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ABSTRACT

Information on graduates of women's studies programs was collected and assessed. Women's studies graduates are defined as those students who have completed requirements for a postsecondary degree, certificate, or other form of academic certification in women's studies. Of the approximately 300 programs contacted, responses were received from 66. Information was supplied by 37 percent of the women's studies programs offering some type of credential, and only 22 percent of these contributed quantitative data. The institutions that kept data on women's studies alumnae and contributed this information provided followup information for only 35 percent of these graduates. Information is presented on the B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees in women's studies and on graduates with certificates or minors in women's studies. In order to provide background and context for the data, a brief review is presented on the impact of women's studies programs on student career awareness and development, employment opportunities for women's studies students, and research and student evaluation of the contributions made by women's studies to students' career competencies. Recommendations, a bibliography, and appendices are included. Appended materials include: data from the National Center for Education Statistics on earned degrees conferred in women's studies, 1975-77: a directory of institutions that offer women's studies minors, certificates, and degrees: an examination of the reliability of followup information on women's studies graduates: practicums selected by graduates of George Washington University Women's Studies M.A. degree program: and a list of occupational opportunities. (SW)

WOMEN'S STUDIES GRADUATES

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PREFACE

This monograph is part of a series of eight, commissioned by the National Institute of Education (NIE), following recommendations presented in Seven Years Later: Women's Studies Programs in 1976 by Florence Howe.

Seven Years Later was commissioned and published by the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs. It was the first federally financed investigation of women's studies. Howe visited and reported on 15 mature women's studies programs, in the context of national trends and directions within women's studies. She focused on some areas (funding and faculty, for example, in 4-year colleges and universities) and excluded others (community colleges, for example) entirely.

The eight new monographs take up some of the questions Howe explored; they also initiate explorations of untouched areas. All are concerned primarily with higher education.

Each monograph reviews literature relevant to its focus produced during this first decade of women's studies. Each also attempts to provide definition to a field in the process of development, a complex interdisciplinary area of scholarship and curriculum that is also a strategy for educational change. Beyond definition, each monograph recommends research essential for the future development of women's studies and important to educational research more broadly.

While producing these eight monographs, the researchers met for 2 days to compare perspectives and conclusions. As a group, we agreed to offer four formal recommendations to the National Institute of Education and to all other Federal agencies and private foundations that might pursue and support research and development in women's studies.

1. The need for future monographs. We recognize the importance of continuing the development of information about relatively unexplored aspects of women's studies. Among those aspects that need examination, the following are especially important:

   a. Graduate programs and graduate education in women's studies.

   b. Schools of education and women's studies activities.

   c. Women's studies in the elementary and secondary schools.

   d. Noncredit curriculum development in women's centers, continuing education for women, and community-based centers.

2. The need for a data base on women's studies. All eight monographs recommend the development of a data base on women's studies as a necessary prelude to research design and activity. Since women's studies has developed in different ways and at different rates on almost all campuses throughout the country, such a data base must be longitudinal in design. While we are recommending its development in higher education, such a data base eventually will need to be extended to all areas of education. We recommend that annual updates be built into the data base to ensure its proper maintenance and continued usefulness.

3. The qualifications of research personnel in women's studies. We believe that the distinctive and complex nature of women's studies, as well as the fact that it is still a developing field, makes it essential that researchers be thoroughly informed about

women's studies and be prepared to involve women's studies practitioners in every aspect of research design and process. We are hopeful that NIE and other Federal agencies, private foundations, and research institutions will place responsibility for research in women's studies in the hands of those experienced and knowledgeable about the area.

4. Considerations significant to evaluation research and methodology. We believe that the evaluation of women's studies in higher education will be an important activity of the coming decade. Such evaluation will serve the researcher interested in the processes of changing higher education, as well as those charged with administering institutions. Such evaluation should, on principle, also clearly serve the developmental needs of women's studies programs, engaging them in the design and processes of research, as well as in the determination of the uses to which research will be put. Evaluations should be conducted onsite, with the cooperation of program participants, and within a framework of longitudinal data about that program and others nationally. Researchers and evaluators should be sensitive to the work of the National Women's Studies Association in this regard, and its activities serving the needs of women's studies programs.

Detailed, further recommendations appear in each of the eight monographs.

We wish to express our appreciation to the National Institute of Education for pursuing this

research, and particularly to C.B. Crump, who directed the Women's Studies Planning Studies project.

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SUMMARY

This survey of research and data gathering needs in the area of women's studies graduates, like companion volumes in this monograph series, derives, in part, from recommendations for further study made in Seven Years Later: Women's Studies' Programs in 1976, a Report of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs (Howe, 1977).

This planning study is a small first step toward addressing questions, like those posed in Seven Years Later, as suggestions for studies of graduates of women's studies programs:

> Tracking graduates of women's studies programs who enter fields dominated by traditionally trained graduates may tell us something about the particular competencies offered to women's studies majors. For example, does women's studies equip students to be better human service professionals than do degrees in traditional disciplines or in public administration? Is there something in the style of teaching, the interaction of learner and faculty member, and the content of women's studies programs that leads women's studies majors to acquire competencies that would not be developed in more traditional liberal arts majors? (Howe, 1977).

Others interested in this area will about the impact of women's studies on the "life competencies" of its graduates, about how graduates use the degree and integrate this feminist educational experience into their personal lives and into ongoing political commitments and involvements.

Such evaluative and comparative definitions of this area presume and would require a complex and extensive data base and research agenda that include:

1. Comprehensive, compatible national data gathering and research to identify, profile, and track graduates of women's studies programs;

2. Related data gathering and analyses of women's studies programs, curriculum, and degrees to establish commonalities and differences in their institutional structures, curricular content, and impact on students;

3. Longitudinal studies and cohort analyses of women's studies graduates to investigate their career and life patterns over time, and the impact on this population of historical changes brought about in (and by) the women's liberation movement, educational institutions, and the national economy;

4. Comparative studies, with many populations, controlled not only for academic training and degrees, but for variables such as sex, race, age, marital and/or parental status, regional ting, nonacademic experience, and feminist consciousness and activity;

5. Definition and establishment of measures for the qualities, competencies, skills, and achievements to be studied in the education and initial and continuing employment and service activities of women's studies graduates.

As will become evident in the body of this monograph, a great deal of basic work is yet to be done in even the first two necessary sub-areas of investigation before significant answers to questions about women's studies graduates will be possible.

The formulation of the problem area of this study is most simply and popularly expressed in the question, "What do women's studies graduates do?" Asked by students, parents, educational administrators, faculty advisors, and potential employers, the question may be phrased: "Why major in women's studies?" "What can a person do with a degree or certificate in women's studies?" "What have others done?" Those who teach in or administer women's studies programs want to know, "What happens to our graduates? How many have there been? What employment opportunities are available for them?" Nonacademic feminists want to know how women's studies prepares students to contribute to the movement for social change, and potential employers want to know who these students are.

The problem area defined in these terms would require review and assessment of research literature and data on graduates of women's studies programs for information about their uses of the women's studies major, certificate, minor, or degree in postgraduate work or further study. Initial tracking of graduates of women's studies programs would indicate the current acceptability of certification in women's studies to graduate and professional schools and in the work force, and would suggest additional uses of the degree. Resulting reports, analogous to those available for and about graduates of established and traditional fields of study, would make women's studies and its graduates more visible -- and thus, more credible -- within and outside academic settings.

The significance of this primary statement of the problem area for the entire field of women's studies should not be underestimated. Even when local studies exist, as they do in some programs, they lack a context and the impact that comprehensive national data could provide. The "marketability" of an education becomes an increasingly critical factor in student selection of programs and in institutional support for them. Women's studies programs, and those

who wish to establish programs, need adequate documentation to answer the questions posed by their various constituencies.

At an early stage in program development, such answers are part of the rationale presented with requests for authority and support to offer some form of certification; at a later stage, part of the justification for maintaining and enlarging program capacities. Women's studies degrees are "new," nontraditional, and interdisciplinary, and they involve a predominantly female population of teachers and learners. Given, as well, the feminist value orientation of women's studies programs, they, and their graduates, are likely to encounter misapprehensions about the real and perceived content and usefulness of this field of study that identification and tracking of graduates could help clarify and dispel.

The various definitions of the problem area, "women's studies graduates," are not mutually exclusive. Attention to their different orders of magnitude and complexity need not suggest that the more complex research should somehow be postponed until the simpler has been completed. On the contrary. Broad definitions of concerns for and about feminist education in postsecondary settings, and of the terms in which such education should be studied and evaluated, are necessary to ensure that meaningful work in this area will reflect core values of women's studies and serve women's studies programs, their students, faculties, and communities.

To the extent that evaluative and comparative concerns provide a framework for descriptive and informational data gathering and research planning, programs will enhance their ability to clarify the nature of women's studies for potential students and others whose interest and support they seek. Even preliminary discussion of the "particular competencies offered to women's studies majors" will help programs to counsel students, to set priorities for curriculum

and related planning, and to set agendas for cooperative activities with other academic and nonacademic programs, groups, and agencies. Research in this area should be valuable to a broad range of educational planners and theorists as well.

However, it must be noted and reemphasized that essential national information on women's studies graduates -- numbers, nomenclature, initial terms of analysis -- has yet to be adequately gathered and shared. We hope that this planning study can serve at least to encourage and provide support for such work.

This planning study is concerned primarily with the distinctive population of "women's studies graduates," defined here as those students who have completed requirements for a postsecondary degree, certificate, or other form of academic certification in women's studies.

Women's studies graduates include:

1. Alumnae of women's studies programs authorized to offer degrees;

2. Students whose degrees included women's studies as an identified minor, certificate, or area of concentration;

3. Students who graduated with individually designed, special, or general studies majors in women's studies.

"Graduate" is used, as appropriate, to refer to all these subcategories, and "degree" to refer generally to these various academic credentials.

This population of students has taken some number of women's studies courses offered by women's studies programs and traditional departments. It has also chosen to make its involvement with women's studies

learning and research a formal one, through affiliation with campus women's studies programs and/or other institutional mechanisms and structures. As the monographs in this series make plain, graduates are not the only students involved in women's studies or with women's studies programs, but they are a growing population and one significant to the strength and development of the field.

Emphasis in this study on undergraduate degree recipients in women's studies is, in large part, a function of the literature and data available; it reflects the past decade's history of undergraduate women's studies curriculum and program development. We are not able to distinguish significantly here among the settings in which undergraduates have obtained degrees in women's studies, but we remind readers who may be unfamiliar with the field that there is diversity among women's studies programs similar, but not always identical, to the diversity of the institutions in which they are established.

As noted in the preface to this series, graduate (i.e., post-B.A.) programs and graduate education in women's studies need and are deserving of a full-scale and separate planning study. There are indications that such programs and such graduates will multiply in this decade, and it is not too soon to explore the data gathering and research issues and problems particular to them. We examine available information on M.A. graduates in women's studies, and take note of related Ph.D. populations, but do so with the recognition that these populations are not directly comparable to B.A. graduates and degree programs.

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This planning study would not have been possible without the data and experiences so generously shared by more than 60 women's studies programs. To them our thanks.

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Staff persons at the American Council on Education; American Association of University Women; Business and Professional Women's Foundation; College Placement Council, Incorporated; Educational Testing Service; Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education; Higher Education Research Institute; HERS/Mid-Atlantic; National Center for Education Statistics; National Endowment for the Humanities; National Institute of Education; National Science Foundation; Office of Education; Scientific Manpower Commission; and Women's Educational Equity Act Program also offered valuable advice, information, and encouragement.

