing the data, I have shown not only the process of conducting research but also the process of learning about how to do a feminist social history. The research has completed Redekopp's (1993) tasks of retrieving women's organizing from obscurity, giving women a chance to speak of their actions and goals, and providing examples of women's strategies in actively participating in social change and the constraints placed on them. By looking at theory and organizing within the women's movement, I have also linked the two in historical research methodology. It is now time to turn to a description and analysis of the knowledge gained on feminist practices of theorizing and organizing in the second wave of the women's movement, especially in its relationship to educating adult women.

CHAPTER FOUR

FEMINIST THEORETICAL WRITINGS

The primary purpose of this chapter is to describe the data found in the development of feminist theoretical writings of the second wave of the women's movement and its earlier influences. To some degree the context in which the practice of theorizing occurred is noted, but this is dealt with in much more depth in Chapter Six. All references in this chapter can be found in Appendix 1 which lists the items by the following chronological periods:

A1	prior to 1900
A2	1900-1959
B1	1960s
C1	1970-1974
C2	1975-1979
D1	1980-1984
D2	1985-1989

As noted in Chapter Three, the works reviewed for this research are primarily by feminists from the United States and Britain. The published works found on feminism in Canada tended to be more empirical than theoretical, with an emphasis on reporting on specific research projects which did not fit into the focus on the practice of theorizing.

The feminist writings chosen for this chapter, while not exhaustive, are representative of the literature produced on feminist theorizing. They are items recognized and referred to in other works on this practice, and they allow a chronological look at the development of theorizing on women's education in the women's movement. Therefore, they fulfil my objective, stated earlier, of examining

the relationship between theorizing and organizing as these practices converge at specific moments in the women's movement. The writings chosen for this chapter also show how the emergence of women's studies departments led to their becoming the major site of feminist theorizing.

These data reveal that there has been considerable theoretical debate, occurring in different phases of feminist writings on education. While there is general consensus of education's potential role in bringing about equality, the areas of interest and the strategies to accomplish this goal have evolved and changed over time.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a series of themes were developed to help categorize the variety of issues dealt with in this literature. These themes are described in detail in Appendix 2. Table 2 shows the frequency of occurrence and number of themes mentioned for each specific chronological time period as outlined earlier. While the majority of writings from the second wave women's movement involve theme 14, the development of feminist theoretical explanations of women's unequal social position, one of the minor themes (seen in #s 1 and 12) noted in this literature, deals with feminist debates around the importance of education and its role as a strategy for social change. Another issue explored in this chapter revolves around feminist ideas of equality in the different theoretical streams (as seen in strategies such as #2, equal opportunity and #8, patriarchal/power relations). And a third issue noted is theme #19, the changing notions of diversity within feminism. The following description on the themes and issues in the feminist practice of theorizing illustrates their chronological development.

**TABLE 2: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE AND NUMBER OF THEMES
MENTIONED FOR EACH CHRONOLOGICAL TIME PERIOD**

	A1	A2	B1	C1
Importance of Women's Education	4	2	1	3
Equal Opportunity for Education	2		2	5
Curriculum Change		1		1
Including "Women Worthies"				1
Classroom Interaction				1
Counselling for the Future			1	
Single Sex vs. Coeducation	4	2		
Patriarchal/Power Relations	1			2
Transform Knowledge Base/Methods			1	
Transform Academe	1	1		1
The Women's Movement	1			6
Women's Studies Programs		1		2
Feminism in Specific Disciplines				1
Feminist Theory				23
Personal Develop. Needs of Women	3		3	5
Relations with Other Institutions	2			4
Sex Roles/Sex Differences		4	2	3
Androgyny			2	1
Diversity	1			2
History of Develop. of Academe	1	1	2	5
Feminist Ideology				
Canadian Focus			1	1
Adult Education			2	1
Barriers to Women's Education				2
X mentioned	20	12	17	70
# themes	10	7	10	20
# items	5	5	8	28

NOTES: bold = major theme; italic = secondary theme

TABLE 2 continued

	C2	D1	D2	# Times mentioned
<u>Importance of Women's Education</u>		6	4	20
<u>Equal Opportunity for Education</u>	4	4	8	25
<u>Curriculum Change</u>	5	6	4	17
<u>Including "Women Worthies"</u>	3	5	3	12
<u>Classroom Interaction</u>	2	10	9	22
<u>Counselling for the Future</u>	4	1		6
<u>Single Sex vs. Coeducation</u>		2		8
<u>Patriarchal/Power Relations</u>	1	7	3	14
<u>Transform Knowledge Base/Methods</u>	7	8	5	21
<u>Transform Academe</u>	2	18	5	28
<u>The Women's Movement</u>	5	11	4	27
<u>Women's Studies Programs</u>	7	19	5	34
<u>Feminism in Specific Disciplines</u>	3	2	1	7
<u>Feminist Theory</u>	13	20	11	67
<u>Personal Develop. Needs of Women</u>	7	9	4	31
<u>Relations with Other Institutions</u>	2	5	1	14
<u>Sex Roles/Sex Differences</u>	7	13	5	34
<u>Androgyny</u>		1	1	5
<u>Diversity</u>	2	11	6	22
<u>History of Develop. of Academe</u>	2	6	6	23
<u>Feminist Ideology</u>	2	1	2	5
<u>Canadian Focus</u>	1	1	2	6
<u>Adult Education</u>	2	5	2	12
<u>Barriers to Women's Education</u>	2		2	5
X mentioned	83	171	93	466
# themes	21	23	22	
# items	37	64	36	183

NOTES: bold = major theme; italic = secondary theme

A1 WRITINGS PRIOR TO 1900

Past feminist theorists who had the greatest initial influence on second wave feminists, especially those concerned with women's education, included Mary Astell, Margaret Fuller, Harriet Martineau, Catherine Macaulay and Mary Wollstonecraft. These were committed "feminists" (although the term was not used until the nineteenth century) who were frustrated with the limitations society placed on women. They campaigned, through their writings, to raise the condition and increase the power of their whole sex. From the 1600s to the late 1800s, their writings seldom contained research data collection components per se; instead they wrote essays, treatises or polemics on the women's situation of their day, with suggested solutions to it. They were theorists, more interested in analysis than militancy. "[T]he Enlightenment feminists ... concentrat[ed] their efforts on the written word Essays, reviews, and books were their symbols and tools" (Rossi, 1973:5).

As Alice Rossi (1973:3) explains, these women were heirs to the Enlightenment idea of reason leading to social order. Therefore, their analysis of women's social condition focused on the need for women to develop themselves into "rational, virtuous beings". It was believed that only by this development would women become free and independent. The principal means for this process was seen to be education. Thus the major theme during this early time period was the importance of education for women's lives. "Their enthusiastic, if naive, belief in education as the cure-all for human ignorance and corruption flowed directly from their confidence in the human cognitive faculty. ... These writers believed deeply

that reason, if properly cultivated through education, could set men and women free" (Rossi, 1973:3).

Along with the emphasis on the importance of education for women, the second equally important theme in these two centuries revolved around the debate on the type of education proposed by these feminists -- should females be educated in single sex schools or was coeducation the answer? Mary Astell's (1694; 1979) aim was to establish a women's only, monastery-type of retreat where women could "fill all the capacities of [their] souls" (p. 30). She strongly stated her belief that women were as capable of learning as men but she felt that women's learning should focus on becoming "intimately acquainted with our own hearts" (p. 38).

Mary Wollstonecraft's major work was published a century after Astell, in 1792. Her main argument for women's education was based on the "simple principle that if she be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge and virtue" (p.129). Both males and females should be educated in the same way, according to Wollstonecraft, and then we will see if women are truly the weaker sex, as her society characterized them. Separate standards and education "serves to rationalize the subjection of women and must be swept away so they can become equal human beings" (Rogers, 1979:127).

Writing at the same time, Catherine Macaulay also argues against separate educations; she refers to it as an "absurd notion" (1790:47) which women should "militate against" (1790:208). She expanded her critique of separateness to include a call for the general raising of children without differences based on sex. "Let your

children be brought up together; let their sports and studies be the same...."

(1790:50). Difference, Macaulay felt, only led to misunderstanding each other while raising children together would teach them that friendship with the opposite sex was possible.

The mid-1800s brought about the publication of writings by Harriet Martineau (1837) and Margaret Fuller (1845). They introduced additional themes: personal development needs/strategies for women and the relation of education with other social institutions such as politics, the economy and the family (the latter two were also addressed, to a lesser degree, in earlier centuries). In her general study of American society, Martineau included a section on the "political non-existence of women" which asks why women should obey laws that they have no say in creating. "One of the fundamental principles announced in the Declaration of Independence is, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. How can the political condition of women be reconciled with this?" (Martineau, 1837:199). Without really addressing women's education, Martineau does stress that women need power to represent their own interests and acquire basic human and democratic rights. However, she places emphasis on "the power of thought and education to do the job of releasing men and women from the confines of the past" (Rossi, 1973:5).

Fuller also wrote a general analysis of women in her time period but her scope was much broader in that she presented us with a picture of the world's past and present opinions on women. She agreed with Wollstonecraft and Astell that women must be given the opportunity to develop fully and freely to achieve independence and

self-respect. And like Martineau, she stressed the need for basic human rights. The importance of greater educational and occupational opportunities for women was discussed.

The chief drawback in women's education, expressed by Fuller, is that "she was taught she 'was created for man'. ... because this view prevailed in society, it followed logically that the main focus of a girl's education was how to make herself pleasing to men" (Urbanski, 1980: 51). Fuller urged instead, that women live first for God's sake, then for their own, rather than making men into gods. Instead they should be equal partners (Fuller, 1845:161). Fuller continued the theme of earlier writers who had also addressed marriage and family-related issues in their discussions on the importance of education for women. Macaulay and Wollstonecraft both wrote of their desire for marriage of intellectually compatible people where a couple would be made up of equal companions/friends.

The women here represent roughly two hundred years of social analysis and literary expression by women. At the beginning of this time period, female published authors were an exception but by the end of it, "it became increasingly acceptable for them to publish and even to write for money" (Rogers, 1979:vii). Partly this was due to improved educational opportunities. Astell and Wollstonecraft, the earliest writers, stressed the need for education whereas by the 1800s, schooling existed and the later authors were able to assess the education that females received in their time. Only Astell believed in the separation of the sexes in schools; the others all felt that

separate education contributed to separate social spheres and a rationalization of the subjection and devaluing of women.

A2 WRITINGS FROM 1900 TO 1959

Feminists who wrote in the early twentieth century did so in a context of great social upheaval. After the suffragettes achieved their major goal, it was suggested that feminism "died" or went into remission. This has since been questioned; while there appeared to be less obvious "action" on the part of women fighting for their rights, it was a time for personal development. A number of major strides for women's rights were accomplished during the first few decades. Women won the right to be admitted into educational institutions and male-dominated occupations. So they concentrated their efforts at developing their personal lives in terms of becoming educated and employable. During the two world wars, women's labour power was required outside the home and they participated in many arenas that had been previously closed to them. Women's roles were greatly expanded during this time period.

The feminist writings reviewed from the first half of this century were written between the years of 1938 (Woolf) and the mid-1950s (de Beauvoir and Komarovsky). Overall, they represent a more academic focus, with greater intellectual complexity than in previous centuries. We see a greater concern here with understanding women's oppression and the dynamics of gender. But again, they are more concerned with analysis than with strategies for action (with the exception of

Woolf, who satirically recommends women's withdrawal from male institutions). It was a time where social roles were questioned and the majority of writings of this time period addressed the issue of sex role differences. With this emphasis also came a critical examination of the purpose of education, an expansion of the earlier themes of education's importance for women and what type of schooling they should be involved in.

Mary Ritter Beard believed that the wars led to debates on women's "place" in society.

The vast world beyond the desk, the hearth, ... and the plough or poultry yard was made so vibrant with life unknown in quiet places that the desire to see and be a part of that vaster world seized the minds of countless routineers. ... girls literally in hordes decided that they could live the life of adventure... (Beard, 1946:28).

While the wars allowed women's roles to be expanded, the coming of peace forced them back into pre-war "women's" roles. But the war experience brought about questions regarding their limited sphere. Virginia Woolf expressed this well in her 1938 publication, "Three Guineas", in which she asks how women can contribute to the creation of freedom and peace from their isolated domestic space. She questions the entire culture which excludes women from participation in it and recommends women form a "society of outsiders". Her writings, it will be seen, greatly influenced future radical⁷ feminist writings.

⁷While this work problematizes the categorization of feminist theories into 'boxes', the traditional labels will be used in order to maintain congruence with the literature on feminist practices.

Many of the feminists participating in the debates regarding different sexual roles, however, wrote from within academe. Margaret Mead, Mirra Komarovsky and Simone de Beauvoir are great examples of the intellectual complexity within feminist writers of the early century. They wrote from particular academic disciplines' perspectives (anthropology, sociology and philosophy) but each contributed to the sex role discussion.

Margaret Mead (1949) places the material she gathered on South Sea cultures between 1925 and 1939 into a contemporary context to show that sex role differences are learned behaviours. She wants to "bring a greater awareness of the way in which the differences and the similarities in the bodies of human beings are the basis on which all our learnings about our sex, and our relationship to the other sex, are built" (Mead, 1949:36). She provides an understanding of the consequences of difference in her analysis of the "myths" that are created to perpetuate these differences and how these are not consistent, from one culture to another. In other words, Mead brings into question the concept of universal sex roles based on biology.

Simone de Beauvoir (1949) also questioned whether "biology is destiny", underlying the ways in which humanity is divided into "two classes". She examines biology, psychoanalysis and historical materialism in an attempt to show "how the concept of the 'truly feminine' has been fashioned - why woman has been defined as the Other - and what have been the consequences" (p. xxxiv). De Beauvoir provides us with one of the most comprehensive descriptions of "the world in which women must live; and ...the difficulties in their way as...they aspire to full membership in the

human race" (de Beauvoir, 1949: xxxiv). Like Mead, she concludes that women are not born to be the Other, instead, we learn to be, or in her words, we "become" Other. Our biology becomes our destiny.

In her 1953 analysis of modern women's education and their dilemmas, sociologist Mirra Komarovsky goes beyond the traditional pattern of focusing on, or blaming the victim, by placing women in a social context. "Our patient is not the individual but society as a whole. Our problem is to discover what in contemporary society causes such widespread uneasiness in women and tensions in the relations between the sexes" (Komarovsky, 1953:ix). With a recognition that to be born female means inhabiting a world that is different from that of males, she nonetheless provides a critique of analysis on this difference. She is one of the first to argue that it is greatly exaggerated: "[m]ost girls are similar to most boys, with a minority in each sex creating the differences in averages" (Komarovsky, 1953:20).

Her solution to the uneasiness and tensions provides a link to the second theme of these writings: education. "The moral which emerges...is obvious: the need for a rich and flexible curriculum within which both the common and the unique talents of individuals, irrespective of sex, will be recognized and fostered" (Komarovsky, 1953:24). Each of the writers reviewed in this time period expresses similar views on the importance of education in changing society's views. And with the exception of Woolf, they all situate themselves on the co-education side of the on-going single sex vs. co-education debate.

With a recognition of the importance of education for women, Beard expresses the need for a critical examination of the purposes of education. Throughout her analysis of educated women's contributions in history, she demonstrates that these women received the same education as their male brothers and colleagues. Despite their belief in co-education, Mead, de Beauvoir and Komarovsky each question whether it should be "male" education that females receive. Does becoming "human" equate with becoming more "male"? Being allowed access to previously male-dominated education and occupations appears to indicate this. Perhaps, the authors suggest, education itself needs to change along with a revolution in social values, thoughts and culture.

In her conclusions, de Beauvoir introduces us to the concept of androgyny which is taken up by feminists in later years.

If the little girl were brought up from the first with the same demands and rewards, the same severity and the same freedom, as her brothers, taking part in the same studies, the same games, promised the same future ... the child would perceive around her an androgynous world and not a masculine world (de Beauvoir, 1952:807).

In her analysis of how the sexes are educated toward differences in their social roles, Komarovsky recognizes that there is something wrong with women's education but she questions whether it can be fixed with a "distinctively feminine curriculum" (Komarovsky, 1953:17). While social roles have meant different educations in the past, she finds no evidence to suggest that different roles mean a difference in capacity or ability to learn or even to different interests in learning. Different education for different roles is a mark of inferior education, Komarovsky believes

(p. 285). She recommends co-education, but with a modified curriculum, which accounts for all social roles. "It is the job of the college to provide a soil for the fullest fruition of intellectual gifts. ...It must help each student to know herself, it must portray alternatives realistically" (Komarovsky, 1953:288).

Mead puts great faith in solutions deriving out of the questioning of sex differences. She states that providing the same lessons and standards for both sexes will teach them that the most important criteria for choosing future work is that it should "have chances for advancement and that it should be interesting" (Mead, 1949:292). By raising people's consciousness and by eliminating the emphasis on difference, the world will benefit from more complete individuals.

If we recognize that we need every human gift and cannot afford to neglect any gift because of artificial barriers of sex or race or class or national origin, then one of the things we must know is where the assumed differences between the sexes are mere elaborations of unimportant differences that can be dealt with easily in this invention-conscious world (Mead, 1949:45).

The first half of the twentieth century saw a more intellectually sophisticated set of writings from feminists who move beyond describing women's world to analysing it and presenting possible solutions to eliminate the differences that exist. At the same time as they continue the discussion on the importance of education and the type of education women should receive, they also expand the debates by attempting to explain women's situation through an understanding of why males and females inhabit different worlds.

B1 WRITINGS FROM THE 1960s

As discussed more fully in Chapter Six, the 1960s are now infamous for the social movements which took place in this decade; they called for the opening up of human rights, the reduction of control and authority over individual lives and for a major revolution to reduce inequalities. Anti-war and peace sentiments were expressed along with activism on the civil rights, aboriginal rights, and Quebec nationalist fronts, to name a few.

Women were actively involved in many of these movements and as their eyes were opened to one injustice, they began to see others, including the inequality based on sex. Having achieved the right to vote and the opening up of many institutions, including educational ones, more than ever before women in the 1960s were educated, aware of their social world and discontent with it. As Rossi has expressed, "women were open to a critical examination of their lives" (Rossi, 1973:619). This led to a new type of writing -- a critical analysis of the differences between women's and men's social realities.

In terms of the educational context of the 1960s, it was the height of the specialization of knowledge and the separation of it into compartments that had begun earlier in the century, as a result of industrialization and its emphasis on "pieces of work" within the labour force. The increasingly narrowing areas of skills and competence in this institution re-enforced the separation of others, including the distinctly separate social spheres based on one's sex.

The major theme of the feminist writings of this decade was the personal development needs and strategies of women. They examined women's lives and brought about the critical awareness that Rossi spoke of. This led to an understanding of how the separate domestic spheres contributed to separate public spheres or different career paths depending on one's sex. Caroline Bird's 1968 analysis of the lives of those "Born Female" describes stages in a women's life. Marion Royce also describes typical phases for Canadian women:

a period of education and training, probably with the addition of some work experience, as well as marriage; a period of child bearing and rearing, when her family is likely to be a woman's first preoccupation; and a period after her children have grown beyond the dependent stage when increasingly she is impelled to broaden her interests, often turning to remunerative employment (1969b:44).

These stages were obviously in educator's minds as well. Betty Friedan, considered by many to be the mother of the second wave feminists, developed a questionnaire for college graduates to "disprove the current notion that education had fitted us ill for our role as women" (1963:6). But she discovered that "instead of opening new horizons and wider worlds to able women, the sex-directed educator moved in to teach them adjustment within the world of home and children" (Friedan, 1963:157). Jessie Bernard agrees. While education was considered important for everyone in terms of their future in the labour force, "women are given a greater freedom to fail; not everything is staked on a career" (Bernard, 1964: xix). Women are taught, in the final analysis, to gear their lives toward their responsibilities in the domestic sphere, not the public one. As stated by Bird, "The nature of the task doesn't matter. She may shoot a gun or drive a truck or serve out a husband's

unexpired term in the legislature -- providing only that she does it in the name of somebody else" (Bird, 1966:159).

Friedan found that the graduates she studied were feeling discontented and then guilty about the unhappiness in their lives. "[E]arlier graduates blamed their education for making them want 'rights,' later classes blamed their education for giving them career dreams" (1963: 28-29). But when they attempted to realize these "dreams", they encountered what Bird refers to as the Invisible Bar.

[T]he closer she approached paying work, the more she was slowed by the unspoken assumption that a woman really could not be serious about a vocation but must be 'working to mark time, earn a little money, or if she was obviously gifted, 'just for fun.' (Bird, 1968:51).

As Vera Brittain (1960: 30) stated, "discontent...always comes with the first stages of realization". And Friedan found that the 'problem' originates with the discontentment of women's lives.

The feminist writers of this decade didn't only describe the situation; they also suggested solutions to the problems they observed. Most of them focused on providing women with "equal opportunities" to succeed in whatever sphere they choose. And there is an emphasis on the role of education toward this end. Once Friedan defines the 'problem that has no name' as the fact that "women are kept from growing to their full human capacities" (1963: 364), she suggests that educators can do something about this problem if they "see to it that women make a lifetime commitment... to a field of thought, to work of serious importance to society. They must expect the girl as well as the boy to take some field seriously enough to want to pursue it for life" (Friedan, 1963: 366).

The focus of education to lead to meaningful work outside of the home is emphasized in all the writers of this decade. And this involves a de-emphasizing of sexual difference which would require a "revolution in values which is already overdue" (Brittain, 1960: 240). Royce notes that this revolution requires changes in women's attitudes and values as well. "As preparation for wider involvement in life and living, [education] becomes meaningless and frustrating until a climate of opinion is created for acceptance of women in new roles, to the not least extent by women themselves" (Royce, 1969a: 6). Heilbrun gives a name to the new goal expressed by the other writers.

our future salvation lies in a movement away from sexual polarization and the prison of gender toward a world in which individual roles and the modes of personal behavior can be freely chosen. The ideal toward which I believe we should move is best described by the term 'androgyny'. This ancient Greek word... defines a condition under which the characteristics of the sexes, and the human impulses expressed by men and women, are not rigidly assigned. Androgyny seeks to liberate the individual from the confines of the appropriate (Heilbrun, 1964:x).

Bird states that when "the most important thing about a person will no longer be his or her sex", then "women will ...find themselves living in ways that parallel rather than complement the lives of their husbands" (1968: ix, 184).

Carolyn Heilbrun provides us with a good summary of the themes of the feminist writings of the 1960s.

for the first time women writers have begun to be outspoken against the conditions which formed them. ...women have only recently learned to tell the truth, first to one another and then to themselves. ...Once the old marriage game, the old sexual game of hunter and hunted has ceased to be played, who knows what human possibilities [we] may discover? (Heilbrun, 1964: 170-171).

C1 WRITINGS FROM 1970-1974

By the early 1970s, the second wave of the women's movement was underway. As noted above, women had been very active in a variety of "rights" movements and came to realize that their own rights were not guaranteed. As Robin Morgan (1970) noted,

Thinking we were involved in the struggle to build a new society, it was a slowly dawning and depressing realization that we were doing the same work and playing the same roles in the Movement as out of it: typing the speeches that men delivered, making coffee but not policy, being accessories to the men whose politics would supposedly replace the Old Order (p. xx).

This realization led women to begin to demand their own rights -- the right to participate equally with their male counterparts. As women developed solidarity, they formed groups and put pressure on governments and institutions to investigate and improve the status of women. The Canadian Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW) was set up in 1967 and presented its report in 1970. In the United States, numerous similar reports also appeared; for example, New York City Commission on Human Rights produced "Women's Role in Contemporary Society" in 1970.

While most of the reports acknowledged the inequalities women faced, their recommendations were primarily of a legal nature. They suggested ways to change the laws to implement equal opportunity measures, to ensure that women had equal access and opportunity to succeed in a variety of social arenas. Needless to say, this required patience and not all women were as patient as this necessitated. Some feminists recommended more drastic measures. Others, like Shulamith Firestone

(1970), recognized that women needed to express their feelings: "...the general spirit of dissent led to the establishment of a women's liberation movement proper. The anger spilled out, finally, into its proper outlet" (p. 35).

The first half of the 1970s produced feminist writings which went beyond the 1960s descriptions of differing social roles to include primarily analyses and strategies in the form of feminist theories. These varied as much as the writers themselves, but began to fall into four main streams as they moved beyond the seemingly one-dimensional approach of equal opportunity found in earlier decades. Many of them had suggestions for the role of education in creating an equal society. The early 1970s also saw a growing awareness that this was not the first time that women were actively pursuing these goals. As past women's writings were recovered from dusty archives, feminists recovered a long history of women's rebellion against social norms.

One of the new feminist theories of inequality focused on "sexism" and its discriminatory effects on the lives of women. Authors such as Epstein (1970) and Huber (1973) wrote of the need for anti-discrimination legislation to ensure women had the opportunity to pursue occupations of their choice. Continuing with the 1960's theme of women's social roles, they expressed them as barriers to women's labour force participation.

Women are inexorably seen in relation to their child-bearing functions and child-rearing tasks.... The attitudes connected with the child-bearing function are those most commonly evoked in the discussion of women and work. These are often used as rationalization and justification for the status quo (Epstein, 1970: 3).

Canada's Royal Commission's Report (1970: 3) began with a statement of its basic principle: "...we subscribe to the fundamental principle of equality of the sexes as human beings and as citizens and we believe that any action either legislative, corporate or individual which infringes on that equality violates a fundamental human right". While reports of this type spoke in terms of human rights, individual authors such as Gomick and Moran (1971) wrote of the need to recognize and understand the political nature of women's condition and this required naming that condition as sexism (pp. xvii-xx).

This feminist theoretical approach, later named as the liberal approach, defined the problem as discrimination based on sex, or sexism, and placed great faith on legislation to eliminate the barriers to women's full participation in the occupation of their choice. While there was a recognition of the role of social institutions in perpetuating social inequality, the emphasis in these writings was primarily on the public sphere and opening it up to women.

Another group of feminists focused more on the private sphere and the role of the family in keeping women in their place. Radical feminists like Germaine Greer (1970) and Ti-Grace Atkinson (1974) wrote of the need to eliminate traditional notions of marriage and family. Greer wrote that "[i]f independence is a necessary concomitant of freedom, women must not marry" (1970: 375). Atkinson was even more direct:

Marriage and the family are as corrupt institutions as slavery ever was. ... By definition they necessarily oppress and exploit their subject groups. If women were free, free to grow as people, free to be self-creative, free to go where they like, free to be where they like, free to

choose their lives, there would be no such institutions as marriage or family (1974: 5; emphasis in original).

These two authors are examples of a theoretical stream which saw patriarchy as the enemy and the need to separate from men, in order to be free human beings. This approach began with women and expressed the importance of re-valuing the feminine rather than assuming the male was superior. Rather than focus on changing institutions, they recommended recognizing male behavior as the oppressor and organizing against this behavior. 'Withdraw and re-create' was the major strategy of this group -- withdraw from traditional marriage and family roles and expectations and re-create the world on feminist principles which recognize the value of human beings. As Andrea Dworkin expressed it: "[t]he object is cultural transformation. The object is the development of a new kind of human being and a new kind of human community" (1974: 192). 'Revolution' and 'transformation' were terms commonly used by these radical feminist theoreticians.

The themes of revolution and the recognition of the family as an oppressive institution were also expressed by a third feminist stream which grew in the early 1970s. Writers influenced by Marxist analysis located the problem in the domestic sphere where women were responsible for the reproduction of future labourers. Firestone (1970: 8) wrote of the existence of a "sex class", developed because of the different reproductive functions of the sexes. Juliet Mitchell (1971: 14) links Marx and Freud to present her analysis: "it is within the development of her feminine psyche and her ideological and socio-economic role as mother and housekeeper that

woman finds the oppression that is hers alone. As this defines her, so any movement for her liberation must analyse and change this position".

Marxist feminists criticize both the liberals and radicals for failing to place women's oppression in with that of others. While liberal feminists believe that social equality can be achieved without a revolution, radicals believe it is impossible to change society without one. But Marxists, or women's liberationists as Mitchell refers to herself, "believe it is a central, and yet intrinsic part of a larger revolutionary struggle for changing the dominant mode of production from capitalism to socialism and finally communism" (1971: 66).

The cross-cultural evidence in Rosaldo and Lamphere's (1974) collection of essays emphasize the need to integrate men into the domestic sphere, to share in the socialization of children and in the more mundane domestic tasks. Also, they show the importance of female participation in, and control of, economic production, in order to have their status elevated. While this direction for the future is typical of Marxist analysis, some writers lean toward a more radical set of solutions. Firestone wants the elimination of male privilege and of sex distinction itself.

[T]o assure the elimination of sexual classes requires the revolt of the underclass (women) and the seizure of control of reproduction: the restoration to women of ownership of their own bodies, as well as feminine control of human fertility, including both the new technology and all the social institutions of childbearing and childrearing (1970: 11).

Using a psychological approach to theorizing, feminists like Phyllis Chesler (1972) write of the myths of female personality and relate these to the female condition that she names "madness". She states that in order to survive economically

and psychologically, women choose maternity and marriage (p. 22). Like Firestone, Chesler believes women must control the means of production and reproduction or they are supporting patriarchy and will remain powerless. Her solution is that "[w]omen must convert their 'love' for and reliance on strength and skill in others to a love for all manner of strength and skill in themselves" (Chesler, 1972: 298).

As this discussion of the writings in the early 1970s reveals, feminists were building theories that went far beyond the initial focus on achieving opportunities that were equal to those of males. Individuals were analyzing how women's status came to be subordinate and suggesting ways to change the situation. While the philosophical influences begin in diverse places, ultimately many of the differences between approaches are not clear. The end result for all of them is to provide women with more power and to recognize the value of their place in society.

This was a time when women were reading the writings of other theorists and responding to them quickly. There were even a number of publications that categorized the theories into different groups and compared them to approaches used by the first wave feminists (Firestone, 1970; Furness, 1974; Morgan, 1970; Rossi, 1973; Schneir, 1972). The wide variety of potential solutions was recognized, as was the notion that theory was developed from experience. "Women's liberation is the first radical movement to base its politics... out of concrete personal experiences. ... The theory, then, comes out of human feeling, not out of textbook rhetoric. That's truly revolutionary" (Morgan, 1970: xvii-xviii).

Many of the theorists recognized the role of education in the social situation of women. Firestone wrote of the ineffectiveness of a college education on women's lives. "Often the only difference between the modern college-educated housewife and her traditional prototype was the jargon she used in describing her marital hell" (1970: 78). Others like Furniss and Graham (1974) and Gornick and Moran (1971) described how schools, through textbooks and curriculum, ensure that "[b]oth male and female students receive a clear message...that men will use their brains and women will waste theirs" (Furniss & Graham, 1974: 14).

Education is not only seen as a problem but also as a potential solution to the discrimination women faced. The RCSW clearly states its position: "Changes in education could bring dramatic improvements in the social and economic position of women in an astonishingly short time" (1970: 161). Kate Millett notes that if knowledge is power, then power is also knowledge. "A little knowledge is indeed a dangerous thing if only because it often induces a thirst for more" (1970: 105). Greer encourages the spread of knowledge as a key liberation strategy. "Women's weapons are traditionally their tongues, and the principal revolutionary tactic has always been the spread of information. Now as before, women must refuse to be meek and guileful, for truth cannot be served by dissimulation" (Greer, 1970: 384). We see the beginnings of writings on one particular strategy feminists propose: the development of women's studies courses and programs, a theme that surfaces in a major way in future years (Furniss, 1974; Howe and Ahlum, 1973; Stuck, 1974).

While education is recognized as a means to make women more independent, there is also an acknowledgement that change must occur at all levels of education. Women are returning to higher education to gain the skills necessary for their expanded social roles. Patricia Cross (1971) was one of the first authors to address this new non-traditional student in universities and colleges. She writes that institutions have failed to serve women's needs and they need to improve educational programs being provided for these new students. "[I]f the answer to the question Who should go to college? is to be an egalitarian response of 'everyone', then educational systems will have to be designed to fit the learning needs of New Students" (Cross, 1971: 5).

While the majority of writings from the early 1970s focused on building feminist theories, a second focus was on how theory has led to a diversity of practice in the history of the women's movement. Analysis of women's action tends to compare different types of strategies to each other and to those of the first wave of the feminist movement. In other words, many of the writings on this theme have an historical component to them.

For example, Maren Lockwood Carden (1974) sees two types of groups in modern feminism: small groups concerned with developing theory and analysis which she names Women's Liberation groups and larger, formally structured groups more concerned with practice than theory, which she calls Women's Rights groups. She compares them to nineteenth-century American feminists and states that the earlier

ones "saw far greater differences between the 'male' and 'female' [biological] nature than do their modern counterparts" (1974: 10).

Shulamith Firestone (1970), on the other hand, groups feminists into three categories: conservatives who concentrate on the more 'superficial' symptoms of sexism, "politicos" whose "primary loyalty is to the Left rather than to the Women's Liberation Movement proper" (p. 37), and radical feminists who see women's issues as central to any larger revolutionary analysis. She too compares modern and past women's actions and concludes that, since earlier movements did not see the woman's cause as a legitimate issue in itself, "the majority of organized women in the period between 1890-1920 -- a period usually cited as a high point of feminist activity -- had nothing to do with feminism" (Firestone, 1970: 22).

Miriam Schneir (1972) disagrees with Firestone in her historical discovery of the wide variety of concerns identified by late eighteenth and early nineteenth century feminists. She uncovered issues beyond suffrage, such as marriage being an instrument of oppression, the advocating of sexual freedom, the importance placed on economic independence for women and the pervasive theme of 'selfhood' for women (p. xv). What they lacked, Schneir found, was the ability to go beyond the stage of advocating reform to that of building a viable theoretical foundation (p. xx).

Others who discuss the differences in either modern feminism or in a comparison with first wave feminists include Alice Rossi (1970), Jo Freeman (1973), and Victoria Shuck (1974). While recognizing that diversity does exist between different feminists, Robin Morgan believes that they "are possibly smokescreens,

defenses from seeing a frightening truth, resistances to a consciousness that no matter what we are, say, do, or believe, there is no getting away from the shared, primary oppression of being female in a patriarchal world (1970: xxxv).

Despite the diversity noted in approaches, it is also recognized that the first participants in the women's movement were primarily white, middle-class women (Dworkin, 1974: 21-22; Greer, 1970: 16; Morgan, 1970: xxv). Yet the notion of sisterhood emerged and authors such as Morgan speak of a movement with the "potential of cutting across all class, race, age, economic, and geographical barriers" (1970: xviii). And she states that the women's movement has as one task, the analyzing and theorizing of the divisions and breaking them down (p. xxv).

Sisterhood is the recognition of belonging to a large group and forming closer ties with other women which leads to more solidarity and organizing (Atkinson, 1974; Carden, 1974). One of the means for achieving this feeling is through the earliest strategy of the second wave women's movement: the conscious-raising (CR) sessions. These were small groups of women getting together at homes, schools, work sites, etc. and talking about their personal lives. Their consciousness was raised as they came to recognize that other women were experiencing similar problems and situations and that, in fact, they were not alone. These sessions of expressing personal experience were unique to the women's movement and produced "material that no academic researcher ever could have remotely reached" (Carden, 1974: xi). In fact, the material emerging from the CR groups acted as a base for much of the

theory and politics of the women's movement in the 1970s (Morgan, 1970: xvii-xviii; Mitchell, 1971: 44).

Just as CR sessions led to an expression of concrete personal experiences, so did the writings of the first half of the 1970s. The writers were building analyses of female oppression and proposing strategies to eliminate it, based on the knowledge gained primarily through small groups gathering to compare their personal experiences with this oppression. And they wrote about the women's movement as it grew stronger and more visible in the larger society. It was a time, in Greer's words, of using women's weapon -- their tongues -- to express what they were experiencing.

C2 WRITINGS FROM 1975-1979

During the second half of the 1970s, the feminist movement was experiencing great growth and optimism regarding potential social changes. Political action was occurring on many fronts. Women were uniting to develop their own businesses, publishing companies, banks, etc. As discussed more fully in Chapter Six, the Canadian RCSW's recommendations led to the establishment of women's councils within government and to the funding of women's group activities throughout the country.

It was also a time that saw the development and expansion of women's studies courses and programs around the country. Feminist journals like "Canadian Newsletter of Research on Women" (later changed to "Resources for Feminist Research") were now in existence to transmit information to previously isolated,

individual women teaching feminist courses. (Eichler (1985) states that the first women's studies credit courses at universities appeared as early as 1971 in Canada.) There was a growing recognition of the role of schools in reproducing social inequities as well as an understanding that despite its role in maintaining the status quo, education alone cannot change society (Deem, 1978; Matheson, 1976; Roberts, 1976). As the documentation of women's inequality grew, the insistence on policy making changes did as well. Feminists urged women to get involved at all levels because they saw that change must be forced, it doesn't occur on its own (Byrne, 1978; Astin, 1976; Deem, 1978; Fritz, 1979).

The second half of the 1970s produced a majority of feminist writings which continued the theorizing begun in the first half. Secondary themes now focused on education, most notably on women's studies and the need to transform knowledge within higher education, to eliminate the male bias of traditional education.

In terms of feminist theory, the ideas and issues were expanded and growing in sophistication. While liberal and marxist feminists were quiet during the late 1970s, the radicals continued their theorizing. Debates amongst the different approaches led to the development of socialist feminist theory. And an expanded psychoanalytic approach also emerged during this time period.

In 1979 two works were published that best fit in the radical feminist stream. Kathleen Barry expanded notions of sexuality in her discussion on female sexual slavery which she notes is present "in ALL situations where women or girls cannot change the immediate conditions of their existence; where regardless of how they got

into those conditions they cannot get out; and where they are subject to sexual violence and exploitation" (Barry, 1979: 33). This form of slavery is the cause of sexual power and the foundation of patriarchy, Barry claims (pp. 9; 165). She insists that political change must involve confrontation, and increased enforcement of laws against the values, institutions and individuals which keep women colonized (p. 230).

Heilbrun (1979) puts the emphasis on women bonding together to reinvent a notion of womanhood. "Woman has too long been content to accept as fundamental the dependent condition of her sex. We avoid aggressive behavior, fear autonomy, feel incomplete without the social status only a man can bestow" (p. 29). What she recommends is that women identify with and support each other and find ways that they can achieve without taking on male ideals and values. She does not, however, advocate the separateness of previous radical feminists. "Women must continue to invade the domains of power in order to change institutions as we know them, in order to offer places to other women, in order to offer all children the possibility of testing their abilities, and, finally in order to do justice to themselves" (Heilbrun, 1979: 208).

Two authors writing in a feminist psychoanalytic stream are Dorothy Dinnerstein (1976) and Nancy Chodorow (1978). Both explore sexual arrangements in contemporary society -- their sources and problems. Dinnerstein writes of the need to articulate the most hidden and potent sexual conservatism in the sexual arrangements (or the division of responsibility, opportunity and privilege that exists in human males and females) in order to grow towards liberation. This awareness, she

claims, is a necessary step toward action (1976: 3-4). Chodorow is also interested in the sexual division of labour and how to change it, but she analyzes how women's mothering is reproduced across generations.

All sex-gender systems organize sex, gender, and babies. A sexual division of labor in which women mother organizes babies and separates domestic and public spheres. Heterosexual marriage, which usually gives men rights on women's sexual and reproductive capacities and formal rights in children, organizes sex. Both together organize and reproduce gender as an unequal social relation. (Chodorow, 1978: 10).

The focus on the division of labour is also taken up in the newly emerging socialist feminist approach, which is just in the process of developing, according to Eisenstein (1979: 1). She writes of this stream as a "synthesis between the two [traditions of Marxist analysis and feminist theory]" where an attempt is made to understand "the dynamic of power involved, which derives from both the class relations of production and the sexual hierarchical relations of society" (p. 1). Eisenstein recommends that the problem of woman must be seen as "both mother and worker, reproducer and producer" (p. 1). She is expanding on ideas expressed in the 1978 collection of essays edited by Annette Kuhn and AnnMarie Wolpe which focuses on two themes - the family and the labour process. They recommend using a materialist approach which conceives of "human society as defined specifically by its productivity" (Kuhn & Wolpe, 1978: 7) with a central concern on "the determinate character of the sexual division of labour and the implications of this for power relations between men and women" (p. 7). These two publications represent the beginning of a feminist theory which is expanded on in future years.

Socialist feminism emerged out of a dissatisfaction with the dominant theoretical approaches of the time. The need to analyse theories and be critical of them was echoed by other writers of the late 1970s. The Bristol Women's Studies Group (1979) is concerned that there is no adequate theoretical explanation of women's oppression, although they acknowledge that a large body of material exists and some theoretical tools have been developed. While radical feminism offers the most powerful insights into women's situation, they feel no theory adequately accounts for all oppressions (p. 261-263). The Redstockings of the Women's Liberation Movement also speak of the crucial necessity of ongoing development and criticism of our observations, research, theory and strategies in order to achieve the liberation of women (1975: 10). This will ultimately lead to finding a solid basis on which women can unite.

Whether they work in opposition to each other or complement each other, the variety of feminist theories and strategies for action grew and became more sophisticated in their analyses as they encompassed more aspects of women's individual and collective oppressions.

In terms of the role of education in women's liberation, two major issues emerged during the late 1970s: first, descriptions and explanations of women's studies courses and second, the need to transform traditional knowledge to include women and their experience.

As stated earlier, courses on women's issues were first taught in the early 1970s and by the later half of the decade, officially designated women's studies

courses existed in most institutions of higher learning. Florence Howe, often referred to as one of the mothers of women's studies in the United States, spoke of these programs as the "academic arm of the women's movement" (1975: 141-142). She articulates three tasks for women's studies:

the development of courses and teaching strategies aimed at changing the consciousness of women...and at adding new knowledge to their ken. ...Second, both teachers and students have added significantly to areas of knowledge and new research developments....

The third task....: to change the male-centered college curriculum with regard not only to women generally, but to women of various classes and races (Howe, 1975: 157).

Frances Wilson's (1976) article on women's studies in Canada speaks of education leading to change. "[E]ducation is usually conceived of as an agent for change, often in the direction of adjustment to present conditions. Changed behaviour is also the goal of women's studies courses, but not necessarily toward adjustment" (p. 195). Instead, the changes she refers to include the raising of women's vocational goals and an awareness of themselves, others around them and their society (pp. 195-196). Mitchell and Oakley (1976) also see women's studies are providing awareness because there are a lack of facts about women's situation (pp. 7-8). And with this new knowledge and awareness comes a redefinition of the values and status of personal experience and a recognition of sisterhood, of asserting women's identification with one another (p. 10).

Glazer and Waehrer (1977) feel that feminism has had an effect not only on the women within women's studies courses but has also raised issues about methodology, theories and concepts as well as topics. By raising "women" as an

aspect of social reality, feminist courses have made explicit the sexism involved in many other concepts and theories as well as expanding the range of topics normally covered in the social sciences (p. 6-7).

Ehrenreich and English (1978) refer to the explosive growth of feminist scholarship and its connections with community activists in a sharing and development of ideas (p. xiii). Kuhn and Wolpe re-iterate this in their example of women's studies as a means of linking theory and practice. Women use this arena to "produce knowledge about themselves, of their own history and condition, and disseminate that knowledge by means of a pedagogical practice" (p. 2).

Reuben (1978) and Tobias (1978) each provide a more indepth analysis of women's studies, placing it in a radical, re-create strategy with its "alternative" method of scholarship and practice. While Reuben concerns herself primarily with outlining the criteria of feminist scholarship and how it is more than research by and/or about women, Tobias presents us with an historical look of how these courses came about as a natural extension of the women's movement, which she refers to as a "teaching movement" (1978: 86). She writes of the original debates among those who believe that women's studies should concentrate on presenting a feminist critique of the disciplines and those who felt the primary purpose should be consciousness-raising. As well, she informs us of the contradictions between having women's studies in an "ivory tower" atmosphere, seemingly incompatible with "street women's studies". While most feminists write of women's studies in a positive vein, this was the first reference found to the question, explored in later publications, of who

benefits from the theorizing and teaching, how accessible is this new knowledge for all women? Tobias settles the issue by expanding the notion of women's studies; it does not occur only in academic settings but also outside the university, in self-help clinics, women's centres, newspaper enterprises, to name a few (1978: 95). "The goals of street women's studies are more behavioral than academic: 'to teach women how to achieve freedom, survival and the satisfaction of their basic needs'" (Tobias, 1978: 95).

While early teachers of women's studies courses had to deal with an absence of course material, the discipline soon produced massive amounts of feminist scholarship to use when compiling reading lists. But 1979 saw the printing of the first comprehensive collection of readings intended to be used as a textbook in women's studies courses. It was edited by the Bristol Women's Studies Group, made up of women who had taught courses about women in a variety of contexts but primarily in adult education. While the BWSG recognizes that the discipline emerged out of the women's movement, it also acknowledges its debt to earlier feminist writers. Women's studies is seen as "completing of the record" and "correcting the bias, implicit or explicit, in traditional subject areas" (BWSG, 1978:4).

The idea of correcting the bias is consistent with a secondary theme in the writings of the late 1970s -- transforming knowledge. A number of authors explore the purpose of education and the fact that it fails to provide women with basic liberatory opportunities to develop their skills and talents (Astin, 1976; Byrne, 1978; Vickers, 1976; Rich, 1979; Schopp-Schilling, 1979). Byrne states that while

education's principle stated purpose has always been to educate for personal and career fulfilment, as long as "the curriculum remains stereotyped into girls' subjects and boys' subjects for which different practical investment is made, then personal fulfilment will remain an unattainable goals for many of both sexes" (1978: 24).

Deem concentrates on the role of formal education in maintaining a society with class and sexual divisions of labour (1978: 2-4).

Many of the authors focus on exposing the inequalities and the need for change, others are more explicit in their discussions on the need to completely transform the knowledge that is presented at all levels of education (Howe, 1975; Wilson, 1976; Mitchell & Oakley, 1976; Reiter, 1975; Rich, 1979; Roberts, 1976; Sherman & Beck, 1979). This involves changing the traditional curriculum as well as developing more women's studies courses to eliminate the male bias in the traditional subjects presented as human knowledge. As a political strategy, women's studies questions the control and power of academe (Howe, 1975: 11). Nelson (1976) and Vickers (1976) write of the need for innovative, attitudinal change to respond to and reflect societal change. Reiter clarifies what transforming knowledge means in her discipline, anthropology. She states that there is a need for a "reorientation of anthropology so that it studies humankind. Focusing first on women, we must redefine the important questions, re-examine all previous theories, and be critical in our acceptance of what constitutes factual material" (1975: 16). Rich (1979) presents one of the most articulate explanations of what male bias does to women and how we will benefit from a transformation.

in breaking those silences, naming our selves, uncovering the hidden, making ourselves present, we begin to define a reality which resonates to us, which affirms our being, which allows the woman teacher and the woman student alike to take ourselves, and each other, seriously: meaning, to begin taking charge of our lives (p. 245).

Therefore, as feminist theory developed, women's studies began redressing the absence of women in traditional education. While presenting the facts of discrimination and adding new knowledge, feminists came to understand the need to go beyond this and to formulate new directions in all areas of education: from methodology in research, to reconceptualizing basic assumptions, to constructing new explanatory systems (Roberts, 1976:5). Thus the later half of the 1970s was a very busy time for feminist educators and theorists.

D1 WRITINGS FROM 1980-1984

The early 1980s saw continued activity of feminists and expanded areas of action. Chapter Six explores, in more depth, how it was a time of building structures in a movement with great diversity in ideas and participants as well as a period of building alliances and coalitions between different groups to work for common, specific goals. With a solid base of numerous women's organizations and services set up in the 1970s, more detailed focus was placed on providing social services and developing strategies for transforming society.

Increasingly there was a recognition that patriarchy was everywhere and tensions began to emerge between feminist politics and vision. This time period also saw the government funding five regional chairs in women's studies, which logically

led to the production of a majority of writings on education, most particularly on the emerging women's studies courses and departments as well as on the need to transform all aspects of the academy itself. Feminist theory also continued to develop.

Individual women's studies courses had now been underway for at least half a decade in many universities, and feminists began to assess the purpose, goals, and potential for these courses. It was a time of communicating and informing about women's studies -- what is it, what are the goals of these new studies, how is it useful in different areas?

The first authors to deal with what women's studies is and what its goals are dealt primarily with its purpose of providing an education that reflected on female experience and provided a more accurate education for everyone. Myra Dinnerstein and colleagues wrote about the transformative goal of women's studies: "the changing of materials and courses of study so that all phases of education, from kindergarten through graduate and professional schools, will accurately reflect the lives and concerns of women as well as men" (Dinnerstein et al., 1982: 20). Elizabeth Janeway (1982) expressed the purpose of these courses as the need for women to know themselves better or to "alter the perspectives by which women can view their lives, understand the attitudes they have accepted as normal and the behavior they see as proper" (p. 72).

Evans (1982) wrote of the need to ensure that "knowledge, itself a form of social power, is not produced solely in the interests of the powerful and the

influential, to the detriment of the powerless and weak" (p. 73). Tudivor, in writing about feminist education in Canada, explained its consciousness raising purpose: "it involves us in developing a method to understand how our personal lives are part of a political world.... This method turns us into sensitive observers of 'gender politics', the power relationships between men and women" (1982: 277).

Others, like Dale Spender, a particularly prolific writer during this time period, were more radical in their views of what women's studies' goals are.

Women's studies is not merely a matter of adding some women to the male records. ...It is questioning the very nature of history, it is asking why only the 'great' have been worthy of study, and by what criteria they were considered great. It is about investigating the experience of those who have been dominated and not just those who have done the dominating (Spender, 1982b: 148).

Mary Evans states that women's studies is actually feminist studies (1982: 66). Gloria Bowles and Renate Duelli Klein edited a now renowned collection of articles on "Theories of Women's Studies", which provides an in-depth look at the subject. They express its feminist nature in examining all existing knowledge for its usefulness.

the questions we asked and the answers we began to formulate did not fit into the framework of Men's Studies, because Women's Studies shares neither the assumptions of the dominant cultures, nor do we find the present compartmentalization of knowledge adequate to pursue our questions. To introduce feminist insights means to challenge radically the generation and distribution of knowledge, it means changing the whole shape of the course, or the problem - or the discipline (1983:5).

Along with a focus on the purpose and goals of women's studies, a second thread under this theme is its potential for the field of adult education. Higgins (1982) compares a feminist framework to education with that of Freire, an inspiration

in many adult education theorists. She sees the links: "[i]t is within adult education that political struggle and social action have traditionally found expression and women's studies fits easily into this tradition" (p. 87). Like the Freirian model, a women's studies approach also rejects traditional educational values: "the teacher-taught power relationship; the hierarchical elitist structure of the institutions themselves; the unbalanced regard for objective knowledge" (p. 92). Higgins also writes of their common goals in developing an educational system based on sharing of knowledge and cooperation with equal relationships in the teaching-learning environment (p. 92).

Mary Hughes and Mary Kennedy (1983) provide a critique of adult education's goals and traditions. While it has the potential to open windows and expresses its philosophy as 'education for change', in reality "it does tend to continue along the well trodden paths of remedial classes for the 'disadvantaged' and traditional courses transmitting the 'great cultural inheritance', with a reluctance to question social structures or the changing roles of women and men in the twentieth century" (p. 261). Despite the majority of its participants being women, it continues to confirm women in their traditional roles. However, the authors optimistically share their views on how women's studies through adult education could provide a "model based on rethinking forms of knowledge and it could concentrate on the remaking of social and economic relationships" (1983: 268).

Jane Thompson (1983) also writes of the relations between these two areas. She feels adult education may prove "to be an important connecting point between the

informal expression of feminist demands and dissatisfactions, and the translation of these into political and cultural practices which consolidate the growing rejection of patriarchal authority by increasing numbers of women" (p. 114).

Feminist assessments of the purpose and potential of women's studies led to a final thread of this theme: the debating of strategies and goals. This included the questioning of some basic feminist principles like sisterhood, transforming society, and building on non-hierarchical, non-elitist ideals.

While Brenda Able (1983) questions whether or not sisterhood is truly powerful, she does recognize that it is "supportive" (p. 316). Sandra Coyner (1983) questions women's studies' adherence to the notion of 'interdisciplinarity', believing that this implies a collaboration with traditional disciplines while women's studies is, in actuality, a completely new way of viewing humankind (p. 46-54). Rosemary Deem (1980) addresses the problem of making knowledge accessible to all, but she is concerned with the purpose of much of the feminist analysis that is emerging.

[T]he question of theoretical coherence in feminist work also raises problems about the extent to which highly theoretical analysis is accessible to a wide audience, or whether it is only intended for a small number of individuals who already possess the expertise and conceptual apparatus required to untangle complex threads of arguments (Deem, 1980: 2).

Hey (1983) also expresses some feminists' suspicions that academic feminism is a "counter-revolutionary strategy designed to deliver up existing and remunerative careers to the few on the backs of the many" (p. 299). Boxer (1982) and Tudor (1982) both make the point that there has to be a relationship between the grassroots, 'wider audience' and academic feminism which must recognize education in the larger

arena. Tudor sees the importance of grassroots groups which bring essential information into the forefront as legitimate areas of concern to be studied by the academics. "Such grass roots education reflects the commitment of women to the sometimes painful, sometimes euphoric and always political struggle for our liberation" (1982: 285).

Despite the questioning of whether or not feminism was developing its own "elites", the belief in education leading to social change remained. With the growing recognition of a variety of feminist theoretical approaches, came the realization that there were different views on how change could be brought about, including views on how to change educational institutions. Bowles and Klein devote extensive space to discussing the two major views: autonomy vs. integration, a debate which is taken up by many others. Proponents of the integration side want to change the traditional curriculum to include women's concerns. Their advocates "think that acts of convincing, informing, consciousness-raising are the path to the transformation of our present one-sided education" (1983: 2). They are concerned with women's studies becoming ghettos for feminism.

The autonomy side, on the other hand, believes in the field of Women's Studies in its own right, maintaining "that the structure of knowledge can be changed only by radical, innovative feminist scholarship that is given a chance to grow in a setting where there is vibrant exchange and debate among autonomous feminist scholars who have control over their knowledgemaking" (Bowles & Klein, 1983: 2).

Initially feminist scholars had expected that once courses on women were created, the new knowledge generated would then be integrated into the general curriculum. But they soon found out that 'adding' women was not enough. This led to the indepth questioning of assumptions, methods, knowledge compartmentalization and structures of education. The debates of the role of feminism and women's studies within this context continue for many years, and are seen within the larger women's movement. They are also seen within the second major theme of the early 1980s: strategies on how to transform academe.

Early on in the '80s a few publications appeared to highlight not only the importance of education but also changes that were needed to provide women with better career opportunities through an improved educational system. While some use a general approach to describe the benefits of feminist principles, like non-hierarchical classrooms in women's studies (Bowles, 1983; Boxer, 1982), others deal more concretely with what the problems are and how these can be changed to evolve into a transformed educational system. Sara Delamont (1980) writes a book about teachers and pupils in which she argues that "schools develop and reinforce sex segregations, stereotypes, and even discriminations which exaggerate the negative aspects of sex roles in the outside world, when they could be trying to alleviate them" (p. 3). Beginning with the classroom to show how everyday life there is permeated with stereotyped ideas, she also discusses teachers' training and careers and how they contribute to inequalities based on sex and class. Using a critical feminist

sociological approach, Delamont concludes with ideas about transforming the academy to remove "unnecessary" sex distinctions from the educational system, at all levels.

Rosemary Deem (1980) expands Delamont's analysis by examining not only teachers and their training, but she also suggests ways to deal with sexism in textbooks and the curriculum, including its hidden aspects. As well, Deem recognizes that the attitudes of students, parents, schools, employers, and workmates need to change. Both authors focus on how education leads women into "women's jobs" and it can be changed to open up employment opportunities.

Others concern themselves more with the administrative aspects of higher education, including how decision-makers can encourage and build on women's studies' curriculum change projects. Dinnerstein et al. (1982) provide steps that administrators and governments can use to emphasize institutional commitment to the pursuit of knowledge creation through women's studies programs. John Gray (1981) focuses on policy and the scepticism and charges that egalitarian policies have failed. He argues that many of the reforms launched were not egalitarian in character. "They may have adopted the rhetoric of equality but they have often lacked the substance" (1981: 78). Jane Thompson agrees with Gray's notion of rhetoric. Women's demands for radical change require more than admission into programs; instead

[i]t implies at least an equal share in its control, at least an equal share in the determination of what counts as valuable knowledge within it, and at least an equal recognition that what is important about women's experience of the world is as valid as men's. Without such real equalities, notions of 'equality of opportunity' are essentially rhetorical (Thompson, 1982: 93).

In assessing past failures, Gray concludes that what is needed is first, an adequate theory on how inequalities are generated through education, then policies that stem directly from the theory as well as resources to implement changes and finally, monitoring methods to evaluate new policies and learn from them (p. 91). Spender (1982b: 147) acknowledges the need for policy change but states that women need to work from 'inside' in order to gain access to policy-making circles.

Elizabeth Janeway (1982) recommends a look at the past to "track the road we have been following" (p. 25) in order to make sensible choices about actions in the future. She states that more than recruitment programs is necessary; that resentment about women's participation, and call for changes, in higher education is strong.

The Mandarins don't want us, in the first place, because they are comfortable, and if you are comfortable, why should you desire change? Then the change they're confronted with is wide-ranging enough to be disturbing. ...In addition, the presence of women on a professional level of equality forces a rethinking of one's opinions on sex roles and functions, and these tend to run fairly deep (Janeway, 1982:47).

Roberta Hall's well known piece on the chilly classroom climate (1982) also acknowledges this resentment and documents, at great length, the implicit and explicit chilly treatment women get within educational settings. But she goes beyond description or generalizations to provide extensive "specific recommendations which administrators, faculty, students and others can use to bring about greater awareness and change" (p. 4).

While all the authors discussed realize that the academy needs to be transformed and they explain the circumstances that exist and make general statements about the importance of women being involved in decisions about the nature of the

transformation, Hall makes the best case by going past generalizations to provide concrete recommendations for how the changes could be made. Her suggestions also go beyond a reliance on women's studies to create awareness and new knowledge as she presents particular classroom scenarios and what can be done to make women welcome in all disciplines, not only those specifically for and about women. More than knowledge needs to be changed; the environments in which this knowledge is dispersed must also be transformed.

A secondary theme in the early 1980s is the on-going development of feminist theories, many of which address the need to link the theory of women's studies with the practice of strategies to transform the academy and society. While some authors continue the 1970s pattern of comparing first and second waves of the women's movement or of critiquing and attempting to place feminist writings into theoretical categories (i.e. Banks, 1981; Boxer, 1982; Eisenstein, 1983; Jaggar, 1983; Sarah, 1982), others stress the importance of a solid theoretical base on which to develop transformative strategies that recognize the diverse needs of women (Bowles & Klein, 1983; Thompson, 1983; Fitzgerald et al., 1982).

The first half of the 1980s also produced more writings by specific approaches to feminist theorizing. Socialist and marxist feminists continue to debate the causes of the oppression of women (i.e. Barrett, 1980; Delphy, 1984). Spender (1981) contributed to radical feminism with her analysis of how males control language leading to power and control of world views through the publication of language. Psychoanalytic feminism was expanded by Gilligan (1982) with her model to account

for different modes of development in males and females. French feminism was introduced to American feminists with Marks and de Courtivron's (1980) edited collection of articles by writers influenced by both marxism and psychoanalysis.

In her analysis of ten years of Canadian feminism, Naomi Wall expresses a concern of many others.

Throughout the development of the Canadian women's movement there has been an ongoing debate about the best way to broaden the base of the movement. Many women believed that a women's movement that lacked the participation of poor women, working-class women, native women and immigrant women also lacked credibility as a movement for radical social change and for women's liberation (Wall, 1982: 23).

Accounting for diversity was a theme mentioned by many authors, although they tend to recognize class more than any other "otherness" (i.e. Able, 1983; Banks, 1981; Bernard, 1981; Delphy, 1984). However, bell hooks (1981, 1984) and Angela Davis (1983) brought the issue of race to the forefront. They made it clear that the exploitation of black women needed to be theorized to understand the special abuses they face. Diversity had always been a concern named by feminist writers, but until visible minority women (and francophone women in Canada) began to articulate their own experience in their own words, activists within the women's movement had considered themselves immune to charges of racism. With black feminist theories, the inherent racism of a white women's movement which claimed to speak for all women, became evident. New debates emerged about whose interests were being served, which led to an evaluation of hierarchy and elitism within the women's movement, as outlined above under the theme of women's studies.

Thus the early 1980s saw an expansion of issues that feminists acted on as well as ones they theorized about. Diversity can be seen not only in their areas of focus in organizing but also in their debates of inclusion, accessibility, integration and autonomy. The movement was wide and strong as it developed women's studies programs and transformative strategies within educational settings. And the participants were constantly forced to stop and evaluate who was included or excluded in their attempts to create change. There was great diversity within women's groups and around their arenas of action.

D2 WRITINGS FROM 1985-1989

As will be seen in Chapter Six, with the emerging new right wing movements in the political arena, the late 1980s' women's movement found itself having to defend its gains and enlarge its definition of feminism to include women who had been feeling excluded from what seemed to be a movement of white, middle-class, primarily academic women. Adamson et al. characterize this time as one which saw "the demise or consolidation of many local women's political groups and the struggle to preserve our gains and services in the face of widespread economic conservatism and cutbacks, [with a] conservative government" (1988:83). The 1970s optimism about seeing real change was being challenged by the economic and political climate of the 1980s. More energy was put into action and less into writing, as is evident by the reduction in publications on feminist issues during this time period.

The influence of the social context is very clear when examining the major themes of the writings that did appear in the late 1980s. Needing to expand definitions of feminism led to more writings on feminist theory, while we see a return to the theme of equal opportunity to defend positions gained and a secondary theme of diversity to include more women.

The writings on feminist theory that emerged during this time period are primarily outlines and critiques of what already existed with attempts to apply them to particular issues. For example, Sandra Acker (1985) examines different feminist streams and their application to strategies for educational change. She found that socialist feminists focus attention on the role of the education system in producing a labour force differentiated by sex, class and race. Radical feminists focus on education's power relations and on ways in which men benefit and women are disadvantaged. And liberal feminists concern themselves with ensuring that girls have equal opportunities within the school system (Acker, 1985: 66-67).

Madeleine Arnot and Gaby Weiner (1987) summarize two major theoretical approaches to education as liberal theorists concerned with access and choice and radical theorists focusing on power. They also present critiques by black feminists who challenge the radical overemphasis on sexuality and power relations without considering the impact of white power and the marxist failure to address the history of imperialism and colonialism in their analyses of women's oppression (Arnot & Weiner, 1987: 14). Increasingly we see writings like this that link theory to particular areas of interest.

Links between theory and organizing are also emphasized by authors during this time period. Mitchell and Oakley (1986) call for a re-definition of feminism and state that different approaches should not be seen as divisive but rather as a means to include a variety of women who are concerned with different issues. Rosalind Delmar (1986) states that ebbs and flows in feminism show its "ability to use and to combine with diverse ways of thinking politically" (p. 18). In other words, different theories lead to different actions with the result of being ultimately more inclusive. Increasingly we see an emphasis on collectivity, on working together despite differences, on the recognition that consciousness raising leads to an understanding that individual situations are really a part of a larger, political problem (Delmar, 1986; Bunch, 1987; Adamson et al., 1988).

Gaskell and MacLaren (1987) believe that despite the changes in educational issues for feminism, education remains a perfect arena for feminist work because it consciously links theory with actions for change. "In its interdisciplinary approach to real world problems, ... educational scholarship and feminist scholarship take parallel paths" (p. 14). Both fields direct their theoretical and practical attention "toward producing conditions where all students...have more control over their lives" (p. 13).

Charlotte Bunch (1987) also looks at the development of theory over time, emphasising its importance as a tool for understanding and advancing action for change. Theory is not only important for academics, she claims, but rather it "helps clarify how things work and what our choices are, and thus aids in determining where to put our energies and how to challenge the sources of our oppression most

effectively" (p. 247). She believes that theory and action are connected and must continue to "inform and alter each other" (p. 246).

This apparent re-assessment of the past and present, of where we have come from and where we are, is seen explicitly in Adamson and her colleagues' examination of the women's movement in Canada. They address the changes through legislation, in public consciousness, within women themselves and in women's organizing, and, in the process, they analyse the strategies used by applying the terms "disengagement" and "mainstreaming" (similar to the autonomy and integration debates within women's studies in the early 1980s). They also differentiate between institutionalized feminism which works from within traditional institutions and grass-roots feminism which is more "community-based, emphasizing collective organizing, consciousness-raising, and reaching out to women 'on the street'" (1988: p. 12), a difference usually attributed to liberal and radical feminist approaches and strategies. The authors conclude that despite the many changes that have occurred, "[t]he women's movement has not made the breakthroughs we sought. It has not transformed the society in fundamental structural ways, although it may have changed the rhetoric, the ideology, and perhaps even the expectations of society" (1988:6).

This discussion on feminist theoretical writings shows the late 1980s' need to defend a position and expand notions of feminism; it was a period of disillusionment and of re-evaluation. As Mitchell and Oakley state, it was a time of "reflecting on our past and present where once we more gaily planned our future. ...we conclude by

saying that it is only through a creative use of anxiety that we can start to look forward again" (1986: 7).

With the radical feminist streams regrouping and re-assessing, we see the re-emergence and re-evaluation of institutionalized or liberal feminist ideas of equal opportunity. The strategies of this feminist approach have always been considered the most acceptable or endorsed by the general society and its dominant ideology which promotes individualism, focusing on the individual's ability to change self. It relies on governments and political parties to create atmospheres where individuals have more opportunities to create change for themselves, rather than on the more collective approaches used by other theoretical positions. So once again we see writings about equal opportunities and the need to document inequalities in order to pressure for legislative changes (Chamberlain, 1988; Klein, 1989).

But the renewed emphasis on a more liberal approach can also be seen to be part of the general movement to build coalitions and alliances. Increasingly feminists came to recognize that they alone could not transform the world. The liberal approach emphasized working toward concrete positive action through established channels, often with male allies (Acker, 1985:67). And this time there was an understanding that simple access to opportunities was not enough; that there must be a consideration of the different experiences and knowledge brought by different individuals. Difference was to be seen as "natural, normal, and universal" (Hughes and Kennedy, 1985: 3).

This led to the third prominent theme in the late 1980s -- diversity. Concern had expanded from how sexual differences divide people to an understanding of the need to realize there are other forms of difference as well. While, according to Adamson et al., "[w]omen's organizations in the 1970s almost always included on their agendas some mention of the concerns of black and native as well as immigrant women" (1988: 61), it was not until the 1980s "that the women's movement began, at the insistence of organizations of women of colour, to incorporate an analysis of racism in Canada into their politics" (p. 61). Alliances and coalitions with a range of organizations were formed as part of the on-going process of this analysis, both within and outside of institutions. And as Bunch states, "people **do** change through exposure to other views" (1987: 215). School boards recognized this as issues of inequality based on gender were replaced by broader issues, including multiculturalism (Gaskell & MacLaren, 1987: 9).

Even books such as those by Chamberlain (1988) and Klein (1989) which are designed to help promote "equal opportunities", include an analysis of the failure to address the needs of other minority or nontraditional groups within education, such as racial and economic minorities and re-entry women. But despite the recognition of differences, Pearson et al. (1989) remind us to also look for commonalities.

In some ways, women's educational needs are the same as men's, but in other ways they differ. Similarly, women share many commonalities that emerge out of the shared experience of femaleness and societal definitions and treatment of women. But women also differ in important ways - in background, attitudes, and experience (p.16).

And in Solomon's (1985) analysis of the history of women in higher education, she reminds us of one more difference: theoretical/strategic differences. "Despite the traditional American wariness of ideology, we should respect the 'shrillness' of activists, for their integrity in speaking out is necessary to sustain consciousness and to promote requisite legislation" (p. 211).

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This chapter has reviewed 183 major feminist writings in seven chronological time periods, to reveal that the issues dealt with by the authors fall under twenty-four different themes as noted in Table 2 (and described in Appendix 2). The major and secondary themes of each time period have been discussed, along with their on-going and emerging debates.

It was seen that the major theme, overall, was the attempt to develop feminist theory to explain women's unequal social status and to develop strategies to eliminate this. Within this theme we see the debates not only on the origins of inequality but also debates on strategies. In terms of the origins, the theoretical debates are on whether we should focus on the public or the private sphere, or both. Liberals put their energy into the public sphere while radicals focus more on the private, and socialists attempt to incorporate both. This debate links the theme of feminist theory with that of "sex roles/sex differences" (most popular in time periods A2 and B1) which sees authors attempting to discredit the emphasis put on differences based on

sex. The debates under this theme were not so much among feminists as they were between feminists and popular notions of gender.

In terms of strategies in feminist theories, the debates revolve around the issue of: should women work from within institutions (the liberal approach) or should they withdraw and re-create according to feminist principles (the radical approach)? This is seen most prevalently in the 1970s (C1 & C2).

The arguments regarding strategy link feminist theory to a second major theme, dealing specifically with the role of education: women's studies programs, or the academic arm of feminism. Here we saw debates on whether feminist knowledge should be taught in autonomous departments or whether it should be integrated into the traditional curriculum. Also linked with the autonomy vs. integration debate is one which questions whether feminist scholarship should aim at adding knowledge on women or whether the entire knowledge base needs to be transformed.

A final important theme (although not numerically dominant) is one which has been discussed throughout the entire time period of items read, though it became most important during the 1980s. Diversity within women and among feminists can be seen in the debates around grassroots vs. academic feminists as well as in those around issues of elitism or who is feminism working for and including. And again, it can also be linked back to the overarching theme of feminist theories. To return to Robin Morgan's 1970 statement, noted earlier, different approaches could merely be seen as divisive smokescreens when in reality, the women's movement has only one task -- theorizing and analyzing the barriers women encounter in order to do

something (in the words of this dissertation, to organize) to break them down (Morgan, 1970: xxv).

While this chapter has focused on themes and debates within feminist theoretical writings, the first part of the task noted by Morgan, they need to also be examined within feminist organizing practices. The next chapter describes the history of the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women, an organization which deals specifically with the education of women. As such, this case study allows us to see the theoretical themes and debates as they are placed in the context of feminist organizing practices.

CHAPTER FIVE

CLOW'S STORY

While the previous chapter presented the data on feminist theorizing, this one describes that of the practice of organizing, from which we can then move, in Chapter Six, to analyse the links between the two practices. The purpose of this chapter is, thus, to provide a social history of feminist organizing practice in education using the case study of the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women (CLOW), from its beginnings in 1973 through to 1990. These seventeen years of CLOW's story was compiled by examining archival records and data from the Canadian Women's Movement Archives (CWMA), from files at CLOW's national office and from personal files and letters of one of its founding mothers, Greta Hoffman Nemiroff. References in the text to these files are noted as CWMA, CLOW or GHN and details can be located in the individual listings of them, found in Appendices 3, 4, and 5 respectively. As well, the archival data is supplemented by interviews with Lynn Fogwill and Aisla Thomson, two women who played an active role in CLOW's development. Each reviewed a draft of the chapter and responded to specific questions on gaps in my data.

In this social history of CLOW, we see stages of development as the organization moves from its initial role as an ad hoc committee of the Canadian Association of Adult Education with a mandate to report on learning opportunities for women, through its move to building the foundations of an autonomous and independent organization, to the point of its recognition of education as empowerment

for women. We also begin to get a sense of the moments when CCLOW's organizing converges with theorizing, to be analyzed further in the next chapter.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS: 1973-1979

In the early 1970s, after numerous informal dialogues between individual female adult educators, an ad hoc committee was set up within the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE) to address issues related to adult women's education. The first formal meeting of the committee took place in Toronto during the month of March, 1973, to examine "The Continuing Education of Women". Twenty women met to talk and make recommendations to CAAE. The central focus of this meeting was "transitional women", defined as "women who must use the social structures of the past in dealing with the social reality of the present while formulating her role in a continually changing society" (GHN,1,8,3).

The areas of concern around educating transitional women were threefold: 1) how to develop educational programs to meet the special needs of mature students; 2) to address how women's changing roles need support services in educational planning; and 3) to acknowledge that innovative programs for women require funding. The meeting concluded that these concerns needed further consideration and they made two recommendations to the 'parent' organization. The participants wanted CAAE to define its role as a communication link among individuals and organizations working in the field of Continuing Education and secondly, they wanted another meeting

organized for October, in Saskatoon, to report on ideas or progress and to make plans on how to implement the programs to meet the special needs of mature students.

The second meeting took place as planned to consider "The Next Step" (GHN,I,8,4) with a central issue on women's disadvantages in power structures. After lengthy discussions the participants concluded that while women in different strata (i.e. rural, Indian, low-income) have specific problems, there is nonetheless an underlying common thread: all women share a disadvantaged position in the power structures at all levels (local, provincial, federal). Second, to improve women's position requires recognition and support from women at all levels and in all strata. The third conclusion was that there was a need for on-going work for women's education and the participants moved to organize themselves more formally and establish the Canadian Committee for the Continuing Education of Women (CCCEW). They agreed to meet in Ottawa in the spring of 1974 to continue their work. However, this meeting never took place. As 1975 had been declared the International Women's Year, a number of activities were planned for that time and there was no funding available for the CCCEW's planned get-together.

With no formal activities in 1974 or 1975, the fire appeared to be dying, until many of the original members of CCLOW found themselves at a seminar sponsored by the Secretary of State on "Learning in Transition", held in Ottawa in September of 1975. As they renewed their network links with each other, the flame was kept alive.

In April, 1976, a "steering committee" of some of the original participants got together, with the support of CAAE, to apply for funding from the Secretary of State

Women's Program. The application, "A Proposal: Learning Opportunities for Women", was requested by an "autonomous committee" of CAAE which now referred to itself as the Canadian Committee on Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW) (CWMA,1,14). The funding applied for was specifically to hire a full-time coordinator, a part-time secretary and to plan a national workshop for 1977 in Winnipeg. This was needed to work on a Learning Opportunities for Women (LOW) project intended to allow women to "share information about ways and means of opening up more learning opportunities and about problems and possible solutions encountered by other program administrators" (CWMA,1,14:3).

The LOW project had four major objectives: 1) to establish a communications network among women educators in Canada; 2) to encourage and stimulate research and data collection and development activities in critical areas of need; 3) to become a resource to disseminate information on specific topics; and 4) to act as a catalyst in the promotion of innovative programming as learning needs became identified.

In their proposal, the steering committee also outlined the ways they intended to implement their objectives. They recognized the need for "collective action" but at that time there was no Canadian association focusing on the education and training needs of women. As an official body, CCLOW would take on the responsibility for "developing and maintaining information, gathering and disseminating [it] through such mechanisms as a regular newsletter, interviews in the media, discussions with local women, and through offering workshops and conferences for women" (CWMA, 1,14: 5). The staff that they would hire would "become excellent resource people for

developing programs to meet the specific needs of various groups of disadvantaged women" and act as facilitators and consultants to groups "concerned with extending learning opportunities to women in minority groups who have suffered the most" (CWMA,1,14:5).

The programs developed through the LOW project would include identifying sources of financial support for women who wanted to continue learning, pressing governments to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, seeking out people who have developed creative models that have increased learning opportunities, and working with governments and educational agencies to develop programs that meet the special needs of women (CWMA,1,14:6).

The proposal listed expected outcomes of the LOW project which included personal outcomes for women who would be encouraged to upgrade their skills and knowledge, and knowledge outcomes in that data would be collected on available educational and training programs for women. Political outcomes foreseen were improved legislation regarding funding and training for disadvantaged women and an advocacy body to seek ways for women to participate in the educational life of Canada. Finally, social outcomes were also expected as learning opportunities would be extended for "women on welfare, women in various ethnic communities, native women in remote areas, women in the home, handicapped women and women locked into menial low-paying jobs" (CWMA,1,14:7).

The documents reviewed up to this point reveal a few years of informal meetings and discussions leading to the stage, in 1976, where an attempt is made to

formalize the ideas and activities of the original group of 20 women educators. A name is chosen, projects are planned and steps are taken to meet the objectives outlined. CCLOW is born and moving forward.

The funding application to Secretary of State was approved and in 1977 CCLOW hired its first full-time coordinator, Janet Willis. Along with her duties of setting up an office and planning for the Winnipeg workshop/conference, Willis was also involved in the first official research and publications produced by CCLOW. These focused first on a series of descriptive essays about 15 selected successful educational programs available to women across Canada, entitled "Programme Packages". The criteria used for the choice of these programs were that they represent particular kinds of educational service to women, they addressed themselves to particular kinds of women (i.e. rural, immigrant, low-income, etc.), and that they illustrate positive examples of co-operative sharing of resources (GHN,1,1,1). The descriptions included strategies used to implement and get funding, the types of services provided to women and an evaluation of the program. The purpose of this publication was to stimulate development of other programs for women.