A very special acknowledgment is due to Timmie Shanahan, a women's studies graduate, writer, and researcher, who initiated the search for information on which this study is based.

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1. LITERATURE REVIEW AND DATA INVENTORY

Research Literature on Women's Studies Graduates

Only two articles on graduates of women's studies programs, both in the Women's Studies Newsletter, had appeared at the time this study was undertaken. They provide information about 24 graduates of two different programs: one analyzed the postgraduate work activities and experiences of early graduates of the Portland State University certificate program (Hoffman, 1973); the other reported on a survey of graduates of the University of Washington B.A. program (Bose et al., 1977).

A systematic search for additional research literature on or about women's studies graduates confirmed our expectation that little such information would exist yet in standard sources. No other published identification, tracking, or follow-up studies of women's studies graduates were discovered.[1] A further search, for recent research reports as yet unpublished or unindexed, also provided no literature directly relevant to this area.[2]

A traditional literature search report is misleading, however. What is published is not equivalent to what is. Women's studies degrees, as such, have been authorized only since 1970; most are subsequent to that date. The population of women's studies graduates is still new and small. Those most likely to pursue and publish research on this population have been, until now, those most likely to be occupied with the ongoing work of women's studies teaching, research, and program governance.

"Literature" on graduates of women's studies programs comes from the programs themselves in the form of unpublished, uncirculated, or privately circulated reports and studies. Those available to us, and the two articles cited above, are reviewed in the body of this study.

Data on Women's Studies Graduates

Identification of Women's Studies Graduates: National Center for Education Statistics

The data source for numbers of students enrolled in and receiving degrees in various disciplines is the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), Division of Postsecondary and Vocational Education Statistics.

Near the end of each academic year, NCES sends forms for its Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS) to the Office of the President of all degree-granting institutions. Generally completed by registrars and/or deans, these survey forms are returned by early fall to NCES for processing, data compilation, analysis, and reporting. The rate of return on the approximately 2,000 questionnaires distributed is virtually 100 percent. Publication of results lags collection of data by at least 2 years; thus, the 1975-76 academic year degree information appeared in 1978.

NCES data are the basic educational data on graduates for contemporary, historical, technical, and legal reasons and purposes. They are published annually in Earned Degrees Conferred: Summary Data (NCES 78-300, for example). In 1978, NCES also published four surveys -- on doctoral, master's, bachelor's and first-professional degrees awarded to women from 1971 to 1976 -- based on HEGIS data for those years (NCES 78-336A, B, C, and D).

These NCES publications should and would be able to inventory and report the numbers of persons who had received a B.A. or M.A. in women's studies (and the institutions granting those degrees) if these were autonomous degrees, equivalent to those granted by and in traditional fields of study. However, because most women's studies graduates have not received such degrees and because NCES does not tabulate or report

undergraduate or graduate certificates or minors, NCES publications are only minimally useful as direct data sources on the population of this monograph.

Furthermore, "Women's Studies" is not currently an independent classification on the HEGIS survey. Institutional respondents who wish to report women's studies graduates do so by writing in information under the XX99 ("Other, specify") category for the appropriate general classification. The NCES Division of Postsecondary and Vocational Education Statistics provided us with all the information on women's studies graduates available from its files, data not in published reports.

"Women's Studies" has been reported to NCES to date as a subcategory of the following degree classifications: Area Studies; Letters; Social Sciences; Social Studies; Interdisciplinary Studies; and Public Service-Related Technologies. For the 1975-76 academic year, 1 associate of arts, 17 bachelor's, and 29 master's degrees in women's studies were reported to NCES through HEGIS XI. In 1976-77 (the most recent year for which data were available), 1 associate of arts, 28 bachelor's, and 12 master's degrees were reported through HEGIS XII. These data are summarized in appendix A.

For women's studies, NCES information, even on degrees conferred, is incomplete and therefore unreliable as a basis for significant generalizations. Institutions known to us to have conferred degrees in women's studies during these 2 years are not included on the list in appendix A; presumably, they and others have reported women's studies graduates under an appropriate general classification, but without particular subspecification.

We should note that NCES records did identify 38 B.A. degrees not reported in the information on women's studies graduates from women's studies programs available for development of this monograph.

Although this fact might suggest the existence of women's studies programs not yet identified by the National Women's Studies Association/The Feminist Press and listed in the Women's Studies Newsletter, our investigation confirmed that this was not the case. All institutions with women's studies programs are not yet reporting all their graduates to NCES, but institutions without women's studies programs do grant, and are in some instances reporting, degrees in women's studies. In future research on women's studies graduates, systematic reporting through NCES mechanisms would be particularly valuable for identification of graduates of those schools that do not have women's studies programs as yet.

Issues in Identification, Tracking Of Graduates: Other Data Sources

Other major national sources of data and information on postsecondary graduates did not yield data or information directly pertinent to this monograph on women's studies graduates. Exploration of the ongoing activities of the National Science Foundation's (NSF) Division of Science Resource Studies and the College Placement Council (CPC) did, however, provide a context and raise issues for future and long-range research planning in this area.

National Science Foundation. The National Science Foundation, Division of Science Resource Studies, counts and surveys postsecondary graduates. Because NSF is concerned with scientists and engineers, its data, as such, have little direct relevance to this monograph. However, the sophisticated tracking and followup system the agency oversees is a model for indentifying graduates and tracking their career patterns in any field or discipline.

Since 1972, NSF has tracked a representative, selected sample of experienced scientists and engineers by means of a questionnaire mailed biennially. About 90 percent are returned, and the data are

extrapolated to the entire population of scientists and engineers as determined from 1970 Census information on fields of employment and education.

NSF classifies a person as being "in a field" when the individual meets at least two of the following criteria: employment in the field; attainment of a specified level in an academic discipline related to the field; self-identification, based on total education and experience, as being in the field (NSF 76-330, p. 9).

It may be difficult to translate these criteria exactly and directly to the field of women's studies, but they offer valuable analytic consideration for further research on women's studies graduates and for planning and development in women's studies generally.

As part of its overall tracking and work-force projection procedure, NSF also sends questionnaires directly to recent B.A. and M.A. recipients from a selected sampling of institutions; names and addresses are obtained from registrars' and alumni offices. Recent doctoral recipients in the sciences and engineering are identified through the National Research Council's ongoing survey of doctorates in all disciplines.

The results of these extensive surveys are published in a three-part series -- Characteristics of the National Sample of Scientists and Engineers, 1974, Part 1., Demographic and Educational; Part 2., Employment; Part 3., Geographic (NSF 75-333; 76-323; 76-330). These data permit NSF to project demand for and long-range supply of scientists and engineers trained in each discipline. Federal funding is available for these surveys because the information they provide is considered vital to the national defense. When information on trained feminists is considered vital to the Nation's well-being, graduates of women's studies programs will no longer be hidden in national educational statistics compendia.

The College Placement Council. The College Placement Council, Incorporated, a nonprofit national organization, describes itself as the interface between higher education and the employers of college graduates. Its primary constituencies are career planning and placement directors at 2- and 4-year colleges and universities, and representatives of employers in business, industry, and government.

CPC is best known for its College Placement Annual, a directory of occupational opportunities for college graduates, and for CPC Salary Survey, a report on average beginning salaries offered to graduating students that is published three times a year. In general, CPC is looked to for assessments of the employment picture for college graduates in various fields in a given year and as a source of information about college-trained personnel. Its publications and the materials in its Research Information Center in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, could be of interest to those concerned with career planning and employment issues for women's studies students and graduates.

To assist employers in their equal opportunity programs, CPC has recently begun to distribute data on the number of women and minorities in colleges and universities. Since these data are extracted from NCES data, they will not refer directly to women's studies students and graduates; theoretically, at least, CPC could inform employers about women's studies graduates as a population yet to be tabulated.

The College Placement Council has a separate research entity, the CPC Foundation, that receives financial support from other foundations, business, and industry. Between 1972 and 1975, the foundation released a series of six monographs on career choices and occupational outcomes of college graduates, examining many of the questions that might be asked about women's studies graduates: relation of educational background and occupation; career choices and self-concept; employment status and means of obtaining occupational employment, and the like.

The data base for these reports is the carefully weighted data on the 1961 and 1966 freshman classes in 4-year institutions gathered by the American Council on Education as part of an extensive longitudinal research program instituted and directed by Alexander W. Astin. These data do not specifically include women's studies graduates, but both the original data gathering and subsequent research designs were sensitive to sex as a variable; studies of these two cohorts suggest useful models and provide comparative data for longitudinal and cohort analyses of women's studies graduates. Two of these reports are of particular interest.

Career Plans of College Graduates of 1965 and 1970 (Helen S. Astin and Bisconti, 1973) revealed very limited career choices by women college graduates, even in 1970: nearly half of that year's female graduates, like those of 1965, planned to teach at the elementary and secondary level. The authors note that the freshman and senior year plans of these two cohorts, female and male, are not very different, despite the turmoil of the late 1960's on campus. Researchers interested in women's studies graduates, who might suggest that "feminist turmoil" did not become widespread on campus until just after the late 1960's, can only regret the absence of later data for subsequent analyses.

The 1971 followup of 1961 freshmen, The Hard-to-Place Majority--A National Study of the Career Outcomes of Liberal Arts Graduates (Bisconti and Gomberg, 1975), another monograph in this CPC series, echoes the NSF criteria for being "in a field" cited just above. It points out that most assessments of the relationship between field of study and subsequent employment have been limited to examination of the occupational titles of persons who majored in different fields, without taking into account either the nature of their actual work activities or the perspective on those activities of the employed graduates. This study asked the graduates specifically

to indicate if they were working in the field for which they were trained, a desirable procedure for adaptation by those researching career patterns of women's studies graduates.

A more recent CPC Foundation publication, Women: Marriage, Career and Job Satisfaction (Bisconti, 1978), reports data collected in 1974-75 by the Higher Education Research Institute from respondents in the data base surveyed initially in 1961, as freshmen, and followed up in 1965 and 1971. Like the survey data on "Person Most Influential in Career Choice" included in College Graduates and Their Employers (Bisconti, 1975), this study recognizes the important influence of friends, parents, spouse, children, and other "nonclassroom" relationships on graduates' career choices and occupational activities, and it provides a model for comparative examination of the impact of these variables on women's studies graduates.

Additional Data Sources. In recent years, as a direct result of affirmative action legislation and concerns, the Scientific Manpower Commission has been particularly concerned with reporting not only the numbers of women and minorities in, but also those available to, the natural and social sciences, engineering, arts, humanities, health fields, education, and all the professions. Its publication, Professional Women and Minorities: A Manpower Data Resource Service, draws upon Federal data and data collected by professional societies, women's caucuses, and academic institutions to delineate: enrollments; degrees; and general, academic, and Federal work force participation. The publication is updated with annual supplements; monthly digests report developments affecting education, recruitment, and utilization of scientific, engineering, and technical personnel. These data have some potential for serving as longitudinal comparison data for graduates of women's studies programs.

Since women's studies has only recently begun to be recognized as a field for study, research, and

employment, neither Bureau of Labor Statistics data nor Census Bureau data currently provide information on employment of women's studies graduates. Various and additional data sources, including those established and maintained by educational institutions, researchers, and associations, might have been investigated for this study, but it seemed evident that the data source for information on numbers and postgraduate activities of women's studies graduates would be women's studies programs.

Identification of Women's Studies Programs and Degrees

The primary reference for identification of women's studies programs and for information on degrees they offer is the listing of programs published in Women's Studies Newsletter. This compilation was begun in 1973 by The Clearinghouse on Women's Studies of The Feminist Press. The National Women's Studies Association (co-publisher of Women's Studies Newsletter since the organization's founding in 1977) and The Feminist Press jointly compiled the 1978 listing, published in the fall 1978 Newletter; that listing included 301 programs that had identified themselves to the Press or the Association.

Women's Studies Newsletter Data

The growth of women's studies and the development of women's studies programs from 1970 to 1976-77 are outlined in the Introduction and Overview chapters of Seven Years Later. From two programs -- one at San Diego State University and one at Cornell University -- in 1970, the number of identified programs has grown: 15 in 1971; 75 in 1973; 112 in 1974; 152 in 1975; 276 in 1977, and 301 as of 1978. Over half of these report some form of certification in women's studies: at least 82 list B.A.'s, 25 M.A.'s, and 5 Ph.D.'s; 95 report certificates, minors, or areas of concentration in women's studies; and over 40 programs report offering more than one of these credentials (Howe, summer 1977, fall 1978).

The continuing growth of women's studies and women's studies programs, with new courses, programs, and degrees regularly being established and approved, makes any women's studies program listing incomplete, almost by definition, at the moment of its publication. "Women's Studies Programs" (1978) does represent, however, a comprehensive national roster, the essential accuracy of which we were able to confirm in the course of this study.

Entries in this listing contain the program address and name of the program coordinator, director, chair, or governance committee, and summary data on degree offerings; programs are labelled as offering a minor, certificate, A.A., B.A., M.A., or Ph.D., with a brief description of particular features of the credential where available. Programs listed without a degree notation are presumed to offer or coordinate a roster of elective courses.

As part of the mail survey to update earlier listings for the 1978 publication, programs previously listed as offering post-B.A. degrees were specifically and additionally asked to provide more detailed information for prospective students and their advisors: a description of the curricular shape and emphasis of the graduate program; expectations for and requirements of students; financial information; and numbers and activities of graduates. To date, eight self-descriptive reports have been published ("Graduate Programs in Women's Studies," 1978; 1979). Others are expected to appear in 1980. These reports demonstrate the difficulty of generalizing about graduate women's studies programs and degrees. Degrees reported vary greatly in curricular and structural design, from nearly total concentration in women's studies (e.g., women's history), to individualized options for interdisciplinary programs of study, to liberal arts women's studies concentrations within a vocationally oriented degree program, or the reverse.

Undergraduate programs are more like one another, but they also vary in structure, credit requirements, and emphasis in their degree offerings. Self-descriptive use of terms (major, joint or dual major, independent or cognate major, minor, second field, certificate, area of concentration, and the like) may be somewhat dependent on local institutional usage; one state system's "certificate" may be the equivalent of another's "major," and some programs may have chosen to develop by way of a concentration in women's studies within an established degree because approval of a new certificate or degree was institutionally difficult. Comparable national women's studies nomenclature is not yet fully established.[3]

Women's studies programs are not, in general, the structural equivalent of traditional discipline departments. It is not surprising that many of the B.A. degrees listed are interdisciplinary studies, self-designed, or special studies degrees, structurally like the individual "committee degrees" that many institutions allow to enterprising students who can obtain faculty support for a nondepartmental degree, those degrees that some "nontraditional" colleges offer to all students enrolled. Not all women's studies programs whose institutions allow for such degrees may have chosen to identify this option as directly related to their program offerings, and not all institutions designed to provide individualized study identify women's studies as a potential focus. Some women's studies programs do offer an autonomous degree in women's studies, and more are likely to do so in the next decade.

Other Data Sources

Additional data sources for identification of women's studies programs and degrees would include: presently unpublished information in the files of NWSA and The Feminist Press, gathered in preparation for publication of the 1980 program listing; surveys and directories of women's studies and other feminist

educational resources compiled by state-based, local, or regional groups in and for their area (Colorado Women's Studies Association, Northwest Women Studies Resource Bank, Illinois IWY Committee, University of Wisconsin Extension Division, The Office of Academic Programs of the State University of New York, Great Lakes Colleges Association, and the like); research on the status and education of women like that done by the American Association of University Women (Howard, 1978); and standard reference sources in higher education.

The New York directory, Women's Studies in the State University of New York (Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Women's Studies, 1978), for example, reports at least one degree-granting program and one program offering courses that had not been included in "Women's Studies Programs" (1978); data reported from the AAUW study suggest a possibility of others. As the National Women's Studies Association begins to meet annually (its first national conference was held in May 1979), and as its regional associations continue to develop, one can presume that the visibility -- and thus the accuracy -- of its listing of women's studies programs and their degree offerings will be maintained and strengthened.

Visibility within the field, however, is not necessarily equivalent to visibility in and outside educational settings. As a cross-reference to the program data inventory outlined here, we moved from feminist educational resources to examine several popular references that provide information about degree programs on U.S. campuses. We did not include in this mini-survey the Index of Majors, 1979-80, College Board Publication).

The College Bluebook: Degrees Offered by College and Subject (1977) listed women's studies in its program index; 9 institutions appear under that designation, all included in the Newsletter listing of 301. The 1977 edition of Comparative Guide to

American Colleges (Cass and Birnbaum, 1977) did not include Women's Studies under "Programs of Study," although it did include Islamic Studies and named one university with that program. Barron's Profiles of American Colleges (1973) has a general description, Area Studies, that includes six programs, from American to Urban -- but not Women's; in Barron's profiles of individual institutions, Women's Studies is rarely seen under "Programs of Study" or "Special Programs."

Reporting institutions, presumably, rather than the various publishers of these guides, must be accountable for the omission of women's studies programs and degrees from materials commonly used by persons "shopping" for colleges for themselves and/or their children. One would not expect these references to reveal otherwise unidentified programs, but would hope that they might rapidly begin to reflect the realities of women's studies' presence in higher education, perhaps, at least, by reprinting or referring to the NWSA Women's Studies Newsletter listing of women's studies programs.

Need for Additional Data

It will be more difficult, but as important, to collect and disseminate information and data about women's studies degrees and related feminist educational opportunities possible and available on campuses without formal women's studies programs. Advisors informed about developments in the field might be able to point out to students considering selection of a college or university that the presence of a university center for research on women or a community college women's center or program suggests the presence of sufficient faculty and institutional interest to support their development of a program of study equivalent to a women's studies degree. Some institutions participate in educational consortia that are themselves the focus of women's studies activity. Similar sorts of "best guesses" can be

made, informally, on the basis of various other indicators, but there is at present no formal mechanism for collating and synthesizing such network insights and research findings in women's studies.[4]

Similarly, women's studies graduates whose degrees have not been recorded as such by women's studies programs or other institutional mechanisms will be extremely difficult to identify and thus to profile and track, as will those students whose educational experience has been essentially identical to that of women's studies graduates except for the formal identification of their degree as "women's studies." As the field becomes better established, it may be possible to issue a call for such persons to identify themselves to a central alumnae registry, perhaps established by NWSA and its Student Caucus.

Information on Women's Studies Graduates: A Pilot Survey of Women's Studies Programs

Our literature search had found reports of two national surveys of college and university American studies programs and a third specifically on American studies graduates and their careers (Walker, 1958; Bassett, 1975; Whitlow, 1977). The first two comprehensive studies deal with program structure, curriculum, faculty, students, and graduates, and could serve as comparative models for future institutional research on women's studies programs. Whitlow's study sought answers to the question, "But what can someone with an American studies degree do?" It asked institutions reporting American studies programs or courses to report the total number of American studies graduates by degree and a percentage listing of various jobs taken by degree. (Those results for B.A. graduates are noted in reference 11.)

Our request for information, literature, and responses from women's studies programs about their graduates took a similarly simple form. We recognized that there would be women's studies graduates who

could not be identified or tracked by women's studies programs, but that data and information from programs would comprise the key material currently available.

Memorandums to approximately 300 programs, including those listed in "Women's Studies Programs" and several identified through other resources, requested available materials on the numbers and activities of graduates who had majored, minored, or received certificates in women's studies. We felt it important to query all programs, even those that as yet presumably had no graduates or were not yet listed as authorized to offer degrees, in order at least to call this problem area to their attention.

Written Program Responses

We received telephoned or written responses from 66 of the approximately 300 programs contacted initially; 58 respondents were among the 155 programs offering credentials in women's studies, thus representing a 37 percent response rate from those programs of primary concern to this study. It appears that many did not respond because they did not have reports or information available on graduates; others because of a lack of staff and financial support for dealing with this and related research requests. Appendix B lists programs offering each type of credential available in women's studies in 1978 and indicates those programs that form the sample for this study.

Exactly half (33 programs) provided numerical data on persons who had received certificates, minors, and B.A. or M.A. degrees in women's studies. These data supplied information about 44 different certificates, minors, or degrees, with 11 programs reporting data on more than one credential. We received some quantitative information from 16 percent (15) of the 95 certificate or minor programs; from 23 percent (19) of the 82 B.A. programs; and from 40 percent (10) of the 25 M.A. and graduate minor programs.

For this study, we chose to group undergraduate minors and certificates in one category because curricular requirements for these credentials were believed to be so frequently similar, and in most cases met in addition to the requirements of a traditional departmental major. The low response rate in this category may follow from the fact that the identity of minors is obscure on many campuses, often known only to the student. Furthermore, women's studies certificate programs tend to be more recently established than university degrees allowing for concentrations in women's studies, and thus have fewer graduates at this time. Extra effort made to elicit responses from graduate programs, combined with NWSA's earlier efforts to acquire and publish information on these programs, helps to account for the higher response rate in this category.

Women's studies programs that sent numerical information also enclosed more samples of other materials: brochures, flyers, news clippings, course lists, program proposals, and newsletters. Only five programs provided indepth followup on the activities of their graduates, i.e., surveys of graduates that asked for impressions of their education in women's studies, for their vocational and avocational activities since graduation, and for demographic information. Oregon State and the University of Pittsburgh sent reports on certificate graduates; the University of Washington and the University of California at Santa Cruz on B.A. graduates; and the George Washington University on M.A. graduates (Lawson, J., 1978; Frieze, 1978; Bose et al., 1976; Lawson, T., 1979; Streicher, 1977). All of these reports were based on mailed questionnaires, and furnished quotations from students' narrative responses as well as statistical information.

Sarah Lawrence College sent a comprehensive review of its M.A. program in women's history that contained information on the career activities of 19 graduates (Lerner and Swerdlow, 1976). Several

programs sent tables and correspondence describing graduates and their activities, but no impressionistic data from former students themselves. One program coordinator sent letters written to her by former students with their comments on experiences since graduation.

The 33 programs that did not furnish numerical data on graduates gave various types of responses. Two sent brochures and no correspondence; five provided enrollment data on "degrees in progress" but no information on graduates. Six programs indicated that they were too "new" to have graduates, and several wrote that counting minors on their campuses is difficult. Five informed us that followup surveys were underway but that data would not be available in time for this study. A frequent response was that no survey had ever been made, but that our memorandum had been taken to a dean who was now allocating funds for a graduate student to undertake one.

Eight programs that do not grant degrees provided information. One, a community college, also indicated that it was surveying the activities of former students. Other programs wrote that they were currently seeking approval to offer a degree or certificate. One institution queried, identified by NCES as having awarded an interdisciplinary degree in women's studies in 1977, replied that it does not confer degrees in women's studies!

Telephone Responses

Telephone contacts with program coordinators, directors, and/or chairs of program committees provided a kind of data from and about women's studies programs unlikely to have been retrieved except by site visits. One program coordinator telephoned to say that she did not have time or staff to prepare a written report, but, since this study was very important, she had called together the women's studies faculty on her campus to gather and share their

information. Her oral report gave both anecdotal and statistical information on students and graduates compiled during that committee meeting.