Two other documents written by Janet Willis were also published in 1977. The first, "Learning Opportunities for Women in Canada: Perceptions of Educators - A Working Paper", was a fifty-page paper which analyzed "the impact [that current educational programmes for women] are having on how educational institutions serve the learning of women" (GHN,1,1,2.), including barriers to further educational services and gaps in them. It was also intended to examine the validity of setting up

a national network for the promotion and exchange of women's educational program ideas. This turned out to be very well supported by the educators, 80% of whom were in favour of a national coordination and exchange of information. The data for the analysis came from questionnaires filled out by 270 adult educators in both formal and informal institutions. The findings pointed out that while the programs had a positive impact on the women participants, the impact on the institution was less pronounced. "[A] real awareness of and responsiveness to the learning needs of women has yet to be institutionalized" (GHN,I,1,2:13). The largest gap in services was found to be career counselling/guidance at all levels of education. Barriers identified as important included inadequate funding and attitudes of decision-makers, both within the institutions and in government.

The cover letter, "How to Use This Report" (GHN,I,1,1) discusses the objectives of the proposed national network, CCLOW, and these have expanded from the original 4 discussed in the Secretary of State funding application. The six objectives now include: 1) nationally linking educators involved in providing educational/training services for women; 2) encouraging and supporting the extension of learning and training opportunities for disadvantaged women (i.e. rural women with distant education, immigrant women with language training, etc.) and determining future policy direction; 3) examining the barriers women face in attempting to access educational opportunities, at all levels; 4) acting as a catalyst for the development of local and regional networks; 5) drawing together and analyzing national themes and trends in adult education so collective action and support can

meet unmet needs; and 6) analyzing successful and unsuccessful programs to isolate the factors that contribute to success or failure.

A summary of the two above mentioned documents, again written by Janet Willis and entitled "Learning Opportunities for Women in Canada: An Impressionistic Overview" provides highlights from each. The ten-page article discusses the nature and limitations of existing programs, barriers to women's education, comments on why this situation is happening and on why change has been so difficult to achieve. Willis found that "while there has been a great proliferation of educational programmes geared to women, there has been virtually no change in the provision of the educational services necessary in order for a woman to access learning in the first place" (GHN,1,1,3:4). The vast majority of educational programs were found to be "frill" courses with a serious lack of retraining, re-entry, or life skills courses which would get women out of traditional, low-paying, sex stereotyped, career paths. Successful programs were found to have three common factors: 1) commitment, dedication and ability of one woman who can determine what needs to be done and rally support; 2) sympathetic male administrators who support the dedicated females; and 3) sufficient funding to ensure the programs continue to run (GHN,1,1,3:6). The conclusion reached through this research is that if

women's concerns were truly integrated within our educational institutions, then ... every aspect of the institution's life would reflect concern for the learning needs of women. The curriculum of every course, the instructors in every department would be both non-sexist and supportive of the concept of women learning. (GHN,1,1,3:8)

A fourth paper was produced in preparation for the Congress in Winnipeg where a national organization was to be formally established. "Background Paper on Possible Committee Structures for the Canadian Committee on Learning Opportunities for Women" outlined four possible structural options for the organization, along with their advantages and disadvantages. It also added a seventh objective for CCLOW: to "get permanent and adequate funding for the project in order that women learners in Canada can be more effectively served" (CWMA,1,9:2). The structural options range from simple alternatives with a local or provincial emphasis, to regional structures and to a more complex, national organization which is issue oriented and allows for commitment from the grassroots groups of women.

As mentioned above, this document was produced in preparation for the Congress, "Learning Opportunities for Women" held in Winnipeg, October 16-18, 1977. The goal of this meeting was to establish the need and desire for a national organization concerned with action and strategy to promote learning opportunities for women in Canada (GHN,II, 1,11:2). Forty educators with knowledge and commitment to the issue of women's access to educational opportunities were invited to the workshop. Specifically, the meeting was to determine the potential organization's objectives and its structure, establish tasks and allocate responsibilities, analyse the current status of learning opportunities for women and identify/devise strategies which could be implemented at different levels (local, provincial, federal), and finally, to experiment with collective strategizing and sharing of information to form a cohesive group (GHN,II,1, 12:3).

A CCLOW representative attended the Board Meeting of CAAE to report on the workshop and the board members realized that CAAE, itself, had been "somewhat less than active in promoting learning opportunities for women" (GHN,II,1, 19:1). The workshop report sent out to participants outlined some of the general issues addressed in the workshop meetings. These include issues related to the use of power to advance learning for women - getting it and keeping it; parallels between the evolution of institutional responses to the women's movement and that of CCLOW; raising awareness about women's experience with discrimination; women and work - what is it and what value does women's work have; strategies for survival as a group and as an organization; and strategies for reaching a diverse group of women in need of learning opportunities. Debates surfaced around the meaning of "learning opportunities" and were resolved by defining it as "any educational experience which promotes the full integration of women into the social-economic and/or political life of Canada" (GHN,II,1,19:14). Other discussions revolved around the issue of whether or not to include "feminism" in the organization's name or in its objectives. This was resolved by agreeing that "feminism" was **implicit** in the name and objectives and didn't need to be overtly declared (GHN,II,1,19:14).

There was unanimous agreement that the ideal structure would include a geographically representative national co-ordinating committee. Toronto was chosen as the initial office base because of its ability to receive office space and secretarial services from CAAE. The Co-ordinating Group was not to be seen as a policy-making one but rather as a group which would assist in co-ordinating local networks

working on needs determined at their individual levels. It would also be responsible for getting further funding to ensure continuity of project goals. Rita Mifflin was appointed as CCLOW's first chairperson of the Co-ordinating Group.

Funding was applied for through two government departments. Status of Women Canada was asked for funding to expand CCLOW's membership and to consolidate the structure for a national organization. Secretary of State Women's Program was asked to fund Phase II of their Learning Opportunities for Women project where regional seminars would be held to expand the organization and another national conference was planned for February of 1978. Though CCLOW also received financial support from CAAE, members expressed the need for a review of this relationship with a desire for a different kind of association now that they were guaranteed one year's funding from Secretary of State and had their own staff person (CWMA,1,12:1).

In 1977 CCLOW set up its structure, defined its terms, objectives and goals, opened its national office and began its process of research and networking around learning opportunities for women.

The following year saw the continuation of what had been started in 1977. CCLOW's energy in 1978 primarily went into developing a Statement of Purpose and in setting up its networking role. In March, CCLOW sponsored a public lecture by Dorothy Smith (who was acting as an advisor and evaluator of CCLOW's organizational planning), entitled "Where There is Oppression, There is Resistance: A Report from the Canadian Women's Movement", in order to raise public awareness

and promote dialogue about the women's movement. On the back of the poster advertising this event, CCLOW states its purpose as working to "promote learning opportunities and equality of access to education for women, particularly mature women students" (CWMA,1,4). As one of the first public announcements, it is surprising that this document makes no mention of the previously stated concerns with race and social status.

In 1978 CCLOW produced its first newsletter, "Connections", to keep members and interested parties informed about its activities. It also began to develop and process questionnaires detailing the skills and experience of women, in order to maintain an on-going Skills Bank of educators concerned with women's education. Related to this was the series of "Self-training Skills Workshops" held in Toronto, in preparation for the 2nd Spring Congress planned for the following year.

One of the major activities accomplished in 1978 was the publication of "Roadblocks to Women's Learning: Issues for Advocacy" prepared for CCLOW by Dorothy MacKeracher. This 172 page document, intended as a consciousness-raising resource (a strategy recommended in feminist theorizing), focused on three areas: general issues related to women's learning, day care issues and employment/immigration concerns regarding education. Originally a policy paper to encourage policy development for CCLOW, MacKeracher's findings conclude that there is a real need for information on Canadian women learners and that there are certain services which are essential to satisfy women's participation and completion (i.e. day care, counselling, financial assistance, affirmative action in both staff and students, and

attitudinal changes in the suppliers). She recommends that CCLOW resolve policy issues such as will they be passive or active agents, will they focus on advocacy or on individual personal development, will they support or try to change existing educational structures, and will they be more concerned with information dissemination or with program development. This publication led to a realization that CCLOW's purpose and values needed to be clearly defined. It also put CCLOW on the track of working in the areas of educational needs such as day care and of literacy and skills development for women. These two areas became major focus points for CCLOW in the future.

In 1979, CCLOW's activities expanded to begin the process of advocacy. A brief, "Cutbacks to Training Allowances and Outreach Programs: Their Impact on Women", was presented to the three federal political parties. This first large scale, national activity in CCLOW's existence, allowed it to express concerns with the decrease in access for women to vocational retraining programs, academic upgrading and language training as well as the results of this decreased access to learning on women's employment opportunities.

The brief addressed women's need for retraining due to their disadvantaged position in the labour force. "...women do not need 'incentives' to take such training. We need disincentives removed" (GHN,II,6:9). The brief predicted that the government's proposed cutbacks to training programs would force thousands of women on to welfare, and cuts to language classes would relegate immigrant women

to a permanent marginal position in the economy. "Learning opportunities for women are job opportunities for women" (GHN,II,6: 26).

Women's education and their resulting employment was also the focus of a document published in 1979. "Adult Basic Education for Women" was researched and written by Dorothy MacKeracher, and deals with issues related to the disadvantages experienced by functionally illiterate or undereducated women. This was a widely circulated document and helped create a reputation for CCLOW and its activities.

The 2nd Annual and founding Congress was held in Banff, Alberta in April of 1979, and attended by 65 delegates. Lynn Fogwill, one of the organizers of this congress states that the clear goals from the outset were twofold: "to carry out 'self-training' workshops and to found a national women's organization that was in keeping with our 'feminist principles'" (Fogwill, 1996). Having established a need for an organization at Winnipeg's conference, the organizers

were filled with confidence that we could do things differently; that we had the skills and experience and expertise to design and establish an organization that operated differently from those we had experienced in the adult education field so far, which not only ignored the educational needs of women but operated as an old boys club (Fogwill, 1996).

The keynote address was made by Greta Hoffman Nemiroff, a feminist educator and active member of CCLOW in Quebec. She expressed the sentiment that "movement...within and between people, is ultimately what is important and is immediately essential for women who want to change things in our society" (CWMA,6,20). Nemiroff also raised a series of questions which needed to be

resolved before actions for change could begin. Small group discussions around these questions focused on establishing basic beliefs, settling on an ideology, and determining the decision-making process and organizational structure for CCLOW. The participants concluded that they needed a flexible structure which would allow for the sharing of expertise and this would occur under a national committee which would be responsible for determining priorities and implementing policies. The first national president, Marie St. John Macdonald, was elected at the concluding session. The Banff meeting also discussed CCLOW's on-going relationship with CAAE and the need to have a representative position on its Board of Directors.

Fogwill (1996) remembers the Banff Congress vividly.

we built the conference in modules that allowed time for working hard -- sometimes morning, sometimes evening, that allowed time for play -- we went skiing in the mountains or hiking in the woods, and time of time for what today we would call 'networking'. I still have a clear photograph in my mind of women talking earnestly, passionately, from morning till night for six days. We were oblivious to anything but our 'work'. It was completely exhilarating. ... We, the facilitators, felt an incredible responsibility to the group of women at Banff and the women who were not there but who needed the organization to be born.

One final activity of the congress was to agree on a definition of learning opportunities for women. At the end of the Banff meeting, it was ultimately defined as

any experience designed for women, formal or informal, which promotes women's advancement intellectually, emotionally, socially, and politically so as to enable women to participate fully in the decision-making processes of Canadian life on terms which they themselves participate in determining (GHN,1,8,6:4)

With these decisions made, the first national committee had its initial meeting in Toronto at the end of 1979. They appointed an executive group, determined tasks, policies and a membership structure, and established the processes through which CCLOW would work (i.e. briefs, evaluation of policies, presentations, research and publication of findings). The policy priorities the committee established were to "re-act" by lobbying on Manpower cutbacks and adult basic education with a "pro-active" advocacy stance, defined by Thomson (1996) as acting on the basis of established values, goals and principles. She claims that it was always important for CCLOW to maintain a balance between pro-active and re-active activities. Sometimes this meant foregoing application to available funds on issues CCLOW didn't feel fit into their "pro-active" stance at the time. Thomson states that CCLOW was never a group which took on an issue just because funds were available for it. However, at a later time it might emerge as an issue and then activities would be planned and funds sought out. For example, "when the Badgley Report came out, violence was not 'our issue' but in the early 1990s, a violence project was developed by CCLOW when it realized that women's learning was being subverted due to violence" (Thomson, 1996).

Another priority set by the first national committee was to further develop the Skills Bank to keep track of women's experience and skills which could be called on for assistance. They also agreed on a cyclical process which would begin with beliefs leading to action (pro-action to re-action), which would then be evaluated and the new ideas leading to further action (GHN,II,7,8; I,8,8.).

Fogwill also reports on her experience with the early national steering committee meetings held at the Chelsea Inn, in Toronto, because in those days it was fairly inexpensive. However, the hotel was apparently experiencing some 'trouble' with prostitutes, so security guards were hired to patrol the lobby and elevator areas. "We women, busy developing the basis for a national feminist organization, were often required to show our room key before getting on the elevator to go to our rooms. Only 20 years ago women were not seen as having a 'legitimate' reason to be in a hotel alone!" (Fogwill, 1996).

To summarize, the 1970s were formative years for CCLOW. They began with a group of female educators concerned with women's education and employment opportunities, deciding to investigate what was already out there and what needed to be changed. This decade saw the formation of a national organization, its initial funding grants to begin the process of creating an official and formal structure, its research and dissemination of information related to women's learning and work, its prioritizing and defining of terms of reference and purpose, its creation of a data bank of information on women's experience and skills related to learning opportunities for women, and its establishment of a reputation for lobbying and advocacy around women's education and training needs.

BUILDING ONTO THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE STRUCTURE: 1980-84

CCLOW spent the early part of the 1980s building on its strengths and expanding them in shaping the organization. Its role of lobbying and advocacy on

behalf of women learners began in 1979 but was greatly expanded during this time period. Research and information services were quiet at the beginning of the 1980s and then picked up again in 1982. Networking, the foundation on which CCLOW was built, extended beyond conferences of CCLOW members to include working with other women's groups on local and national issues. They continued to receive government funding to support daily activities as well as special projects. CCLOW also continued to define its role and its structure, including establishing new positions and becoming autonomous.

In 1980, the goal of using provincial and regional action which was coordinated toward national objectives was defined. While the archival material I used to develop CCLOW's story was primarily on the national office's activities, both Lynn Fogwill and Aisla Thomson stressed the importance of the provincial and territorial networks. They accomplished "extraordinary things", according to Fogwill. Examples given included the first re-entry programs (The Bridging Program) started by CCLOW Saskatchewan, the training program in New Brunswick that trained women for non-traditional jobs, the 'Women Interested in Successful Employment' (WISE) program that now operates in three cities in Newfoundland, along with mentorship programs for women, workshops in science and math for young women, and numerous other pilot programs, briefs, research papers, etc.

Fogwill (1996) stressed that "when we founded the organization we did not want a 'central' one; we wanted a national one built on a provincial/territorial base". Thomson spoke to me of the on-going positive tension between the national

organization and the networks which operated autonomously and undertook projects based on local/regional concerns and issues. Therefore, "often the work done nationally and at the network level was different, although not incongruent" (Thomson, 1996). It was not until the organizational review in the late 1980s that real alignment between the issues of the two levels occurred. A more 'holistic/integrated' approach to networks was established as part of CCLOW's overall organizational development and growth (Thomson, 1996).

Members met, in 1980, with politicians and representatives from Status of Women Canada as well as Employment and Immigration, to express CCLOW's concerns on issues related to women and learning. A brief entitled "The Freedom to Learn: Comments on the Proposed Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms" was presented to the Special Joint Committee on the Constitution of Canada in 1980. As part of the coalition of women's groups on the constitution, CCLOW recommended that a clause be added to guarantee freedom to learn and the right to access to learning programs. This would ensure that women be prepared for paid employment leading to economic independence and would allow for more effective involvement in family and community life (CWMA, 4, 2:i). A second recommendation was to amend Section 15(2) so that women would be named as a disadvantaged sector in society.

CCLOW also continued its advocacy work around the earlier brief on cutbacks to training allowances by liaising and working with other national organizations, including women's groups. Strategizing was done through meetings with such diverse groups as adult education organizations (CAAE, Frontier College), social concerns

organizations (Canadian Council for Social Development, National Welfare Council) and women's groups such as The Feminist Party of Canada as well as the Canadian women's umbrella group, National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC), which had been established in 1972, the year before CCLOW began its work. The two groups have continued an on-going relationship ever since. And lastly, CCLOW chose Dr. Margaret Fulton as their representative at the U.N. Mid-Decade for Women conference in Copenhagen. She would advocate "higher education for women as a route to decision-making positions in society" (GHN, II,7,8:17).

It was agreed that CCLOW and CAAE would continue a relationship which included having members on each other's boards. In this forum, CCLOW could contribute to adult education by seeking to broaden the concept of adult education for women. This was done by

clarifying and supporting the learning component in more general women's services i.e. women's resource centres, programs to assist immigrant and native women, rape crisis centres. Such non-formal, non-traditional, creative learning models are often more relevant to women, more catalysts for change than institutional programs (GHN,II,7,8: 20).

CCLOW local/regional networks were called upon by grassroots, community-based women's projects as the learning aspect of their projects became a priority.

Information services through the Skills Bank were revised. A major problem was discovered with the initial questionnaire in that women were hesitant to participate, to "brag" about their experience. It appeared that women had been socialized to see competence as contradictory. The questionnaires were redesigned to

emphasize sharing experience and mutually exploring special interests. This appeared to work as more women now completed them and cross-referencing of skill listings was begun.

According to CCLOW's "Report of Activities" to Secretary of State, their major accomplishment in 1980, however, was "the building of an organization, creating a structure to increase both our communication across Canada and our effectiveness in coordinating action" (GHN,II,7,8: 1). The National Committee continued to provide leadership to local networks, but it also drew up by-laws for incorporation for approval by all members (name changed from "Committee" to "Congress"), set lists of priorities for future action, developed a membership policy, produced bilingual brochures for public relations and membership recruitment, provided direction for the next conference, and investigated the possibility of moving out of CAAE office space into their own.

In terms of policy development, CCLOW was set up as a bilingual organization with outreach at provincial, regional and local levels through networks at each. Membership categories were established as regular, organization/agency, associate and sustaining, and policies was set up to allow women to become members even if they were unable to pay the fees and to ensure that all levels of members would be treated equally. Recognizing that the membership included a wide range of beliefs and ideas united by a goal of action committed to learning options for women, the National Committee resolved to involve all members when formulating ideology

and policy. It was agreed that input would be sought from members and dealt with at annual conferences, workshops and meetings (GHN,II,7,8).

This last component turned out to be the primary activity for 1981. Though there were other developments such as becoming incorporated and electing a new president, Lenore Rogers, the major focus of the year was the October conference held in Halifax and co-sponsored with Mount St. Vincent University. There were 450 delegates at "The Education Connection" which focused on exploring connections between women's learning needs and their realities, such as poverty, aging, rural life, careers, etc. While previous congresses had less than 100 participants, the numbers at this one did a lot to expand CCLOW's membership base and reputation. One can only speculate that having Mount St. Vincent (an established university) as the co-sponsor had a major role in legitimizing CCLOW's existence and on-going activities.

The conference's keynote address by Berit As provided a global perspective on adult education for women. She spoke of the "downward pull" of oppression in male dominated institutions which prevent women from achieving positions of power and where women must work twice as hard as men in order to succeed. She also addressed the gaps between men's and women's salaries and the fact that the most powerful groups with resources are given the most rights. The global focus was continued in the dinner address given by Margaret Fulton on her experience with the Copenhagen U.N. conference in 1980. The final major address was by a governmental representative. Madeleine Leblanc, first president of the New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women, spoke of its responsibility and its mission.

She emphasized that government speaks only one language, that of public pressure (CWMA,6, 1:5), and encouraged women's groups to continue putting pressure on them to ensure the survival of councils on women and their vital work.

Conference attendees developed recommendations at workshops on issues such as 1) socialization within education (i.e. need for resources to counsel high school girls, and to eliminate sexism in education), 2) re-entry programs (i.e. need to prepare women for future employment and life/career planning), 3) creative options (i.e. non-traditional occupations need education and the use of unions to achieve equality), 4) learning survival skills (i.e. feminist intervention in educating women to take control of their lives), 5) doubly-disadvantaged women (effects of geography, aging and economics on women's education), and 6) organizing for change (need for feminism to change attitudes and habits and how to organize women through consciousness-raising to strategize for change).

One final outcome of the conference was a discussion of the bilingual status of CCLOW. The francophone caucus questioned whether there was a place for them within CCLOW or should they have their own organization. While the conflict was not resolved, CCLOW remains an officially bilingual group today. However, francophone women did branch off and formed Réseau national d'Action éducation femmes (RNAEF) to address their unique concerns. But the relationship between CCLOW and RNAEF remained amicable and they continued to work together on a number of issues (Thomson, 1996).

The major activities of 1982 also centred around information services and communications. In September, the first issue of "Women's Education des femmes" (WEDF) was released. WEDF was to be the official journal of CCLOW, and was sent to all members. The first bilingual issue had national features (articles on work and training), a book review, a listing of resources like films and publications to help female educators, announcements of upcoming events sponsored by CCLOW and other women's groups, and summaries of the activities of provincial branches. These features remained for a number of years and in 1985 we begin to see the addition of regular interviews conducted with feminist activists in the field of education.

In October of 1982, a publication was released which analyzed statistics on the educational attainment, labour force participation and salary differences of men and women. Entitled "An Overview of Women Students in the Post-secondary System in Canada", the 29 page document was written by CCLOW's then Executive Director, Susan McCrae Vander Voet. She begins with a statement that systemic sex discrimination "creates occupational segregation and pays women less for work that is of equal value to that done by men" (CWMA, 11, 1:1). The purpose of the research is to determine what role the education system plays in this discrimination and how Equal Opportunity Legislation can be used to remedy it.

The statistics reveal women returning to the labour force and to education, a reflection of the changing nature of women's roles and the transition from the domestic to the economic sphere. Vander Voet outlines six steps in the re-entry process for women, from gaining the confidence and motivation necessary, to a desire

for re-training for employment, to seeking resources and information, to planning and setting goals, to setting priorities and finally, to implementing them (CWMA,11,1:2-1). Each step has particular learning needs in it. However, there are few services or resources to assist women in this process.

One logical resource, the Canada Manpower Training Program, has a low degree of female participation and of sponsorship of women. In fact, the occupations earmarked for the new National Training Act are male occupations which will lead to increased exclusion of women from the program (CWMA,11,1:18). Vander Voet also looks at the trends toward training in microtechnology and the displacement of workers occurring through it. This field places an emphasis on maths and sciences, areas avoided by women and areas which women are not encouraged to pursue.

After documenting the patterns of inequity found in the university system, the Canada Manpower Training Programs and the labour market, Vander Voet makes recommendations on how to remedy the situation. She believes that "the only effective remedy to unequal access is Equal Opportunity Legislation" (CWMA,11,1:26) and states that there is a need for affirmative action in education to cover the hiring of faculty and administrative staff, the distribution of student enrolments and the curriculum changes which are needed. Another recommendation is that postsecondary institutions set up retraining programs (especially in maths and sciences) with counselling and financial assistance, particularly for low income women. The provinces should take responsibility to ensure adult basic education is available for all. Equal access to education, training and jobs is a right to which

women are entitled, she concludes, and intervention in the system requires dismantling the sex discrimination which has developed into exclusionary practices and transmitted them over generations (CWMA,11,1:25).

The following year, 1983, was more active and diversified in its activities. CCLOW continued its lobbying and actions related to training and work through briefs, publications and networking. In March, representatives presented a brief, "First Things First: Equity for Women through Paid Skills Development Leave" to the Skills Development Task Force of Employment and Immigration Canada. In it they examine barriers preventing women's access to skills development, propose policies and recommend a framework "within which a just and creative national educational policy can be built: one that will foster true economic equality for women in Canadian society" (CWMA,11,10:1). Once again, CCLOW urges legislated affirmative action to combat inequity.

A representative of CCLOW participated on the National Advisory Panel for Skill Development which produced the much publicized "Learning for Life" document. Two other CCLOW publications intended for a more general audience, "The Future Is Now: Women and the impact of microtechnology" by the Women and Technology Committee and "Women and the Labour Force: What does the future hold?" by Margaret Whyte, outline CCLOW's research findings and recommendations in the areas of education and retraining for women re-entering the labour force. These issues are also prevalent in WEDF along with articles or book reviews on issues of special education and violence within schools.

The focus on basic education is continued through a national survey of adult basic education (ABE) programs, intended to identify how they currently address the needs of women. The final results will lead to an ABE Resources Bank as well as an evaluative package for providers. Another project on these issues was the Telidon Project which was to produce information packages for women re-entering education or the labour force, and was to be distributed through TV Ontario. It was begun but had to be halted due to lack of funds. But a Women's Learning Resource Centre (WLRC) was set up and a call for materials on women's learning, training and education was sent out. The WLRC would work with the Skills Bank to keep track of resources available for educators of women.

Recognizing the effects of limited funding led CCLOW to collaborate with other women's groups to advocate for more funding through Secretary of State Women's Program. With a number of projects underway or in the planning stages, including another conference, funding was seriously needed to ensure their completion. As well, the staff was growing and now included three regular staff persons (executive secretary, conference planner, skills bank co-ordinator) as well as six members hired for specific projects (i.e. WLRC, ABE survey, conference assistant, etc.). As a newly incorporated organization, CCLOW produced its first Annual Report which included highlights of both national and provincial activities as well as reports from the president, executive director and treasurer (including financial reports). While some income came from membership fees, workshops, sale of publications and donations, it represented less than 10% of the operating revenues

and it is clear that without ongoing grants from federal and provincial governments, CCLOW could not carry out its mandate.

The annual report from 1984 presents an historical overview to show how, in less than a decade from the initial networking and in a mere 5 years since incorporation, membership had grown to include 550 individual members and 65 organizational members. The major objectives, as outlined in this report, include identifying barriers and publicizing critical issues on women's learning and investigating unmet needs in adult education. Due to the increase in activities and projects, CCLOW also moved to larger office space, away from that of CAAE.

The advocacy activities of CCLOW continue to deal with training and labour market issues. Three briefs were presented during 1984, to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Finance, Trade and Economic Affairs, to Employment and Immigration, and to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada. CCLOW kept up its positions that "education is the key to our ability to maintain our position in the international marketplace" (CWMA,4,6:1) and that there are disadvantaged groups within society who do not have access to appropriate learning due to a variety of barriers, including funding, child care, scheduling, cultural attitudes and lack of services such as counselling. Representatives also continued to have regular lobbying meetings with government departments around issues of training and women's program funding. CCLOW's reputation was recognized when it was consulted on Canada Employment and Immigration Commission's Labour Market Strategies especially with regard to re-

entry women. And the collaboration with other women's groups continued as CCLOW facilitated federal consultations by Status of Women Canada and edited the non-governmental report for the Nairobi Conference on the UN Decade of Women.

In terms of its information and communications services CCLOW continued to publish its quarterly issues of WEDF. During this year, however, while there were still articles on training, the focus widened to include articles and book reviews on women's studies and other more explicitly feminist issues. The report of the ABE survey was published under the title of "Women and Adult Basic Education in Canada: An Exploratory Study" by Paula de Coito (CWMA, 11,8). Since the objective of the survey was to determine the extent to which ABE programs in Canada address the learning and related needs of women, the report discusses these needs under headings of educational, psychological and financial. It states that there is a lack of flexible programming geared to the needs of adult women, in instructor credentials, in relating the curriculum to job-related skills, and in appropriate textbooks/materials to meet the educational needs of undereducated adult women. De Coito recommends that women's groups be consulted to develop a national policy to eradicate functional illiteracy and to ensure that ABE programs be developed to deal specifically with the educational needs of adult women. Instructors should be provided with professional development programs and curriculum and materials need to be more relevant to the learning needs of women. While the report presents a dismal picture of ABE programs for women, it does make concrete recommendations to improve the situation.

One final activity in 1984, related to both information services and to networking/outreach, was the conference "Educating for Change" held in Toronto. Three hundred and fifty individuals participated in seventy workshops over a 3-day period. The Synopsis of the conference proceedings states: "[i]ndicative of the functional interrelationship between the educational system and other parts of society is the fact that the discussions focussed not only on educational issues but also on economic, political, technological moral and other issues of major concern to women" (GHN,II, 16,3:1). Workshop themes included those pertaining to the areas mentioned as well as to general issues related to sexism in schools, but the major theme was the impact of microelectronic technology on the female labour force and the implications of this for the future education of girls and women. For the first time we begin to see education being expanded beyond the field of adult education to recognize the patterns set in earlier years of girls' learning.

Though the solutions, or "instruments of change" continue to include issues CCLOW has worked on in the past (i.e. language training, flexible programs, legislative measures), these were expanded to recognize the need for formal acknowledgement of informal learning and experiential learning of skills of women in the domestic sphere.

A final outcome of the conference was a series of questions to be addressed in the future. When setting up its formal organization, CCLOW members chose to make their feminism implicit in statements of purpose and other formal documents,

but it now realized that it must clarify its position on what feminism is, and what feminist education is. Also, more general questions were asked, such as:

"What are the strategies for feminists in patriarchal institutions?",
 "What must women do politically within and outside the system?",
 "How do we get young women involved in feminist organizations?", and
 "If we ran things, how would it be different?"

These questions helped set the agenda for the last half of the decade. The early 1980s saw the incorporation of this national voluntary organization and the establishment of its reputation for knowledge and skills in advocacy, research and information dissemination on issues related to women's education and training for their re-entry into the labour force. Once the foundations were built, CCLOW began to expand its focus to include a wider definition of learning concerns and to address more general feminist concerns about creating an equal society.

PROMOTING FEMINIST EDUCATION: 1985-1990

The last half of the 1980s decade began with a newly stated purpose/objectives, a new executive director (Aisla Thomson), and a more explicit commitment to the Canadian Women's Movement. While CCLOW continued its activities of meeting with policy-makers to express concerns regarding women's training for employment, we see new areas of its leadership in terms of literacy and employment equity during this time period.

CCLOW was very active in 1985, in consultations with other national women's groups fighting the cuts to Secretary of State Women's Program. And it formed coalitions with groups representing women, the disabled, and ethno cultural

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communities on equality rights and on Bill C-62 on Employment Equity. CCLOW's concerns were expressed through presentations made to the Parliamentary Committee on Equality Rights.

CCLOW also became recognized for its work at the international level. At the World Assembly of the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE), CCLOW members joined its Women's program to work to improve learning opportunities for women throughout the world. This union continued to develop throughout the latter 1980s.

Though there were no formal, public documents or publications produced in 1985, CCLOW did revise the newsletter format of WEDF into a magazine format which could be sold through book stores. There was less of a focus on training and work related issues and more on an expanded list of feminist concerns (i.e., discussions on the Nairobi forum, feminist therapy) as well as a wider concern with female education (i.e., mentorship programs, young women in high schools). Book reviews dealt with publications on sexual orientation and disability as well as education and training issues. CCLOW also produced a membership newsletter, Action-CCLOW-Action to update members on the work being done at the national level.

While sustaining operational grants were still received from Secretary of State, the funds were being reduced. Financial strains and difficulties in maintaining a staff at the national office ensued. The Executive Director, Susan McCrae Vander Voet, under whose direction CCLOW had built its foundations and experienced growth in

memberships and in reputation, resigned. She was replaced by Aisla Thomson who would remain in the position until the fall of 1995.

A policy manual was developed and the new structure of CCLOW reveals its phenomenal growth from the previous years. The Board of Directors is made up of Provincial and Territorial Directors, serving a three year, voluntary term. The President Elect is elected annually by the full membership, becomes the president the following year and acts as past-president after the year's term. There is a Mini-Executive made up of two women from the Toronto area and the Treasurer, whose role is to work with the Executive Directors on the daily operations of the national office on the Board's behalf. Standing committees which meet during Board Meetings include the Nominating Committee, Membership Committee, Social Issues Committee, Funding Committee, Personnel Committee, Skills Bank Committee, and Publications Committee. Occasionally ad hoc committees are established and meet at board meetings. The Executive Committee of the Board is made up of the 3 presidents (past, present and elect), regional representatives, the Treasurer, the Mini-Executive and the Executive Director (CCLOW,1:2).

This growth in complexity and sophistication can also be seen in other areas. In response to the questions raised at the Toronto conference the previous year, and under the leadership of Thomson, CCLOW re-articulated its purpose and objectives. The Annual Report expressed the concern with addressing root causes of inequality and developing constructive recommendations for their redress. But it added a sentence. "We strive for the empowerment of women on the personal, social and

political levels of their lives" (CCLOW, 9:2). Using this clearly feminist terminology of empowerment, the Annual Report continues by outlining seven specific objectives:

- promote feminist education and the empowerment of women
- promote feminist principles in education and training by supporting all kinds of learning opportunities
- advocate for the redress of the inequities blocking women's access to and experience of learning
- publicize women's issues related to women's learning
- network and show solidarity with individuals and groups on issues related to learning opportunities for women
- conduct research, develop models and resource materials on women's learning needs
- encourage and develop women's education through local, provincial/territorial and national activities (CCLOW,9:2)

While the objectives are not very different from the past, CCLOW finally makes **explicit** its relationship to feminism. This is the beginning of a new phase for the organization: one in which it becomes more assertive and widens its activities to concerns beyond legislative changes in the area of women's training for employment (although skills development and job training issues remain on the activities priority list in the future).

The change becomes obvious in the following year, 1986, when meetings with government officials on paid educational leave and training programs now begin to focus beyond the need for them, to developing programs that account for the unique learning styles of women. Even the new spotlight on literacy reveals this: CCLOW participated in the development of the Cedar Glen Declaration on literacy that advocates for a policy which recognizes the special learning needs of adult women.

Fogwill spoke to me of CCLOW's development as mirroring that of the general

women's movement. An indicator from this time period, she said, was the influence of Belenky et al.'s book, "Women's Ways of Knowing" (see Appendix 1, D2), which "seemed to bring us, as educators, to the heart of things" (Fogwill, 1996), in terms of understanding the unique ways in which women learn.

And while CCLOW continued to collaborate in meetings such as the "Public Interest Symposium on a New Work Agenda for Canada", much more focus was put on working with women's groups. CCLOW representatives participated in supporting the Women's Program against pressure to change its mandate to fund groups not supporting equality for women. They were also involved in feminist meetings like the NAC annual meetings, MediaWatch's conference on "Adjusting the Image", the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CACSW) symposium on the family, and a women's studies conference at Brandon University. And CCLOW developed a pro-choice policy as part of its declaration of being a feminist group (Thomson, 1996).

These activities, along with a new Mission Statement -- "to empower women of all ages to achieve full potential individually and collectively through universal access to appropriate learning opportunities" (GHN,II,17,4:1), make it clear that CCLOW has a new vision; one that includes more women (of all ages) with a new goal (to empower women) and a wider focus (universal access). Even CCLOW's Basic Philosophy statement is more inclusive. As well as its dedication to addressing the root causes of inequalities, it now gives examples of these in the addition: "such

as race, class, ethnicity and sexual orientation" (CCLOW, 2:Appendix D). Other additions included were ability, income and age (Thomson, 1996).

The renewed energy and expanded purpose is also seen in the three projects outlined in CCLOW's Proposal for Project Funding to Secretary of State Women's Program. Two of the proposed projects involve a development of CCLOW itself: an organizational review which "will provide us with further information on the direction in which CCLOW will take to achieve our goals and objectives" (CCLOW,2:1); and a fund-raising plan for short- and long-term projects, to allow CCLOW to depend less on government support to achieve its goals. Both of these projects will involve consultants from outside the organization along with feedback and input from the membership.

The third project reveals CCLOW's expanded vision. A Strategies Colloquium is planned for October of 1986, to be held in Regina. For the first time, CCLOW wants to hold an "invitational conference" where 150 "women in leadership positions with the women's movement, voluntary sector, and government who have demonstrated expertise in development of educational and training policy" (CCLOW,2:7) will be invited to participate in the development of "concrete and comprehensive strategy proposals for women's equal access to education and training" (CCLOW,2:6). Unfortunately, lack of funding forced the cancellation of this project (Thomson, 1996).

The public documents and information activities are also revealing. WEEDF had a special issue on Day Care in Canada (Vol. 4, #4, Summer 1986) as well as

articles on consultations with women's groups, life skills education for strippers, poverty resources, and feminist/women's studies. Two documents published in 1986 focus on the UN Decade of Women. A collection of articles, edited by Aisla Thomson, "The Decade for Women - Special Report", was intended as a ten year celebration of the achievements of women, a critical appraisal of women's issues and a forum for strategizing on ways to better the overall status and condition of women (CWMA,10,6:1). "The authors invited to contribute articles were asked to examine the themes of the Decade -- Equality, Development and Peace -- from the perspective of how they influenced women's education, training and employment issues in Canada and Third World nations" (CWMA,10,6:1)

The second document had a specifically Canadian focus. "Decade of Promise: An assessment of Canadian women's status in education, training and employment - 1976-1985" was prepared by Avebury Research and Consulting Limited. The World Plan of Action, developed by the UN at an international conference in Mexico City in 1976, recommended broad goals such as eradicating illiteracy among women, providing adult educational opportunities to all women, diversifying women's vocational education and training, creating a fully integrated system of training with direct links to employment, and creating educational programs to enable men as well as women to assume equal responsibility in the upbringing of children and maintenance of the home (CWMA,11,6:1). Avebury Research & Consulting was asked to determine the gains and losses for Canadian women since 1976, to analyze whether any patterns or trends had emerged since then, to analyze the implications of

these changes and trends for women, and to determine priorities for the future (CWMA,11,6:4).

A summary of the findings of this research (CWMA,11,6: 115-120) concluded that illiteracy among women is declining although certain subgroups (i.e. older women, women whose mother tongue is not English, including Native women and francophone women, female sole support parents) continue to be undereducated. In general, women's participation in education has improved, although they continue to enrol in traditional areas. Women's unemployment has a much lower priority for government than men's and nationally funded training has largely ignored the needs of women. The earnings of women are still much lower than those of men, and though the largest area of growth was in part-time work, the value of this type of work is still well below that of full-time labour.

The recommendations of this report (CWMA,11,6:125-142) include increased attention and encouragement for females of all ages to consider all subjects and attain higher degrees of education, ensuring essential supports (i.e. financial, childcare) are available, degenderizing work with computers and ensuring they are integrated into curricula of all courses, gearing training programs for women to fit women's needs, ensuring doubly disadvantaged women have equal access to opportunities in the workforce and implementing employment equity legislation in all Canadian jurisdictions which strictly enforcing pay equity legislation.

In 1986 CCLOW also published a collection of papers from the 1984 conference in Toronto, entitled "Educating for Change: Women in the Next Decade".