Occasionally, there was simply an apology for a delayed response and a promise of data to follow as soon as possible. More typical of many responses was:

> I have a minimal staff and little money, and I am only part-time in women's studies. I can send you a brochure and list of courses, but no hard data on activities of graduates. My impression is that about a dozen have received degrees here. Half of them are in law school or doing affirmative action type of work. The others are in community service or welfare work as CETA employees. Their jobs aren't necessarily permanent, but they are out there writing proposals and getting some good experience. They are "survivors."

Another, more extreme, but not atypical, response:

> I don't really know about students in the program. We have a $150 budget: $50 for NWSA dues and $100 for brochures. I do not get release time from my regular faculty position, and am essentially a volunteer program coordinator. It's a labor of love. A lot of students enroll in our courses, but I have no way of knowing how many enroll in the individualized program with a concentration in women's studies. I am terribly overworked and cannot really send you any information.

Another response may illustrate the importance in this study for defining and developing research in its problem area, this one from a program that many would

regard as among the stronger in the field, relatively well-funded, with faculty lines, a full-time administrator, and a center for research on women. That administrator first replied:

> I am returning your call about our program, but we really don't have any graduates in women's studies. There are students in individualized programs who graduate with a specialization in women's studies, but they don't have a "degree in women's studies." I can send you numbers of students who enroll each year in our courses, but that would be all.

As the conversation proceeded, she was surprised to realize that only a few institutions as yet offer an autonomous degree in women's studies and that, while the distinction she made between recipients of such degrees and of individualized specializations was reasonable and appropriate, many would consider the latter to be "women's studies graduates." Although she had never inquired about names or numbers of students who might consider themselves or be considered "graduates" on her campus (and doubted if records were kept on area of concentration in individualized programs), she said that in the future she would request such records and thanked us for calling the issue to her attention.

Preliminary Conclusions

A somewhat disturbing preliminary conclusion from this pilot survey is that, on a number of campuses, the women's studies coordinator does not "officially" advise students who register in individualized or departmental programs with a concentration in women's studies. Although women's studies programs may have responsibility for scheduling, publicizing, and generally coordinating all the courses in women's studies that students will take under that rubric,

women's studies faculty and administrators may have little knowledge of or authority for these students and their programs of study.

On some campuses, there are several special programs under which a student could major or concentrate in women's studies; they may be under the aegis of different departments or in different divisions of the institution. The administrative assistant/advisor of one program wrote:

> As of Fall, 1978, 18 students have graduated with majors in women's studies. This number does not include students who have graduated with women's studies concentrations in other programs which offer individually designed majors through University Without Walls, Individually Designed Interdepartmental Majors, Bachelor of Individualized Study and the Inter-College Program in University College. I have served as an advisor for many of these students, but I don't have any statistical information available about them. I mention them here because they are a significant group and should be included in your study, if not in any statistical analysis at least in some narrative form. If we included these students in our tally of graduates, I am sure it would at least double the total number of women's studies graduates. The number, however, can't be verified because we don't have easy access to that information; it would take a concentrated research effort to identify these students, and we don't have the resources to do it.

Many colleges and universities do not keep records of a student's minor field of study on a campus-wide basis and/or do not transmit or analyze departmental records beyond the department. Accordingly, only the student (and perhaps her/his advisor)

is really aware of the student's minor field. Students who develop a departmental minor or area of concentration in women's studies may not have institutional mechanisms available to facilitate their finding one another, and thus to experience their study as part of a shared community, except as their own initiative draws them to others, to an existing women's studies program, a campus women's center, or feminist group.

Certificate programs in women's studies or minors administered in the women's studies program are generally like autonomous degrees in being the responsibility of a program coordinator/director, and they may be more visible on campus than the individualized B.A. options leading to a degree in women's studies. It would appear that these programs are more likely to identify and bring together students enrolled. In the future, researchers on women's studies graduates would do well to consider such differences and might seek to chart the interactions of women's studies degree candidates with one another and with other key groups of peers, faculty, and administrators.

2. WHAT ARE GRADUATES DOING WITH A DEGREE IN WOMEN'S STUDIES?

Numerical data received from women's studies programs on numbers of graduates and their activities since graduation are summarized in tables 1, 2, and 3.

Since the tracking of graduates reported to us was that already or informally done by various programs and not a response to a standard research instrument, it was not consistent or fully comparable in use of terms, dates, or completeness of reporting. The data on which these tables are based are partial and preliminary; they indicate patterns and suggest trends deserving further and additional research.

B.A. Graduates in Women's Studies

Table 1 contains information available for this study on the recipients of the baccalaureate degree in women's studies. The years listed in the "Degree Established" column were generally provided in programs' responses to our memorandum request; in a few cases, they were obtained from other sources, primarily reports in the Women's Studies Newsletter. Variation in nomenclature and in area of emphasis for degrees offered in conjunction with departments and university programs are apparent in the "Nature of Degree" column.

A total of 306 bachelor's degree graduates were reported to us by 19 different women's studies programs. (The NCES data, discussed in section 1, indicate at least 38 additional persons who obtained a B.A. in women's studies in the period 1975-77. We can thus document at least 344 "verified" degrees conferred -- knowing that we don't "know" about many more.) Table 1 categorizes the reported postgraduate activities of 104 graduates, 34 percent of those identified here, on the basis of the information available from the programs.

TABLE 1 -- AVAILABLE FOLLOWUP INFORMATION: BACCALAUREATE DEGREES IN WOMEN'S STUDIES

Institution*	Degree Established	Nature of Degree	Graduates
California, U of, Santa Cruz	--	--	53
Colorado, U of, Boulder	1974	Individualized major	1
Cornell U	1972	Self-designed independent major	2
Hawaii, U of, Manoa	1975	Liberal studies	13
Henderson, S U	1974	Double major in WS and sociology	3
Illinois, U of	--	Individualized plan	4
Kansas, U of	1972	Women's studies	25
Minnesota, U of	1975	Women's studies	16
New York, S U of Albany	1973	Self-designed major	8
New York, S U of Buffalo	1972	B.A. in American studies with concentration in WS	36
New York, S U C, New Paltz	1978	Contract major	1
Northern Colorado U	1974	Individualized major	2
Pittsburgh, U of	1972	Self-designed major	8
Pitzer C	--	--	7
South Florida, U of	1972	Interdisciplinary social science	37
Towson S U	1971	General studies arts and science major	6
Utah, U of	--	Bachelor of university studies	9
Washington, U of, Seattle	1970	General interdisciplinary studies	63
Witchita S U	1974	Women's studies major	10
		TOTALS =	306
		Percent "tracked" =	34%

* The 19 institutions for which graduate followup information is available represent 23 percent of all institutions currently designated as offering a B.A. in "Women's Studies Programs" (1978).

Post-Graduate Activities							
	Professional and Graduate School Enrollment			Current Full-Time Employment		Part-Time or Temp. Employment	Seeking Employment
Graduates Tracked	Law School	Woman-Related	Other	Woman-Related	Other		
28	4	2	1	-	17	4	-
1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
11	1	-	2	2	5	1	-
3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	3	4	-	1	1	-	-
2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
7	1	-	1	1	4	-	-
7	-	-	7	-	-	-	-
3	-	1	-	-	2	-	-
9	1	2	1	3	2	-	-
17	-	-	2	9	4	-	2
4	2	-	1	-	1	-	-
104	14	9	18	18	37	5	3
100%	13%	9%	17%	17%	36%	5%	3%

Approximately 40 percent of the B.A. graduates in this sample, including those who enter law schools, were enrolled in or have completed professional or advanced degree programs. Law was a frequently cited choice; 13 percent of the 104 B.A. graduates tracked here attend or have completed law school.

Of the B.A. graduates for whom followup data are available, 26 percent entered various graduate programs. At least one-third were reported as "continuing in women's studies," or described as "doing graduate research in women's studies"; these are the alumnae assigned to the "Woman-Related" category of graduate school enrollment in table 1. Numbers of graduates characterized by any one other descriptor were not sufficient to allow for any but an "Other" category; however, that designation should not suggest that these students are not bringing feminist perspectives and concerns to their continuing studies.

"Woman-related" was also frequently used by program respondents to describe graduates' current employment, and we listed some alumnae in this employment category on the basis of job titles reported; for example, Federal Women's Program Coordinator or Director, Rape Crisis Center. Employment for which women's studies has not been a traditional prerequisite, however useful and important it might be (as in the work of elementary school teaching), was assigned here to the "Other" category of current employment.

Approximately half (53 percent) of the B.A. graduates tracked are regularly employed. One-third of these are employed in jobs perceived as "Woman-Related," but one assumes that all women's studies graduates can and do use their feminist perspective and training in whatever employment setting they enter. A program director quoted one graduate who reported that her position as a public librarian was not meant to be woman-related, but that she had made it so.

Only two B.A. programs reported information on alumnae who were employed part-time or temporarily; two different programs reported on several graduates whom they identified as seeking employment. Table 1 indicates that 6 percent of the graduates tracked fall into these presumably overlapping categories. Not unexpectedly, some graduates undertake further study and a job simultaneously; unless employment appeared to dominate their activities, they were assigned to the appropriate graduate school category.

Table 1 shows three women's studies programs (Henderson State, SUNY/Buffalo, and the University of South Florida) that are associated with particular university programs or departments and whose graduates thus have a double major or its equivalent in the associated field. Women's studies students enrolled in autonomous or individualized degree programs in women's studies frequently have elected second majors, but we did not receive sufficient followup information distinguishing double majors and their second fields to categorize or compare their activities here. In addition to the 37 graduates reported in interdisciplinary social science and the 36 whose women's studies concentration was within American studies, program coordinators identified B.A. graduates with second majors in psychology (4), English (4), sociology (3), anthropology (2), and 1 each in education, French, mass communications, rehabilitation therapy, and social welfare.

Graduates with Certificates or Minors In Women's Studies

Table 2 contains information available to this study on graduates whose baccalaureate degrees included a certificate or minor in women's studies. A total of 222 certificate or minor graduates were reported by 15 women's studies programs; table 2 categorizes the reported postgraduate activities of 81 (36 percent) of these students, whose pattern of postgraduate study and employment is generally similar to that for B.A. graduates.

TABLE 2 -- AVAILABLE FOLLOWUP INFORMATION: CERTIFICATES AND MINORS IN WOMEN'S STUDIES

Institution*	Certificate Established	Nature of Certificate	Graduates
California, U of, L A	1975	Specialization	21
Cincinnati, U of	1976	Certificate	5
Colorado, U of, Boulder	1974	Certificate	8
Florida S U	1975	Certificate	5
Indiana U	1978	Certificate	6
Jersey City S C	---	Minor	1
Michigan S U	1971	Thematic concentration	18
New Mexico, U of	**	--	8
New York S U, New Paltz	1975	Minor	29
Northeastern Illinois	1978	Minor	2
Northern Colorado U	1974	Minor	20
Oregon, U of	1974	Certificate	37
Pittsburgh, U of	1972	Certificate	38
Portland S U	1975	Certificate	22
Towson S U	1971	Minor	2
		TOTALS =	222
		Percent "Tracked" =	36%

*The 15 institutions for which followup information is available on certificate and minor recipients represent 16 percent of all institutions currently designated as offering certificates or minors in "Women's Studies Programs" (1978).

**The University of New Mexico offers courses, internships, and opportunities for undergraduate research in women's studies, but does not grant degrees, certificates, or minors in women's studies.

Post-Graduate Activities							
	Professional and Graduate School Enrollment			Current Full-Time Employment			
Graduates Tracked	Law School	Woman-Related	Other	Woman-Related	Other	Part-Time or Temp.	Known To Be Seeking Employment
5	-	2	-	-	3	-	-
4	-	1	1	-	1	-	1
5	-	1	1	-	2	1	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	1	3	1	1	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	-	2	-	5	2	-	-
8	1	-	3	3	-	1	-
5	-	-	1	4	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	-	4	2	5	6	4	1
14	-	-	3	-	10	-	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
81	1	11	14	18	26	7	4
100%	1%	14%	17%	22%	32%	9%	5%

Comparison of tables 2 and 1 shows one major difference -- the proportion of graduates reported who enter law school: only 1 percent of those with a certificate or minor identified here versus 13 percent identified in the B.A. graduate population. Our sample is too small to permit significant generalizations explaining this statistic, and, frankly, we have no hypothesis to suggest.

The proportion of those certificate/minor graduates entering graduate study is 31 percent, slightly higher than the 26 percent of B.A. graduates in this category. The proportion of those regularly employed is nearly identical: 54 percent with a certificate or minor and 53 percent with a B.A. in women's studies.

The exploratory, secondary nature of this study precluded the use of formal research procedures, questionnaires, or structured personal interviews. Data provided to us came in various formats from the different women's studies programs reporting, and did not permit categorization of graduates' activities in a mode that would allow for extensive critical analyses. For some alumnae, we received detailed descriptions of employment and/or graduate study, with accompanying biographical sketches; for others (sometimes from the same institution), only a general statement about the students' employment or continuing study. For some, a description of the employer or field was supplied, but not the particular job or occupation.

Tables 1 and 2 show categorizations we were able to make, assigning some graduates to the "Woman-Related" category of graduate study or full-time employment. In this sample, one-third of the B.A. graduates undertaking graduate study or a full-time job were categorized as in "Woman-Related" activities; a higher proportion of those receiving certificates or minors are identified as studying (45 percent) or working (41 percent) in woman-related areas. No

reason for this difference is apparent, and it should be interpreted -- if at all -- with caution.

Recipients of certificates/minors appear somewhat more likely to be "Seeking Employment" or "Employed Part-Time or Temporarily" than are B.A. graduates, according to the data reported in tables 1 and 2. Since information for these two categories came from only four of the 19 B.A. programs, more data clearly are needed to make reliable comparisons of the numbers and percentages of graduates seeking employment with each type of credential.[5]

Some information was given on the second majors of a number of B.A. graduates. Three certificate programs listed the majors of students currently enrolled and of a few graduates, as shown in table 2a. Such information is obviously needed on a much larger and more comprehensive scale to permit comparison between career patterns and the employability of alumnae who majored in these various fields with, and without, women's studies as a second major or area of concentration.

Beyond Tables 1 and 2:
Further Questions and Suggested Answers

This study could not explore in any depth or detail the choices, intentions, or emphases of women's studies alumnae entering graduate or professional programs or their experiences during and after graduate school and professional training. One would surely wish to know more about those continuing in women's studies: their major/related fields, research, and thesis topics; the relation of their undergraduate course work to the graduate curriculum chosen or required; their ability to obtain scholarships, fellowships, and graduate assistantships; and their intended or first employment after obtaining the graduate degree or credential.

It is difficult to know precisely how these graduates and their undergraduate advisors are

TABLE 2a

MAJORS OF WOMEN'S STUDIES
CERTIFICATE STUDENTS/GRADUATES FROM THREE PROGRAMS

Major Fields of Study	Number	Percent*
Psychology	16	17
Sociology/social work	13	14
English	10	11
General studies	8	8
Government/political science	8	8
Business/accounting	7	7
Life sciences	7	7
Education (elementary, English, music)	5	5
Anthropology	4	4
Communications	3	3
Foreign language	3	3
Arts and letters	2	2
Economics	2	2
Social sciences	2	2
Chemistry, engineering, history, interior design, philosophy (one each)	5	5
	95	98%

*Total percentage less than 100 due to rounding procedure.

Sources; Frieze, 1978; Frye, 1979; Goens, 1979.

defining graduate study in "woman-related" areas; similar definitional difficulties arise when one attempts to classify the employment activities of women's studies graduates.

The program chair at San Diego State University surveyed women's studies minors enrolled on that campus to learn about their intended career plans. She classified student responses as traditional or nontraditional for women (Boxer, 1979):

Career Planned	Students Responding			
	Spring 1978		Fall 1978	
	Number	%	Number	%
Teaching (elementary/ secondary)	103	15.2	103	16.3
Nursing, social work, counseling, librarian	88	13.0	97	15.3
Office work	19	2.8	26	4.1
Other work traditionally done by women	56	8.3	46	7.3
Work not traditionally done by women	326	48.0	290	45.7

One followup survey from the University of Washington (Bose et al., 1976) listed the activities of graduates, emphasizing traditional, nontraditional, or women's studies-related classifications:

Number of Graduates	Type of Job
6	Supervisory or managerial
4	Traditional woman's job
2	Nontraditional job
2	Job directly relating to women's studies
3	Graduate study
1	Not employed

Some version of a tripartite typology seems most likely to begin to reflect the collective experience of women's studies graduates: traditional "female" work; work in fields or occupations not traditional for women; "new female"/feminist jobs, resulting from or connected to the women's movement. The last would include, for example, positions in rape crisis centers, battered spouse shelters or diplaced homemakers programs, campus or community women's centers, affirmative action offices, sex equity projects, women's studies research institutes, advocacy and lobbying groups, and special women's programs in various organizations with feminist publications, counseling services, and arts projects.

Even so, however, there will be problems in classification. The lawyer or professor in a field not traditional for women, like the elementary school teacher or social worker in a traditionally female field, may each perceive herself to be doing woman-related work on the basis of actual tasks undertaken or the consciousness she brings to work assigned; those graduates employed in research, delivery of health and social services, curriculum development, personnel, management/administration, or editorial work by, for, and about women and women's concerns would "traditionally" be tabulated as employed in either traditionally female or nontraditionally female work.

It will probably be useful and necessary for future researchers to attempt to gather career data on women's studies graduates that can be classified both in established academic and traditional labor force categories and in categories particular to women's studies. More data are also needed to allow for analysis of the "quality" of employment of women's studies graduates, not only part-time or full-time, but temporary or continuing, "survival," or career level with opportunity for advancement. In each case, one would also want to know whether the traditionally less desirable employment status was due to choice,

necessity, or lack of options. For some women, as for some men, part-time work may be preferred, and for others it may be necessary for at least periods of time.[6]

Critical examination of the career activities of women's studies graduates should also be designed to permit both traditional and feminist analyses of data on those alumnae who are not in the paid work force, whether seeking or not seeking salaried employment. As with female work force participation in general, attention is required to the implications both of technical definitions of unemployment (that may underrepresent numbers of persons who would work if work were available) and of technical definitions of work (that may undervalue activities of workers who are not paid). Graduates engaged in creative, personally satisfying, and socially useful work -- as community activists and volunteers; as caretakers of the young, the ill and the elderly; as artists and craftspeople; as unpaid associates in a partner or spouse's job -- may all be considered or consider themselves to be "using their degrees," and might be classified by future researchers in some more imaginative category than simply "unemployed."

Even if the data available to us were more detailed and more complete, they would still only represent the beginning of a data base for continuing study. Tracking and followup studies of any student population shortly after graduation are likely to provide only a first indication of more complex patterns, and such may be even more so the case with this population.

Seven Years Later and other materials available to this study describe women's studies students as frequently older than the traditional undergraduate at time of enrollment. Other evidence suggests that some students are uncertain of career goals; they attend college intermittently and change their program of

study more than once. Some are in periods of transition: recently widowed, separated or divorced, or shifting from major childraising responsibility. Some may be ambivalent about entering or re-entering the work force after years of part-time, low-status, or volunteer work; many will need to work at whatever employment is available while supporting dependent children, repaying student loans, considering and saving for further study, or waiting for commitments of/to a spouse or partner to permit relocation.

Our data reveal something about the activities of 34 percent of the B.A. graduates tracked here and 36 percent of the minor/certificate recipients identified, but we cannot know with any certainty what the other 65 percent are doing, will do, or want to do to make use of their degrees and their lives. Full-time employment may not be the ultimate goal of all students enrolling in women's studies. Information from responses to program surveys indicates that a number of students enroll for personal growth and development not related directly to obtaining employment. Volunteer and political activities reported by graduates may be in expectation of developing employment, in addition to or in lieu of employment or as a life-style choice of primary activity.

While the information presented in this study is insufficient to allow for the sorts of analyses projected here, examples of the present career and avocational activities of some women's studies graduates, culled from correspondence, program literature, and followup surveys, appear to confirm the positive intuitions of persons in the field. A preliminary answer to the frequent query, "But what can a person do with a degree in women's studies?" would be that the options are unlimited.

M.A. Graduates and Graduate Minors in Women's Studies

Table 3 shows information available to this study on recipients of M.A. degrees in women's studies or

M.A. graduates whose minor or area of concentration was women's studies.

At least 230 M.A. graduates are identified here by 10 women's studies programs that responded to our request for information or that had responded to the 1978 NWSA graduate program questionnaire. (See appendix B for 1978 listing of 25 women's studies programs identified as offering graduate degrees.[7])

Approximations in this table reflect the sparse and soft data provided. Information on M.A. graduates' postgraduate activities here comes primarily from two programs, George Washington University and Sarah Lawrence College, both of which are located in or near major metropolitan areas.

Goddard-Cambridge, the oldest graduate level women's studies program, probably has the largest number of graduates to date. Its emphasis on collective study and problem-oriented field work (in topic areas including feminist theory, feminist therapy, and women in the labor force) offers career-related experience in a variety of woman-related settings. Information on the further education and employment activities of its graduates would be of particular interest to future research on women's studies graduates.

The only information available to this study was an article in the Goddard College Alumni newspaper, The Silo (spring 1979), profiling one graduate now directing a Federal grant to Goddard for the development of women's studies programming for low-income urban and rural community women. She may be typical of some significant proportion of women's studies graduate students in this and other programs in having enrolled, in part, to integrate political and paid work experience after a history of women's movement involvement and employment as a community mental health services counselor.

TABLE 3 -- AVAILABLE FOLLOWUP INFORMATION: M.A. DEGREE RECIPIENTS IN WOMEN'S STUDIES

Institution*	Degree Established	Nature of Degree	Graduates
California S U , Chico	1973	Individualized major	3
Cornell U	1972	Interdisciplinary minor	(at least 5**)
George Washington U	1973	Special studies concentration	79
Goddard-Cambridge Graduate Program in Social Change	1971	Feminist studies (collective or individualized)	65 to 80
New York, SU of Buffalo	1972	Concentration in American studies	ca. 20
Northeastern Illinois	1971	Concentration in social science;	at least 9
		Concentration in American studies	3
Northern Colorado, U of	--	School for educational change and development	at least 1
San Jose S U	1972	Social science with emphasis on women	ca. 20
Sarah Lawrence C	1972	Women's history program	24
Wichita S U	1971	Liberal studies	6

TOTALS: at least 230

Percent "tracked": 37%

*The 10 institutions for which graduate followup information is available represent 40 percent of all institutions identified by NWSA as offering M.A. degrees in women's studies.

**This minor is for M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s majoring in fields other than women's studies; these values were not counted among totals in this table.

+One group of graduates has gone to law school or into "affirmative action" jobs; the rest have taken low-level administrative "CETA-type" jobs.

++Nine are teaching in community colleges; others are employed in community administration and CETA-funded jobs.