The papers include a vision of what the future should hold for women as well as theoretical and practical approaches to what changes are necessary to achieve women's equality. While the keynote address at the conference was by Jane Thompson, a renowned feminist adult educator, many other papers focus on issues beyond adult education, such as facets of sexism in schools, strategies for dealing with patriarchy in male-centred, non-feminist environments within education, educating women for public leadership, accrediting non-formal learning, future education of girls and young women, and how to incorporate women's nurturing skills into social and political spheres. The overarching theme of the papers is that "there must be a recognition and integration of feminist principles and values in the social, political and economic spheres before women and men are truly equal" (CWMA, 11, 7:iii).

Finally, CCLOW also began a new series of Fact Sheets and produced two in 1986 as part of its UN Decade of Women project; comparisons were made between "Women's Education and Labour Force Participation" in Canada and Third World or OECD countries.

One of the outcomes of the completed organizational review was that in 1987, CCLOW began to produce an annual Plan of Action and Budget Analysis in which it clearly articulated its plans under four areas of program action identified by the Board of Directors: advocacy, research and policy development, information services and communications program, and networking and outreach. Administrative support and fund-raising support were two additional areas discussed in the Plan of Action which was released every year from 1987 on. The organizational review also recommended

that CCLOW begin the process of more clearly articulating its goals, and creating tools, models and programs to accomplish them.

In terms of advocacy, CCLOW states its philosophy: "We believe in a broad interpretation of the word 'learning' to include formal and non-formal education, training, and the influence of life experiences" (CCLOW,3:2). In line with this and with its goal of integrating feminist principles into all aspects of life, CCLOW had meetings and made presentations on the Meech Lake Accord, free trade, literacy, post-secondary education and federal training programs. It advocated for an accreditation system to account for women's experiential learning, for half of all science scholarships to be allocated to women, and for student loans which were based on individual not family income. As well, CCLOW continued to push for literacy and federal training policies which account for women's learning needs and methods.

Through its organizational review, CCLOW also came to recognize the intrinsic links between research, advocacy and information services.

Through our advocacy work we identify topic areas or policy questions which require more study or response; through information requests we identify what information on any one topic exists, what is not available and what areas deserve further critical analysis. From an organizational standpoint, we are able to develop policy and offer comment after we have studied, researched or analysed an issue area (CCLOW,3:5).

The Plan of Action outlined three areas in which research would be conducted in 1987: 1) literacy research, to identify what materials for women are available and in use in Canada, and to set out feminist principles/guidelines for material for women;

2) a brochure series, to produce short brochures/fact sheets on women and literacy, how women learn, women in post-secondary education, women in non-traditional occupations, women and part-time work, women and unemployment, and women and adult education; and 3) a policy book which documents past and present CCLOW policies on a wide variety of issues. In terms of the proposed brochure series, only one was produced -- "Let's Talk About Women and Literacy" -- and the policy book was begun but not completed (Thomson, 1996).

In the area of Information Services and Communications Programs, CCLOW planned to reintroduce a bilingual quarterly member newsletter on issues requiring action from local networks. As well, the Women's Learning Resources Centre and the Skills Bank began a project of developing computerized catalogues of the collection, and online and print catalogues which would be published and disseminated. Two issues of WEDF were produced, with articles focusing on issues related to literacy, technology in women's lives, educating northern women, the use of theatre for education and women's studies in distance education.

Since CCLOW was founded on principles of networking, members continued to collaborate with other groups by attending NAC's annual general meeting, a conference of CACSW on how women can acquire political power and participating in CAAE meetings to clarify its representation on the ICAE. CCLOW members felt that the best forum for networking is through conferences and began plans to hold one on Women and Work in Montreal in the upcoming year(s).

Plans for fund-raising were broken into phases with 1987 being the year to begin analysing appropriate methods for short- and long-term purposes, to develop fund-raising skills and to prepare materials for this project.

Though CCLOW continued its advocacy and networking in 1987, it was primarily a year of reorganizing and making plans for the future. Energy went into developing new areas for research and publications and into new ways to survive the lean times ahead, since government funding sources were being eroded, annually.

The following year, 1988, was another year of working toward employment equity. The organizational review and the publication of Susan Wismer's paper, "Women's Education and Training in Canada: A Policy Analysis" (GHN,1,20), led to new understandings on the issue. CCLOW came to recognize that education alone could not solve the inequality women experienced. It needed to be accompanied by strategies like employment equity and the re-structuring of work and family life (Thomson, 1996).

As a member of a broad-based coalitions of groups, CCLOW was involved in consultations with Employment and Immigration Canada on its new Labour Force Development Strategy. Coalitions were continued with other women's groups to ensure the government remained committed to achieving equality for women in Canada. CCLOW also expressed its concerns with the free trade agreement through a letter writing campaign to the Prime Minister, the Minister responsible for International Trade, the Cabinet and members of the opposition party. But CCLOW's major spotlight had definitely shifted toward work on two new areas: literacy and

women's ways of learning. This can be seen in briefs presented, research conducted and documents produced in 1988.

"Women and Post-Secondary Education in Canada" was a brief presented to the Standing Committee on the Secretary of State. In it CCLOW re-iterates its interpretation of the word "learning" to include not only formal and non-formal education and training but also the influence of life experience. In its discussion of women's experience with post-secondary education, the brief stresses the need to go beyond women's equal access to education. "It is not simply a matter of whether women have equal access to institutions or programs of learning as do men; it is what women get out of their education" (CCLOW,18:4). Barriers such as lack of financial resources, inadequate child care, inflexible course scheduling and outdated cultural mores continue to hinder women's progress. Cautions are urged in the move toward partnerships between institutions of higher learning and business in the private sector, as well as the creation of Centres of Excellence. The brief suggests that both of these innovations will have a negative influence on women's education. It concludes with fourteen recommendations on issues regarding student loans, an accreditation system for experiential learning, increased funding for research on new innovations, resources to support women's studies programs, and employment equity to ensure women are in decision-making positions.

Action in this area of concern also included participating in a conference, Forum on Post-secondary Education, held in Saskatoon, in a roundtable discussion held by the Canadian Advanced Technology Association, and in the publication of

"Women's Education and Training in Canada: A Policy Analysis", based on research conducted by Susan Wismer and Development Initiatives Inc. The interest in women, learning and work was also the focus of a research project to provide knowledge of the ways in which women learn and what they learn. Grounded in feminist research principles, this project examines the relationships between women and formal education, women and experiential learning, women and conditions which influence or shape their learning and women and work.

An understanding of how women learn would assist us to determine the approaches and models which would be most appropriate to assess women's knowledge and skills as derived from their experiential learning; to help women identify how their learning skills and strategies can be applied in existing educational programs and work situations; and to offer constructive guidance for those providing women's educational programs (CCLOW,14:11)

A second major spotlight of 1988 focused on literacy projects, through advocacy/lobbying, research, and networking. While literacy was expressed as a concern from the beginning of CCLOW's existence, and projects began to be planned back in 1984, it was 1988 that saw the issue really come to the forefront. Work was conducted with national literacy organizations to ensure that women's voices would be heard in government policy development. CCLOW conducted a workshop on women and literacy for an International Seminar on Literacy in Industrialized Countries at the ICAE meetings. It was a resource in workshops at a national literacy conference conducted by the Movement for Canadian Literacy. And it invested funds into the creation of the Mairi Macdonald Scholarship, designed to assist women returning to complete high school diplomas.

A large "women and literacy" research project was also underway. The focus was on identifying good quality, adult basic literacy materials for women (including student-written, program-generated material, in line with feminist pedagogy strategies that were emerging at that time); collecting samples of these; producing an annotated resource guide to recommended materials that could be circulated to literacy groups, libraries, and women's resource centres; identifying gaps in materials for women; setting out feminist principles for literacy materials for women; and developing a booklet for female literacy students to serve as a model literacy resource. The book produced is entitled "Telling Our Stories: A guide to good Canadian material for women learning to read".

There was also ongoing activity on developing the automated catalogue of materials in the Women's Learning Resource Centre. The membership newsletter was given a new name - Minerva - named after the Roman goddess of wisdom who is the patroness of all arts and trades, including teaching, and who was revered for her thinking, calculating and inventive powers (CCLOW,14:13). WEDF published four issues, including two special issues on "Women Learning, Making, Teaching Art" and "Feminist Approaches to Economic Development", representative of the expanded notion of 'learning'.

Fund-raising plans continued to develop. State funding cuts to women's groups, including CCLOW, had begun. Operational grants were reduced, forcing CCLOW to rely on project-based budgets and to focus on raising funds. With the recognition of the need to go beyond government funding sources, two campaigns

were designed to be aimed at membership, targets were set and plans were made to develop lists of other funders to solicit monies from. But CCLOW continued to also request funding from the government. A proposal was sent to Health and Welfare Canada to request assistance in the national conference, "Women at Work: What are we learning", planned for Montreal in 1989. The conference objectives were set at: identifying current issues regarding education and training of women for work; investigating means of consolidating advancements made; examining key educational and work-related issues for the feminist agenda up to the year 2000; providing skills development workshops in affirmative action, career planning and strategies for coping; and defining feminist education (CCLOW, 14:19). Despite submissions and re-submissions, by the middle of 1988 the conference plans were placed on hold, due to unsure funding. (In actual fact, the conference never took place as funding assistance was not received.)

Aside from the conference, all of the above activities continued in 1989, along with celebrations of CCLOW's tenth anniversary at a conference in Halifax (Thomson, 1996). Coalitions with women's groups on employment equity involved examining and providing critiques of reports filed by private companies and of legislation, as well as formulating amendments and working at having them adopted. CCLOW representatives met with the Education Sector of Secretary of State and the Council of Ministers for Education to press for recognition of experiential learning for women, to provide financial assistance to women (especially part-time students) as

well as to lobby for a national policy on literacy which would encompass the concerns of adult women learners.

Two briefs were presented in 1989 to government committees. "Education for Women and Girls: Recommendations for achieving equality" was presented to the Liaison Committee of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, to outline CCLOW's findings and position on the parallels between participation in education and the labour force, on literacy and on women's participation in higher education. To a large degree it was a reiteration of recommendations made in 1987, that "progress in education and training must go hand-in-hand with progress in such areas as equal pay for work of equal value, employment equity, and the restructuring of work and family life" (CCLOW,2:2)

Continued monitoring of the Canadian Jobs Strategy and proposed changes to unemployment produced a brief, "Amendments to the Unemployment Insurance Act (Bill C-21): Their Effect on Women in Canada", which was presented on the Legislative Committee on Bill C-21 in September of 1989. In it, CCLOW suggests that the result of the proposed legislation

will be to further polarize people in Canada into two classes: those who have good incomes (primarily white, able-bodied males) and a growing number of people living in poverty (women, visible minorities, immigrants, natives, and the disabled). Forcing people to take low wage, low quality jobs with no benefits -- if they can get them -- or increasing the number of people on the welfare roll, ignore the human cost of the despair that accompanies poverty (CCLOW,22:3)

This can be avoided by putting more funding into quality training in areas that pay a living wage, in ensuring women have a fair share of Skills Development funds and that they have equal access to training and employment opportunities.

CCLOW began work to produce a handbook for use as a tool by its Board, voluntary co-ordinators, networks and staff to make CCLOW more effective in advocacy and to provide a base for further policy development. Plans were developed to write 4-6 policy action sheets per year to keep members informed of CCLOW policy and advocacy work and to monitor member action on issues. As well, it began a series of workshops, in 1989, on Feminist Approaches to Public Policy Development, based on CCLOW's experience with processes and methods useful in policy research. But with the 15% cut in funding in 1989 and another 20% in 1990, these plans had to be aborted (Thomson, 1996).

The research project on Women and Literacy launched its second phase: participatory research (based on newly emerging feminist research methods) to gain a better understanding of the reality of women's experience with literacy programs. Its goal was to apply feminist pedagogical theories by sharing this information with literacy practitioners and women learners and exploring how literacy programs can change to better respond to the reality of women's lives. Work was also underway to complete the report on Phase One, including a working paper on how to develop literacy materials and curricula for women. As well, CCLOW worked with the Movement for Canadian Literacy to plan events for 1990's International Literacy Year.

Another research project initiated but then halted due to lack of funding was to develop a Directory and Data Base on awards, bursaries and scholarships for women and to make the information accessible in an easy to read format. Updated annually, this service would be provided through the Women's Learning Resource Centre. A committee was established to set the criteria and adjudication process for CCLOW's contribution through its Mairi Macdonald Scholarship which continues to be awarded today.

Three issues of WEDF were produced in 1989. The first had articles on a wide variety of issues from education in Nicaragua, and in a School of Divinity to feminist pedagogy and rural outreach and women in community work. A second issue was dedicated to celebrating CCLOW's tenth anniversary. Articles included ones on the founding mothers, on the growth of women's studies in Canada and in looking forward through the past. In assessing its achievements over the past decade, CCLOW saw that it had accomplished comprehensive assessments of women's learning needs, study and monitoring of the National Training Act and the Canadian Jobs Strategy, and research on women and adult basic education. All of these ensured that women's education and training issues were placed on the national agenda. After this realization of the role it had played, CCLOW added a phrase to its letterhead: "A national voice for women's education and training in Canada".

In order to continue for another decade, CCLOW initiated a membership survey to learn more about the needs and interests of its members. It also began a

donations appeal to members and a campaign to rally more sustaining members through foundations and corporations.

The first year of the decade of the '90s was one of diversity: in projects, in focus and in planning. It saw more funding cuts from government sources, downsizing of the staff, cutting back Board meetings from 3 to 2 per year, projects cancelled or put on hold, the awarding of the first Mairi Macdonald scholarship, and the development of short and long-term plans to deal with financial crises, fundraising strategies and marketing plans. Thomson (1996) explained that strategic planning became even more important as concentration went into project-based fundraising where a percentage of operating costs could be built into project budgets.

CCLOW participated in advocating that CACSW needed to fill seats with a greater cross-section of women, including the disabled, women of colour, native women and those from all socio-economic backgrounds. Canada Employment and Immigration invited CCLOW to organize two consultations of representatives of 21 national women's organizations concerned with education, training and employment issues as they relate to women. CCLOW sent a representative to the World Assembly of ICAE in Thailand, to learn from and exchange information with women educators from other countries and to promote women's and CCLOW's concerns at the international level. It also monitored government policy and initiatives in the International Year of Literacy to ensure that women's needs were recognized.

Two new research projects were initiated. The first is research into On-the-Job Learning which intends to examine the relationship between women's learning

and women's work -- how and what women learn in unpaid and paid labour. The second project is an evaluation of governmental policies (at all levels) on education, training and employment related to women -- how they have changed since the 1988 study on this and whether we are any closer to attaining the vision of an equal society. This second project was never completed.

The literacy project is still continuing. Phase I produced a publication entitled "Tell Our Stories Our Way: A guide to Canadian materials for women learning to read". This is an annotated guide to Canadian literacy materials for women and helps to develop new materials, curricula and models using a participatory approach. Phase II, underway, examines how gender, particularly power imbalances in male/female relationships, affect the impact of literacy programs on women. Through interviews with women students, it focuses on access, benefits and results.

WEDF produced two special issues in 1990: one on education and the older woman and one on women, science and technology. Other articles were diverse: consciousness raising through CCLOW, women and university distance education in Canada, coming to terms with "visible minorities" and a report on a survey of readers which provided positive feedback on this magazine.

In terms of planning for the new decade, CCLOW set out a strategic plan for a 3 year period to provide a holistic plan and direction based on action as well as organizational development. While it plans to continue its advocacy, research and information communication work, there is also a recognition of the need to strengthen its membership base and raise its profile. To this end, brochures and public literature

are being redesigned, projects are underway to hold press conferences, book launches and workshops to make CCLOW's activities more visible, and feedback is sought on ways to increase the level of involvement and participation of members as well as how to diversify membership. To ensure financial viability, staff are being taught fund-raising skills by experts, and lists of potential donors are being compiled along with publicity brochures to use when approaching them. Goals have been set and strategies planned to ensure that CCLOW's story doesn't end in the 1990s.

CONCLUSION

Using CCLOW as a case study of the organizing practice of feminist education, we see the story of a process that is similar to other feminist groups. Individuals begin working on their own to correct problems they become aware of, they meet at association meetings and begin to network around their mutual interests, they create independent organizations built around a particular structure and focus, and as they continue their work, they eventually expand to encompass a wider focus. This is precisely CCLOW's story.

The initial agenda, back in the middle of the 1970s, was simple and involved a few dozen individual women. But by the end of that decade, through collective action, CCLOW had experienced phenomenal growth in both its size and its reputation. While originally any reference to feminism was implicit and mentioned primarily at conferences with a wider audience, once the structure was established and CCLOW was an independent, autonomous organization, its links to the women's

movement and feminism became much more explicit. This led to a reorganization along feminist principles, a wider recognition of areas of concern, and an understanding of the problems inherent on being dependent on governments for support.

Table 3 presents a chronological summary of selected activities CCLOW was involved in, in particular the briefs it presented to a variety of governmental committees and commissions, the publications it produced, conferences and seminars sponsored by CCLOW and a brief summary of the most common topics which appeared in its journal, Women's Education Des Femmes.

The Table shows us that the original focus of most of CCLOW's early activities were related to education as training for work. From the middle of the 1980s, while there was a change in the numbers, in that general production of briefs and documents was reduced, the issues of concern also changed. This occurred when CCLOW broadened its notion of education beyond adult training for employment and, deliberately, became more diverse both in its "issues" and its clientele. The major focus at the end of the 1980s was on literacy training and on developing literacy materials for women learners.

While reliance on government funding remains, the 1990s have seen this expansion continue. Recent research and publications have continued the literacy project but have also reached into the areas of educating against violence, training girls and women in the fields of science and technology, as well as concerns with environmental issues on learning. CCLOW's story continues.

TABLE 3

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARIES OF SELECTED CCLOW ACTIVITIES**BRIEFS**

DATE	TITLE	PRESENTED TO
3/78	"Educational Needs of Women" - presentation	Women's Employment Coordinators, CEIC
5/79	"Cutbacks to Training Allowances & Outreach Programs" [35pp]	representatives of 3 government parties
12/80	"The Freedom to Learn: Comments on the Proposed Canadian Charter of Rights & Freedoms" [12pp]	Special Joint Comm. on the Constitution of Canada
	Presentation	Parliamentary Standing Comm. on Labour, Manpower and Immigration
10/82	Response to the Access Panel	Council of Education Ministers Conference on Post-Sec. Education
3/83	"First Things First: Equity for Women Through Paid Skills Development Leave" by Jane Adams [40pp]	The Skill Development Task Force, Employment & Immigration Canada
10/83	Submission by Elizabeth Wood	Commission of Inquiry on Equality in Employ.
10/83	"Women and the Labour Force: What does the Future Hold?" by Margaret Whyte [13pp]	Royal Commission on Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada

2/84	"Bill C-12, An Act to Amend the Fed/Prov. Fiscal Arrangements & Established Programs Financing Act" [7pp]	Parl. Standing Comm. on Finance, Trade & Economic Affairs
3/84	"The National Training Act: Its Impact on Women" [69pp]	CEIC, Saskatchewan
9/84	"A Response to Challenges & Choices" [20pp.]	Royal Comm. on the Economic Union & Dev. Prospects for Canada
11/84	"Bridging Program: Women - Learning - Working" [70pp]	CEIC, Saskatchewan
6/85	Presentation by Susan McCrae Vander Voet & Christie Jefferson	Parl. Committee on Equality Rights
1/86	Brief	Comm. of Inquiry on Unemployment Insurance
2/87	Presentation by Martha Colquhoun & Carol Powell-Ariano	Standing Comm. on the Secretary of State
4/87	Presentation by Martha Colquhoun & Aisla Thomson	Senate Comm. on Training & Employment
4/87	Presentation by Martha Colquhoun & Aisla Thomson	Liaison Comm. of the Council of Ministers of Education
4/88	"Women and Post-Secondary Education in Canada" by Cathy Bray & Aisla Thomson	Standing Committee on Secretary of State

8/89	"Education for Women & Girls: Recommendations for Achieving Equality" by Joan McFarland & Aisla Thomson	Liaison Comm. of the Council of Ministers of Education
9/89	"Amendments to the Unemployment Insurance Act (Bill C-21): Their Effect on Women in Canada" by Linda Roberts & Aisla Thomson	Legislative Comm. on Bill C-21
1990	"The Unemployment Insurance Act (Bill C21): Its Effect on Women in Canada" by Linda Roberts	Senate Committee on Bill C-21

PUBLICATIONS

DATE	TITLE
1977	"Learning Opportunities for Women in Canada: Perceptions of Educators" by Janet Willis [50 pp] "Programme Packages" [15 descriptive essays] "Learning Opportunities for Women in Canada: An Impressionistic Overview" by Janet Willis [10 pp]
1978	"Roadblocks to Women's Learning: Issues for Advocacy" by Dorothy MacKeracher [172pp.]
1979	"Adult Basic Education for Women" by Dorothy MacKeracher [144 pp.]
10/82	"An Overview of Women's Studies in Post-secondary System in Canada" by Susan McCrae Vander Voet [29pp]
3/83	"First Things First: Equity for Women Through Paid Skills Development Leave" by Jane Adams [40 pp.]

- 8/83 "The Future Is Now: Women & the Impact of Micro technology" by Women & Technology Committee [150pp]
- 10/83 "Women and the Labour Force: What Does the Future Hold?" by Margaret Whyte [13pp]
- 3/84 "The National Training Act: Its Impact on Women" by CCLOW & Heather Henderson [67pp]
- 11/84 "Bridging Program: Women-Learning-Working" by CCLOW Regina [70 pp.]
- 12/84 "Women & Adult Basic Education in Canada: An Exploratory Study" by Paula de Coito [85pp]
- 1986 "The Decade for Women - Special Report" edited by Aisla Thornton [187pp]
- "Decade of Promise: An Assessment of Canadian Women's Status in Education, Training & Employment - 1976-1985" by Avebury Research & Consulting Ltd. [148pp]
- "Educating for Change: Women in the Next Decade" - 1984 Conference papers [94pp]
- Fact Sheet: "Women's Education & Labour Force Participation: Canada & Third World Countries" [7pp]
- Fact Sheet: "Women's Education & Labour Force Participation: Canada & OECD Countries" [7pp]
- 9/87 "Women's Education & Training in Canada: A Policy Analysis" by Susan Wismer of Development Initiatives Inc. [125pp]
- 1990 "Telling Our Stories Our Way: A guide to good Canadian materials for women learning to read" by CCLOW Literacy Materials for Women Project Working Group [101 pp]

CONFERENCES/SEMINARS

DATE	PLACE	TITLE
3/73	Toronto	CAAE mtg. "The Continuing Education of Women"
10/73	Saskatoon	CAAE mtg. "The Next Step"
1975	Ottawa	"Learning in Transition" (network mtg.)
10/77	Winnipeg	"Learning Opportunities for Women" - 1st Spring Congress [40 women educators to create national network]
1978	Toronto	"Self-training Skills Workshops"
4/79	Banff	"Second Spring Congress" [65 members - create structure and share expertise]
1979	Toronto	1st meeting of CCLOW National Committee
10/81	Halifax	"The Education Connection" - bi-annual mtg. [450 women & men - explore connections between women's learning needs and realities i.e. poverty, aging, rural life, careers]
1982	Toronto	Board Meeting
1984	Toronto	"Educating for Change" - national conference [350 participants; 70 workshops over 3 days - functional inter-relationship between education and economic, political, technological, moral & other concerns of women]
10/86	Regina	Strategies Colloquium - invite 150 women to develop strategies for women's equal access to education CANCELLED DUE TO LACK OF FUNDING
5/89	Montreal	"Women at Work: What are we learning?" - national conference [exp. 400 participants, 3 day, bilingual, 60 speakers - exchange information on issues related to education and training of women to ensure their full and equal participation in society] CANCELLED DUE TO LACK OF FUNDING

WOMEN'S EDUCATION DES FEMMES THEMES - Vol. I-VIII, 1982-1990

TOPICS	TOTAL ITEMS 112	PERCENTAGE 100%
Work	19	17.1
Feminism	14	11.7
Training	12	10.8
Global Issues (peace, economic development)	12	10.8
Special Education (science, anti- racism)	11	9.9
Miscellaneous	10	9.0
Women's Studies	8	7.2
Post-Secondary Education	7	6.3
Policy/Politics	6	5.4
Violence	4	3.6
High Schools	3	2.7
A.B.E. (literacy)	3	2.7
History	2	1.8
Technology	1	0.9

As mentioned earlier, Fogwill suggests that the development of CCLOW was mirrored in the general women's movement. The following section looks at that mirror by analyzing convergences and divergences of the theorizing and organizing practices described in these last two chapters.

CHAPTER SIX

CONVERGING/DIVERGING FEMINIST PRACTICES

The objective of this work, as stated earlier, is to explore the conditions under which the theorizing and organizing practices of the women's movement converge and diverge over time. I utilize the social history of CCLOW as a substantive vehicle to examine this issue. Chapters Four and Five provided individual examinations of two types of feminist activities, the practices of theorizing and organizing, during the second wave of the women's movement, specifically with regard to education. As well, Chapter Four laid the foundations for feminist theorizing by outlining some of the influential writers from the time prior to the 1970's re-emergence of women's organizing for change.

In dealing with theorizing and organizing in separate chapters, it would appear that they are being treated as dichotomous activities which have no relationship to one another. Instead, this was done to facilitate a more indepth description of their individual histories. As discussed in Chapter Two, I see theorizing and organizing as merely two types of practice with a goal of understanding and/or bringing about social change. Theorizing refers to any activities involved in the understanding and explanation of the actual phenomenon and the ideal (including the research involved and developing strategies for change). Organizing, on the other hand, encompasses all activities aimed at changing the actual situation in the direction of the ideal state envisioned. I will argue that despite the continued tendency in feminist discourse to speak of theory and practice as a dichotomy, this is counter-productive in an analysis

of change in discursive and organizing practices. The two should be seen in a circular relationship, with a mutual influence at specific, converging moments as seen in CCLOW's history. As well, even in diverging moments, one can see the links between the issues of importance in theorizing and organizing practices.

In general, convergence can be understood as a coming together of ideas and activities about how changes should occur. But more specifically, certain events indicate convergence in the analysis that follows. They include:

- 1) when people in both practices are working on the same or parallel issues from their different sites;
- 2) when the same people work on issues in different sites; and
- 3) when different people from different sites come together for a specific purpose.

It could be argued that these indicators focus more on the level of individuals than groups, and too much on activities but not enough on the 'ideas' of feminism. I acknowledge that many other types of evidence of convergence could be applied, but for my present purposes, these were chosen as the most relevant.

Furthermore, as shown in the model discussed in Chapter Two, the development of both theorizing and organizing take place within a mediating socio-economic-political context which must also be considered when attempting to understand the moments of convergence and divergence. In fact, in analyzing CCLOW's history, it appears that there are times when the larger context has more of an influence in the organization's changes than does the smaller context of feminist

theorizing. Theorizing can, however, be seen as useful in making sense of feminist educational activities that take place within a Canadian social context of "tolerance of ideological diversity, encouragement of dialogue and a service commitment" (Vickers, 1993:45).

This chapter will examine the links between changes in the practices of theorizing and organizing, and investigate the ways in which they converge and diverge in two decades of the women's movement. Once again this will be done in a chronological sequence. For each time period, I will first present a summary of major activities in the social and political context, constructed on the basis of historical interpretations from secondary sources. Then the data of each practice, as described in the two previous chapters, will be summarized separately, with some reference to the wider context. This will be followed by an examination of the links between theorizing and organizing in their chronological contexts. But first, I will begin with a summary of the major themes of the works which influenced the second wave and their implications for the practice of educational organizing.

INFLUENCING THE SECOND WAVE - PRE 1970

Context - Pre 1900

As discussed in Chapter 4, the earliest writings examined were produced within a context of Enlightenment ideas of the role of reason in bringing about social order. It was believed that educating women would help them develop into rational as well as virtuous beings, thus creating an environment in which women would be

set free from the bonds of emotion which held them down. Women needed to be released from the idea that they were created only for the pleasure of men and for the reproduction of the species.

Feminist Practices - Pre 1900

As such, feminist writings stressed the importance of education for women, and initially the concern was primarily for gaining access to education. After debates on the form that their education should take (single sex vs. co-education), it was generally accepted that it was preferable to have an education that was like the one provided to their male counterparts.

With the emphasis on producing reasonable, rational citizens, the concept of equality in theorizing, prior to 1900, is one I refer to as a notion of "sameness". Feminist writers, such as Wollstonecraft (1792) and Fuller (1845), highlighted the need to prove, through co-education, that women and men have the same ability for reason and learning, and with the acceptance of this belief, women would be considered as equal to men.

Figure 6-1

As Figure 6-1 illustrates, in a socio-political context which stressed rationality, theorizing around equality as "sameness" led directly to a prescription of organizing

around co-education as the most appropriate strategy to achieve the goal of same treatment for women and men. We can see here a convergence between the theoretical notions of equality and the practice of organizing around educational strategies to achieve the goal of recognizing women as equal to, or the same as, men.

Context - 1900-1970

The importance of education continued to be a prevalent theme during the first half of the twentieth century. In a context of increased industrialization and urbanization, it became obvious that at least some education was required to achieve fulfilling employment (Corbett, 1950; Selman and Dampier, 1991). From another perspective, it became increasingly important to have literate citizens and employees who could function in the new positions opened up in an industrialized labour market (Selman & Dampier, 1991). While it became more acceptable for women to learn in the early part of the century, this did not initially occur in co-educational settings. That eventually changed as the fight to get women enrolled in male schools was won, including their achieving limited admission into post-secondary professional training institutes such as medical schools and law schools (see Appendix 1: Bernard, 1964; Rossi & Calderwood, 1973; Gaskell & McLaren, 1987).

Learning for work, however, did not ensure that women would have access to the labour market. The early 1900s was a time of clear, sex-specific, social roles in separate spheres of activity. Men went "out to work" while women "stayed home". The understanding was that married women didn't "work", despite the domestic

labour they did as well as the fact that they often supplemented the husband's income by doing paying jobs from the home, such as keeping boarders or doing piece-work for the garment trade (Wilson, 1991: 68). This model of sex-separate spheres also ignores the many working class women and children who worked in mines and factories, out of economic necessity. However, the spheres were generally viewed as separate and the education that middle and upper class females received tended to emphasize learning to do women's work within the home and for the family (see Appendix 1: Komarovsky, 1953; Woolf, 1938).

It wasn't until after the two World Wars, during which women's labour power had been used outside of the home to keep the economy going, that the restrictive separate social roles were questioned to any large degree. Women had expanded their roles by participating in the public sphere and many came to enjoy the taste of that freedom from the home (Wilson, 1991). Despite this, the 1950s was a decade of return to traditional spheres.

The final decade of this period saw general social disillusionment come to a head. It was a time of active social movements to reduce inequalities of many types: civil rights to eliminate racial inequalities, peace rights to eliminate political inequalities and eventually women's rights to eliminate sexual inequalities, as women continued to examine, critically, their lives and their discontentment with their restricted social roles. It was a decade of collective action which emphasized the expression of identity, rights and individualism within a context which reconceptualized the rights and obligations of citizens (Pal, 1993:41).

One of the early responses by the federal government to citizen unrest was a review, in 1969, of the Citizenship Branch. Bernard Ostry, a politician involved in the review, stated: "The Branch was supposed to develop and strengthen a sense of Canadian citizenship, chiefly through programs that would aid participation and assuage feelings of social injustice" (cited in Pal, 1993:109). This period became known as the phase of a "Just Society" and Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau saw its usefulness to a national unity agenda at a time when the pre-eminent issue for politicians revolved around the "Quebec question" (Pal, 1993:251).

When the Liberal government embarked on citizenship participation in 1969, it did so not primarily to foster a radical regeneration of Canadian democracy but to foster greater allegiance to national institutions through a feeling that those institutions were open to popular forces (Pal, 1993:251).

The political goal was to create a national identity which was concerned with collective equality. Grants were dispersed, through the Citizenship Branch, to programs/activities designed around increasing awareness and participation by people in the affairs of society, at the grassroots level (Pal, 1993:109). Therefore, democratic involvement of citizens was encouraged and diverse groups gained a sense of having their critiques heard by policy-makers in Ottawa.

The Ad Hoc Co-ordinating Committee on the Status of Women was one such group.

Proceeding with the assumption that the government might take up their issues and represent them more forcefully to the dominant interests in society than they were able to do through their women's organizations, they persuaded the government to establish a commission to investigate the broader dimensions of the issue and define its responsibilities for reform in a more comprehensive way (Findlay, 1988:5).

According to Findlay (1988:5), by taking their demands to the government, this group set in motion a process that fundamentally shaped future feminist organizing activities of the Canadian women's movement.

The questions of women's restricted social and economic roles led to feminist discursive practices which theorized on the bases of the sex role differentiation which they saw around them. Debates began to re-emerge on earlier questions of whether role differences were based on a biological (nature) or learned (nurture) foundation (see Appendix 1: de Beauvoir, 1949; Mead, 1949).

Feminist Practices - 1900-1970

Feminist writers prior to 1960 continued to emphasize the importance of education in producing social change but, in line with the questioning of different roles, they began to question what women were learning and why. It became obvious that single sex education was intended to keep the spheres separate and that what was needed was a more flexible curriculum within mixed gender schools, a curriculum which would foster individual talents rather than genderized ones. What was being taught to both males and females needed to be changed (see Appendix 1: Bird, 1968).

Women's equality and equal access to education did not mean becoming more male-like, or even having access to a male education. The earlier concept of equality being synonymous with maleness (equality = sameness) was altered to what I argue is a more androgynous idea of human-ness. As illustrated in Figure 6-2, in a social-political context of a Just Society which focused on the rights of citizens, feminist

theorizing of the ideal education saw its purpose as being able to bring out the best human abilities. Equality came to mean eliminating differences between the sexes while highlighting the best of all human qualities (see Appendix 1: Heilbrun, 1964; Bird, 1968). This had implications for organizing around educational curricula which were flexible enough to emphasize these qualities. Again, one can see a convergence between the theoretical and organizing practices of the times.

Figure 6-2

The social context of the 1960s, described above, brought many of these ideas to a peak. The call for androgyny was seen most clearly in the hippie movement which focused on freedom - freedom from restrictions in relationships and lifestyles including specifics like clothing and hairstyles. With hindsight, we now see that the sexual revolution of the 1960s did nothing to reduce the exploitation of women, but at the time it was considered freedom from previously restricted roles (Ehrenreich, 1983; Hunter College, 1995:316). The notion of equality was seen as the elimination of differences in roles and behaviour, or androgyny.

Within expanding educational institutions there was increasing specialization of knowledge into cc.npartments/departments which led to a narrowing of skills into ever

smaller pieces. In contrast to the enlightenment concept of an educated person having a complete and well-rounded education, now post-secondary training became much more specialized (Drakich & Maticka-Tyndale, 1991:283).

This was seen by feminist writers of the 1960s as ensuring that women were educated for their roles in the private sphere. Debates on separate and different educations continued to appear within the theme of strategies for personal development. Female educators in this decade began to conduct research and teach about issues of concern to the development of women -- the beginning of what was later termed "women's studies" courses (see Appendix 1: Bernard, 1964; Royce, 1969).

As illustrated in Figure 6-3, with the advancement of individual development in a context which emphasizes specialization, one organizational strategy for personal development that emerged in the 1960s was that of providing equal opportunity. Ensuring that all individuals have an equal opportunity and access to meaningful education and employment became the primary target of many writers.

Figure 6-3

Equality would thus come about through legislation to provide equal opportunity. Feminist theorizing and organizing practices in the 1960s thus converged in their belief in the role of state intervention in their fight for equal, individual rights.

This historical overview of the time prior to the 1970s shows the changes in the development of notions of education. Initially, education was to produce rational individuals, which then shifted to a view where the objective was one of developing skills or "learning to work" at specific occupations. Feminist writers called for co-education where women would have access to men's education, so they too could develop reason or virtue or specific skills for less restrictive roles in the private sphere. Though there was a period of questioning of the type of education women were receiving, and despite the promotion of androgynous ideals in both education (including more flexible curricula) and lifestyles, by the end of the 1960s what was primarily being emphasized was state intervention to ensure women had equal opportunity for education and jobs (see Appendix 1: Bernard, 1964; Royce, 1969).

This overview also reveals changes in the notions of equality in feminist theorizing; initially it meant same treatment, then it developed into the concept of being equated with eliminating differences (androgyny) to the point where equality was seen as having equal, individual, opportunities for success. On the surface it may appear that there was no real change, but the strategies promoted to achieve equality show evidence that there were distinct differences.

Same treatment meant that everyone had equal ability to learn the same things while eliminating differences placed the emphasis on recognizing equity within

individual's special qualities. In the end, there seems to be a synthesis of same treatment and eliminating differences in the move toward promoting equal opportunity - having the same access to the same education and skill development will lead to eliminating of differential treatment as everyone falls into their proper place, depending on their individual qualities. Differences in success or failure can then be explained on the basis of an ideology of meritocracy -- giving an equal opportunity allows the individuals who work the hardest or have the greatest skills to succeed and occupy the most meaningful social positions, regardless of their ascribed statuses. In a context which emphasizes personal development and individualism, success or failure ultimately depends on the individual, not on their race, ethnicity, age, or sex.

It is within this climate of change in the influences on the second wave of the women's movement that we can turn to an analysis of the 1970s and '80s, the primary focus of this dissertation. To what extent are changes in the discursive theorizing practices of the women's movement manifested in CCLOW's organizing practices? How is this convergence mediated by the socio/economic/political context of the time?

THE 1970s SECOND WAVE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT FORMATIVE YEARS

Context

As mentioned above, the decade of the 1960s was one of social movements for the elimination of inequalities. Women were active in many of these movements but their discontent grew as women realized that they were filling segregated social roles

within their fight for rights -- roles based on their experience within the private sphere. They were expected to make and serve the coffee at movement meetings, to type the letters and memos written by men, and, in general, to do women's jobs in support of the real work being done by men (Dumont, 1986; Drakich & Maticka-Tyndale, 1991). Fighting for the rights of others made them aware of their own lack of rights and led to the emergence of the women's movement, calling for equal gender rights and the liberation of women from oppression.

Throughout the political realm of the 1970s, we can see a shift from the language of political obligations in citizenship participation to language of individual equal rights (Burt, 1993:236) in a broader context of collective unity (Pal, 1993:251). Canadians were still encouraged to participate and women responded.

Within the existing social/political climate of change for equal rights, women drew on the resources and skills developed in their struggles for eliminating inequalities in order to fight for changes in discriminatory policies and laws based on gender. In Canada, the women's movement pushed for government intervention and, in 1967, politicians responded by establishing the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW) to investigate women's protests of unequal status. The RCSW was one way in which the government was seen to be concerned with and listening to its female citizens. During the three year study, the RCSW received 468 briefs and 1000 letters of opinion. Hearings were held in 14 cities for 37 days, with 890 witnesses participating in them. In addition, 40 special studies were commissioned (Royal Commission, 1970:ix-x). This response by women was considered phenomenal.

The Royal Commission's report, released in 1970, confirmed women's claims, making numerous recommendations to ensure that women would be equal in all areas of public and private life, including the educational arena.

The Royal Commission revealed the extent to which women were second-class citizens within the educational system. Briefs presented to and research produced for the Commission exposed women's unequal access to the higher levels of academic training as well as to the higher levels of educational administration. (Pierson, 1995: 163)

A second governmental response to women's protests -- introducing maternity-leave provisions legislation -- revealed the state's recognition of women's expanding roles into the economic sphere.

the traditional view that women must be mothers first and workers in the labour force second began to disintegrate. The 1970 legislation...was significant because it was national, and across all of Canada the message was clear that the employment cost of childbearing, although not child care, was a community responsibility rather than an individual woman's burden (Burt, 1993:222).

The RCSW report also led legislators to view women in a new way and initiated other reforms. In 1971 a minister was assigned to represent "women's issues" in Cabinet and the following year the Women's Program was set up as part of the Secretary of State department (Findlay, 1988:5-6). Women's groups now had a source of funds available through grants and operations support. "In the early 1970s, much funding was provided to small, locally-based radical feminist groups, whereas by the late 1970s it was predominantly national and traditional women's groups who were being funded" (Schreader, 1990:187). This is partly due to the shift in the operation of the Program. Initially it was staffed by feminists determined to give women access to decision-making processes (Findlay, 1988:6), but increasing

bureaucratization and the establishment of women's advisory councils and agencies in other departments spread out the responsibilities and thus watered down the initial strong feminist influence of the Women's Program (Findlay, 1988; Pal, 1993).

Women's groups did, however, benefit greatly from the available funding, and "[i]n the 1970s, the number and range of women's groups increased dramatically" (Burt, 1990:194). International Women's Year (1975) created a real boost, both in terms of available funds (Pal, 1993:217) as well as resulting in a stronger and broader base of support for the women's movement (Findlay, 1987:44). It also led to the United Nations declaring a Decade of Women (1975-1985). All governments were to create a Plan of Action to outline their commitment to specific areas of women's concerns; Canada's Plan was adopted by parliament in 1979 (Burt, 1986:151).

This was also a time when the Women's Program budget received another dramatic boost, partly due to the Plan of Action but also because of the government's need for allies in the upcoming constitutional negotiations (Pal, 1993:127-128). With continued recognition of women's participation in the economic sphere, in 1979 the government also set up the Affirmative Action Directorate of the Canada Employment and Immigration Division. And a National Training Program was "established to try to prepare women for non-traditional jobs" (Burt, 1993:223).

With this official recognition and the corroboration of women's concerns by the RCSW, some participants of the Canadian women's movement began to lobby the government for action on the recommendations and suggested ways to change discriminatory laws and practices.

feminists found themselves concentrating on extending their expertise on particular issues, adopting formal lobbying skills and organizing themselves to participate in the elaboration of government policy.

Differences in political ideology that had been so visible in the early days of the movement...began to blur. Liberal feminism became the 'public face' of the women's movement (Findlay, 1988:7).

Other feminist groups, however, chose different forms of action by creating their own, autonomous, organizations and structures which allowed them to practice the specific notions of equality that they were promoting, without relying on the government for intervention. These differences derived from fundamental philosophical notions of the base or root cause of women's inequality within a general social context that showed a concern for individual human rights

Feminist Theorizing

Articulation of these basic notions of inequality formed the majority of feminist writings during the entire decade of the 1970s. Developing feminist theories to explain the origins of sexual inequality and strategies to eliminate them dominated the discursive practices of the western women's movement. And the different emerging theories created debates among feminists. Initially, there were two main streams of thought: the first one focused on fighting against systemic sexism and the ways in which society's structures worked to discriminate against women, and the second saw men and patriarchal sexual relationships such as marriage and family as the "enemy".

The two beliefs in the cause of inequality also led to different visions of appropriate organizing practices to eliminate it: "anti-sexist" feminists worked to

change the system by working from within it to ensure the removal of sexist barriers. "Anti-patriarchy" feminists, on the other hand, recommended a more revolutionary approach of withdrawing from the system and making change from outside by rebuilding structures and organizations on what they considered to be feminine principles.

These differences can also be seen when analyzing the meaning of equality during the 1970s. As illustrated by Figure 6-4, for those working against sexism, equality meant the absence of discriminatory measures which set up barriers to women. But when patriarchy is the enemy, the notion of equality is based on valuing everything female and striving to create an environment where "sisterhood" can flourish. While in the past, feminists strove to eliminate notions of differences between the sexes, those writing in the 1970s recognized that there are indeed differences but that these should not stand in the way of women's goals. Both streams of feminist theory acknowledged that differences do exist; one branch organized to ensure that both sexes be treated equally or have equal opportunity while the other branch focused on females only, in an attempt to revalue feminine characteristics and to remove differences that exist between women within sisterhood. Rather than equal being the same, during the decade of the '70s with its 'rights' movements, equality meant equal despite differences. The perspective shifted from a focus on the individual women to a more collective one which recognized diversity within women.

Figure 6-4

1)

2)

From the beginning of the re-emergence of a women's movement, "[f]eminism recognized education both as a site for struggle and as a tool for change-making" (Briskin & Coulter, 1992:249). This too was reinforced by the report of the Royal Commission. While it was recognized that the education system, as a site, played a role in reproducing social inequality, it also had the potential to be a tool for change-making by providing women with the power to make changes in their lives. The debates and notion of equal despite sex differences can clearly be seen in feminist writings on education (see Appendix 1: RCSW, 1970; Gornick & Moran, 1971; Furniss & Graham, 1974).

The fight to gain access to educational institutions had been won decades earlier but now feminists saw that women were receiving a biased education -- one

that had been designed by men for men. Initially it was the content of courses that feminists focused on: a curriculum that excluded knowledge about women. Much research was done in the form of textbook analyses, documenting the small percentage of space devoted to female contributions to society and to history. As well, the findings revealed that when women were acknowledged in either pictures or in text, they were presented in very stereotypical roles of mother/house-wife or office worker.

Even in arithmetic textbooks there are examples of sex-typing. In one series of books for Grades 3 to 8, questions such as the following are asked: "A girl can type about 48 words per minute. She has to type 2,468 words. Can she do this in 45 minutes?" or "A girl spent one-quarter of an hour sewing and one-quarter of an hour reading. What number of hours did she spend sewing and reading?" (Royal Commission, 1970: 174-175)

There were no role models for girls who were even considering doing something nontraditional with their lives. In part, this contributed to the government's initiation of the National Training Act of 1979.

Though a large percentage of the research was conducted on early school years, the post-secondary level was not ignored. Female academics (including students), primarily in the humanities and social sciences, began to ask "Where are the women" in different disciplines.

As mentioned earlier, individual female university educators had begun to develop and offer courses which focused on women's issues, providing knowledge by and for women. During the seventies, these individuals began to network with each other at conferences and committee meetings, sharing ideas and resources (Drakich &

Maticka-Tyndale, 1991). "Women's studies" courses such as "Images of Women in Literature", "Women in History", and "Women in Sociology" grew as more and more resources were rediscovered and reclaimed (Pierson, 1995:175). Feminists worked from within a variety of academic disciplines and produced an enormous outpouring of information which was shared not only in the classroom but also through journals on women's studies which emerged in this decade. Examples of Canadian journals include "Resources for Feminist Research" (RFR), "Atlantis", and "Canadian Women Studies".

By networking on their individual discoveries, these academics also gained the collective strength of women's caucuses and committees to push for the establishment of women's studies programs and departments within their own universities. As a response to this convergence of theorizing and organizing practices within the site of academe, the University of Toronto established the first official women's studies program in 1971 and other universities across Canada soon followed (Pierson, 1995: 176). The notion of sisterhood provided female academics with the energy and courage to fight against the sexist attitudes of their colleagues and administrations. The 1970s were also a decade of opening up universities to a wider variety of students and a new notion of inclusivity. The gender composition of enrolments changed dramatically (Guppy, Balson & Vellutini, 1987:173-179). The new knowledge on women fit into the notion of more inclusivity that abounded at this time.

While some of the new knowledge taught in these courses came from an uncovering of women's discursive contributions from earlier centuries, much of it came from another strategy of the women's movement. Consciousness raising (CR) groups existed across the country where women got together and discussed their personal experiences and lives. CR was seen, by feminists, as a form of education, allowing women to learn about themselves and how they fit into a larger society; showing them that their personal situations fit into a larger political pattern of sexism and discrimination.

Moreover, as CR was originally conceived, the individual's raised consciousness was to be the beginning, not the end, of the process. Carried out in groups, consciousness raising was itself a communal enterprise. In addition, its ultimate purpose was to motivate the individual to move out from the small group towards collective social action (Pierson, 1995:162)

CR was a very effective learning tool for the women involved in the groups but it also produced valuable, real-life information which could then be used as a basis for developing feminist theories and as a data source for women's studies courses. In fact, by the end of the decade, women's studies courses were being referred to as the "academic arm" of the women's movement, and were recognized as a political and educational strategy toward equality. From then on, feminist writings tended to equate women's education with women's studies.

Within a general academic environment, the social sciences, in particular, were increasingly recognizing knowledge as a social construct. This was especially seen in the feminist debates on what should be taught in women's studies, where the knowledge should come from and who should benefit from it. With feminist

theorizing and discovering new knowledge which was then being transmitted primarily through university women's studies departments, how were women outside of the institution to make use of this information in their organizing practices? While beginning in a context which was concerned with inclusivity, this debate about knowledge for which women and for what purpose would not come to a head until the 1980s.

It didn't take long for feminist research to shift the focus from curriculum content toward a recognition that there was also unequal treatment within the classroom. From that recognition came an outpouring of literature which documented methods of practice within schools. Not only the absence of role models but also different expectations on the parts of teachers, administrators and counsellors were shown to lead to different experiences, for females and males (Pierson, 1995). But the differences referred to were based on sex whereas differences within males and females were seldom addressed. It wasn't until later on in the next decade that studies emerged which "highlighted the fact that not all girls are treated equally, that a teacher's attitude towards and expectations of a pupil or student are often affected by the teacher's race and class in relation to the pupil's or student's" (Pierson, 1995:166).

While the practice of developing theory continued to dominate feminist writings throughout the 1970s, by the latter half of the decade a lot of energy within feminist discursive practices was directed at critiquing the knowledge base and

pedagogical methods used within education. This prepared the way for the next decade when attempts were made to find ways to transform knowledge and methods.

Feminist Organizing

When examining feminist organizing activities in the educational arena, many of the above developments can also be seen through the history of CCLOW. Similar to the beginning of women's studies courses and departments, CCLOW began with women adult educators networking around issues related to learning opportunities for women. While much of the feminist scholarship of the 1970s focused on either early schooling or universities, CCLOW focused specifically on adult females and their educational needs. These students did not receive much attention from feminist scholars until later in the 1980s and they continue, today, to represent a very small focus in feminist educational literature. CCLOW has, from the beginning, filled this gap.

Throughout the initial meetings, before CCLOW established itself as an autonomous committee of the Canadian Association of Adult Education (CAAE), the focus, primarily from an anti-sexist stream, was on how the educational system trained women for specific social roles and how this worked to create a sexist environment which discriminated against them in the labour market. CCLOW's founders believed that education could provide women with power in their lives but that the reality of women's experience showed that it worked in the opposite way. And though the role of CCLOW's committee members was originally to be that of

gathering and distributing information, they soon saw themselves in a more active role of "catalyst" for the creation of more networks responsible for developing learning opportunities for women.

Beginning with individual educators concerned with women's learning opportunities, through collective action this network grew from a group of concerned female adult educators, to a more formalized and autonomous ad hoc committee within CAAE, then to an independent, formally structured, organization with a specific purpose, objectives, staff members and financial support from the government. CCLOW was established as a national organization which would remain committed to the grassroots level through its formal structure of local networks working on individual issues which were relevant to the women in their community. The national agenda was set by representatives of the local networks who, together, made up the Board of Directors (Thomson, 1996).

At the national level, CCLOW followed the pattern of other educators noted above. Its first official activity began with conducting research on successful educational programs for women and disseminating this information to provide guidelines for people in the adult education field. It attempted to build up a membership base through newsletters and self-training sessions and to link these members and their concerns through a skills bank, a data base of women's interests, areas of expertise and skills. When setting up the organization, CCLOW members initially chose the anti-sexist strategy of working from within the system, despite their move to separate from CAAE, the 'parent' association. Their original objective was

to promote and lobby for the implementation of the Royal Commission's recommendations as they related to learning opportunities for women. They wished to advocate for changes within education and training systems through legislation to eliminate the barriers of sexism which prevented adult women from upgrading their knowledge and skills for the labour force. One of CCLOW's first lobbying activities involved presenting a brief to the government on its proposed National Training Act, in 1979 (see Appendix 5: GHN, II,6).

It didn't take long before CCLOW expanded its initial focus from "mature female students" to a recognition that the women they were working for included a diverse clientele based not only on age but also on economic status, race, ethnicity, ability, and employment status. Despite these intentions to be inclusive, CCLOW was never truly able to address the needs and concerns of francophone women who, instead, formed their own organization, Réseau national d'Action éducation femmes (RNAEF). The two organizations have, however, maintained co-operative relations throughout their individual histories (Thomson, 1996).

By the end of the decade, CCLOW, as an example of the practice of feminist organizing, was conducting research on barriers to women's learning opportunities. Like feminist theoretical discursive practices, it too went beyond curriculum. In its publication "Roadblocks to Women's Learning: Issues for Advocacy", prepared by adult education scholar Dorothy MacKeracher, we are presented with an examination of how inadequate guidance, lack of funding, sexist attitudes, discrimination against illiterate, immigrant women and absence of essentials such as day care worked against

all women's "equal access" to education and training (see Appendix 3: CWMA, 10,7).

CCLOW saw that women lacked power within education and it developed a definition of learning opportunities for women which included formal as well as informal attempts to promote women's advancement which would allow women to participate equally in the decision-making processes of their lives. The organization perceived itself as a consciousness-raising tool to develop not only the consciousness of members but also of legislators and the women who were in need of education and training.

As noted earlier, much of CCLOW's focus and activities have led to it being categorized as an institutionalized or liberal feminist group (see for example, Adamson et al., 1988:62), a category which, until recently, was looked down upon by many feminists as having been co-opted by the male-stream. But it doesn't completely fit into this category. Yes, it does work toward reform by lobbying for changes in legislation to give women more access to training which could lead to expanded roles within the labour force. And yes, this equal access is based on much disputed notions of equal opportunity. But when looking at CCLOW's strategies, it is also possible to fit it into the more revolutionary stream of the women's movement of the 1970s.

Striving to become an independent organization, CCLOW claimed autonomy from CAAE, the 'parent' organization which didn't recognize gender as a category of concern. While working toward equal access for women, it was also very aware of the diversity of its clientele (Appendix 3: CWMA, 1,17) and focused more attention

on diversity than many other feminist groups did during the 1970s. Its focus was not only on public concerns like institutional barriers to women's learning but also on private issues such as family attitudes, lack of day care, and the need for immigrant women's literacy training (Appendix 3: CWMA,11,7). It was very much a grassroots organization as well, with local networks setting the agenda. The organization was founded on networking and collective action among women (Appendix 3: CWMA,1,9). It also recognized the importance of consciousness-raising and self-development, and providing women with more power in making decisions. And lastly, while the founders of CCLOW deliberately chose to make their feminism implicit and unstated (Appendix 5: GHN,11,1,19), its structure was built on feminist principles of non-hierarchy, co-operation and sharing. As such, CCLOW is a good example not only of feminist organizing in education but also of the problems that exist when attempting to categorize feminist groups based on one aspect of their activity. This becomes even more evident in the following decade.

Converging/Diverging in the Formative Years

We have seen how the formative years of the second wave women's movement began with convergence in theorizing and organizing and gradually moved toward separate and distinctive sites of practice. In terms of the first indicator of convergence, when the same issues are dealt with in both practices, this can be seen in a variety of instances. Both theorists and organizers of CCLOW believe in the potential of education's role in transforming society. This is seen in the academic

site's establishment of courses on women, as well as the setting up of a committee within CAAE to address issues relation to adult women's education. Consciousness-raising was a tool used by theorists to gather data in their theory development and CCLOW perceived itself as a CR tool for women students as well as for legislators. CCLOW applied the strategies for equality that were recommended by both of the original theoretical streams: it lobbied for equal opportunity legislation while at the same time it withdrew from CAAE and created an autonomous organization.

One can also see convergence of the second type where a person works in both arenas of feminist practice. CCLOW and feminist theorists both used research to gather the data necessary to formulate ideas and strategies. A particular example of this type of convergence can be seen when a CCLOW member, Dorothy MacKeracher, who was also an adult education scholar at the University of New Brunswick, prepared one of CCLOW's first major publications, "Roadblocks to Women's Learning: Issues for Advocacy" in 1978. This document was a report of research conducted on women's perceived barriers to education and served to assist CCLOW in developing policies and agendas for a number of years.

The third indicator, when people involved in different practices come together for a specific purpose, is most obvious in CCLOW's very beginning. Theorist/scholars and adult educators met a number of times between 1973 and the official founding of CCLOW at a 1979 conference held in Banff. This organization grew out of direct involvement from people working in both sites of feminist practice. In an electronic conversation with Lynn Fogwill, one of the original members of

CCLOW in 1973, I discussed the notion of convergences in feminist activities. Lynn referred to feeling a "ping", which she defined as a "very gut-level emotional response to understanding" this notion. She stated that "I think that was happening in the women's movement in Canada in the 1970s and early 1980s and that the birth of CCLOW at that time was not at all coincidental" (Fogwill, 1996). Convergence led to the founding of CCLOW.

So during the formative years, convergence was present in feminist theorizing and organizing activities, as seen through CCLOW's history. This was also a decade of phenomenal growth in the women's movement, as indicated by numbers of women involved and the results of their practices (i.e., numbers of publications and organizations established). But the next decade soon moved to a process of divergence, as each practice concentrated its energy on expanding its own ideas/issues, in its own site.

EXPANSION, EVALUATION AND REGROUPING IN THE 1980S

Context

The economic and educational expansion that began in the 1970s continued during the early part of the decade of the 1980s. As stated earlier, after the pressure from the findings of the RCSW, state funding was made available for many types of projects initiated, and services offered, by the flourishing women's movement (Burt, 1990). The general feeling of well-being extended to much of the population and women, in particular, felt their rights and needs were being addressed as the liberal

government in power appointed advisory councils and status of women committees to act on women's behalf (Burt, 1990). After International Women's Year (1975) and the United Nations declaration of the Decade of Women, 1976-85, many international meetings, conferences and activities were held (e.g., 1980 in Copenhagen, 1985 in Nairobi) which led to a recognition for openness to "global" ideas and concerns of women, worldwide.

Within the women's movement, the early 1980s brought a move toward building of alliances; coalitions occurred as the focus shifted away from the individualism of the previous decade toward a greater sense of global unity (Tremblay, 1993:176). Groups began to work together to provide services and develop strategies for transforming the structures and institutions around them. This is most clearly seen through the work of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Constitution.

Established around the 1980/81 constitutional talks, the Ad Hoc Committee (of which CCLOW was a member) convinced the government to enshrine sexual equality in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Burt, 1990:192). The success of the Ad Hoc Committee was seen by some as an indication of the growth of sophistication in women's groups, in that "the strongest groups, such as NAC, the Business and Professional Women or CCLOW have, on most issues, undergone organizational development that equips them to move from policy advocacy to policy participation" (Burt, 1990:192).

But others suggest that the Ad Hoc Committee merely "demonstrated the ability of English Canadian women to form narrow issue coalitions across party lines,

while at the same time evidencing the fragility and temporary nature of these alliances" (Bashevkin, 1993:28). Elsewhere, Bashevkin (1994:280) has argued that this coalition was used by the federal government which engaged them "in an elitist jurisdictional discourse that was not of the [women's] movement's own making." In fact, she finds that the Constitutional coalition acted to divide anglophone and francophone feminists. Nonetheless, alliances and coalitions continued to form throughout the 1980s. Aisla Thomson claimed that the alliances CCLOW was involved in were generally successful because the focus was always on the specific goals to be achieved and activities were very "solutions-based" (Thomson, 1996).

Within education the expansion of the early 1980s is also clear. Specific women's issues became known as women's studies courses within the '70s but in the following decade, formal departments or coalitions of women's studies courses become more common. In 1982 the Canadian Women's Studies Association was formed and it held its own sessions at the Learned Societies meetings (Pierson, 1995:176). Two years later state recognition came with the federal government funding five regional chairs of Women's Studies within Canada (Pal, 1993:143). This formal legitimation ultimately forced these departments to have to assess their purposes, goals and potential for contributing to social change.

The need to justify and defend one's activities occurred toward the middle of the decade as the political and economic arenas changed. By this time the expanded economy had begun to retreat and with a change in government, economic restraint and cutbacks became the order of the day. These were especially felt by the women's

movement since many groups, viewing the state as a "benign utility" (Vickers, 1993:45) had come to rely heavily on federal funding for their existence. As Cunningham et al (1988:11) state, the radical militancy of the 1960's social movements shifted as individual organizations now had to negotiate with the state for reform in the 1980s.

During 1984, an election year, the Women's Program, one last time, saw its funding increased (Pal, 1993:143) and a number of state initiatives around the labour force were set in motion. The Abella Commission on Equality in Employment was set up (Burt, 1993:224). A parliamentary task force was set up to identify discriminatory laws (Burt, 1993:222). Also during this year, the Liberal government implemented a national Employment Equity Program "to ensure that employers under federal jurisdiction adopt the principle of equal pay for work of equal value" (Burt, 1993:224).

However, the Conservative Party, under the leadership of Brian Mulroney, won the federal election on a platform of economic policy with a "commitment to (1) deficit reduction, (2) economic growth, and (3) less government intervention in the marketplace" (Brooke, 1992:147). It became clear that the feminist agenda of the Women's Program from the Trudeau years did not "strike a sympathetic chord" with the new conservative government (Pal, 1993:274). It was discovered quite quickly that "[e]ach political party in Canada operates according to a different set of principles, and women's rights fit more comfortably in some party platforms than in others" (Burt, 1993:235). The Mulroney Conservatives had little understanding of the

concepts of equity and equal opportunity. Instead they were concerned with seemingly "costly and inefficient" policies (Brooke, 1992:15). Bashevkin (1994:290) states that women's groups became "more marginalized in [their] access to federal elites during the Mulroney years than ever before".

This gave rise to a renewed tension between the principle of equal opportunity and the earlier traditional view of separate spheres. "The new Conservative government was committed to privatization and free-market values. It superimposed on this neo-conservative economic agenda a renewed reverence for women's familiar responsibilities" (Burt, 1993:225). This can be clearly seen in this government's response to childcare issues. Despite earlier task force recommendations during the Liberal years, a new Parliamentary Task Force on Child Care was set up in 1984. The result of this study was the 1987 announcement of a National Strategy on Child Care which put most of its emphasis on tax benefits for families rather than addressing the critical issue of not enough spaces for child care (Burt, 1993:226; Brooke, 1992:188). The strategy showed the typical conservative shift away from service provision and toward income relief for families.

With the new government we can also see a reaction to the Liberal's left-wing politics in the rise of the New Right. Its anti-feminist and anti-social welfare backlash led to calls to disband women's programs or to open them up to other women's groups such as the emergence, in 1985, of R.E.A.L. Women⁸, which fought for a

⁸ R.E.A.L. Women was incorporated in 1983 but didn't get "noticed" until it held its first press conference in 1984 and its national conference in 1985 (Pal, 1993:143; Dubinsky, 1985:30).

return to "traditional", non-feminist values within society (Dubinsky, 1985:33). This group, with considerable support from conservative members of parliament (Bashevkin, 1993:29) tried, unsuccessfully from 1985-88, to receive funding through the Women's Program. The group's persistence and vocal media coverage over the failure to receive state support were one of the forces behind the 1986 review of the Program's funding criteria. The recommendation of the Review Committee was that "funding should be directed to groups that supported the definition of women's equality contained in the Charter... and the UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women" (Pal, 1993:147). Despite this re-assertion of the Program's initial objectives and the obvious fact that this group didn't fit the criteria for assistance, R.E.A.L. Women used its influence and support from Conservative M.P.s to receive funding from the Women's Program in 1989.

In the same year, the Conservatives announced, in their annual budget, that the Women's Program's funds would be reduced by 16% that year, and the following year another 15% was cut. The impact on women's groups, which had come to rely on state funding over the past 17 years, was profound. Core, operational financing was eliminated and the criteria for funding changed to ensure only special projects would now receive grants (Pal, 1993; Thomson, 1996). Pal suggests that the reduction occurred in part as a reaction to the support that women's groups had shown to the "NDP against the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement in the 1988 election" (1993:147). Others believe it merely reflected, in part, the Conservative negative attitude toward human rights issues (Brooke, 1992), the control

of the political agenda by the New Right (Dubinsky, 1985) or the general ideological process of fiscal restraint of the times (Schreader, 1990).

One final explanation revolves around the fact that the women's movement had become very diverse in both numbers of groups receiving state funding and in the issues they were concerned with. Burt (1989) discusses the shift in focus from the 1970s' primarily economic concerns to the broader issues of the 1980s in private areas such as reproductive issues, rape and assault. She refers to this as a shift from equal rights legislation to role changes (Burt, 1986: 163). Elsewhere, Burt claims that as the issues and the groups have become more diverse

partly as a consequence of government funding, the government mechanisms set up to deal with status of women concerns have become more numerous. There has been a transition within the status of women sector from a largely state-directed network in the 1960s to a pressure pluralist network in the 1980s (Burt, 1990: 209).

Others have also written on the increasing institutionalization and bureaucratization of women's issues in the state mechanisms (Findlay, 1988; Schreader, 1990). And because of the growth of diversity within the women's movement, it has

become increasingly easy for governments to refuse to act, on the grounds that the 'women's lobby' is divided. Alternatively, governments may select policies that correspond with their own pre-set goals, comfortable in the knowledge that, within the new plurality of interests represented among the groups, they can find support for their actions (Burt, 1990:209).

It is suggested here that the success of the women's movement in mobilizing women and in becoming more "professional" in their approach, had now turned against them.

The constraints of the neo-conservative climate thus forced women's groups to defend not only their right to state funding, but also, more fundamentally, their goals

and their gains. The earlier alliances became even more important as they now had to regroup and work in collectivities in their own defense. The time required in justification and redefining of goals and activities led to a reduction in their activist work for a more equal society; this can also be seen in the reduction of discursive practices and published works at the end of the 1980s. The move toward regrouping and re-evaluating also led to enlarged definitions of feminism to make it more inclusive. And it forced feminists to recognize that diversity in theory was not necessarily negative - that more than ever solidarity was needed amongst a variety of women and a variety of strategies and theoretical approaches to feminism, to ensure its survival in the new "backlash" context.

Feminist Theorizing

So while the 1980s began with expansion and the consequent divergence of discursive and organizing practices in the early middle years, the spirals began to turn toward convergence with the move toward feminist evaluation and regrouping in an attempt to maintain the ground and the accomplishments or achievements gained earlier. This context can be clearly seen in the feminist writings of the 1980s. The expansion of women's studies courses and the assessments of the programs are the major theme in the publications for the early half of the decade. Even critiques on the educational academy expanded from earlier investigations of curriculum and pedagogy to analyses of the very nature of the way the institution was organized. Notions of transformation within feminist writings on education moved from

transforming knowledge and classroom methods to transforming the structures of the academy. "The systems's structures have, however, proved extremely resistant to feminist challenge" (Pierson, 1995:163). But at the same time as ideas were expanding and structures were being evaluated, feminists also moved toward a regrouping of critiques as they "learned that questions of access, content, practice, and structure are complexly intertwined" (Pierson, 1995:163).

Even within feminist discursive practices we can see the alliances that were mentioned earlier.

The collective, social aspect of women's studies and feminist research can also be seen in the wealth of collective works and collections of texts that is particularly characteristic of this field. Publications by individual women authors do exist, but collective works predominate... (CRIAW, 1993:2).

But this coming together also had disadvantages as tensions and critiques developed, in discursive theorizing practices, around the most appropriate strategies needed for social change. With the socialist stream turning its focus from the labour movement to that of feminism, we begin to see the differences addressed to a greater degree; feminist theories become assessed, categorized and named as institutional or liberal feminism, radical feminism, marxist feminism and socialist feminism (see Appendix 1: Eisenstein, 1983; Jaggar, 1983, Sarah, 1982). As these academic theoretical debates occurred, we begin to see the practice of theorizing move away from its roots where it used women's experience as its base. Theoretical debates become more abstract and less concerned with developing actual strategies for change. The practices of theorizing and organizing begin to diverge in the process. So shortly after the period of forming alliances to work on specific issues (i.e. 1982 Ad Hoc

Committee on the Constitution), theoretical divisions are created and different strategies are now beginning to have to justify their approaches.

Assessing the purpose, goals and potentials of women's studies led to debates on the academic purpose of these courses: to study women or to provide a feminist approach to traditional studies. Were they to raise women's consciousness about their particular situations by revealing the reality of women's lives in the past and the present or should women's studies departments work toward transforming the academy (see Appendix 1: Able, 1983; Boxer, 1982; Coyner, 1983)? These tensions can also be seen in the debates on autonomy vs. integration - should the goal be to create autonomous departments where feminist knowledge can be transmitted unencumbered by patriarchal constraints or should these departments aim to produce knowledge to be integrated, ultimately, into the general curriculum of traditional departments (see Appendix 1: Bowles and Klein, 1983)?

These debates harken back to the differences in feminist theories and the strategies which they promote. Was a revolution needed, to force change by withdrawing and re-creating society on feminist principles, or could social institutions be reformed, to allow women an equal opportunity to participate in decisions which directly effect their lives? Adamson et al (1988) refer to the two strategies as "disengagement" or "mainstreaming".

The tensions also reveal a new notion of equality. Whereas in the past it meant either sameness or equal despite differences, we now see equality of power being considered. Equality must encompass more than access; it must include women

in the very structures of education, including policy and decision-making. Men alone, or male institutions cannot determine whether women will be "allowed" more equality. Women must gain access to and be included in those levels that articulate, formulate and implement the policy and direction of life for all humans.

But the tensions and critiques also had another direction which accounted for evaluation of inclusion and exclusion. We see, in the latter half of the decade, the emergence of questions of inclusion/exclusion based not only on sex/gender but on race and other categories such as economic status, ability, and sexual preference (see Appendix 1: Arnot & Weiner, 1987; Bunch, 1987; hooks, 1988).

These bases are not to be understood in a hierarchy, as indeed the intellectual and social challenge is to understand the single and composite interactions of these variables with those of sex and gender relations. ... Feminism and feminist research, in its challenging of power relationships and structural inequalities, has developed in Canada to the point where it intersects with other current major debates such as nationalism and racism (CRIAW, 1992:9-10).

Feminist groups, including those in academe, were forced to re-evaluate their own tactics as minority groups, led first by francophones, black women and lesbians, asked who was speaking for them. The white, middle-class, leaders of the Canadian women's movement had to evaluate their own activities and theorizing practices. This led to notions of education as empowerment. "Through reading this new outpouring of interviews, first-person accounts, poetry, short stories, novels, and sociological and historical research, white feminists could learn about the oppression suffered by women whose sisterhood had only too often been asserted in theory and denied in practice" (Pierson, 1995:180).

Even the concept of sisterhood was seen by many minority women as one which required re-evaluation. In the past it had been exclusionary in negating the obvious differences that existed between "sisters". What they called for, instead, was a recognition of diversity - an expansion of equal despite difference to include differences beyond those based on sex. And equality of power must be sure to include power for all groups of women in the determination of future directions and goals as well as strategies. By the end of the decade there was a reduction in calls for sisterhood and a move toward expressing the need for solidarity - solidarity of different women working toward similar goals. Audre Lorde expressed this clearly in her 1984 book, Sister Outsider:

As women, we must root out internalized patterns of oppression within ourselves if we are to move beyond the most superficial aspects of social change. Now we must recognize differences among women who are our equals, neither inferior or superior, and devise ways to use each other's differences to enrich our visions and our joint struggles (cited in Bishop et al., 1991: 309).

As shown in Figure 6-5, in a context of social and economic global expansion in the early part of the 1980s, theorizing on diversity and inclusivity led to wider notions of equality of power. And if inclusivity is emphasized, organizing practices must work toward the use of education as a means of empowerment for everyone.

Figure 6-5

Issues of diversity can also be seen in theories which began to emerge bringing into focus the different ways people have of learning and knowing (see Appendix 1: Marks & de Courtivion, 1980; Gilligan, 1982; Belenky et al, 1986).

A few of these so-called "cultural" feminists have argued that abstraction is a more "male" way of reasoning, as women are used to perceiving the world in "context-dependent" ways. But even feminists utterly committed to the notion that brain power is gender free recognize that gender experience can affect the ways in which we learn (Pierson, 1995:167).

In discussions on how knowledge is socially constructed, it became recognized that women learn differently and this must be taken into consideration along with attempts to change curriculum. Pedagogical methods clearly needed to be considered to account for differences not only among the students but also within the ways in which students learn.

This led to the rise, in discursive practices of the 1980s, of investigations into feminist pedagogy (Briskin et al., 1992). "Feminist pedagogy is based on the understanding that women have traditionally been silenced in our society ... and that women's studies provides students with the opportunity to find and develop their own unique voices, becoming empowered through this process" (CRIAW, 1992:9). In building on the feminist principle of "the personal is political", feminist pedagogy involves encouraging students to bring their own experience into the classroom. As well, distances between teachers and students were to be reduced in an attempt to achieve an environment based on feminist principles of sisterhood and non-hierarchy (Pierson, 1995: 182). This area of feminist education also required reassessment in the late 1980s as it was realized that an uncritical adherence to these principles led to

many contradictions. Once again, issues of diversity, power and authority had to be acknowledged and dealt with. They continue to be concerns today.

Writings which dealt specifically with education also articulated the debates on inclusivity. More attention was paid to who the knowledge was being produced for and by. Who would have access to it (see Appendix 1: Thompson, 1983; Morgan, 1987)? The debates can be seen in differences between approaches from the "ivory tower" and those from groups at the "grassroots" level. This is the beginning of arguments around theory and praxis; arguments which became most obvious at numerous conferences I have attended when questions are continually asked about the relations between the two.

As discussed in Chapter 2, theory (explanation and vision) had originally been developed from a base of knowledge gained, partly in CR sessions, from women's everyday experience at the grassroots level. But as noted above, in this time of expansion, theorizing was now being done primarily in academic sites and became more complex and "sophisticated", leaving its grassroots behind (Wine & Ristock, 1991:254). Academic meetings provide a setting for ivory tower discussions of feminist theorizing practices but these gatherings tended to exclude those who work in the community, daily attempting to apply the theorists' visions and strategies in their organizing work.

Feminism, a movement for and by women, in response to the constraints of their academic site had begun to reproduce the clear divisions and dichotomy between theory and practice so often seen in other academic areas when knowledge becomes

specialized into separate sites. Bishop and her colleagues discuss the frustrations felt

[by] community groups who have to struggle for meagre resources while the university uses massive resources ... to educate an elite and serve business interests. This issue has intensified in the 1980s as universities feel the pressure to forge tighter and tighter links with the corporate sector... (Bishop et al., 1991:301).

One can see how the wider socio-political-economic context with its focus on restraint and privatization also places constraints on the academic site around issues of accountability with obvious implications for feminists working in that site. They were now forced to defend their roles and achievements within academe (i.e., growth of women's studies programs) as important contributions to the intellectual development of students. As well, feminist scholars found their time to work on political activism eroded with added academic responsibilities. Examples of these constraints imposed by the "professionalization" of feminist scholars are noted by Christiansen-Ruffman. She refers to areas which constrain, such as "...deciding 'what counts' in hiring, promotion and tenure. Feminists have also faced the sexist, racist, and classist social relations, ideologies, thought processes, and scholarship that have undermined and confounded feminist ideals, goals, discourses, and activities" (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1991:265).

As well, feminist organizers became frustrated when they viewed the increasingly "abstract intellectual" ways of feminists theorists/academics (Bishop et al., 1991:302). This aided in the divergences growing between feminist theorizing and organizing practices as they each were forced to invest energy in their individual survivals.

While some see this as continuing today (Bishop et al., 1991:303), others point to successful attempts made to overcome the apparent dichotomy. Christiansen-Ruffman (1991) writes of the bridge between the two feminist practices created by the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAW). Like CCLOW, CRIAW was established in 1979 during the period of incredible growth in the number of women's groups. This organization was intended to be "...a place where researchers could discover the issues in need of research, recognize patriarchally created barriers, and gain feminist insights" (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1991:270). With members from both academic and grassroots worlds, CRIAW has ensured that "many feminist scholars within the academy...not only come to realize the limits of contemporary academic knowledge but also ... come to recognize the significance of knowledge and insights from the activist feminist community" (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1991:266), through groups such as CCLOW.

In working through these issues, we can see, at the end of the decade, with the increased recognition of diversity and the need for solidarity, there was also an increased understanding of the ways in which the practices of theorizing and organizing can once again work together, and inform each other through convergence. As the spirals move back toward the roots of mutual understanding, it becomes clear that both are needed for effective change. As a representative of feminist theorists, Christiansen-Ruffman recognized this.

...focusing our attention on women's collective activities allows us to begin to develop an understanding of women's forms of social organization. This initiates the processes by which feminism, feminist activism, and feminist analysis begin to whittle away patriarchy's defences. ... It is necessary to

empower women intellectually, politically, personally and collectively so that our feminist dreams will be fulfilled (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1991:282).

In this overview of feminist theorizing in the 1980s, and the context in which the discursive practices were produced, we can clearly see the move apart in expansion and evaluation and then the beginnings of re-convergence in the move to withdrawal and regrouping and the resulting defence of goals and achievements. The initial writings involved an expansion of knowledge and courses on women and discussions of how to transform the academy from one for and by men to one which is more inclusive of gender. With the neo-conservative environment came the need to re-evaluate one's goals and work toward a maintaining of position, but once inclusion has become an issue, the door was opened to questions of inclusion of whom. The New Right's anti-feminist critique of inclusivity forced a retreat on some fronts and regrouping occurred, with more diverse groups striving to find a position for themselves within education and specifically within feminism.