Post-Graduate Activities					
Graduates Tracked	Graduate and Professional School Enrollment	Current Employment		Seeking Employment	Volunteers
		Full-Time	Part-Time		
3	-	3	-	-	-
-	-	5**	-	-	-
46	1	19	18	6	2
-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	+	-	-	-
-	"several"	"most teach"	-	-	-
3	-	3	-	-	-
1	1	-	-	-	-
9	-	at least 9++	-	-	-
19	4	15	-	-	-
3	-	2	-	-	1
84	6	51	18	6	3
100%	7%	61%	21%	7%	4%

The three Chico State graduates all concentrated in the "Counseling Women" focus available in that program. Cornell (Women's Studies Newsletter, fall 1978, p. 22) reported:

> fewer than a dozen graduates officially electing a women's studies minor...perhaps ten times that many who take women's studies courses each term and develop specialties in fields closely allied to women's studies. Graduates go on to teach women's studies; to edit journals related to our new interdisciplinary field; to administer affirmative action programs in business, education, and industry; and to work in women's programs in counseling, organizing, and lobbying.

Most of those who have completed the M.A. program at Northeastern have been public school teachers who continued working at their teaching jobs. A few have continued for the Ph.D., and one has taken a teacher/counselor position at Northeastern in an alternate degree program.

Northern Colorado reports a graduate student pursuing a D.A. in women's history; a number of others enrolled there plan to combine women's studies with coursework in the School of Education, in preparation for junior and senior high school teaching. One of the two Wichita State graduates employed teaches minority studies at Wichita State; the other is an assistant dean of student services at a midwestern university.

The M.A. programs at Sarah Lawrence and George Washington gave followup information on alumnae who had graduated through June 1977. Four graduates of the Sarah Lawrence M.A. in women's history were working toward the Ph.D. at Columbia, Rutgers, Stanford, and Yale; their respective fields were not designated, but were presumed to be history. Seven

other Sarah Lawrence graduates occupied administrative positions: five education-related; one involving planning and developing juvenile programs at the state level; and one directing a women's crisis center. One of these alumnae was teaching high school, and seven were teaching at small colleges.

Activities of the first 46 alumnae of the George Washington University Master of Arts in special studies with a concentration in women's studies are described in a graduate student research report (Streicher, 1977). Data reported in table 3 show that of these 46 graduates tracked, 19 were then employed full-time and 18 part-time, and 1 was enrolled in a Ph.D. program. Two-thirds of the jobs held by these GWU graduates were woman-related, including three of the four in private business. Nine of these graduates worked in various levels of office administration and management; nine in counseling or career education; four as consultants; three as researchers; two as teachers; two as office staff workers; one each as a reference librarian, actress, and writer. Their principal employers were universities, local and Federal Government, and private organizations.[8]

Table 3 shows that some information was available on postgraduate activities on 84 (37 percent) of the 230 M.A. graduates identified to this study. Seven percent were continuing to advanced graduate study; 61 percent were employed full-time and 21 percent part-time; 7 percent were seeking employment; and 4 percent worked as volunteers. (Since a large proportion of the followup data in table 3 is from the 1977 survey of George Washington University alumnae, it may not necessarily be representative of the national population of women's studies graduates. On the basis of information available here, GWU graduates appear less likely to be employed in education-related work, and more likely to be in government or policy-related employment.)

Table 3 data, when compared with national statistics on educated working women, indicate that this cohort of M.A. degree graduates in women's studies is more likely to be employed full-time than the national population. Of the graduates in this study, 82 percent of the total are in the work force; nationally, 71 percent of women with 5 or more years of college are in the work force. Twenty-one percent of these women's studies M.A. alumnae work part-time, a value comparable to the national statistic of 23 percent for women with 4 or more years of college (U.S. Department of Labor, 1976; 1975. Part-time data are not available nationally for women with graduate degrees.)

Comparison of these M.A. graduates with the B.A. and certificate/minor graduates described in tables 1 and 2 shows, not unexpectedly, a much higher proportion of the undergraduate alumnae entering graduate and professional school. Approximately 80 percent of the M.A. graduates and 60 percent of the B.A. graduates are in the paid work force. In this particular sample, which appears to include a high proportion of older, re-entry women with M.A. degrees, about one-fourth of the M.A. graduates who are employed work only part-time in the paid work force. A much smaller proportion, 8 percent, of the employed B.A. graduates work only part-time.

We had hypothesized that records on graduate students would be relatively available, since they typically go through a number of procedures in the course of fulfilling graduate degree requirements, and extra efforts were made in the development of this study to contact women's studies programs identified as offering graduate degrees.

As was true of undergraduate, so with graduate degrees: one must assume some number of students developing individualized degree programs in women's studies who are not identified to women's studies

programs and their administrators, or whose institutions do not have women's studies programs. While the certificate, minor, or concentration in women's studies (or double major, formal or informal) were more likely to be visible women's studies credentials for undergraduates, graduate minors in women's studies may be more individualized at this time, and thus the population formally or informally electing them may be more difficult to identify.

The graduate programs that supplied data here were all established by 1973, and might have been expected to have been able to have supplied more data and followup information on their graduates. That recordkeeping has heretofore been inadequate and that so few followup surveys of graduates are available appear to be oversights of women's studies programs and reflect on the lack of resources for these programs. Followup surveys can function as an evaluation tool for a program, serve as a public relations instrument, contribute to maintaining lines of communications between former and current students and the program, and help to build a valuable network for feminists "in the field."[9]

* * * * * * *

While there are many questions to ask of the data that are available, they are not really sufficient for detailed analyses. For projections and future research in this area, it will be necessary for women's studies programs to begin to document the date each degree (or credential) is established, annual student enrollment in each program, numbers of degree candidates, attrition rates, and numbers of degree recipients, along with sufficient descriptive and demographic data to establish a profile of these students and their programs of study. Most programs have had a practice of maintaining records of numbers of students enrolled in each women's studies course, but few have undertaken (or asked their institutions

to provide) the sort of transcript analysis that might reveal multiple registrations equivalent to a credential requirement. This type of recordkeeping, along with periodic followup surveys of alumnae, ideally should become routine for all women's studies programs.

Meanwhile, it is important to reemphasize here the exploratory nature of the information in tables 1, 2, and 3 and the fact that it was supplied by 37 percent of those women's studies programs offering some type of credential, only 22 percent of which contributed quantitative data. The institutions that counted women's studies alumnae and contributed the numbers to this planning study provided followup information for only 35 percent of these graduates: 34 percent of those with B.A.'s, 36 percent of those with undergraduate certificates and minors, and 37 percent of M.A. graduates. Thus we have limited available information on a limited number of graduates from a limited sample of the women's studies programs offering degrees.

What are the other 65 percent doing? Is their failure to respond or identify themselves to the programs associated with dissatisfaction with current employment or embarrassment in admitting un- or underemployment? We can offer no decisive answer to these questions, but we did attempt to explore the problem further: our analysis is described in appendix C. It tentatively suggests that the proportion of graduate respondents and nonrespondents seeking employment are similar, thus reinforcing the apparent cross-validity of the several small subsamples reported here. Until more is known, however, about the postgraduate activities of nonrespondents, and of graduates not identified, these preliminary findings cannot reliably be extrapolated or assumed to represent the entire population of women's studies graduates.

On the Ph.D. in Women's Studies
And Ph.D.'s in Women's Studies

The "Readers Speakout" column of the fall 1978 Women's Studies Newsletter included a letter from two June 1978 graduates of the History of Consciousness program at the University of California at Santa Cruz. Both had concentrated in women's studies within that interdisciplinary graduate program and had helped to create a feminist subgroup there. Their dissertations were, respectively, on "The Social Construction of Female Sexual Experience" and on Matilda Joslyn Gage, a nineteenth century American feminist. Their diplomas included what that program refers to as a parenthetical degree notation: "Doctor of Philosophy in History of Consciousness (Women's Studies)." Now employed as faculty/administrators in women's studies programs, they were "very curious to know whether we are the first two Ph.D's in the area of women's studies in this country," and asked anyone with information to respond to them.

No responses have come to the Newsletter to date; literature or data on Ph.D graduates in women's studies (and their postgraduate activities) are virtually nonexistent. These two graduates may well be (among) the first whose diplomas acknowledge and record doctoral work in women's studies, but they are surely not the first who have pursued such study and perceived themselves to be doing so.

As with the B.A. and M.A., the Ph.D. in women's studies can be understood to refer to:

1. Students who offer women's studies as a minor field of study within or adjacent to the departmental or school Ph.D.: graduates, for example, with a minor in women's studies established in the Department of English at the University of Arizona, or the "women's history" option offered in many institutions; untabulated numbers of students who have developed formal or informal areas

of concentration in women's studies as part of a doctoral program in other established fields and disciplines.

2. Students who design individualized, interdisciplinary, or committee degrees in women's studies, as offered "by permission" in most universities, in special programs at many, and as the sole form of degree in a few. The Santa Cruz graduates could be included in this category.

3. Students whose program of study and research in a traditional field or discipline is directed to a feminist thesis project and/or the acquisition of woman-related practitioner competencies. Such a program of study might well be the rather private enterprise of a particular student and her advisor(s), but some departments in various fields are coming to be known as supportive of student interest in women's studies because of the presence of feminists on their faculties and/or their working relationship with a campus women's studies program or research center.

Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Program

Since 1974, the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation has offered Women's Studies Research Grants for Doctoral Candidates. The 110 fellowship recipients (as of 1978-79) -- and the additional number of applicants not selected for this particular award -- comprise one significant sample of the population of doctoral graduates in women's studies, most of whom would be included in the third category above.

Some information on the Wilson Women's Studies Fellows was shared with this study. That unpublished followup data indicate that these persons thus identified with women's studies are completing their degrees

and finding first employment at rates that appear to compare favorably with others in their traditional fields and in academia generally. This group of graduates also reflects at least part of the range of research and teaching interests represented in women's studies.[10]

The 20 1978-79 fellows (including one man) are in doctoral programs in history (7), English (5), psychology (3), and sociology, anthropology, political science, and American civilization (1 each). Their research topics include women in the forest service, in Northwest Indian tribes, and in San Francisco trade unions; on the American college campus, in seventeenth century England, and in prerevolutionary Russia. Their studies range from sexuality in the workplace to structural and intrapersonal supports for equality between working spouses; from psychotherapists' responses to client sexual material to the image of women in Christina Rossetti's poetry; from infant sex differences to the life of Emma Goldman.

The 18 Wilson fellows elected in 1977 were all still completing their dissertations as of summer 1978 in history (6), art history (2), oriental studies (2), economics (2), English (2), and history of science and medicine, architecture, comparative culture, music, and higher education/English (1 each). Five were known to be currently employed in academic work as instructors, lecturers, assistant professors, or researchers.

Eighteen 1976 fellows (including one man) had studied topics ranging from Tudor women to women workers in the Mexican textile industry; educational history to educational theory; women as candidates to women and men in transitional clerical and craft occupations; sexual inequality and population dynamics in India to married women's property rights in nineteenth century New York. Their degrees included history (8), English (2), anthropology (2), American civilization (2), and clinical psychology,

education, political science, and administrative sciences (1 each). Three had completed the Ph.D. by spring 1973; the rest expected to do so that year. The three who had completed their degrees were employed as assistant professor, visiting assistant professor, and clinical fellow. Of the ABD's (all but dissertation (pre-Ph.D.)), five were employed in graduate-level positions: graduate fellow, lecturer, adjunct faculty, and two as assistant professors.

In 1975-76, 27 fellowships were awarded to students completing degrees in history (12), English (4), psychology (4), anthropology (2), and French, art history, agricultural economics, sociology, and religious studies (1 each). Seventeen were known to have completed their degrees; six expected their degrees in 1978. (No information was available on degree status or employment of three of these fellows; one, now employed as a Federal contract negotiator, was reported as possibly withdrawing from her degree program.) Seventeen of the 1975-76 fellows were employed: five as instructors, eight as assistant professors, one as an associate professor, and five in academic administration, legislative research, and psychotherapy. Two held postdoctoral fellowships.

Twenty-one of the 27 1974-75 fellows had completed the Ph.D. by summer 1978; four expected to do so in 1978, and one by 1979. (No degree status or employment information was available on one of that year's fellows.) These first fellowships went to students in history (11), anthropology (4), psychology (3), English (3), sociology (2), and economics, art history, political science, and linguistics (1 each). Twenty were known to be employed: 12 as assistant professors, and the others as lecturers, instructors, research fellows and associates, an archivist, and a staff member for women's concerns on the Board of Home Ministries, United Church of Christ. Anecdotal information in reports and press releases from the Foundation suggests that many of these and subsequent graduates are having their research published and/or are being approached by various agencies as consultants.

These graduates' degrees and subsequent academic appointments will not, in almost all cases, be designated or reported as "women's studies." Had they not been awarded this prestigious fellowship, they and others like them might only be visible and identifiable to researchers on women's studies graduates on the basis of dissertation titles and subsequent scholarly or professional activity. It may be possible and necessary to identify for further study similar populations: recipients of research awards from the American Association of University Women, Business and Professional Women's Foundation, and the like; participants in the various women-related research awards competitions sponsored by organizations like the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counselors and by women's caucuses in many of the disciplines; and applicants for and recipients of postdoctoral research fellowships sponsored by the National Institute of Education's Minorities and Women's program.

Similar problems of identification exist, and continue, when the population of Ph.D's in women's studies is extended to include persons whose formal credentials and training predate any possibility of having been considered "women's studies."

The senior faculty committee judging the 1977-78 Wilson fellowship competition, e.g., with professorial titles and appointments in English, sociology, and history, are described by the Foundation as "scholars noted for their work in women's studies"; they are that, but not by official institutional credential or appointment. The judges for 1979 are described as "knowledgeable about their own fields and women's studies"; the Foundation press release identified them by including information on feminist scholarly publication or professional activity in addition to the traditional identification by department and institution. For some teacher/scholars, work in "their own field" may continue parallel to work considered "women's studies"; for others, feminist

teaching and research interests may come (and be allowed) to infuse all professional activities.

Identification of Women's Studies Ph.D.'s

Women's studies graduates with a Ph.D., and those Ph.D.'s whose work in women's studies was done after completion of their degree -- whether doing it independently, at conferences, in formal or informal seminars, study groups, institutes, or research programs -- may ultimately be identifiable through data and information available or being gathered by women's caucuses and commissions in the various fields and disciplines, through published or funded research and activity, and through affiliation with women's studies programs and projects and the National Women's Studies Association.

Persons whose research, teaching, and political activities created and are still creating women's studies programs and courses were listed in Who's Who and Where in Women's Studies (Berkowitz et al., 1974), but that listing is long since dated and inadequate. An updated edition would be a major and useful project.

Many of those listed in that volume are now in second or third careers as educational administrators or in related work, either and both because their activity as feminist faculty in traditional departments was not rewarded with tenure or because it made them visible, gave them administrative skills, and led them from the classroom. Some tracking and followup of this group might be possible in coordination with the American Council on Education's National Identification Program for the Advancement of Women in Higher Education Administration, with the several HERS (Mid-Atlantic, New England, Southwest) Projects that offer institutes and placement rosters for women administrators, and with similar state-based projects and networks.

Just as the concern of undergraduates about "what you can do with a degree in women's studies" often masks fear that the degree will label them negatively to persons in the marketplace hostile to the women's movement, so many who are involved in women's studies in the academic marketplace are concerned that feminist involvement and scholarship are still professionally dangerous, over and beyond existing discrimination against women as a class. Pressures on lesbian and Third World women, and those who wish to teach and study about them, are felt to be particularly strong. With tenure and promotion (and grants and awards) increasingly difficult to obtain for junior faculty still being hired into tenure-track positions, the academic reward structure is not likely to favor those who work outside departmental priorities.

Most research to date related to affirmative action and status of women in the professions has been devoted to establishing a data base and analyses of academic and professional career patterns that include sex, race, and marital status with such traditional indicators as age, field, date and place of degree, publications, and the like. More work will be needed to define and distinguish women's studies and feminist indicators as well, if we are to be able to identify and track the full spectrum of women's studies graduates. The call for additional studies in the preface to this series speaks to this need in another fashion, as do other studies in this series.

Women's studies may be described as having a dual mandate: the reexamination and reconstruction of an existing body of knowledge, and the creation of new methodologies, structures, and areas of study for research and teaching. Seen in relation to its students and graduates, the women's studies mandate is to educate all students to be whole persons -- able to support themselves and to effect change for women in whatever work they choose to do -- and to educate those students who will themselves continue to be

involved in women's studies in the most particular meaning of that term: to become women's studies teachers, scholars, researchers, and educators.

There is not yet clear consensus in the field on what might or should constitute a Ph.D. in women's studies. In the short run, most of those seeking faculty appointments or professional positions will choose or need to obtain and maintain credentials, contacts, and credibility in an established field while developing and participating in the growth of an interdisciplinary/feminist paradigm. Not all Ph.D. graduates in women's studies, however defined, will seek or obtain academic employment. All will profit, as would women generally, if there were general acceptance of one of the suggested activities included in a handout of the New Jersey Planning Committee for ACE's National Identification Program: "encourage job descriptions which focus on competencies required as well as traditional educational experience and training."

Related Populations and Data Sources

Future research on career patterns and life/work competencies of women's studies graduates will necessarily involve comparisons with other populations -- graduates of both traditional and nontraditional education and training programs. Among other questions, comparisons will address the relative success of women's studies graduates in obtaining and performing work in both traditionally male and female fields and their success in creating and pursuing new roles and occupations.

Graduates of Traditional And Interdisciplinary Programs

"Compared with whom?" is a question that may have multiple answers, depending on the purposes and context of future research projects. The most obvious comparison is with populations with traditional

degrees and credentials in such fields as education, psychology, counseling, and political science to test "how well" (or better, or differently) women's studies graduates do in relation to persons traditionally trained for work in such fields.

One preliminary finding of this study is that women's studies students generally have traditional training and credentials, as well as the experience, perspective, and substantive knowledge provided by women's studies programs and courses. With that in mind, researchers will, however, want to compare career patterns of particular groups of women's studies graduates with alumnae (and alumni) who have the same major or degree, as well as to compare the "success" of women's studies graduates who have obtained employment in counseling, teaching, journalism, public and political affairs, and the like with other liberal arts graduates who are similarly employed.

Women's studies graduates might also be valuably compared with graduates of other interdisciplinary studies programs such as American studies, ethnic studies, black studies, and urban/environmental studies, although there is reason to believe that data currently available on those populations will, like that on women's studies graduates, still be "soft and sparse." Such comparisons could serve, in part, to explore the ways in which these newer fields impact on the job market and create new jobs, and the ways in which graduates of these interdisciplinary programs shape and market their skills and competencies.[11]

Other comparison populations might include graduates of various general interdisciplinary programs and of nontraditional-experimental or competency-based colleges like Campus Free College, University of Massachusetts/Boston-College III, and the College of Human Services or Union Graduate School. Former participants in activist-committed programs or groups like the Midwest Academy and the

Peace Corps or VISTA might provide other sorts of comparisons. One could elaborate an extensive list of possible analyses based on the structure and curricular design of such comparison programs or projects and their intended outcomes and expressed values.

Graduates of Programs Designed for Women

For feminist educational purposes, it will be at least as -- if not more -- important to compare women's studies graduates with "graduates" of various educational programs designed for women, to help elucidate processes by which curriculum for and about women and feminist pedagogy contribute to women's career development and to their development of competencies essential to do and change the work of the world.

As noted throughout this monograph, a fundamental but difficult priority will be identification and examination of the career patterns of student populations that have taken many women's studies courses in institutions without formal women's studies programs and those that have taken courses but not "claimed" the women's studies program credential to which they would have been entitled.

Students enrolled in women's studies programs in coeducational schools have opportunities for intensive and significant interactions with other women students and with faculty women. These opportunities are like, if not identical to, the experiences associated with women's colleges, which have been thought to enhance women's potential for achievement by offering more leadership models and opportunities than male-dominated institutions. Recent research seems to suggest that only graduates of the most elite and selective women's colleges are more likely to be outstanding achievers, in comparison to graduates of coeducational or other women's colleges. In fact, their achievement characteristics can be attributed

to high family socioeconomic level, rather than to the schools' environment (Oates and Williamson, 1978). Moreover, even these achievers do not select careers in nontraditional fields for women (other than medicine) more frequently than other women college graduates. Comparison of women's studies graduates from various institutions with alumnae of the Seven Sisters schools and of other women's colleges might introduce new terms into discussions of the impact of educational environment on women's achievement.[12]

Participants in Women-Focused Programs

Recipients of the Business and Professional Women's Foundation Career Advancement Scholarships make up a different sort of national population for which demographic and followup information suitable for comparison purposes is available. Established in 1969, these scholarships have assisted nearly 2,500 women over 25 years of age at the time of enrollment to acquire career-related education. Twelve percent of the participants were preparing to re-enter the work force, the remainder to change or advance their careers. This population differs from women's studies students and graduates in educational profile, but shares many characteristics with respect to career goals and family/marital status. The mean age of scholarship recipients was 34; mean family income $7,200; 40 percent were single parents (Business and Professional Women's Foundation, 1978).

A related set of comparison populations would include former participants in women-focused programs in business and management. The National Association of Bank Women, Incorporated, for example, sponsors B.A. programs in management to assist the career development of women currently employed in business (at Simmons College, Mundelein College, Pitzer College, and Louisiana State University). And the Business and Professional Women's Foundation co-sponsors with Sears Roebuck a loan program to assist women obtaining an M.A. in management.

Other populations for which comparison data may be available or obtainable are those served by the various Federal and foundation-funded projects designed in the last several years to support and explore means of achieving educational equity for women in different settings. Two instances might be cited here, both funded by the Women's Educational Equity Act Program. While the women served by these two projects differ with respect to socioeconomic background, they generally share conservative attitudes toward women's roles. Both programs combine traditional curricula with specially designed courses and projects employing techniques common to women's studies programs: student-faculty interaction and discussion; peer counseling; use of role models; emphasis on women's history; and opportunities for community interaction and experiential learning.

Project WILL (Women in Leadership Learning) sought to prepare undergraduate women at Barat College, a small, liberal arts, Catholic women's college in northern Illinois, for leadership positions in business, education, government, and industry. Participants include traditional undergraduates and adult, re-entry women (Poinsett, 1978). The project at LaGuardia Community College, New York City, sought to upgrade employment and advancement opportunities for adult, working-class women, emphasizing self-assessment, life-planning, and the importance of nontraditional jobs for women (Branch, 1978). The population at LaGuardia differs significantly from most women's studies graduates: 75 percent are married, 66 percent are older than 34, 50 percent are non-white. Also, the project at LaGuardia is a cooperative one, combining employment in an urban setting with study at a 2-year college; nearly all (87 percent) of the participants indicate they ultimately expect to complete a 4-year degree.[13]

Re-entry Women

Many college and university programs serving re-entry women are integrated in existing institutional structures. Some are designed primarily to advise, counsel, and support students returning to the particular campus to complete the baccalaureate. Others, often but not always part of programs titled Continuing Education for Women, provide for more possible outcomes, including career counseling; educational referral and refresher skills courses for clients (with and without degrees) making transitions from homemaking or low status jobs; and intensive training and certificate programs leading to specific occupational roles, often in nontraditional fields.