Once diversity was recognized as important, the question of solidarity between different groups could be addressed. This also led to an understanding of the need for diversity not only in types of people involved in the women's movement and in educational change but also diversity of approach. For example, previous critiques of and disdain for institutional feminist organizing now turned toward a re-valuing of its accomplishments. There began to be a growing recognition of diversity in all aspects of feminism and in all its forms of practice.

Feminist Organizing

The same issues and concerns and tensions can once again be seen in the practice of feminist organizing through CCLOW's development in the 1980s -- expansion in the first half along with coalitions with other groups, then assessing and reorganizing around a diversity of projects and goals toward the end of the decade. These parallels reveal that even in times of general divergence, the two practices are linked in their spiralling movements toward social change.

While CCLOW was very active along a number of issues during the entire decade of the '80s, it was at the beginning that it really worked to establish itself and become recognized as a "national organization" with concerns around learning opportunities for women. The first major activity during this time period was the move to total independence from CAAE through CCLOW's official incorporation as an entity in 1981. With the help of government funding, it was able to move out of the offices of CAAE to establish its own space and staff.

The primary activities of the first half of the decade revolved around developing the lobbying skills noted by Burt (1989) earlier, while at the same time building an organization with a reputation for activism in both lobbying and information distribution. Initial briefs and presentations made to government departments and commissions focused on public sphere issues related to training and the labour market, including the impact of microtechnology on women's jobs (see Appendix 3: CWMA 4,4-6; 11,10). The major concern was always the barriers women faced in receiving adult basic education as well as skills development (see

Appendix 3: CWMA,11,8 and Appendix 5: GHN,11,3). The best solution, it was believed, was the implementation of employment equity and affirmative action legislation (see Appendix 3: CWMA,11,1:26).

As well, CCLOW members participated in the coalition of women's groups discussed above, the Ad Hoc Committee on the Constitution. Individual briefs and presentations were also made by CCLOW in order that the proposed Canadian Charter would recognize a guaranteed right to education for all citizens (see Appendix 3: CWMA,4,2). Then, as state funding cuts loomed in the latter part of the decade, CCLOW worked in alliances with other groups, as described in Chapter Five, to advocate against reduced governmental spending on women's issues.

Copies of the briefs and presentations along with a number of documents reporting on research conducted on issues related to women's learning were produced and distributed. CCLOW also began publishing its journal, *Women's education des femmes*, in the mid-eighties. Like the women's movement in general, the growth in research and publishing on women, during the first half of the 1980s, was phenomenal, as was the willingness and the desire to participate in women's organizations. In less than five years from its 1981 incorporation, CCLOW had over 600 members from across Canada.

Another method of information dissemination occurred through two conferences sponsored by CCLOW. The number of participants clearly reveal that CCLOW's reputation as a "national voice for women's learning opportunities" had grown in a short time period. As noted in Chapter Five, conferences in the early

days of the 1970s had less than 100 participants but the one held in 1981, co-sponsored by CCLOW and Mount St. Vincent University, was attended by 450 delegates. It was at these meetings of educators that CCLOW's role within feminism was also most obvious. And it was here that diversity issues were first raised.

It is through groups such as CCLOW that one can see links between the practices of theorizing and organizing. Conferences were CCLOW's direct involvement with theorists and the academic world. In contrast to the ivory tower conferences which excluded feminists active in non-academic fronts, the conferences put on by CCLOW were moments of convergence as they were attended by feminist theorists as well as organizers. Issues discussed went beyond the presentation of research normal at most academic conferences. There were less debates but more serious discussions of the contributions of grass-roots activities and of developing concrete strategies to ensure that women of all ages, backgrounds, races, in all geographic locations, etc. have their educational needs met. Consciousness-raising was believed to be a good strategy to use for the needed changes because it was clearly recognized that there are definite links between women's learning needs and their daily reality or experience, and education needs to be linked with other social institutions. Another way in which CCLOW was linked to the practice of theorizing was in the way it always began each project by conducting research and scholarship, then using the findings to determine its path of activism.

The middle of the 1980s, just as the federal funding cuts were beginning, was ironically the time that CCLOW chose to become more explicit with its links to

feminism. While feminist theorizing focused on equality of power, CCLOW articulated a clear and explicit expression of objectives such as working for the empowerment of women and promoting feminist education (see Appendix 3: CWMA,6,14). As Burt (1989) found in her research on the development of the general women's movement in Canada, the projects CCLOW became involved in grew more diverse in content and in their basic premise. Increasingly, CCLOW began to acknowledge a concern with more than "access" into education and training programs, along with developing a wider clientele base that addressed the needs of females of all ages, rather than just adult women (see Appendix 4: CCLOW,18).

Those years also led CCLOW to make a more definite commitment to the larger women's movement through specific alliances with other women's groups on a variety of projects such as the Charter of Rights, improved access to education and training for the disabled, and employment equity (Thomson, 1996; see also Appendix 3: CWMA,6,7; 6,14).

This came about with the realization that developing learning opportunities for women required an enlarged definition of education and skills to include those developed through experience -- experiential learning was the phrase used. In a time where we saw the rise of cultural feminist theoretical writings, CCLOW became concerned with women's ways of learning and projects were begun to ensure that course materials were more relevant to the specific needs of women. This is particularly obvious in the literacy project of the late 1980s. Phase I of this project recognized the unique ways of women's learning in its attempt to collect resource

materials that take this into consideration and Phase II applied newly developed feminist research methods of participatory research to explore the reality of women's experience with literacy programs from their own perspective (see Appendix 4: CCLOW, 10-13, 14-16).

The regrouping process of the women's movement can also be seen in CCLOW. Despite its expansion in vision, goals and projects and its concerns with becoming more inclusive and diversified in membership and clientele, it also spent the last half of the '80s conducting an organizational review. Its purpose was to evaluate CCLOW's processes and re-organize its structure to stream-line the operations and to make fund-raising a major concern (especially due to the financial cutbacks in governmental operational funding). The anniversary celebrations of ten years of accomplishments served to highlight the need for a more efficient plan for the future to ensure CCLOW would exist for another ten years of feminist practice in education (see Appendix 4: CCLOW, 20).

Converging/Diverging in the Years of Expansion, Evaluation and Regrouping

In summary, the decade of the 1980s reveals divergences and re-convergences in the women's movement. As stated earlier, with expansion in both theorizing and organizing practices came a spiralling away from the earlier mutual influence. Theorists, in concentrating on developing their place in the academic world, put energy into establishing a place for themselves through women's studies programs. At the same time, new theoretical approaches were emerging, such as psychoanalytic

feminism, cultural feminism, and black feminism, to address concerns of women who felt their realities were not accounted for in the main theoretical streams.

The move away from alliances with feminist organizing practices can be seen to have begun around the 1982/83 period when women's studies was "officially" recognized as an association and federal funding was provided to establish Chairs of Women's Studies. As suggested earlier by Findlay (1988) and Schreder (1990), the increasing institutional-ization and bureaucratization of women's issues in the state led to problems for the federal government's Women's Program. I suggest that the same thing occurred when feminism became "professional" through its occupation in academe.

CCLOW, on the other hand, was focusing on setting itself up as an autonomous organization with a national office, Board of Directors and with securing funding for staff and projects it deemed important. This occurred in a socio-economic-political environment which encouraged expansion through increased state funding of both Women's Studies programs and women's organizations across Canada. As well, political initiatives such as the national Employment Equity Program showed a support for expanding concerns of the women's movement.

With the increased support (financial and otherwise) a greater diversity of groups and issues appeared in the time of expansion. Burt (1990) has suggested that feminist organizers representing the diverse groups were also becoming more "professional" in their role as lobbyists. But their diversity and growth ended up working against them on the grounds that the women's movement was too divided.

This period of divergence and concentration on expansion within their own sites is characterised by an absence of the indicators of convergence noted earlier. While each site was expanding its own ideas/concerns, the individuals involved remained isolated within their sites with few alliances and occasions for them to come together. When they did interact, it tended to happen for purposes which had become routinized (i.e., CCLOW's bi-annual conferences; NAC annual conferences). But in general, the absence of evidence of convergence during the period of expansion are also indicative of divergence. With the change in government, however, the latter half of the 1980s saw the expansion halted.

Within a context of a move toward a more conservative political context, both theory and organizing actions were reduced as women's groups and individuals perceived the need to reorganize, redefine and justify the gains received and goals reached. The new socio-economic-political environment forced a re-convergence. This can be seen most clearly through the indicator of working on the same issues from different sites, but also, to some extent, through the same people crossing sites and the coming together for a specific purpose.

First, the funding cuts had an effect on both practices. Within the discursive sphere, one sees a substantial decline in published scholarly documents. As the table in Chapter Four shows, the number of reviewed feminist writings went from 64 in the first half of the decade to 36 in the latter half. The focus of feminist theorizing was more reflexive, and practitioners were forced to deal with the constraints imposed by the academic site where re-evaluation and justification of gains had to be defended.

At the same time, CCLOW too was re-evaluating its purpose and goals through an organizational review. This was intended to make the daily operations and long-term goals more efficient while, at the same time, finding new sources for funding. Focusing on evaluating and re-grouping took away time and emotional energy from the activities both practices had been involved in earlier.

But the process of re-evaluating also led both spheres to re-define the goals of feminism, in terms of diversity issues. Theorists were forced to become more inclusive of all women, to go beyond their white, middle-class roots and CCLOW expanded its notions of education to include women of all ages, classes, races, orientations etc. And it made its feminist commitment more explicit by articulating one of its objectives as "promoting feminist education".

As theorists were developing a focus of education that included women's access to positions of power and encouraging personal empowerment through the use of feminist pedagogical methods, CCLOW too was articulating the need for women's empowerment through a feminist education. A similar pattern emerges when cultural feminists like Carol Gilligan and Mary Belenky and her colleagues raised the issue of women's ways of thinking and knowing being distinctive. At the same time, CCLOW was addressing similar concerns through its project on literacy learning materials which recognized the unique needs of women in literacy training. This project showed another parallel when CCLOW adopted newly emerging feminist research methods such as participatory research to ensure literacy students had a role to play in developing new learning materials.

Evidence of convergence is also shown by the same individual working in both practices. For example, CCLOW chose Dr. Margaret Fulton, the President of Mount St. Vincent University, as their representative at the United Nation's mid decade conference in Copenhagen. Dr. Fulton also served as a key-note speaker at the CCLOW Halifax conference in 1981.

This also indicates the third feature of convergence, where people from different practices come together for a specific purpose. Bi-annual conferences sponsored by CCLOW are the most obvious examples. The Halifax conference, "The Education Connection" was co-sponsored by CCLOW and Mount Saint Vincent University with speakers from the academic, political and organizational arenas. The CCLOW 1984 conference in Toronto, "Educating for Change" is another example. Speakers included a theorist on adult education, Jane Thompson, Chaviva Hosek, a past president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, and Christine St. Peter, a professor of Women's Studies from the University of Victoria. As described more fully in Chapter Five, CCLOW's bi-annual conferences were the most obvious moments of the coming together of theorists and organizers.

In the process of regrouping, individual authors and organizations came to see the benefits of closer ties to other like-minded groups and soon issues around diversity emerged. Returning to its roots, as a fused, integrative movement where feminism included all women, once again became a concern in both theorizing and in organizing by the end of the 1980s.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

At the beginning of this chapter it was suggested that theory and practice are often perceived as distinct and separate aspects of feminism. In an attempt to reconceptualize them as two activities or practices, we can see that theorizing and organizing are both necessary in order to affect social change in terms of growth in the women's movement. In the initial stages of the second wave women's movement, the building of theory relied heavily on experience revealed and gained through the organizing activities of feminism, especially those of CR groups. And when this occurred, we see growth in the movement, in both amount of published theoretical works and in numbers of organizations.

Subsequently, theorizing became an issue in and of itself as it stopped building on the base of women's realities in its attempt to become more sophisticated and abstract, and therefore more legitimate in academic circles (where most of this activity was occurring). This led to debates among theoretical streams, to the point where theories began to become categorized within hierarchies of effectiveness, and the themes in the discursive practices moved to debates on these hierarchies. What had begun as attempts to place personal issues into a political context in order to bring women together in collective action, now appeared to be separating women. Theory development fell into traditional traps of the ivory tower, separating itself from the practice of organizing where issues and problems could more clearly be recognized.

At the same time, as the case study of CCLOW reveals, feminist organizing was also moving toward autonomy. In order to be eligible for state funding, CCLOW moved away from the academic ties of its founders by becoming autonomous from CAAE, and toward a focus on education and training for work. While the convergence with theorizing activities remained in so far as research was always used to determine the "issues", during the early to mid 1980s the wider social context and its priorities had a greater influence on CCLOW's activities than the smaller, academic context out of which it grew. It was in the process of trying to become more legitimate (either to academe or to state funding agencies) that the widest divergence between the practices of theorizing and organizing occurred. But with the next phase, beginning in the mid 1980s, we can see a re-convergence.

The stage of regrouping, reassessing and justification began the process of reuniting the two activities. Once again there was a recognition that they must inform each other; that theory must be accessible to practitioners at all levels of the women's movement. It appears that the farther apart the two activities grow, the less influence they have on one another. And the more united and mutually dependent they are, the less they are affected by the larger context. Yet it is this same context which influences their convergences and divergences.

This chapter has also shown that throughout the rise and development of feminism in the second wave, despite their differences, there were clear convergences between the issues and foci of theorists and organizers. When writers were addressing issues of equality of access, CCLOW was concerned with the numbers and

types of training programs to which adult women had access. When the theoretical focus shifted to equality of treatment, CCLOW was exploring barriers women faced in education. When the issue of equality of results emerged, CCLOW's focus was on women's different ways of learning. And finally, when equality of power became a theoretical concern, CCLOW's mission statement was changed to show its interest in the empowerment of women through promoting a feminist education. Despite obvious moments of convergence and divergence, we can also see similar themes/issues in the two types of feminist practice, throughout the two decades of the women's movement.

The case study of CCLOW reveals the important role of groups outside of academe in the practice of feminism in education. In the first place, CCLOW fills a gap left by both feminism and adult education. It shows the importance of including adult women and non-formal aspects of education in feminist theorizing, while at the same time it makes adult education more inclusive by providing an analysis based on gender. Throughout its existence, CCLOW has promoted an understanding of diversity in students -- by raising questions based on gender in adult education and on multiple levels of oppression faced by women in all aspects of education. While CCLOW was founded and continues, today, to be reflective of the majority of Canadians in that it is largely white, middle-class and anglophone in both membership and leadership, it always strived to promote learning opportunities for women from all races, classes and language backgrounds. And according to Thomson (1996), the leadership usually had different minority groups represented on the Board.

CLOW has placed training as well as education not only in ivory tower departments of women's studies and adult education, but also on the national agenda, through its activism in lobbying and information dissemination, thus providing concrete evidence and data for feminists who were developing theories of feminist education. This case study of CLOW, an organization with a variety of feminist strategies for action, shows not only the links between theorizing and organizing but also the importance of their mutual dependence. These two practices must continue to inform each other to be effective means for social change.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This research project has examined the conditions under which the practices of feminist theorizing and organizing in women's education converge and diverge over time, during the second wave of the women's movement. In telling the story of the development of these two practices, I have also asked what implications their coming together and moving apart has for social change.

These questions have allowed the story of CCLOW to be told in a way that challenges the tendency, within contemporary feminist theories, to apply inflexible blueprints in order to differentiate between a variety of organizational strategies within the women's movement. CCLOW's story provides the opportunity to see that rigid boxes are inappropriate to fully understand the range of strategies used in feminist organizing. In addition, the questions help to unpack the notion of theory and practice being seen as dichotomous. Instead, I have shown that both theorizing and organizing are forms of feminist practice that are most effective at providing an impetus for change when their spiralling movements converge. And these moments of convergence occur when conditions in the wider socio-economic-political context call for their coming together.

Chapter Two began by providing definitions of the way in which the two practices are viewed in my research. The term theorizing was used to refer to all activities involved in describing and explaining the actual phenomenon (the way things are) as well as the ideal (the way things should be), including the research involved

and developing strategies for change. Organizing, on the other hand, encompasses any activity aimed at making concrete changes to the actual phenomenon in light of the ideal state envisioned.

In order to understand the connections between these two distinct, yet mutually dependent, practices, I determined that an appropriate framework would have to meet three requirements. First, it must allow for an understanding from the point of view of adult women in education. Second, the framework must take into consideration the influence of the wider context on the development of the feminist practices for social change. And thirdly, there must be room for an analysis of the relationship between different feminist practices which accounts for the moments of interdependence rather than seeing them as dichotomous.

Three potential fields of study were examined to determine their appropriateness for such a framework. Feminism was found to partially fulfil the first two requirements in that it takes gender into account and it recognizes the importance of education in its goal of social change. But there is little recognition of age as a social category and feminism has come to equate education with women's studies, thus paying limited attention to adult education as a site of social transformation. As has already been mentioned, feminism's tendency to use inflexible theoretical labels makes it difficult to fully analyze the activities of groups like CCLOW. As well, while the theory/practice dichotomy is noted, there is seldom an analysis of it within feminism.

Adult education focuses on the category of age but, until very recently, has all but ignored the specificity of women's experience. While it promotes the role of educational movements for social change, no attention has been paid to the contribution of the women's movement as a strategy for change. In terms of the third requirement, this field has shown some recognition of the interdependence of theory and organizing; there have been some attempts to analyze the prevalent dichotomy through notions such as the professionalization occurring within specific sites.

The third field examined, sociology of education, like feminism, shows an awareness of the category of gender but it too pays little attention to adult education. It recognizes that education leads to the reproduction of a system of inequalities which are related to the context in which learning occurs, but focuses primarily on formal education. As a more theoretical than practical field which maintains the dichotomy through its connection with academe, sociology of education also fails to provide an analysis of the relations of different practices.

As existing fields of study prove to be inadequate in meeting my framework requirements, a multi-disciplinary model was developed which saw the practices of theorizing and organizing as two spirals moving toward the goal of an equal and transformed society. The spirals are separate practices but they overlap periodically in a process of converging and diverging along the path to social change, which occurs within a context which has an influence on the movements of the two practices. This model was appropriate to problematize the notion of feminist

practices and to accommodate an analysis of C'LOW which revealed how the links between the practices were mediated by what was happening around them.

A reflective approach was used in Chapter Three which described the methodology employed in this research. It outlined my process of learning about historical methods, first from historical sociology with its focus on large scale, general, abstract and, usually, political sociology. This was clearly inapplicable to a case study of social change at a micro level. The next step in the process was to examine a history of historical research methods, in particular women's history which brings the field closer to sociology in its insistence on contextualizing the subject's voices and reconstituting the world which is shaping and being shaped by individuals. As Joy Parr has stated, "[t]he premise of women's history was that ... social, economic, and political contexts rather than biology, history rather than nature, created woman" (Parr, 1996:13-14).

The specific tasks of a feminist social history were outlined by Gloria Redekopp (1995) as: 1) retrieving women (and their organizing) from obscurity; 2) giving women a chance to speak for themselves, giving voice to their reasons for action and their intended goals; 3) describing the obstacles to their action and the strategies women use to eliminate them; and 4) explaining women's reality as active participants in their social world. I fulfilled these tasks by: 1) retrieving C'LOW's story from its previous obscurity; 2) giving voice to this organization's actions and goals; 3) describing the obstacles and constraints on these actions as well as the

strategies CCLOW developed to overcome them 4) as active participants in the world of adult education in Canada.

Chapter Three concludes by depicting the details involved in collecting the data from feminist theoretical writings in the second wave of the women's movement as well as the data necessary to tell CCLOW's story of organizing during this time period. Each step in the process is recounted. Knowledge was not only developed through the data sources but also through learning to do a feminist social history.

The next two chapters described the actual data collected to represent feminist theorizing and feminist organizing. Chapter Four focuses on the first practice by examining feminist theoretical writings in a series of chronological periods, which begin with the influences on second wave feminist theorists and then focuses, primarily, on the 1970s and 1980s. While the vast majority of writings involve the development of feminist theoretical explanations of women's unequal social position, one of the minor themes noted in this literature deals with feminist debates around definitions of education and its role as a strategy for social change.

The arguments regarding strategy link feminist theory to a second major theme, dealing specifically with the role of education: women's studies programs are considered the academic arm of feminism. Here we saw debates on whether feminist knowledge should be taught in autonomous departments or whether it should be integrated into the traditional curriculum. As well, questions were raised about whether feminist scholarship should aim to add knowledge on women or whether the entire knowledge base needed to be transformed.

A third important theme is the changing notions of diversity within feminism. Diversity within women and among feminists was seen in the debates around grassroots vs. academic feminists as well as in those around issues of elitism or what is feminism including and working for. It could also be linked back to the overarching theme of the variety of feminist theories.

Chapter Five presents the data which deals with feminist organizing and fulfils the first two objectives of the project by telling CCLOW's story and showing that rigid boxes are inappropriate when analyzing this group's goals and activities over two decades. A social history of seventeen years of CCLOW's existence is offered, from its origins in 1973 to a randomly chosen cut-off date of 1990. This story is presented, primarily on the basis of archival records and data from the Canadian Women's Movement Archives, from files at CCLOW's national office, and from personal files and letters of one of its founding mothers, Greta Hoffman Nemiroff. The archival data was then reviewed and supplemented by interviews with two women who played an active role in CCLOW's development: Lynn Fogwill, one of the founders and current President and Aisla Thomson, Executive Director for more than ten years.

The story reveals stages of development of the organization from its initial role as an ad hoc committee of the Canadian Association of Adult Education, in 1973, with a mandate to report on learning opportunities for women. The 1970s were formative years for CCLOW which began with networking of female educators concerned with educational and employment opportunities for women. After

numerous planning meetings, the official founding conference was held in Banff in 1979, where a structure was put in place along with the formalization of CCLOW's terms of reference and purpose.

By the beginning of the 1980s CCLOW was building the foundations of an autonomous and independent organization through incorporation as a national voluntary group with a national office and provincial/territorial networks, which worked on issues of local concern. The early part of the decade was spent establishing its reputation for knowledge and skills in lobbying and advocacy on behalf of adult women learners, and research and information dissemination on issues related to women's education and training for their re-entry into the labour force.

Once the foundations were built, CCLOW moved, in the mid 1980s, to expand its focus to include a wider definition of learning issues and clientele and to address more general feminist concerns about creating an equal society. Its links to the women's movement were obvious through the numerous coalitions CCLOW was involved in on issues such as those relating to the Canadian constitution, the free trade agreement, and the threatened reduction of the government's women's program. By the end of the decade it was explicitly recognizing feminist education as a means of empowerment for women.

In the telling of CCLOW's story, this chapter also reveals that it is inadequate to categorize it as a liberal or institutionalized feminist group (i.e., see Adamson et al., 1988:62). While many of CCLOW's achievements have come through working

for reform by lobbying for changes in legislation, its strategies have also included ones which fit into the more revolutionary stream of the women's movement.

It claimed autonomy from the Canadian Association of Adult Education because gender was not recognized as a category of concern. Realizing the diversity of its clientele, CCLOW focused not only on public concerns like institutional barriers to women's learning but also on private issues such as family attitudes, lack of day care, and the need for literacy training for immigrant women. CCLOW was very much a grassroots organization as well, with local networks setting the agenda. It was founded on networking and collective action among women, and recognized the importance of consciousness-raising and providing women with more power in making decisions. Even the structure was built on feminist principles of non-hierarchy, co-operation and sharing. So CCLOW's story is more than a case study of feminist organizing; it is an example of the problems that exist when attempting to rigidly categorize feminist groups based on one aspect of their activities.

Once the stories of feminist theorizing and organizing are told, the final section analyzes the links found between their development in two decades of the Canadian women's movement. Chapter Six addresses the third objective of this research by explicating how feminist practices can be best understood by placing their convergences within a broader context that helps explain the conditions under which the practices of theorizing and organizing, in separate sites, come together and move apart. The chapter begins by arguing that certain events can be used as indicators of convergence. They include: 1) when people in both practices are working on the

same or parallel issues from their different sites of activity; 2) when the same people work on issues in different sites; and 3) when people from the different sites come together for a specific purpose.

Each of the chronological time periods used in the two previous chapters are analyzed to determine whether indicators of convergence are present. In order to explain the conditions under which their existence occurs, the broader socio-economic-political context for each time frame is also analyzed.

It was shown that the formative years of the second wave of the women's movement began with convergence in theorizing and organizing and gradually moved toward separate and distinctive sites of practice. The same or parallel concerns are seen in both sites' belief in the potential of education's role in transforming society, and their use of consciousness-raising as a tool to inform activists, students and legislators about the unequal society around them. From the beginning, the practices converged in terms of having individuals working in both sites simultaneously. Members of CCLOW who worked on conducting research and producing its first publications were also academics from the adult education arena. And the coming together of individuals from the separate sites occurred most obviously in the numerous pre-founding meetings and conferences CCLOW held in the 1970s. In fact, the organization was born out of direct involvement by people working in both sites of feminist practice.

The context in which these convergences occurred was one in which there was phenomenal growth in the women's movement in general. The political climate was

one which encouraged the participation of citizens working toward individual equal rights. The Canadian Royal Commission on the Status of Women released its report which included 167 recommendations to federal, provincial and territorial governments on how to improve the status of women. The federal government's responses during the 1970s revealed the state's recognition of women's expanding roles in the economic sphere by introducing, for example, maternity-leave provisions legislation. The report also led legislators to view women in a new way and initiated the formation, in 1972, of the Women's Program with a budget to fund groups which were working to improve women's status. As authors such as Pal (1993), Burt (1990), and Findlay (1988) have shown, women's organizing benefitted greatly from this Program, whose funds helped build a stronger and broader base for the women's movement.

The economic and educational expansion continued during the early part of the 1980s. The general feeling of well-being extended to much of the population and women, in particular, felt their rights and needs were being addressed as the liberal government appointed advisory councils and status of women committees to act on women's behalf. Within the women's movement, coalitions and alliances were formed between groups which often worked together for specific purposes. One prominent example was the Ad Hoc Committee on the Constitution established around the 1980/81 constitutional talks. The committee, made up of representatives of feminist groups, convinced the government to enshrine sexual equality in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

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PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

This context of expansion and growth can be seen in both theorizing and organizing practices with a spiralling away from their earlier mutual influence. Theorists, in concentrating on establishing a place for themselves in the academic world, put energy into developing women's studies programs. The move away from their alliances with feminist organizing practices can be seen to have begun around the period, in 1982/83, when women's studies was "officially" recognized as an association and federal funding was provided to set up Chairs of Women's Studies departments. Findlay (1988) and Schreder (1990) suggested that the increasing institutionalization and bureaucratization of women's issues in the state led to problems for the federal government's Women's Program. And I argue that the same thing occurred when feminist practices in theorizing and organizing became increasingly more professional within their specific sites. This period of divergence and concentration on expansion within their own sites is characterized by an absence of the indicators of convergence.

When the socio-economic-political context changed with a move toward a more conservative climate of fiscal restraint and funding cut-backs, both theorizing and organizing actions were reduced as women's groups and individuals perceived the need to reorganize, redefine and justify the gains received and goals reached earlier. The neo-conservative context, however, made alliances even more important as groups now had to regroup and work in collectivities in their own defense. And these new alliances led to enlarged definitions of feminism to make it more inclusive,

forcing feminists to recognize that diversity was important to create solidarity amongst a variety of women and a variety of strategies for action.

The "forced" reconvergence can be seen by a number of indicators. Both sites became more reflexive in terms of re-evaluating their purposes and goals and redefining their notions of who their actions were for. Empowerment for all women became an issue in both theorizing and organizing. The specificity of women's ways of learning and knowing were of concern to both theorists and organizers in CCLOW as material was developed which took into account the unique needs of women in education. And individuals from different sites came together more often to develop new strategies of feminist practices in order to survive the climate of restraint. Returning to its roots, of a fused, integrative movement where feminism included all women, once again became a concern in both theorizing and in organizing by the end of the decade of the 1980s.

The analysis of the links between feminist practices shows the influence of the wider context on their spiralling toward and away from each other. Using a case study approach also reveals the importance of their mutual dependence. The two practices must arguably continue to inform each other to be effective means for social change. This research project has shown this by examining the conditions under which feminist theorizing and organizing practices converge and diverge over time and the implications this has for social change.

Specific problems encountered during this project include the limited resources on theorizing by Canadian feminists, who tend to focus more on empirical studies of

specific issues that concern women. Therefore, when describing the story of the development of feminist theorizing practices, I was forced to rely heavily on texts from the United States and Britain. These writings, however, have been the theoretical base of the more empirical focus of Canadian feminist writers.

Another aspect of this dissertation that could be construed as a limitation is, as noted in Chapter Six, the fact that the chosen indicators of convergence focus primarily on the individuals involved in theorizing and organizing. They offer only one piece to an understanding of the links between feminist practices. While I used this specific level of the theory/practice debate, there are others that could be addressed in future research. For example, are there convergences between groups working at different sites? While some parallel ideas/issues are noted in the previous chapter, this is another level that could be explored. And finally, another related question asks "Does convergence always lead to divergence, or are there examples of constant links between the two feminist practices?"

The realization of the importance of the wider context as an influence on convergence and divergence occurred quite far into my research process. Using secondary sources to interpret the historical context can be said to apply a particular construction of this history. I would argue that this is the nature of historical research which is dependent on the records of those who came before us. By applying the criteria for assessing the quality of the historical evidence, as outlined by John Scott (1990) and described in Chapter Three, in terms of the source's authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning, most of the potential biases can be

avoided. While my choice of these secondary sources on the socio-economic-political context was not a systematic one, the authors tended to agree on their analysis of this context. That is not to say that opposing viewpoints do not exist, but rather that there appears to be much agreement among the authors used to construct the historical context in this project.

A second methodological issue has to do with the actual data used to compile CCLOW's story. Applying Scott's criteria to the archival data was not a problem. But rather, once the story had been told on the basis of formal and informal records, it was 'dry' and lacked the experience and real voices of the actors involved. It was at that point that I returned to readings about feminist research methods that suggested ways to get the "subjects" to participate (see for example Reinhartz, 1992; Kirby & McKenna, 1989; Maquire, 1987). I determined to do some "interviews" with women active in CCLOW's development, compiled a list of questions and sent them to three women whose names were supplied by CCLOW's national office, along with a copy of the drafted story to review. Two responded and we engaged in conversations either in person or by electronic mail. These dialogues contributed a lot to my understanding of CCLOW's story and, if time had permitted, more interviews would have been helpful. As it was, the two women who responded had, together, been active during the entire time period I was researching. But the experience taught me the benefit of combining research methods to have a more complete picture of the historical "facts".

Despite these problems, this research project met my objectives and thereby make a contribution in a number of areas. First of all, the story of CCLOW has been rescued from obscurity and added to the history of women's organizing in Canada. This has also allowed for an examination of the notion of feminist categories being used to rigidly define different feminist practices by using boxes or labels. Showing that CCLOW is much more than the liberal, institutionalized group it has been categorized as, leads to the question of how many other categories of women's organizations exist which would benefit from being re-assessed.

This research also contributes to existing disciplines. For example, with the current acknowledgement of knowledge as power and education as a process of empowerment, there is a need to redefine adult education from a feminist perspective as a form of education which respects the need of women for empowerment. My dissertation contributes to this project as well as adding an important piece to the history of Canadian adult education in terms of the previous silence regarding the education of adult women and the role of the women's movement in this field.

The research also expands theories in adult education and the sociology of education to include feminist writings of the women's movement and adult women as learners. And with the third objective, problematizing the notions of a dichotomous relationships between theory and practice, my research contributes to feminism as well as the other two fields. I have shown that placing feminist practices within a larger context also raises questions for future research about the sites in which they occur, and the influence that these contexts have on feminist actions. I respond to Joy

Parr, when she says "[s]cholarship is to open rather than extinguish questions, to discomfit rather than enshrine both settled certainties and the collective practices they sustain" (Parr, 1996:8).

At the level of methodology, this dissertation helps the feminist task of crossing disciplinary boundaries through an expansion of our understanding of historical sociology which legitimizes a feminist social history of groups involved in adult education. It forces us to look at how historical sociology is done and how it can be applied to micro-level issues. And it fulfils Liz Stanley's (1990) call for "knowledge for" as well as "knowledge what" by examining how connections can be made between theorizing and organizing when there is reciprocal influence. At the same time it shows that we need better documentation of organizations so they are not lost into obscurity.

Finally, this research highlights the importance of the need for a history of the women's movement in Canada. The Clio Collective (1987) has produced an excellent encyclopedic look at the history of Quebec women from 1617. But, to date, there is no comprehensive historical account of feminist theorizing and organizing in the Anglo Canadian women's movement. Numerous publications have reported on specific groups or individuals, but no attempt has been made to put them together to provide a complete history of women's practices in English Canada.

While my project does not provide this over-arching history, it does provide a piece to the bigger, yet unrealized, picture. And it presents another way of studying this history by looking at feminist practices in a new way -- through theorizing and

organizing. In the process, it raises questions about how this story can be told, at the same time as it realizes that the story is never finished because it has no end. In the words of English historian Carolyn Steedman (cited in Parr, 1996:9, original emphasis),

The writing of history, which does indeed come to conclusions and reach ends...actually moves forward through the implicit understanding that **things are not over**, that the story isn't finished, can't ever be completed for some new item of information may alter the account as it has been given.

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APPENDIX 1

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APPENDIX 2

THEMES IN FEMINIST WRITINGS

The following is an overview of the major themes found in the feminist writings reviewed for Chapter Four.

1) Importance of Women's Education

This is a general theme with a number of reasons for education's importance, which vary over time. For example, the earliest writings speak of educating women to become more rational beings and thus to become better wives, mothers, and citizens. Later writings tend to focus more on educating women so they can participate, more equally, in the paid labour force.

2) Equal Opportunity Education

The second wave of the women's movement initially dealt with the need for women to have opportunities which were equal to those of men, and education was one arena in which this was fought for. Equal access and equal opportunity to succeed at all levels of education are stressed. The writings in this theme tend to recommend the use of legislation to allow women to participate equally in all disciplines and, by extension, in all occupations.

3) Curriculum Change

One of the earliest areas of second wave feminist criticism of education was on the curriculum and textbooks used, especially in public schooling. Research was conducted on what was being taught (including the scheduling of specific courses like putting auto mechanics and home economics at the same time) and the resources used

within the classroom, to provide evidence to the claims that girls and boys are educated differently. As well this evidence pointed out the socialization received to ensure that male activities are more highly valued.

4) Including Women - History of "Women Worthies"

Once evidence revealed the absence of women, the focus shifted to changing the curriculum to include women -- adding their history and their social contributions. Initially this "recovering" of women's history and writings tended to "recover" only the most famous of women or "women worthies". Eventually these writings stressed the need to revalue women's experiences in more general terms.

5) Classroom Interaction

Along with the critiques of "what" students were learning, another focus was on "how" the learning process took place. Evidence was collected to reveal the differences in interaction with teachers that boys and girls experienced. These writings focus on the practice aspect of schooling; on the impact of sexual differences on their educational outcomes. The literature on Frierian methods of adult education teaching is included under this theme.

6) Counselling for the Future

A third area of demonstrable discrimination against females was discovered to be the counselling for the future that students receive. School counsellors, it was revealed, tend to encourage girls into occupations and future education that lead to "women's jobs", with the understanding that their "real" roles in the future will focus on family rather than on self. This type of counselling helps to reproduce a labour force which

is gender segregated and ensures lower aspirations for females than for males.

7) Single Sex Schooling vs. Coeducation

One of the debates that surfaced centuries ago was on whether girls should have their own schools or whether boys and girls should be educated together. American colleges for women were established on the principle that single sex education was beneficial for both males and females. The coeducation side won however, partially because the proponents realized that males performed better when females were in the classroom but also because it was recognized that females would never be considered truly educated if they were not learning the same content and in the same ways as their male counterparts.

8) Patriarchal/Power Relations

Some feminists moved beyond documenting discrimination in the what and how students are taught to recognizing the power relations involved in education. With this came an understanding of the relationship that education has to a patriarchal society, in general -- how education is used to reproduce patriarchal relations which are premised on male superiority and dominance in all other areas of society. The writings under this theme tend to be much more radical in tone and stress the need for revolution rather than reform of schooling practices.

9) Transform Knowledge Base and Methods

With the recognition of the patriarchal power relations within education comes the recommendations that the entire base of our knowledge needs to be transformed.

With only the male perspective being taught, the knowledge is partial and incomplete.

These writings focus on feminist research methods and epistemological changes to ensure that the knowledge presented in schools is the 'whole truth'.

10) Transform Academe

A major focus that comes out of the previous two themes is the need to revolutionize academe and transform it from top to bottom. Issues here deal with power relations in terms of the absence of females in decision-making positions and as tenured faculty, and the impact this has on female students who are without role models and experience a "chilly classroom climate". So transforming academe again includes what and how we are being taught but also by whom and what the attitudes of these people are toward female students.

11) The Women's Movement

Since the need for and benefits of education for women is a major component of the women's movement, a number of writers provide us with a history and analysis of both waves of the women's movement. These writings present an understanding of the issues women considered important to fight for and the variety of strategies used to accomplish their goals.

12) Women's Studies Programs

Women's Studies Programs are considered the "academic arm" of the women's movement. Much has been written on how these programs were established, what their purpose is and the variety of strategies used to provide a female-centered education, at all levels of schooling. Issues discussed under this theme go beyond analysis and critiques of the success or failure of different strategies to include debates

on some basic feminist principles. Inclusion and accessibility come into play in the question of whether or not it is important for academic knowledge to be accessible to all women, including those working at grassroots levels.

13) Influence of Feminism on Specific Disciplines

A number of writings have produced an analysis of feminism in specific academic disciplines. Most often these are in collections which discuss the overall effects of feminism on academe with evidence in the form of individual chapters written by women from their disciplinary perspective. And the majority of these are on the social sciences and the arts/humanities with very little from the faculties which are traditionally seen as male - the sciences.

14) Feminist Theory

All of the above require some element of feminist theorizing and the majority of readings addressed this even when it was not the main issue. Early in the second wave, the primary focus of most writings was on developing a theory of the cause of women's oppression and strategies for eliminating it. Before long, debates on opposing theories began to appear. And eventually books were published which analyzed and critiqued the four major theoretical streams which were emerging. As well, minority groups produced writings to show how the four streams were exclusionary to their concerns and goals.

15) Personal Development Strategies/Needs of Women

All feminist writings have an element of the need to revalue women and their contributions and most conclude that women, themselves, require personal

development to recognize their individual and collective strengths. Consciousness-raising was a major strategy for all feminist theories, as a way for women to development individually and as a group.

16) Education's Relations with Other Social Institutions

While education is seen as a necessary component of women's liberation, it is recognized that education alone cannot accomplish all of feminism's goals. It interacts with other social institutions to reproduce patriarchy and unequal relations and therefore interaction is needed to succeed in establishing an equal society. How this currently occurs and how it can be changed are at issue in this theme.

17) Sex Roles/Sex Differences

A major theme, especially early on in the second wave, was on description and analysis of the sex-based difference in social roles between men and women. The issues dealt with here include how this came about and what its implications are. A lot of documenting of women's lives, based on these differentiated social roles, took place with an attempt to provide an historical context for the development of these differences. How and why schools were involved in this process were also analysed.

18) Androgyny

One of the earliest solutions for sexual difference was seen to be androgyny. Much theorizing was done on the benefits of it and how to bring about an androgynous society. Then writings began to appear which critiqued this notion and stressed the importance of valuing difference rather than attempting to eliminate it.

19) Diversity - Class, Race, Sexual Preference, etc.

From the beginning of the second wave there was an attempt to recognize that not all women experience discrimination in the same way and that this must be taken into consideration in any attempt to develop strategies in feminism. During the 1980s, diversity began to be discussed at much deeper levels, especially when the experience of minority women began to emerge from their own perspectives rather than from white middle-class women saying it was an issue. Feminists had to confront their own oppressive attitudes and behavior.

20) History of Development of Academe and Women's Participation in it

Part of the process of recovering women's contributions to society include the recovering of the history of women's entrance into and transformation of the academe. A number of general feminist historical analyses were produced along with ones focusing on individual institutions.

21) Feminist Ideology

The importance of ideology in maintaining the social status quo as well as those to resist it are addressed by most feminists. Specific feminist ideologies analyzed/critiqued include those of "the personal is political" and "sisterhood is powerful".

22) Canadian Focus

While writings on women and education with a specifically Canadian focus are not very extensive, any reading done from this perspective was noted.

23) Adult Education

While most of the feminist writings on education focus on primary, secondary or university levels, there has been an increasing number of studies written from the experience or perspective of adult education. Many of the other themes noted are combined to reveal the barriers to women in adult education and the attempts to eliminate them.

24) Barriers to Women's Education

Much of the literature on women and adult education, and to some degree that on women at the post-secondary levels, has barriers to equal educational opportunities, access, and results as an issue. These barriers are sometimes academic ones (i.e. schedules, location, fees, lack of day care, funding, etc.) but may also be social (family, social attitudes, etc.)

APPENDIX 3
CANADIAN WOMEN'S MOVEMENT ARCHIVES

LIST OF FILES

1. CLOW/CCPEF - EARLY MINUTES 1975-77

- .1 Oct. 16, 1977 "The Use of Power to Advance Learning for Women: Who Has It? How to Get It?" by Lillian Zimmerman, Douglas College, New Westminster, B.C.
Presented to CLOW, Winnipeg [7 pp.]
- .2 CAAE letterhead, Sept. 16, 1977 "To All Educators Concerned About Learning Opportunities for Women" by Betty Pie
cover letter to package on programmes etc. [3 pp. & 2 pages "Intro to Programme Packages"]
- .3 handwritten notes "Objectives & Strategies for CLOW 1978" (as proposed by Training Group, Feb. 9th & 10th)
[3 pp.: 4 objectives & strategies]
- .4 notice of free public lecture - March 15, 1978 "Where There is Oppression, There is Resistance: A Report from the Canadian Women's Movement" by Dorothy Smith
- .5 CAAE letterhead, "Objectives 1977-78" [2 pp. - 7 objectives]
- .6 handwritten notes for Feb. 25 mtg. - objectives, budgets, workshops [6pp.]
- .7 handwritten notes, June 23/77, objectives - guide in activities, planning strategies [3pp.]
- .8 Questionnaire by Task Force of CAAE - Re: skills, experiences [8pp]
- .9 "Background Paper on Possible Committee Structures for CLOW" [5pp & 4 alternatives]
- .10 Sept. 16/77, Intro to Programme Packages - "To All Educators Concerned About LOW"
- .11 memo, To: All Delegates to the Workshop on L.O.W.", Oct. 16-18/77, Wpg. Man. Re: request for comments on Goals & Objectives

- .12 Memo July 11/77 To: Alan Thomas, Pres. CAAE, From: Diana Ironside, CCLOW liaison with CAAE Re: Outline for discussions at joint mtg. [14pp]
- .13 CAAE letterhead, Feb. 2, 1976 "LOW - Revised Project Proposal" [7pp. draft with handwritten notes]
- .14 "A Proposal: Learning Opportunities for Women", April 13, 1976 - submission to Secretary of State Women's Programme [8pp]
- .15 Dec. 10/76 First Progress Report, submitted by Janet Willis [4pp detailed report of mtgs. & activities]
- .16 Jan. 10/77 Second Progress Report, submitted by Janet Willis [5pp detailed report of mtgs. & activities]
- .17 Feb. 22/77 Third Progress Report, submitted by Janet Willis [6pp detailed report of mtgs. & activities]
- .18 March 2, 1977 "Outline of L.O.W. Project" by CCLOW to Sec. State [3pp.]
- .19 Progress Report, by Janet Willis March 1 - April 11, 1977 [3pp.]
- .20 Progress Report, by Janet Willis April 1 - June 15, 1977 [7pp.] ATTACH. comments on national survey
- .21 2nd Progress Report, by Janet Willis June 15 - Sept. 1, 1977 [7pp.]
- .22 Proposal to Sec. State, Phase 2: 1977-78 [7pp.]
- .23 3rd Progress Report, by Janet Willis, Sept. 1 - Nov. 15/77 [4pp.]
- .24 4th Progress Report, by Janet Willis, Nov. 15/77 - Jan. 15/78 [6pp.]
- .25 Final Report, March 15, 1978 by Janet Willis April 1, 1977 - March 31, 1978 [6pp.]
- .26 Aug. 1, 1978 CCLOW Progress Report, submitted to Sec. State Women's Program [2pp.]
- .27 Sept. 30, 1978 Interim Project Report, submitted to Sec. State Women's Program [4pp.]
- .28 Apr 12, 1977 "Report on Possible Follow-Up to the Women in Transition Seminar", by Janet Willis [5pp.] ATTACH. questionnaire sample

- .29 "A Working Paper - Perceptions of Educators" [intro. to Report, methods, questionnaire]

- 2. **CCLOW/CCPEF - WOMEN IN TRANSITION PAPERS [1977]**

- 3. **CCLOW/CCPEF - PROGRAM INFORMATION DIRECTORY**

- 4. **CCLOW/CCPEF - BRIEFS [1979-84]**

- .1 May 14/79 "Cutbacks to Training Allowances & Outreach Programs"
Presented to representatives of the Liberal Party, NDP, Progressive
Conservative Party. [35 pp. - 2 copies]

- .2 Dec. 11/80 "The Freedom to Learn: Comments on the Proposed Canadian
Charter of Rights and Freedoms"
Presented to The Special Joint Committee on the Constitution of Canada. [12
pp. - 2 copies]

- .3 Nov. 1984 "Bridging Program: Women - Learning - Working"
Proposal presented by CCLOW Regina to V. Lynne Pearson, Director
General, Canada Employment & Immigration Commission, Saskatchewan
Region. [70 pp. - 4 page Biblio.]

- .4 March 19/84 "The National Training Act: Its Impact on Women"
Presented by CCLOW Regina to V. Lynne Pearson, Director General, Canada
Employment & Immigration Commission, Saskatchewan Region. [69 pp.]

- .5 Sept. 1984 "A Response to Challenges & Choices" by Paula De Coito
Submitted to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development
Prospects for Canada. [20 pp.]

- .6 Feb. 23/84 "Re: Bill C-12, An Act to Amend the Federal/ Provincial Fiscal
Arrangements and Established Programs Financing Act"
by Susan McCrae Vander Voet, Heather Menzies, Carmen Paquette.
Presentation to Parliamentary Standing Committee on Finance, Trade and
Economic Affairs. [7 pp.]

- .7 1984 National Conference Programme - "Educating for Change" Women in the Next Decade" Aug. 19-21, 1984. [booklet]

5. CCLOW/CCPEF - BACKGROUND TO POLICY DEVELOPMENT

- .1 Nov. 1978 "A Report to the C.C.L.O.W. - Background to Policy Development" by Dorothy MacKeracher [178 pp. & 5 pp Bib.] [later published as "Roadblocks to Women's Learning"]
- .2 memo, March 17/79 to: Mary, Lisa, Doreen, Renate From: Dorothy Re: Policy Papers
- .3 Topics Discussed: Academic Upgrading; functional skills; functional literacy; language skills - series of Questions & Answers [6pp.]
- .4 memo, Jan. 18/79 To: Mary, Lisa, Doreen, Renate From: Dorothy Re: Notes from last meeting [12 pp.]
- .5 handwritten Proposal for Final report on Policy - suggestions for completion [3 pp.]
- .6 memo, Jan. 5/78 To: Mary, Lisa, Doreen, Renate From: Dorothy Re: Notes from last meeting [3 pp.]
- .7 draft with handwritten corrections "Defining the Problem" [re: literacy, 9 pp. & App. of 30 pp.]

6. CCLOW - NATIONAL

- .1 booklet "The Education Connection" - conference by CCLOW & Mt. St. Vincent University in Halifax, Oct. 17-19, 1980 [bilingual; English - 35 pp.]
- .2 membership pamphlets
- .3 1991 announcement: exploratory research report "Discovering the strength of our voices: Women and Literacy Programs"
- .4 correspondance

- .5 1988 Call for Papers for Wedf: special issue on Feminist Approaches to Economic Development
- .6 1985 Media Kit with press releases re: problems with Bill C-62 Employment Equity
- .7 Annual Reports 1983-84 [2 copies]
- .8 pamphlets & publication lists
- .9 June 1988 Announcement - Annual General Meeting and performance of Women at Work
- .10 form letter & survey, 1988 From: Terry Dance, Chairperson of Literacy Materials for Women Working Group, Re: Request for info. on literacy programs
- .11 Ad for part-time Editor of Wedf
- .12 memo, Aug. 20/87 To: All Women's Groups Re: telegram on amending Meech Lake Accord to protect women's equality
- .13 1984 Call for Papers for National Conference, Aug. 19-21, 1984 "Educating for Change" by conference co-ordinator Eleanor Christopherson
- .14 Annual Report, 1984-85
- .15 Annual Report, 1985-86 [2 copies]
- .16 Annual Report, 1986-87
- .17 older brochures
- .18 notice of skills bank & correspondence
- .19 memo, Feb. 2, 1987, To: CCLOW Members & Conference Participants, From: Peggy Mahon, Project Co-ordinator, Secretary of State Project Re: report of CCLOW-Nova Scotia conference, fall 1986, "Taking Action - Setting Our Own Agenda"
- .20 April 22, 79 - "A Compendium of Questions" by Greta Hofmann Nemiroff - copy of keynote address at Banff Conference [5 pp.2 copies]

- .21 Ad. for Executive Director, Jan. 1986
- .22 journal article, Jan. 1981 - report on Halifax conference [1p.]
- .23 poster/notice of March 15/78 CCLOW sponsored lecture by Dorothy Smith -
"Where There is Oppression, There is Resistance: A Report from the
Canadian Women's Movement"
- .24 notices on skills bank
- .25 letter, Dec. 1/85 To: Colleagues From: Susan McCrae Vander Voet Re:
good-bye letter
- .26 CAAE newspaper "Learning", Vol. 1, #3, Fall 1977 - articles on LOW
- .27 Ad for contract position - librarian - 1986
- .28 1986, cover letters Re: publication releases - June, Sept.
- .29 notice of CCLOW meeting, June 26, 1986
- .30 announcements
- .31 notices etc. from CCLOW-Nova Scotia
- .32 "Yukon Women: Non-Traditional Occupations" by Elda Ward & Elizabeth
McKee [24 pp.]
- .33 June 1987 announcement - A.G.M. & performance of MacPhail
- .34 1987 letter & information from CCLOW Manitoba
- .35 List of Board of Directors, June 1982; 1987
- .36 Ad for Office Administrator, 1988
- .37 announcement: launch of new publication - Feb. 26, 1988 "Women's
Education & Training in Canada: A Policy Analysis" by Susan Wismer of
Development Initiatives Inc.
- .38 Ad for Researcher/Proposal Writer, 1988
- .39 Amendment to CCLOW Bylaws Re: Membership categories

- .40 memo, March 1/84 To: CCLOW members From: Lenore Rogers, Chair, Nominating Committee Re: Nomination, enclosure: description of roles & responsibilities
- .41 Announcement of AGM meeting - June 1984
- .42 Amendment to Bylaws Re: add Treasurer to Executive Committee
- .43 letter, Dec. 1988 To Members From Susan Witter, President Re: Announce 1989 - 10th year birthday celebrations at 10th AGM in June in Halifax
- .44 CCLOW-Ontario material & reports, 1987, 1988
- .45 memo, To: CCLOW members From: Lenore Rogers, Chair, Nominating Committee Re: Nomination, enclosure: description of roles & responsibilities - [different years & positions]
- .46 CCLOW-Ontario material & reports, Dec. 1982
- .47 memo, Dec. 16/80 From: Mary Corkery Re: Brief to Constitutional Committee
- .48 minutes, CCLOW Meeting, March 6, 1981
- .49 Announcement: 2nd annual meeting of CCLOW, June 26, 1981 - Regina ATTACH. "Women & Employment in the 1980s" CCLOW-Regina submission to Parliamentary Task Force on Employment Opportunity for the 1980s [14 pp.]

- 7. CCLOW REGINA, SASK.

- 8. CCLOW HALIFAX, N.S.

- 9. CCLOW NATIONAL CONFERENCE '84

10. CCLOW/CCPEF - MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

- .1 brochure
- .2 form letter, Nov. 16/92 From: Peggy Mahon, President Re: How can we end women's poverty? [3 pp.]
- .3 poster announcing Wedf
- .4 May 14, 1979 "Cutbacks to Training Allowances & Outreach Programs" Presented to representatives of Liberal Party, NDP, Progressive Conservative Party [35 pp. - also in Briefs file]
- .5 publications list
- .6 "The Decade for Women: Special Report" edited by Aisla Thomson [1986 - 187 pp.]
- .7 "Roadblocks to Women's Learning: Issues for Advocacy" by Dorothy MacKeracher [1978 - 172 pp.]

11. CCLOW/CCPEF MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS 2

- .1 "An Overview of Women's Studies in the Post-Secondary System in Canada" by Susan McCrae Vander Voet [Oct. 1982 - 29pp]
- .2 "Women and the Labour Force: What Does the Future Hold?" by Margaret Whyte [Oct. 1983 - 13 pp. - 2 copies]
- .3 CCLOW Fact Sheet: "Women's Education & Labour Force Participation: Canada and 3rd World Countries" [1986 - 7 pp. -2 copies]
- .4 CCLOW Fact Sheet: "Women's Education & Labour Force Participation: Canada and OECD Countries" [1986 - 7 pp. - 2 copies]
- .5 Annual Report, 1986-7 [10 pp. English & 10 pp. French]
- .6 "Decade of Promise: An Assessment of Canadian Women's Status in Education, Training & Employment, 1976-85" by Avebury Research & Consulting Ltd. [1986 - 148 pp. inc. 6p. Biblio.]

- .7 "Educating for Change: Women in the Next Decade" - papers from 1984 conference [1986 - 94 pp.]
- .8 "Women & Adult Basic Education in Canada: An Exploratory Study" by Paula de Coito [Dec. 1984 - 85 pp]
- .9 "Re: Bill C-12, An Act to Amend the Federal/Provincial Fiscal Arrangements and Established Programs Financing Act" by Susan McCræ Vander Voet, Heather Menzies, Carmen Paquette. Presentation to Parliamentary Standing Committee on Finance, Trade and Economic Affairs. [Feb. 23, 1984 - 7 pp.]
- .10 "First Things First: Equity for Women Through Paid Skills Development Leave" by Jane Adams [March 1983 - 40 pp.]

APPENDIX 4

CCLOW NATIONAL OFFICE ARCHIVES

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

1. Funding Application, December 12, 1984 - "Proposal for the Women's Program, Secretary of State", For Fiscal Year 1985-86 [21 pp. & 4 page form]
2. Funding Application, March 19, 1986 - "Proposal for Project Funding", Submitted to The Women's Program, Secretary of State [16 pp. & APPEN. - I. Mission Statement & Philosophy; II. Program Format for Strategies Colloquium]
3. Plan of Action and Budget Analysis 1987-1988 [24 pp]
4. CCLOW Brief No. 87.1 "Presentation of the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women to the Standing Committee on the Secretary of State"; Presented on Feb. 17, 1987 by Martha Colquhoun, Carol Powell-Ariano
5. CCLOW Brief No. 87.2 "Presentation of the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women to the Senate Committee on Training and Employment"; Presented on April 27, 1987 by Martha Colquhoun, Aisla Thomson
6. CCLOW Brief No. 87.3 "Presentation of the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women to the Liaison Committee of the Council of Ministers of Canada"; Presented on April 28, 1987 by Martha Colquhoun, Aisla Thomson
7. Annual Report 1983-84
8. Annual Report 1984-85
9. Annual Report 1985-86
10. Annual Report 1986-87
11. Annual Report 1987-88
12. Annual Report 1988-89

13. Annual Report 1989-90; 1990-91
14. Plan of Action and Budget Analysis for 1988-1989 - Submitted to The Women's Program, Secretary of State, November 30, 1987 [32 pp.]
15. Plan of Action and Budget Analysis for 1988-1989; Revised Version, June 1988 [11 pp.]
16. Plan of Action for 1988-89 Executive Summary [2 pp.]
17. Funding Application: "Conference Proposal for 'Women at Work: What are we Learning?"; Submitted to Health and Welfare Canada, December 18, 1987 [6 pp]
18. CCLOW Brief 88.1 "Women and Post-Secondary Education in Canada: Brief to the Standing Committee on the Secretary of State"; Presented on April 19, 1988; Presented by Cathy Bray, Aisla Thomson
19. Plan of Action for 1989-1990 [chart form - 12 pp]
20. Organizational Review - recommendations, action, by whom, date [4 pp]
21. CCLOW Brief 89.1 "Education for Women and Girls: Recommendations for Achieving Equality: Brief to the Liaison Committee of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada" Presented on August 21, 1989; Presented by Joan McFarland, Aisla Thomson
22. CCLOW Brief 89.2 "Amendments to the Unemployment Insurance Act (Bill C-21): Their Effect on Women in Canada - Brief to the Legislative Committee on Bill C-21" Presented on September 19, 1989 Presented by Linda Roberts, Aisla Thomson
23. Plan of Action and Budget Analysis for 1990-1991 [40 pp]
24. CCLOW Brief 90.1 "The Unemployment Insurance Act (Bill C-21): Its Effect on Women in Canada - Brief to the Senate Committee on Bill C-21" Presented on January 18, 1990 Presented by Linda Roberts

APPENDIX 5

GRETA HOFFMAN NEMIROFF [CCLOW:QUEBEC]

LIST OF PERSONAL FILES

BOX I SUMMARY:

1. CCLOW: Different Papers on Women's Education [1977-78]
2. Secretary of State/Incest Grants [1984-85]
3. Stuff for Greta [1985-86 miscellaneous correspondence]
4. Provincial Memberships 1984
5. Connections #2, 3 Dec. '78
6. Correspondence - April 17 CCLOW [Feb./81 - April/82]
7. Proceedings: Resources for English Women 1982
8. CCLOW - Resume/History 1973-83
9. CCLOW (Local) - Minutes & Agendas '78
10. CCLOW General Local - Correspondence 77-78; 79-80
11. CCLOW (Local) Meeting - Oct. 14, 1981
12. Meeting 27 January, 1982
13. Report - January 1984
14. CCLOW - Current Local [1985]
15. CCLOW - Quebec Report [1986]
16. CCLOW - Montreal Conference Brochures 1983
17. CCLOW Conference: Women in Power - Making a Difference
18. No Name [report on conference]
19. Banff Conference, 1979
20. CCLOW [1988 conference]
21. CCLOW [1989 conference]
22. No Name [miscellaneous loose items]
23. CCLOW - Correspondence - General [1981-82]
24. Quebec 1982: Resource Options for English Speaking Women - April '82
25. CCLOW - Non-Members List
26. Letters to Members & Non-members 1981-82
27. CCLOW Letters to Members & Nonmembers 1982-83
28. CCLOW Membership Forms - completed
29. CCLOW - Brochures
30. The Future is Now? Women and the Impact of Microtechnology, June '82
31. Ad Hoc Committee on the Gazette
32. CCLOW Correspondence - Susan Van Den Voet

1.1. CCLOW: DIFFERENT PAPERS ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION [1977-78]

CAAE letter, 19/9/77 To: All Educators Concerned About Learning Opportunities for Women From: Bette Pie, Publications, CCLOW Re: cover letter for package

Package of Papers:

- 1) Programme Information Directory Educational Programmes for Women in Canada by Janet Willis & Deborah Rosberg
- 2) First Appendix to the Programme Information Directory (Aug. '77)
- 3) Learning Opportunities for Women in Canada: Perceptions of Educators - Working Paper by Janet Willis
- 4) Programme Package:
 - Women's Resource Centre: An Educational Model for Counselling Women - reprinted from "Adult Leadership" December, '75
 - Outreach Project Pro Feminae - New Brunswick, Aug. '77 by Marie Patrick
 - Rideau Heights Project, Kingston, Ont., Aug. '77 by Deborah Rosberg
 - Times Change: Women's Employment Service, Aug. '77 by Nancy Abell
 - Dept. of Student Affairs, Univ. of Guelph, Aug. '77 by Nancy Abell
 - Opportunity for Advancement, Etobicoke, Ont., Aug. '77 by Deborah Rosberg
 - Centre for Women, Humber College, Aug. '77 by Deborah Rosberg
 - Univ. of Waterloo: Mature Women Student Group, Aug. '77 by Nancy Abell
 - P.I.S.E.M., Aug. '77 by Deborah Rosberg
 - North York Public Library: Dept. of Adult Education, Aug. '77 by Nancy Abell
 - York University Women's Centre, Aug. '77 by D. Rosberg
- 5) Learning Opportunities for Women: An Impressionistic Overview, by Janet Willis

Feb. 9/10, 1978 CCLOW Workshop Report

Questionnaire for Resource Book [completed by Lanie Melamed, Centre for Cont. Ed. at Dawson College, Aug. 30, 1978]

1.2. SEC STATE/INCEST GRANTS [1984-85]

Vis-a-Vis, Newsletter of the National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, Vol. 2 #4 Autumn 1984 [Health & Welfare]

The Pottle Award - Request for Submissions [grants for work which "strengthens role of women in building sense of community"]

Conseil Quebecois de la Recherche Sociale [grant info. with note suggesting applying

as advocate for incest survivors]

Sec. State Grant Application - [blank; 3 copies]

Sec State Grant Application [working copy & notes (handwritten)] Title of Project: "Sexual Assault Resource/Info. Booklet" 1985-86 [CCLOW Quebec]

Sec State Grant Application [copy of completed] Title of Project: "Community Resource Development for Adult Female Victims of Incest" 1984-85 [CCLOW Quebec]

I.3. STUFF FOR GRETA [1985-86 misc. correspondence]

letter, no date (Summer '85) To Planning Comm. From Janice McLean Re: Planning for Nov. Board Mtg.

Task List from Board Mtg., June 21-23, 1985

memo, July 16'85 to Prov. Bd. Members From Aisla Thomson Re: Follow-up to Task List; polling non-renewed members; ATTACH. Questionnaire [10 blanks]

letter, July 18'85 To Lisa Avedon, Pres. of CCLOW From Brian Mulroney Re: response & referral to CCLOW's letter on fed. funding of LEAF

letter, July 25'85 To Lisa Avedon From Eliz. Morris, Childcare Needs Research Study, Island Women Society

letter, Aug. 1'85 To Walter McLean, Sec. State From Susan McRae Vander Voet, Exec. Director CCLOW Re: thanks for funding

letter, Aug. 3'85 To Jo-Anne Elder From Greta Re: response to article in WEDF

letter, Aug. 7'85 To Board From Aisla T. Re: grant received for UN Decade Project ATTACH. Info. on Workshops

letter, Aug. 15'85 [French] To [form] From Susan MVV Re: info on WEDF

memo, Sept. 11'85 To Board From Susan Re: letter by Bette Pie to Treasury Board on Employment Equity ATTACH. copy of letter; draft of Canadian Jobs Strategy Job Dev. Application Kit

memo, Sept. 12 85 To Aisla From Greta Re: local mtg. Oct. 2 on UN delegation

letter, Oct. '85 To "Dear Friend" From Chaviva Hosek Re: NAC fundraising for poverty of women

letter, Nov. 5'85 To Brian Mulroney From Marjorie Johnson, N.S. CCLOW Re: concern for attack by R.E.A.L. Women on Women's Program

letter, Nov. 5'85 To Robert Coates M.P. From Marjorie Johnson, N.S. CCLOW Re: concern for attack by R.E.A.L. Women on Women's Program

letter, Nov. 5'85 To Women's Prog. Sec. State From Susan MVV Re: supplemental funding request ATTACH: copy of detailed request

letter, Nov. 7'85 To Women's Bureau, Labour Canada From Susan MVV Re: request funding for Strategies Colloquium on Women's Education, Training and Employment

letter, Nov. 8'85 To "Dear Sisters" From Donna Stewart, NAC Re: problems with Canadian Jobs Strategy announced - call for action

newsletter Action CCLOW Action, no date, Re: 3 areas of concern which require action: 1) Can. Jobs Strategy, 2) C-62 Emp. Equity, 3) Women's Program at Sec. State ATTACH. forms re. membership on Local Advisory Committee (LAC)

telex, Nov. 14'85 To Joan Brown-Hicks From Flora Macdonald, Employment & Immigration Re: responding to concern with Bill C-62

letter, Nov. 14'85 To Joan Brown-Hicks From Brian Mulroney Re: respond and re direct concerns with Women's Program

letter, Nov. 20'85 To "Dear Friend" From Lynn Kaye, NAC Re: NAC brief on C-62 ATTACH. "Revised Draft Points" on brief

letter, Nov. 21'85 To Joan Brown-Hicks, From Vital Ducharme, Emp. & Imm. Advisory Council Re: UIC review for comments ATTACH. Interview Guide

letter, Nov. 22'85 To Board Members, From Joan Re: Search for new Exec. Director & interim plans ATTACH: copy of Ad; Agreement with staff re: work during Interim

memo, no date To Joan, Susan, Aisla, Ruth From Janice McLean Re: CACSW mtg. Nov. 18-19, 1985 on Family

letter, Nov. 25'85 To Susan MVV From Patrick Boyer, M.P. Re: received request for copy of Equality for All

letter, Nov. 25'85 To Susan MVV From Marcel Prudhomme, MP Re: her request to appear before committee studying C-62 - will inform

letter, Nov. 25'85 To Joan Brown-Hicks From Leiba Aronoff, Past Pres. 1984 Re: language policy of CCLOW

letter, Nov. 26'85 To Joan BH From Sheila McFadzcan, B.C. CCLOW Re: introduce Janet Patterson, interim B.C. Prov. Director

letter, Nov. 26'85 To Joan BH From Walter McLean, Sec State Re: response to telex of concerns with employment equity

letter, Nov. 29'85 To Susan MVV From Women's Bureau, Labour Canada Re: grant funding approved ATTACH: rules and regulations

memo, Dec. 1'85 To "Dear Colleague" From Susan MVV Re: goodbye and review of 4 years as Exec. Director

memo, Dec. 6'85 To Participants in Dec. 4 discussion of Women's Economic Summit From Kay Sigurjonsson Re: minutes of meeting ATTACH. meeting notes

memo, Dec. 10'85 To Board From Ruth Harrington Re: Holiday Office hours

letter, Dec. 16'85 To NAC Member Groups From Debbie Hughes-Geoffrion, NAC Re: raffle to celebrate women's art ATTACH: Raffle Tickets

letter, Dec. 18'85 To NAC Member Groups From Lynn Kaye, NAC Re: lobbying update on C-62 ATTACH. poster announcing meeting on C-62

letter, Jan. 21'86 To Greta From Aisla Re: Marg. Fulton's request to use material from her essay in WEDF ATTACH. Fulton's letter

memo, Jan. 13'86 To Board From Aisla Re: Planned Parenthood & R.E.A.L. Women

memo, no date To: Readers of Homemaker's Magazine Re: new ownership & need for support (2)

letter, Feb. 3'86 To "Dear Colleagues" From Greta Re: next local meeting and her desire to resign as Quebec Prov. Director

newsclip: "Running the job machine" Nov. 14-20, 1985, NOW Re: WEM Can. Jobs Strategy

newclip "Now's the time to stand up and be counted", Jan. 24'85, Toronto Star Re: joining NAC & importance of action

CCLOW Publications List, 03-04-85

Subscription form for WEDF poster format

1.4. PROV. MEMBERSHIPS 1984

memo, Sept. 13'84 To The Board From Ruth Harrington Re: membership ATTACH. 1984-85 CCLOW membership lists

bank statements: June 29'84 and Oct. 31'84

1.5. CONNECTIONS #2, 3 DEC. '78 [& #1 1978; #4 1980; #6 Sept. '80 - CCLOW NEWS]

Connections - CCLOW News no date (Sept. '78) 12 pp. & ad for position at YWCA

Connections No. 2, Dec. '78 - 22 pp.

Connections no 2 [french translation of No. 2, Dec. '78]

Connections no. 3, Summer 1979 - 18 pp

CCLOW Newsletter Number 4, Winter 1980 - 8 pp

Re-Connection, CCLOW News, No. 6, Sept. 1980 - 17 pp.

1.6. CORRESPONDENCE - AP. 17 CCLOW [Feb.'81 - Ap. 18'82]

letter, Feb. 19'81 To Kyra Emo From Greta Re: accept nomination as Quebec rep. on CCLOW national committee

letter, March 27'81 To Greta From Terry Anne Handcock, Nom. Comm. Re: election by acclamation

memo, March 26'81 To Quebec CCLOW Members From Terry Anne Handcock Re: Announce Greta as Quebec Prov. Director

letter, June 4'81 To Greta From Esther Spivak Marks Re: presentation of project WEN at June 14 conference of CASAE ATTACH: CASAE Conf. Preliminary Program, Mtl. June '81; letter by Gordon Selman re founding conference

notice of one day educational workshop - Planning Meeting, May 28'81

notice of change of meeting - rescheduled to Nov. 25'81

letter, Feb. 24'82 To Susan Carson, The Gazette From Greta Re: request for coverage on CCLOW activities ATTACH: info on April '82 Conf. on Women and the Chip; March '82 lecture series on Judy Chicago's Dinner Party; April 17'82 workshop on Resource Options for English Speaking Women in Quebec

letter, Feb. 24'82 To Ann Usher, Alliance Quebec From Greta Re: thanks for offer of help at April 17 workshop ATTACH: rough copy of programme; Jan. 5 letter re. activities of Alliance Quebec; copy of brief submitted to Parlia. Jt. Comm. of Justice during hearings on Charter of Human Rights & Freedoms 1981

letter, March 15'82 To [form] Participants at April 17 workshop From Greta Re: information [24 & 2 later letters 30 March, 1 April]

letter, March 23'82 To Pierette Lafleur, Women's Employment Strategy From Greta Re: regrets of non-participation

letter, March 30'82 To [form] From Greta Re: last minute details on April 17 [list of 8 names to get letter at bottom]

letter, April 18'82 To Greta From Catherine Junior, Prot. School Board of Greater Montreal Re: positive feedback on workshop

poster: Quebec 1982: Options for English Speaking Women, April 17'82

1.7. PROCEEDINGS: RESOURCES FOR ENGLISH WOMEN 1982 [& correspondence re workshop]

letter, Oct. 22'81 To "Dear Colleague" From Greta Re: announcing initial ideas for April 17 workshop & planning mtg. Nov. 11

letter, Dec. 22'81 To "Dear Colleague" From Greta Re: feedback on Nov. 25 mtg. and announce next planning meeting Jan. 27'82

letter (handwritten) Jan. 21'82 To Greta From Doris Flynn Re: regrets for not attending planning mtg.

letter, Feb. 24'82 To "Dear Colleagues" From Greta Re: update on workshop and next planning mtg. ATTACH: Prog; info on lecture series

press releases for workshop

Newsclips: announcing and reporting - The Gleanor, March 109, April 14, April 28

letter, April 19'82 To Editor, The Gazette From Sharon Leslie, NDG Women's Action Re: lack of coverage

letter, April 27'82 To YWCA Senior's Club From Greta Re: thanks for help at workshop

Report, June 2'82 Feedback on April 17 Workshops - report on feedback responses; report on Income & Expenditures

letter & report, July 22'82 - cover letter and proceedings of April 17 Workshops (35pp) [3 copies of letter & 5 copies of proceedings]

poster on workshops of April 17 (2)

1.8. CCLOW - RESUME/HISTORY 1973-83

letter handwritten, Aug. 7'82 To Greta From Leiba Re: july 30 letter from Jean Williams about follow-up mtg. to Ottawa conference on microtech. ATTACH. Williams letter

notes [handwritten] on History of Quebec CCLOW - March 1, 1973 - April 1981 [3 pp. of highlights]

numbered documents:

#1, April 12, 1973 Report on seminar "The Continuing Education of Women" by CAAE, Toronto, March '73 [2 pp. & participant list]

#2, Dec. 12, 1973 "The Next Step" workshop on Continuing Education of Women by CAAE, Saskatoon, Oct. 25-7 '73 [2 pp. & participant list]

#3, no date, Report on National Conference of Canadian Committee on Learning Opportunities for Women, Winnipeg, Oct. 16-18 '77 [3 pp.]

#4, no date, Report on Canadian Committee on Learning Opportunities for Women (CCLOW) Spring Congress, Banff, Apr. 22-27 1979 ATTACH. goals, mandate, terms of reference

#5, Nov. 6'80 form letter From Leiba, Quebec Rep. Re: mtg. in Montreal about Quebec CCLOW ATTACH. Mailing list

Nov. 25, 1980(?date handwritten) "An Historical Perspective of the Development of C.C.L.O.W. 1973-79" (5 pp.) ATTACH: "1st mtg. of National Committee"]

#6, Feb. 8, 1980 letter "Dear CCLOW member" From: Leiba, Kyra, Greta, Lizanne Re: upcoming mtg. of Quebec CCLOW ATTACH. Membership List

#6, Feb. 26'80 CCLOW Montreal Chapter - meeting notes/presentation

#7, April 21, 1980 announcement of CCLOW meeting "Future Policy in Adult Ed. in Quebec" with guest speaker Michelle Jean (English & French)

#8, "Come & Join Us" announcement of meeting on Feb. 11, 1981

letter, March 28'80 To Madame Michelle Jean From: Lizanne Winsor Re: confirmation of arrangements for April 21 meeting

1.9. CCLOW (LOCAL) - MINUTES & AGENDAS '78

handwritten note, no date, Announcements

Quebec CCLOW meeting, Jan. 25'78 "Concerns of those present regarding LOW in Quebec

Minutes of CCLOW mtg. June 1, 1978 [2 copies - Edited Draft and Final]

Quebec Chapter CCLOW Agenda Sept. 28'1978 [1 clean and 1 with notes]
ATTACH: letter of regret; handwritten notes; typed minutes

Minutes of CCLOW meeting, Oct. 30, 1978

1.10. CCLOW GENERAL LOCAL - CORRESPONDENCE 77-78; 79-80

CCLOW Interest Groups [5 groups with names and phone #s]

Membership List - no date [4 pages]

letter, Nov. 29'87 To Janet Willis, CAAE From Lanie Melamed Re: reaction to Wpg. mtg. & plans for local work

letter, Dec. 7'77 To Lanie From Janet Re: Planned trip to Montreal

letter, Dec. 13'77 To Janet From Lanie Re: questions & answers, scheduled meeting

letter (handwritten) Dec. 16'77 To Lanie From Janet Re: response to questions

letter, Jan. 30'78 To Participants at Montreal Meeting From Janet Re: thanks

letter, April 25'78 To Janet From Lanie Re: update and news

letter, April 25'78 To "CCLOW Member" From Lanie Re: meeting scheduled for June 1

notes, May 4'78 Re: meeting on Curriculum Development

letter handwritten, June 27'78 To Lanie From Lizanne Re: minutes from June mtg.

letter, July 4'78 To Lizanne From Lanie Re: response to minutes

letter, July 4'78 To "CCLOW Friends" From Peggy Simpson, CAAE Re: request for advice on division of grant monies

letter, Sept. '78 To CCLOW Member From Lanie & Lizanne Re: notice of upcoming meeting ATTACH. minutes from June meeting

Newsletter, Nov. '78 From Women's Information & Referral Centre Re: gov. cuts women's employment services [3 pp]

letter, Dec. 19'78 To Lanie From Leiba Re: thoughts concerning representation from Quebec at Banff conference

letter, Jan 10'79 To Lanie From Leiba Re: news & messages on meetings and conference

letter, Jan. 22'79 To "Friends" From Lanie Re: conference in Banff [2 pp]

letter, March 13'79 To Members From Lanie Re: reports on "small groups"

brief by CCLOW, May 14'79 "Cutbacks to Training Allowances & Outreach Programs: Their Impact on Women" [35 pp.]

memo, June 13'79 To Members of Strategy Comr... From Mary Corkery Re: news on brief

letter, Nov. 7'79 To Members From Leiba, Kyra, Lizanne, Greta Re: update on national & local activities

letter, Dec. 18'79 To Prof. Robert Wall From Mary Corkery Re: protest Greta's dismissal from Simone de Beauvoir Institute

letter, Feb. 8'80 To Members From Leiba, Kyra, Greta, Lizanne Re: upcoming meeting in February ATTACH. membership list

letter, Feb. 20'80 To Greta From Esther Marks Re: news & upcoming meeting

letter, Feb. 25'80 To Greta From Mary Re: apologies for missing meeting

minutes March 25'80 CCLOW meeting

announcement - meeting with guest speaker Michele Jean, April 21/80

memo, Dec. 10'80 To participants of Nov. 25 meeting From Leiba Re: membership forms & updates

handwritten & typed sketchy notes???

CCLOW Goals and Terms of Reference (2) [3 pp]

Junior League of Montreal, Application for a Seed Grant - completed application

Sec. State Grant Appl. Form - completed Project: School Information for Mature Women, April 78-April 79

1.11. CCLOW (LOCAL) MEETING - OCT. 14, 1981

Proposed Budget: Quebec Region CCLOW 1981-82

1.12. MEETING 27 JANUARY, 1982

Agenda - CCLOW Quebec meeting of 27 January, 1982 (3)

Attendance List (?) - names, addresses & phone #s

I.13. REPORT - JANUARY 1984

CCLOW Quebec Report to Board By: Greta

"Women & Power: Making a Difference/Les Femmes et le Pouvoir: S'Impliquer", by Greta - account of Nov. 26'83 CCLOW conference in Montreal [to be published in French in La Vie en Rose]

I.14. CCLOW - CURRENT LOCAL [1985]

minutes - April 25/85 meeting

letter, July 5'85 From NAC Toronto Re: request for action ATTACH. copy of sample letter to MPS & Mulroney (2)

letter, July 19'85 To Dear Friends From Shelagh Day, LEAF Re: request for support

letter [French], July 26'85 To Greta From Jo-Anne Elder Re: interest in joining CCLOW, comments about conference and personal info. [2 pp]

letter, Sept. 11'85 To "Colleagues" From Greta Re: request to renew membership

letter, no date, To "Colleagues" From Greta Re: notice of meeting Oct. 2

memo, no date From NAC Re: Equality Rights Project update

letter, no date From Energy Probe Re: request for action to stop export of Tritium

letter, no date From Ont. Coalition for Abortion Clinics Re: setting up tribunals

I.15. CCLOW - QUEBEC REPORT [1986]

March 1986 CCLOW Quebec Report by Greta (18) [1 page]

I.16. CCLOW - MTL. CONF. BROCHURES 1983

letter, April 26'83 To "Dear Friends" From Greta Re: "Making A Difference: Women & Power" conference planned for Sept. 24'83: notice of plans and projected workshops; notice of upcoming planning meeting

press release, June '83 on "Making A Difference", Nov. 26'83 ATTACH. list of places release sent to

letter, Sept. 8'83 To Greta From Susan Carson, The Gazette Re: workshops

list, Sept. 19'83 Things to be Done (2 - 1 with handwritten notes)

press release, Nov. 4'83 on Nov. 26 conference [draft & final]

form letter [draft], no date Re: planning session on Nov. 9 for workshops

Nov. 26'83, Women & Power Conference budget

Feedback Sheet - Women in Power - handwritten

Conference Information Package [timetable, detailed description of each workshop 7pp]

cover sheet (?) "Les femmes et le pouvoir: s'impliquer" by Greta Dec. 1983

newsclips on conference:

- The Westmount Examiner, Nov. 24'83 "Women Discuss power at conference"
- The Gazette, Nov. 25'83 "Conference to focus on how women can gain power"
- The Link, Nov. 29'83 "Woman-power pow-wow"
- The Westmount Examiner, Dec. 1'83 "Women meet to discuss power"

CLOW brochure

poster: Women & Power: Making a Difference (8)

I.17. CLOW CONFERENCE: WOMEN IN POWER - MAKING A DIFFERENCE

letter, Nov. 26'83 To "Dear Colleague" From Greta Re: welcome to speakers, "housekeeping" details, invitation to "Wrap-up Session"

notice of acknowledgement of support for conference (2)

invitation to after conference reception

registration form

programme

budget and tally of responses to questionnaire [handwritten orig. & 2 copies]

letter, Nov. 28'83 To Colleagues From Greta Re: call mtg. to evaluate conf.

notes on questionnaire: Power & You

notice of seminar "Making Money", Dec. 3&4 [info. on seminar, newsclip on seminar leader]

Sec. State grant application completed (2) & cheque stub of approved amount Project: conference and workshops

letter, March 14'84 To Greta From Esther Marks, Sec. State Re: request for conference report

I.18. NO NAME [report on conference]

letter, Nov. 19'84 To Dear Colleague From Greta Re: cover letter to conf. report

letter, Nov. 19'84 To Sec. State From Greta Re: cover letter to conf. report

letter, Nov. 19'84 To Esther Marks From Greta Re: cover letter to conf. report

Report, "Women & Power: Making a Difference" an account of the conference held by CCLOW (Quebec), Montreal, 26 Nov. 1983 by Greta [26 pp. of text & 40 pp. of appendices - proceedings of the presentations]

I.19. BANFF CONFERENCE, 1979

letter, Sept. 19'78 To Carol Brooks From Diane Osberg, Conference Chairperson
Re: response to Sept. 15 questionnaire; registration procedures; budget ATTACH.
responses summarized; comments on proposed congress format; names of women to invite

letter, Oct. 25'78 To Greta From Mary Corkery Re: upcoming workshop to plan for Banff; Self-Training workshop

Agenda, for Oct. 26-27'78 Self-Training Workshop [5 pp.]

questionnaire responses to proposed agenda

Oct. 4'78 "Quality of Power" prepared by Marlene Wilson for YWCA Workshop, Toronto [5 pp.] [workshop presentation??]

copy of "How to Organize and Carry Out a Successful Action Project: General Guidelines" [49 pp.]

copy of "A Strategy" [excerpt from "Socialist Feminism: A Strategy for the Women's Movement" by Hyde Park Chapter of Chicago Women's Liberation Union] [5 pp.]

letter, April 12'79 To Sue, Greta, Anne, Mary From Carol Brooks & Peggy Simpson Re: request to attend their session on "Alternate Learning Models for Women" and discuss personal experiences ATTACH: Disc. Questions; Outline of session; presentation first two points

notice: Second CCLOW Congress, Banff, April 22-27, 1979

tentative timetable of Spring Congress

info. on Congress: timetable; description of general sessions; outline of self-training workshops and detailed description of each; conference logistics

C.C.L.O.W. An Overview - Who We Are, What We Do" by Carol Brooks [terms of reference, goals, overviews of phases and accomplishments]

Conference Package:

- timetable, general info on accommodation; maps of campus and town; Banff activities; list of recreation activities;
- conversation sessions;
- biographical sketches of Dorothy Richardson, Julie Anne LeGras, Kris Purdy;
- Forum on Int. Education;
- CCLOW Task Force Reports (2); Suggested Budget
- Self Training Workshops
- List of Delegates [59 names by province & alpha. list of delegates with address & affiliation]

Report on Congress, no name, no date [11 pp.]

Minutes of Congress by Marsha Trew [10 pp.]

1.20. CCLOW (1988 CONF.)

no date, CCLOW Planning Manual Re: planning conference - policy, regulations & suggestions (2) [4 pp.]

Programme Submission for CCLOW Conference 1988 (form)

Women & Work: Learning for Empowerment [theme & objectives of conference]
ATTACH: Themes, Speakers

CCLOW Conference: Women & Work - Outline

CCLOW Conference: Women & Work - Revised Outline (2)

Mission Statement: CCLOW 1988 Conference (2: 1 with editing notes)

working documents on plan for "Women at Work: Learning for Empowerment"

1988 CCLOW National Conference "Women at Work: Consolidating Our Gains & Moving Forward" - plan

proposed budget for 1988 conference

copy of Employment Equity Act, 1986

letter, March 19'87 To Miriam From Janet Patterson Re: B.C. CCLOW concerns re; proposed conference plans

letter, April 27'87 To Colleagues From Miriam Bailey, Director CCLOW Quebec Re: news & request for help with conference

letter, May 22'87 To Miriam From Aisla Re: copies of things from 1984 Toronto conference as samples

Agenda, June 4/87 Conference Meeting with plans of objectives, budget, etc.

Agenda, July 14'87 Conference Mtg. with mission statement, prop. budget, handwritten report from Planning Comm.

July 21'87 From Greta Re: recommendations for conference: selecting presentations, scheduling (2)

July 22'87 From Aisla Re: suggested foundations for fund-raising for conf.

memo, July 27'87 To Board Members From Miriam Re: request for comments to proposal & mission statement

SSHRC Program of Aid to Occasional Scholarly Conferences in Canada - guidelines and application forms

Sept. 21'87 "Women's Education & Training in Canada: A Policy Analysis" prepared for CCLOW By Development Initiatives Inc. [DRAFT: 86 pp. & append (29pp)]

I.21. CCLOW (1989 Conference)

letter, Nov. 23'87 To Carol Ariano From Aisla and Montreal Planning Comm. Re: proposed thematic outline for national conference in Montreal 1989; notice of financial problems without funding arrangements ATTACH. letter from Leiba & Greta

thematic schemes [handwritten drafts and typed schema]

I.22. NO NAME [loose items]

CCLOW Regina - Minutes of Meeting, Aug. 27, 1981, Sept. 19, 1981

"Educating for Change Conference Report Assessment", Jan. 21, 1985, From Eleanor Christopherson & Susan MVV

letter, May 5'81 To Greta From Esther Marks Re: Pilot Study Project WEN ATTACH. Evaluation of Project WEN

letter, Feb. 21'86 To Flora MacDonald From Miriam Bailey Re: conference: Training & Employment Opportunities for Women, June 1986 in Mtl. - invitation to open & close conference

proposal for workshop "Opportunities for Women" on Saskatchewan Bridging Program by Carol Powell-Arians

handwritten notes To Jane 19 June [names & workshop subjects/titles??]

magazine publication: FFQ petit presse Quatrienne annee, No. 4 Fevrier 1985

I.23. CCLOW - CORRESPONDENCE - GENERAL

letter, Nov. 5'81 To Greta From Jane Draper Re: thanks for information

invoices, Oct. 5'82 & Nov. 17'82 To CCLOW-Quebec From Alan Gaudet & Dawson's New School Re: secretarial services and mailing services

1.24. QUEBEC 1982: RESOURCE OPTIONS FOR ENGLISH SPEAKING WOMEN - APRIL '82

poster of 1 day workshop series

completed registration forms (5)

forms (originals)

- Individual Workshop Feedback
- Feedback Sheet: The Next Time Round [2 pp.]
- Registration form
- Workshops & Needs

Handouts:

- Programme Information [including schedules]
- Information of Meeting rooms

Quebec 1982: Options for English Speaking Women: Report of Proceedings" (35pp]

letter, July 22'82 To Dear Colleagues From Greta Re: cover letter for proceedings

second copy of letter & proceedings

letter, July 22'82 To Esther Marks From Greta Re: report on proceedings
ATTACH. letter announcing next years meetings; Report

1.25. CCLOW - NON-MEMBERS LIST

set of labels, no date - 87 names & addresses (2)

computer print out "non-members list 86" (as of Sept. 83)

photocopy of label sheets - no date [19 pp.]

computer print out "non members 87"

completed membership form, 1981

lists for labels (2; 1 dated 1981)

I.26. LETTERS TO MEMBERS & NON-MEMBERS 1981-82

letter, Sept. 24'81 To CCLOW Members From Greta Re: news, planning mtg. Oct 14'81

letter, Sept. 28'81 To Colleague From Greta Re: next CCLOW mtg. to plan workshops for English women in Quebec

letter, Oct. 22'81 To Colleague From Greta Re: plans for April 17 workshop, next mtg on Nov. 11

letter, Oct. 30'81 Notice of Change of Meeting from Nov. 11 to Nov. 23

letter, Dec. 22'81 To Colleague From Greta Re: news on plans for April 17, next meeting Jan 17'82

letter, Jan. 29'82 To Colleague From Greta Re: news on plans for April 17, next meeting Feb. 15'82

letter, Feb. 24'82 To Colleague From Greta Re: news on plans for April 17, next meeting Mar. 18'82

letter, April 28'82 To Members & Friends From Greta Re: announce mtg. June 2 ATTACH. Info. Flyer on Conference on Women & Microtechnology

letter, June 21'82 To CCLOW members From Greta Re: news on April 17; plans for next year's focus; request for history

I.27. CCLOW LETTERS TO MEMBERS & NONMEMBERS 1982-83

CCLOW brochure

letter, Sept. 14'82 To Newsletter Comm. From Greta Re: request to announce planned workshop in newsletter ATTACH. letter on workshops on Women & Work

announcement of upcoming meeting - Sept. 21 [French & English]

letter, Sept. 15'82 To Colleagues From Greta Re: workshops on Women & Work planning mtg. Oct. 12; membership drive

letter, Oct. 5'82 From Greta Re: request for help with chapter on Canada for "Sisterhood is Global"

letter, Oct. 7'82 To Fellow CCLOWers From Greta Re: request for interview for chapter on Canada in "Sisterhood is Global"

list, no date Questions for Feminist Reflection re: Sisterhood is Global

announcement, Oct. 19 meeting re Quebec Women & Computer Age [French & English]

letter, Nov. 9'82 To Colleagues From Greta Re: news on mtg. re April workshop & announce mtg. Nov. 23

letter, Dec 23'82 To Colleagues From Greta Re: news on mtg. re April workshop & announce mtg. Jan. 26

letter, March 4'83 To Friends From Greta Re: meeting for March 16

letter, April 8'83 To Colleagues From Greta Re: workshop "Making a Difference" rescheduled for Sept. 23

letter, April 26'83 To Friends From Greta Re: report on April 18 mtg, next planning meeting May 31

1.28. CCLOW MEMBERSHIP FORMS - COMPLETED

letter, Oct. 2'81 From Marsha Kerzner Re: member forms, for Sept. '81 and Nov. '81 ATTACH. 8 and 3 completed membership forms

1.29. CCLOW - BROCHURES

brochures (8)

1.30. THE FUTURE IS NOW? WOMEN AND THE IMPACT OF MICROTECHNOLOGY, JUNE '82

handwritten draft - announce meeting as follow-up to conf. on microtech.

April 21'82 Information Flyer - conference on Women and the Impact of Microtechnology, June 25-27

letter, July 12'82 To Jean Williams From Lynda Barrett Re: list of delegates from Quebec

1.31. AD HOC COMM. ON THE GAZETTE

letter, April 29'82 To Mark Harrison, Editor, Gazette From Greta Re: Gazette's failure to inform readers of events for English women in Quebec ATTACH. copy of Ad Hoc Comm's position paper on The Gazette [3 pp.]

letter, May 14'82 To Greta From Mark Harrison Re: response to letter & position paper [4 pp]

letter, June 2'82 To Mark Harrison From Greta & Frances Re: response to his letter and request to meet with him

letter, May 27'82 To Mark Harrison From Leila Aronoff Re: Conference on Microtech. and Gazette's failure to cover or publicize, list of Comm. Members [3 pp.]

letter, June 14'82 To Leiba From Mark Harrison Re: response to her letter

letter, June 15'82 To Juel Weideman From Greta Re: thanks for copy of letter from Gazette ATTACH. letter from Clair Balfour, Gazette

position paper: "What Does the Gazette perceive to be its Responsibility to the Community it Serves?" [3 pp.]

1.32. CCLOW CORRESPONDENCE - SUSAN VAN DEN VOET

letter, Nov. 9'81 To Susan From Greta Re: items for newsletter

letter, Nov. 17'81 To Susan From Greta Re: secretarial services ATTACH. invoices

expense claims form, Jan. 18'82 From Greta Re: Board meeting expenses

letter, Feb. 19'82 To Susan From Greta Re: planned activities of Quebec CCLOW in Spring 1982

letter, March 4'82 To Susan From Greta Re: request for advance money ATTACH invoices

BOX II SUMMARY:

1. CCLOW Winnipeg [1977]
2. CCLOW Correspondence 78-79-80
3. CCLOW Policy Report, 1978
4. CCLOW Brief, Toronto, 1979
5. Toronto Brief, 1979, Misc.
6. Briefs, Drafts, On Cutbacks, CCLOW 1979
7. CCLOW Board
8. Meeting: 15/02/82 CCLOW
9. Local CCLOW '82-83
10. Local CCLOW meetings - Feb. 18 7:15
11. CCLOW Meeting - Jan. 17'85
12. CCLOW Meetings 1984-85
13. Local CCLOW Meetings / Winter 1985
14. CCLOW Women & Work
15. Letter Membership re: Conf. June/84
16. Conference Report/National Conf. 1984
17. Correspondence CCLOW 1985-1986
18. Bldg./Conf. CCLOW/Food
19. CCLOW: Program - Conf. Aug. 1984
20. Grant Request - Nov. 1983
21. Addresses Mailing Can. Org's 1983
22. Judy Chicago Project [1982]

II.1. CCLOW WINNIPEG [1977]

letter Dec. 20'75 To Ian Morrison, CAAE From Leiba Aronoff Re: questions about upcoming meeting on Jan. 13

memo Feb. 24'76 To Members of CCLOW From Ian Morrison Re: Progress on Project Proposals

memo (May 9'78) To Members, CCLOW From Janet Willis, Co-ordinator Re: Progress Report - financing, reports, summer student, trips, letter

letter, n.d. To Comm. Members From Bette Pie & Rita Mifflin Re: Progress Report from Janet Willis & need for regional committees

letter July 7'77 To Lisette From Helen Carscallen Re: invitation to national conference in Wpg., Fall'77 [original & 2 copies]

letter Aug. 9'77 To Helen Carscallen From Lisette Re: plans for Wpg, request for travel funds [orig. & 2 copies]

letter, Sept. 12'77 to Lisette From Janet Willis Re: other Mtl. delegate to conference - Lanie Melamed, Dawson College

memo, Sept. 15'77 To All Delegates From Janet Willis Re: local arrangements for National Workshop on L.O.W., Oct. 16-18 in Wpg.

letter, n.d. [rec'd Sept. 16'77] To "All Educators Concerned About L.O.W." From Bette Pie Re: info. package on CCLOW [5 pp.]

letter, Sept. 20'77 "Report to CAAE Board of Directors on the Activities of the CCLOW" - objectives, activities, future action, budget, relation to CAAE [3 pp.]

questionnaire, n.d. [before Sept. 9'77] To All Delegates [2pp.] ATTACH. Goals & Objectives of National Conference; Objectives of CCLOW

agenda, Workshop L.O.W., Wpg. Oct. 16-18'77 [3 pp.]

presentation Oct. 16'77 "The Use of Power to Advance Learning for Women" by Lillian Zimmerman [7 pp]

List of Workshop Delegates - name, affiliation, major personal concerns, address (2 versions) - 36 names

letter Oct. 30'77 To Janet W. From Lisette Re: request for delegate info. to send report to

memo Oct. 31'77 To All Delegates From Janet Re: upcoming CCLOW mtg.; copy of D. Smith article; request for comments on workshops ATTACH. D. Smith's "An Analysis of Ideological Structures and How Women are Excluded"

letter Oct. 11'77 To Iuo Ishii From Janet Re: meeting with Mtl. members ATTACH. copy of Sept. 27 letter to CAAE asking to meet with people in adult ed. in Canada; outline of International Women's Education Association of Japan

memo, Nov. 11'77 To Members CCLOW From Janet Re: update of info. & call to action ATTACH; workshop report [21 pp]; Background Paper on Possible Comm. Structures [5 pp. & 4 alternate structures]

letter Nov. 28'77 To Lanie, Anne Adams From Lisette Re: when to plan meeting

letter Nov. 28'77 To Janet From Lisette Re: when available for mtg. in Mtl?

memo Dec. 1'77 To Members CCLOW From Janet Re: Future Directions
ATTACH: "A Proposal for your consideration" [5 pp.]; questionnaire on proposal [3 pp.]; article "Networking: The Process" Resources & Groups related to concerns of CCLOW

11.2. CCLOW CORRESPONDENCE 78-79-80

letter (handwritten) March 1'78 To Greta From Janet Re: news, interest in Greta as resource/workshop leader at conference ATTACH. card/poster on May conference of OACE

letter July 4'78 To CCLOW Friends From Peggy Simpson Re: guidelines for travel funds

letter Aug. 11'78 To CCLOW Members From Mary Corkery, Coordinator of Core Comm. Re: self-introduction, request for suggestions

letter Aug. 2'78 To Dear Colleagues From Mary O'Brien & Angela Miles Re: request for submissions to Can. Newsletter of Research on Women - Special edition on Feminist Theory in Pol. Science & Pol. Economy

Report of Self-Training Workshop, Oct. 26 & 27 1978 plus preparation for Banff 1979 conference [10 pp]

letter (handwritten) Nov 10'78 To Greta From Mary Re: thanks for help at workshop

letter June 18'79 To Greta From Mary Re: request for notes on her talk for the congress minutes

letter June 29'79 To Marsha Trew From Greta Re: editing suggestions for draft report on workshop done on ideology

11.3. CCLOW POLICY REPORT, 1978

Report on Policy Recommendations regarding 10 issues related to under-educated women - written by Lisa Avedon, Mary Corkery, Renate Krakauer, Doreen Morrison, Dorothy MacKeracher [144 pp.]

II.4. CCLOW BRIEF, TORONTO, 1979

handwritten draft, May 14'79 I. Women & Governments - Advocacy outline

Program, n.d. (2)

handwritten notes

handwritten Brief II notes

II.5. TORONTO BRIEF, 1979, MISC.

letter Aug. 9'78 To Greta From Ceta Ramkhelawinsingh Re: work of Can. Newsletter of Research on Women

handwritten letter n.d. To Greta From Susan Beahen Re: request for comments on draft of brief

misc. pages on U.I. Act & ADIA Training Allowance Changes

information & registration form on Fourth WCCE {World Council of Comp. Education} Congress: Far East Education Study Tour [4 pp.]

handwritten notes & outline on brief

letter Sept. 17'78 To Dear Friend From Judith McCallum & Regan Smith Re: survey on status of women's programmes funded between 1975-79 to determine impact of cutbacks ATTACH. 8 page questionnaire (3)

document Nov. 21'78 CACSW Submission to Standing Comm. on Labour Manpower & Immigration "On the Proposed Amendments to Bill C-14, An Act to Amend the Unemployment Insurance Act" [6 pp.]

letter Jan. 11'79 To Greta From Mary Corkery To: invitation to join comm. to prepare brief to Empl & Immig.

Jan. 1979 Interim Project Report submitted to Women's Prog. Sec. State Re: progress report on CCLOW's work [4 pp] ATTACH. article on CCLOW from Toronto Star

memo Jan. 16'79 To CCLOW Members From Mary Corkery Re: updating mailing list

copy of letter Jan. 19'79 To College Principals From Walter Hardwick. Dep. Min. of Education, B.C. Re: funding for programs on women's access to education ATTACH. Women's Access Prog. [3 pp.]

press release Jan. 30'79 From CACSW Re: Bill C-14 (orig. & 3 copies)

draft press release, n.d. to accompany CCLOW's brief

memo Feb. 5'79 To Members of Self-Training Comm. From Mary Corkery Re: report on Brief and strategy being used [3 pp]

bulletin Feb. 21'79 From Bud Cullen, Emp. & Imm. Re: setting the record straight on Outreach program

presentation notes Feb. 21'79 By Dr. Frank Maine, M.P. To Public Forum on Women & Unemployment [9 pp]

draft of letter March 2'79 To Bud Cullen From Mary Corkery Re: request for comments on letter

letter March 2'79 To Bud Cullen From Mary Corkery Re: planned mtg. of national organizations on cutbacks - invitation to attend (2)

memo March 23'79 To CCLOW Members From Mary Corkery Re: getting money & support from provincial Ministers of Education

newsletter March 27'79 To CCLOW Members From Mary Re: report on news & progress

letter n.d. (rec'd March 27'79) To Mary From Bud Cullen Re: response to March 2 letter - explanation of policy

letter March 27'79 To CCLOW Members From Mary Re: last chance to apply for Banff

letter March 28'79 To Kay Rex From Mary Re: comments on our brief ATTACH Facts Sheet; article by Kathleen Rex in Globe & Mail about CCLOW brief

handwritten letter April 2/79 To Greta From Jenny Kirkpatrick Re: info. on conference at School of Social Work, Carleton

memo April '79 To Members of Self-Training, Strategy & Core Comm. From Susan Behan & Mary Re: draft of brief

letter May 2'79 To Greta From Mary Re: accept offer to participate in forum presenting brief May 13

letter July 5'79 To David Macdonald, Sec. State From Mary Re: welcome to job, introduce CCLOW, info. on brief, request meeting

letter July 19'79 To Greta From Sally Bowen Re: plans & strategies of CCLOW ATTACH. Checklist, Action Kit, copies of articles

letter July 25'79 To Ronald Atkey, Emp. & Imm. From Mary Re: welcome to job, introduce CCLOW, request meeting

memo July 30'79 To Members of Strategy Comm. From Mary Re: meeting on Aug. 13

letter Sept. 7'79 To Leiba Aronoff From Bette Pie Re: request for ideas for Membership Comm. ATTACH. questions [3 pp]

letter Sept. 19'79 To David MacDonald, Sec State From Mary Re: their planned meeting on Sept. 26

II.6. BRIEFS, DRAFTS, ON CUTBACKS, CCLOW 1979

draft, A Brief, no date

edited draft "A brief concerning cutbacks to training allowances & Outreach projects Appendix

draft "For Discussion Purposes Only" (2)

Brief May 14'79 "Cutbacks to Training Allowances & Outreach Programs: Their Impact on Women" (2) [35 pp.]

II.7. CCLOW BOARD

receipt Nov. 17'80 for membership dues ATTACH. notice of member benefits

package Jan. 14 & 15'82 Board Meeting:

- list of attendees [2 pp]
- list of board members [2pp]
- minutes [9 pp.]
- Board Development Workshop Report with appendices [11]

- Executive Committee Workshop Report [5 pp]

memo Feb. 9'82 To Board Members From Susan Re: request for info for newsletter

memo March 23'82 To Board Members From Susan Re: supplementary info for Bd. Mtg.

memo March '82 To Board Members From Susan Re: Board mtg arrangements [2pp]

package April 3'82 Board Meeting

- Agenda
- worksheets for each item with proposal, rationale & action requested
- reports of committees

Sec. State grant application [copy] CCLOW-Quebec Project: Resource Options for English Women - April workshops

Report To Sec. State Women's Program From Mary Corkery Re: Report of CCLOW Activities from April 1'79 to March 30'80

publication [French] Jan. 6'82 By Minister of Emp. & Immig. [6 pp.] ATTACH. papers by L. Axworthy Jan. '82

minutes Feb. 6-7'82 Planning Meeting for June '82 Conference on Women & Technology

copy Bill C-67 Act to amend the Adult Occupational Training Act

II.8. MEETING: 15/02/82 CCLOW

letter Jan. 29'82 To Colleagues From Greta Re: update on plans for April 17 workshop, next meeting Feb. 15'82

Agenda Feb. 15'82 Local planning meeting

letter Feb. 24'82 To Esther Marks From Greta Re: rough outline of April 17 workshop [3 pp.]

letter Feb. 24'82 To Ruth Selwyn From Greta Re: list of needs for April 17 workshop

letter Feb. 24'82 To Colleagues From Greta Re: update & announce March 18 mtg.

letter March 2'82 To Elsie From Greta Re: Catherine Junior's participation at workshop

II.9. LOCAL CCLOW '82-'83

letter July 9'82 To Prov. Director From Lori Re: list of 1981 members not renewed for '82 ATTACH. list

handwritten letter Nov. 17'82 To Susan Vander Voet From Stephanie Squires Re: resignation for board as Newfoundland rep.

letter n.d. To Leiba From Greta Re: notes from Nov. 23'82 mtg.

letter Dec. 9'82 To Greta From Marie Re: help with getting to Quebec local mtgs.

letter Dec. 15'82 To Marie From Greta Re: response to Dec. 9 request

letter Dec. 23'82 To Colleagues From Greta Re: upcoming mtg. Jan. 26'83

list Jan. 26'83 names & phone #s [attendance??]

Agenda [?] - areas outlined where women might want to get into power structures

letter Feb. 8'83 To Colleagues From Greta Re: update on plans for workshops on Women & Power, next mtg. Feb. 21'83

letter Feb. 23'83 To Hon. Jeanne Sauve From Leiba Re: Therese Casgrain Foundation & CCLOW's suggestions for criteria

information Feb. '83 From Mother's Day Action Committee Re: return the day to one of Peace focus - its original purpose

memo March 1'83 To CCLOW Members From Mairi St. John MacDonald Re: call for nominations of Board members

letter March 2'83 To Leiba From Jeanne Sauve Re: response to Feb. 23 letter

letter March 4'83 To Friends From Greta Re: upcoming mtg. March 16 ATTACH. list of names for letter to go to

attendance list March 16'83

invoice March 16 Re: secretarial & mailing services

letter April 4'83 To Pres. Therese Casgrain Foundation From Leiba Re: elaboration of criteria for scholarship

letter April 8'83 To Colleagues From Greta Re: postponing workshop on Women & Power to September (2)

poster "The Common Woman" - workshop in Rhode Island

booklet by Secretary of State Regional Directorate (Quebec) "Women's Programs"

handwritten notes - no date

II.10. LOCAL CCLOW MEETINGS - FEB. 18 7:15

letter Nov. 19'84 To Colleague From Greta RE: report on Women & Power workshops

letter n.d. To Colleague From Greta Re: news & upcoming mtg. April 25 (3)

handwritten meeting notes Feb. 18[?]

II.11. CCLOW MEETING - JAN. 17'85

letter Dec. 14'84 To Colleagues From Greta Re: items for meeting Jan. 17 (2)

II.12. CCLOW MEETINGS 1984-5

letter Jan. 21'85 To Colleagues From Greta Re: minutes of Jan. 17 mtg. & upcoming one on Feb. 18 (3) ATTACH. minutes

letter March 25'85 To Colleagues From Naomi Black, SSHRC Re: announce publication of "On The Treatment of Sexism in Research"

letter March 29'85 To PMO From Susan MVV Re: vacancies on federally appointed boards & commissions

handwritten letter April 1'85 To Greta From Donna Stewart, NAC Re: news & request for opinions on Fraser Report on pornography

agenda April 25'85 local mtg. ATTACH letter to Lisa Avedon from Senate Comm. on Youth; attendance list (2)

letter April '85 To Greta From Jane Evans, NAC Re: acceptance of membership to NAC & receipt

letter May 21'85 To Colleagues From Greta Re: cancellation of May 28 meeting

II.13. LOCAL CCLOW MEETINGS / WINTER 1985

letter April 12'84 To Colleagues From Greta Re: items for May 1'84 meeting

poster 1985 Comm. on Adult Basic Education Conference April 9-12, 1985 (3)

letter Dec. 14'84 To Colleagues From Greta Re: items for Jan. 17'85 mtg.

communique NAWL conference Feb. 21-24 1985 on Legal Implications of Reproduction & Technology

call for papers, CASAE Conf. May 28-30, 1985 in Montreal (3)

call for papers CRIAW Conf. 1985 Saskatoon Women: Social & Physical Isolation

memo Jan. 7'85 To Bd Members From Paula DeCoito Re: final report A.B.E. project

memo Jan. 7'85 To Bd. Members From Susan Re: NFB etc. ATTACH NFB's application to sponsor youth & children's TV series

agenda Jan. 17'85 local meeting (3)

handwritten notes, Jan. 17 meeting

report n.d.[between Jan. 17 & Feb. 18] CCLOW Provincial Report: Quebec

II.14. CCLOW WOMEN & WORK

letter July 27'82 To Greta From Linda Jane D'Ganigian, Ont. Hydro Re: interest in Women & Work conference

letter Aug. 5'82 To Greta From Reva Dexter, City of Vancouver Re: interest in Women & Employment conference

handwritten letter Aug. 9'82 To Greta From Pat Re: introduce Maude Barlow
ATTACH. letter & resume from M. Barlow

letter Nov. 9'82 To Colleagues From Greta Re: ideas for Women & Work,
planning meeting Nov. 23

letter Dec. 16'82 To Greta From Barbara Lewis, Nfld. Teachers Assoc. Re:
request for info on Women & Employment

II.15. LETTER MEMBERSHIP RE: CONF. JUNE/84

letter June 22'84 To Colleagues From Greta Re: update on activities; info on
Toronto conf. in Aug.; renew membership (2)

Quebec mailing list 1984/85

II.16. CONFERENCE REPORT/NATIONAL CONF. 1984

March 8th - I.W.D. - New School plans for activities

notes n.d. [typed, edited] Financing, Planning, Contents, Evaluation Re: conf. plans

report Dec. 1984 "Educating For Change: Women in the Next Decade - Synopsis of
Proceedings of 1984 CCLOW Conference" [13 pp]

Newfoundland Report - Jan. 1985

Manitoba CCLOW report

CCLOW Prov. Report: :Quebec

guidelines for CCLOW Supported/sponsored conference attendance

memo Jan. 30'85 To Board & Staff From Lisa Re: Task List ATTACH Task List
from Jan. 25-27'85 Bd. Meeting

reports - appended to Board Minutes Jan. 25-27/85 [8 pp. of comm & other reports]

minutes of Executive Committee meeting Jan. 25'85 [3pp]

minutes of Board Meeting Jan. 25-27'85 [7pp]

Greta's membership card & receipt 1985

list Feb. 13'85 Names & Addresses of CCLOW Board Members: June '84 - June '85

newsclip [copy] Feb. 4'85 Toronto Sun "Courses fail for illiterate Women" Re: CCLOW report by Paula DeCoito

article "Abortion as Violent Aggression"

draft letter To: Minister (or M.P.) From Lisa Re: copy of letter to lobby for economic gains through employment equity

letter Feb. 5'85 To Ms. VanDerVoet From Douglas Eliuk, NFB Re: CRTC delayed hearings & NFB resubmitting application ATTACH press release

report "Educating for Change: Conference Report" Jan. 21 1985 [6pp]

Bowden's Wirestories - Status of Women Canada [3 pp] 1984???

Anecdotal Info. from questions with written responses from Reflections on CCLOW's nat. conf.: Educating for Change [5 pp]

II.17. CORRESPONDENCE CCLOW 1985-86

letter May 31'84 To Greta From Mary Villa, Sec. State Re: received funding appl.

letter n.d. To Colleagues From Greta Re: meeting Oct. 2'85 ATTACH. Minutes April 25 meeting

letter March 3'86 To Monique Gagnon-Tremblay, Gov. of Quebec From Greta Re: nominate Ruth Selwyn for Conseil sur la condition de la Femme

Short Mission Statement ATTACH. Historical Background, Philosophy, CCLOW Goals March '86, call for articles for WEDF

report May 9, 1986 Provincial Report: Quebec, 1985-86 including Budget [3pp]

letter May 20'86 To Greta From Ruth Selwyn Re: announce her appointment to CCF

letter May 29'86 To Greta From Claudia Garand-Rochette Re: request for employment

letter June 19'86 To CCLOW Members From Greta Re: update, final letter as Dir.

letter Aug. 20'86 To Ais'a Thompson From Greta Re: request for letter to Sec. State about grant application

letter Sept. 3'86 To Colleagues From Greta Re: invitation to reception to meet next Quebec director - Miriam Bailey (4)

II.18. BLDG./CONF. CCLOW/FOOD

Toronto Transit Commission info. May-July 1983

notes on cards - Key Notes?? April 17, 1982

June 1984 By-Law No. 1 [14pp]

letter Dec. 19'83 To Colleagues From Greta Re: mtg. to review Women & Power; plans next one on Jan. 12'84

Women & Power - Overview of Conference of Nov. 26'83 by Greta [drafts with edits]

Women & Power - Overview of Conference of Nov. 26'83 by Greta [final]

press release - announce Women & Power workshops

draft report on Feedback Sheets from June 2/82 conf. Quebec 1982: Options for English Speaking Women

poster - Women & Power conference

notes & price lists - catering services at McGill

II.19. CCLOW: PROGRAM - CONF. AUG. 1984

handwritten letter n.d. To Greta From Jane Thompson Re: need to meet before conference session working on together

draft letter n.d. To Colleague From Greta Re: facilitating focus groups; purpose of f.g. [2 pp] ATTACH. "Why Focus Groups"

letter June 27'84 To Jane Thompson From Greta Re: collaboration on final session of conf. "Educating for Change"

letter July 11'84 To Jane From Greta Re: clarification of final session task [2p]

info. n.d. on Sunday Buffet Supper & Creativity Fair [at conference]

handwritten notes on planning for conference:

- Working Session Conf. Comm. Action & Inf. Notes - May 31'84
- Working Session Conf. Comm. Work Sheet - June 28'84
- Working Session Conf. Comm. Action - July 5'84
- Agenda July 5
- Work Sheet July 5

handwritten letter July 14'84 To Greta From Eleanor Re: package of updates on conference plans & programs

handwritten Agenda - revised Aug. 17'84

list: Aug. 19'84 Things To Do Today - Focus Group Leaders mtg. notes
 Aug. 19'84 Things To Do Today - Opening Session

Conference Package:

- conference news bulletin
- questionnaire - Reflections on CCLOW's National Conference (2)
- Speaker Biographical Notes: Greta, Jane Thompson, Marthe Sansregret, Chaviva Hosek
- Program Addendum - Index to Workshops/Locations [12pp]
- Why Focus Groups - info & list of rooms
- Whatever You Do on Sunday Evening - info on creativity workshops
- NFB Films to Screen - schedule & descriptions
- Television Worth Watching - samples of TV Ontario productions

handwritten list of questions

Conference Booklet - Agenda & Registration Form

II.20. GRANT REQUEST - NOV. 1983

letter May 6'83 To Esther Marks From Greta Re: cover letter for grant application

Sec. State grant application Project: Women & Power

letter May 19'83 To Greta From Nicole Perron, Sec. State Re: received grant appl.

letter Sept. 30'85 To Esther Spivak From Greta Re: cover letter for grant appl

Sec. State grant application Project: Sexual Abuse Resource/Info. Booklet

II.21. ADDRESSES MAILING CAN. ORG'S 1983

handwritten list - names & address. - journals; Depts. of Eng. Creative Writing [5pp]

list: "Sources of Information - Associations & Schools:

list: "Educational Associations"

computerized list of 3 above lists (2)

copy of newsclip no source, no date "Men terrorize with gun, knife & penis"

copy of list of government Women's councils/bureaus, etc. - names, addresses, phones

CCLOW non-members mailing list - no date

Mailing List

Quebec Dec. 23'80 Mailing List

Centre des Femmes de Montreal Conseil d'Administration - Names, Address.
Phone: - 20 juin 1984; - 16 jan 1985; - 12 dec 1985

Computerized list of individuals - names & addresses

names & addresses with corporation address [4pp]

names & addresses on cards

II.22. JUDY CHICAGO PROJECT [1982]

letter Nov. 15'81 To Nell Tennhaaf, Powerhouse Gallery From Greta Re: proposal for lecture series on "The Dinner Party"

draft Sec. State Grant Application Joint Project by YWCA, Powerhouse Gallery, CCLOW

press release - lecture series on Judy Chicago's "The Dinner Party"

information - lectures series and speaker biographies

APPENDIX 6
GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS

ABE	Adult Basic Education
BWSG	Bristol Women's Studies Group
CAAE	Canadian Association of Adult Education
CACSW	Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women
CCCEW	Canadian Committee for the Continuing Education of Women
CCLOW	Canadian Congress of Learning Opportunities for Women
CJSAE	Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education
CRIAW	Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women
CWMA	Canadian Women's Movement Archives
GHN	Greta Hoffman Nemiroff
ICAE	International Council of Adult Education
LOW	Learning Opportunities for Women
NAC	National Action Committee on the Status of Women
OISE	Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
RCSW	Royal Commission on the Status of Women
RFR	Resources for Feminist Research
RNAEF	Reseau national d'Action education femmes
WEDF	Women's Education des femmes
WLRC	Women's Learning Resource Centre

END

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