Some re-entry programs offer noncredit women's studies courses or coordinate their activities with (or within) a campus women's center or women's studies program. Others do not, and they may offer students little exposure to the ideas developed in women's studies courses or to overtly feminist consciousness-raising groups. CEW students have been mostly of middle-class background, with ages ranging from 20 to 70 and educational attainment from high school diploma to Ph.D. Thus, one could imagine many designs for comparing women's studies graduates with former re-entry program, women's center, or CEW participants, exploring how feminist orientation, age, socioeconomic background, race, family characteristics, educational profile, geographic location, and educational programmatic factors interact to affect career patterns and competencies.[14]

Other Populations

Probably difficult to track, but critical to note here, are the populations consisting of former participants or graduates of "free-standing" feminist educational projects and programs, where training parallels that in traditional fields, crafts, and

disciplines but from a frankly feminist perspective in a women-related context: The Women Writers Program, Women's School for Planning and Architecture, Women's Institute of Alternative Psychotherapy, Los Angeles Women's Building, New York Feminist Art Institute, and others.

Finally, most difficult to identify, but important to recall, is the population of active participants in noncredit or self-study learning experiences related to women's studies: reading, watching, listening, and participating in self-initiated and self-paced activities, alone and with others in consciousness-raising groups, organizations, neighborhoods, and women's networks of all sorts.

The number of colleges and universities that now award credit for "prior learning" may become increasingly visible to such a population of self-directed women's studies students through publications like How to Get College Credit for What You Have Learned as a Homemaker and Volunteer (Ekstrom et al., 1977). Women's studies programs grant credit for what those in experiential and competency-based education call "sponsored experiential learning" -- supervised nonclassroom activities undertaken for academic credit. Eventually, women's studies programs will be asked to assess prior learning and to grant credit toward a degree in women's studies for experiences and knowledge gained before enrollment in the program. It may be in this process that many "competencies in women's studies" will be articulated and defined (Sackmary and Hedrick, 1977).

3. CAREER AND EMPLOYMENT ISSUES IN WOMEN'S STUDIES

This study necessarily -- and, we believe, usefully -- overlaps with another in this series, on "The Relationship Between Women's Studies, Career Development, and Vocational Choice." A brief review here of the impact of women's studies programs on student career awareness and development, of employment opportunities for women's studies students, and of research and student evaluation of the contributions made by women's studies to students' career competencies is offered to provide background and context for our data in the particular problem area of women's studies graduates. This study can and should be read in conjunction with other and similar discussion presented in the Bose and Priest-Jones study.

Women's Studies Programs and Career Development

The probability of a woman's being employed full-time increases as her level of education increases. Women in the United States are increasing both educational attainment and labor force participation in historically unprecedented numbers (Almquist, 1977), with social results yet to be fully charted.

Barriers to their employment and advancement are systemic, as yet, in almost all fields. Employment that women's studies students might particularly be presumed to wish to enter -- service and research/advocacy occupations related to the changing roles, status, and needs of women -- are yet relatively unestablished, underfunded, and/or vulnerable to economic depression and political pressures.

To explore the extent to which women's studies programs present themselves as emphasizing or promoting careers for students taking courses or obtaining credentials in the field, we examined brochures, flyers, proposals, and pamphlets from a sampling of

programs, primarily those from the programs responding to this study. Others reviewed were in the files of the National Women's Studies Association or the women's studies programs at the George Washington University and the University of Maryland at College Park. The coordinator of the program at Towson State University assisted by reporting a review of her files, similarly seeking incidence of reference to careers for graduates, usefulness of the field or degree in employment, descriptions of graduates' activities, and discussion of related employment activities and issues. In total, this informal mini-survey reviewed a literature of approximately 60 program publications, including some of the earlier materials from women's studies programs.

Approximately one-third of the materials reviewed mentioned jobs or careers, sometimes specifically (reviewing/revising textbooks, serving as staff of a commission on women), but often only in passing or general terms: "to assist in the transition from home to school or job," or "prepares students for career possibilities in a range of areas including business, social service, politics, law, teaching, and all fields which are enhanced by an understanding of this new content area."

A few publications mentioned current interest in research on women's issues and suggested graduate study as an option after the first degree: "Graduate research in most of the traditional disciplines has begun to focus on the study of women as a promising new field for investigation. Graduate programs in Women's Studies are available in several institutions..."

Approximately two-thirds of the program publicity we reviewed described only the scholarly and personal growth aspects of women's studies. Whether this emphasis on liberal arts/affective outcomes, rather than on vocational or effective outcomes, is a function of "women's studies" or is present because

such language was (then) congenial to the general norms of the university is impossible to evaluate by this sort of crude content analysis. It does appear, however, that while social change was a consistent theme in the development of women's studies programs, career uses, as traditionally understood, were a relatively minor consideration in the original public or self-image of most programs.

In response to the request from this study for information on the capacity of women's studies programs to help students develop marketable skills, we received a number of printed materials that were relatively specific to the issue of women's studies' usefulness in the workplace. In some cases, these had been very recently developed; in two instances, the emphasis on careers was intensified from earlier materials produced by the same programs.[15] A few recently published brochures sent to this study did not make reference to possible employment areas for persons with training in women's studies, however. And since our responses overall came from those programs that responded to this study's emphasis on career issues, the fact that most of the examples of program literature received discussed employment in some way cannot be taken to represent the entire field's involvement in promoting career-related skills and awareness.

Nor, conversely, can the absence of such self-descriptive employment-related references be taken to prove the absence of activities related to employment concerns and careers. Brochures and course schedules sent to us indicated internship or practicum opportunities in many of the undergraduate programs and approximately one-third of the graduate programs. Program newsletters occasionally advertised specific job openings, mostly for academic positions more suited to faculty or doctoral level students than to undergraduates or M.A. graduates. Some positions were publicized for feminist writer/researchers or clerical staff for women's organizations.

Program literature, particularly newsletters, included many announcements of noncredit workshops for developing job-seeking skills: resume writing, interviewing techniques, and career planning, often sponsored or cosponsored by the women's studies programs. However one might measure a program's emphasis on acquisition of particular job skills or promotion of specific careers through the curriculum, there is evident awareness that graduates will be seeking employment and a willingness to provide support with that job search.

One national survey of women's studies programs, completed in 1977-78, found that 19 percent of the institutions with women's studies programs have special referral services, internships, and resource centers for women, and that 4 percent have skills workshops in assertiveness, consciousness-raising, study techniques, and overcoming math anxiety (Wood, 1978). The extent to which the individual institutions emphasize career-related aspects of these services and training programs is not clear, and their existence on a campus with a women's studies program does not necessarily mean that women's studies students systematically take advantage of them. At best, the proportions of institutions offering such facilities is not high.

A preliminary survey of women's studies programs by NWSA in 1978 indicated that approximately one-quarter of all programs already offered some form of internship, practicum, or field experience course. NWSA has subsequently been awarded a grant by the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education for a project to improve such service-learning in women's studies. The research and faculty development outcomes of that project may be expected to enhance and increase this aspect of career-related activity in women's studies.

Employment Opportunities for Women's Studies Graduates

Tables 1, 2, and 3 identify 99 undergraduate and 51 M.A. women's studies graduates who were employed on a full-time basis when surveyed. About one-third of the known graduates represented by this pilot sample have been "tracked"; they graduated from approximately one-third of the existing degree programs. Assuming perfect sampling techniques and extrapolating to the national population, there may be some 1,400 women's studies (program) graduates currently employed -- altogether a very small number in the nation's total work force. What is the labor market for women's studies graduates? How many and which employers are seeking them?

Sources of Information

Job announcements appearing in the Women's Studies Newsletter over the past 6 years describe positions for feminists at all levels of education, in traditional and nontraditional settings.[16] Other sources of information on positions open to women's studies alumnae are the files of requests from agencies and organizations to women's studies programs asking for undergraduate or graduate student interns. Students are generally unpaid in such field placements, of course, but their volunteer assignments represent work for which (where funds are available) graduates may later be employed.

We examined such files in the internship program of the University of Maryland's Women's Studies Program and reviewed the list of practicum placements completed by graduates of the George Washington University M.A. program. Women's organizations, family abuse and rape crisis shelters, feminist publications, lobbying projects, legal defense funds, and counseling centers are typical of those requesting undergraduate interns; the M.A. candidates have had practicums in similar settings and have also served as research assistants in women's programs of Federal agencies, as women's studies teachers in high schools

and community colleges, as conference organizers, and as EEO workshop leaders (see appendix D).

Some information on interest in hiring women's studies graduates was available to us in correspondence shared by Esther Stineman, then University of Wisconsin women's studies librarian-at-large, between herself and a number of business concerns, government agencies, and women's caucuses of professional organizations. Stineman had asked their view of women's studies as a marketable background, and asked them to specify courses that might be beneficial for women's studies students seeking and entering professional positions (see appendix E). Responses to her request (spring 1978) fell into four categories, with five to eight responses in each. Some were positive and informative, describing positions in which persons trained in women's studies would be an asset; generally, these positions involved women as clients, consumers, or subjects. Suggestions for useful coursework included "women's studies courses" (like "women and the law" or "psychology of sex difference") and business, management, and public administration topics.

Other respondents were positive, interested in Stineman's research, but unable to help. They demonstrated awareness of the women's studies network by referring her to The Feminist Press or NWSA for information on graduates of women's studies programs. Still other responses were from persons not familiar with women's studies, but willing to attempt to help by forwarding Stineman's letter to someone "more informed" on women's concerns; some of this group gave examples of their firms' activities in assisting the advancement of women in employment.

A fourth category consisted of less positive (and occasionally rude) responses. These suggested that persons trained in women's studies lack necessary job skills, or they simply expressed ignorance of or disinterest in the issues Stineman was asking them to address. Such responses may not seem totally

unreasonable from the American Chemical or American Mathematical Society, but seemed surprising from the Council for Career Planning, Incorporated, and from Women in Communications, Incorporated.[17]

One response, from a Federal women's program coordinator, does not fit neatly into these categories. It read, in part:

> ...From my own experience as a librarian, manager, career counselor and Women's Program Coordinator, I have some serious doubts on the pertinency of women's studies to the job market. The same problem exists for those with degrees in black studies and liberal arts. Much of the government hiring is geared toward filling vacancies requiring specific skills rather than toward generalists.
>
> In the past women have so frequently chosen courses of studies which are "interesting" such as history and English literature without planning ahead as to the career they plan to pursue. Those of us who review applications see this problem daily. I would not like to see women's studies perpetuate this pattern.
>
> However, I am trying to keep an open mind on women's studies and am willing to be persuaded otherwise. It may be that opportunities are increasing in women's issues.

Public sector positions, in particular, may state initial job qualifications in terms of specific degrees and/or credentials, as well as skills and experience required, thus seeming to exclude women's studies graduates from the population sought. An employer like this one might be "persuaded" by a women's studies graduate with skills appropriate to a vacancy, if the applicant were allowed and able to present herself effectively on paper and in person.

Growth in Opportunities

Opportunities are increasing "in women's issues," even if many such positions require skill in the fundraising, testifying, lobbying, and proposal-writing that will support their continuation. Women's studies graduates and programs need to be aware, however, that the degree in women's studies is still neither widely known nor understood; it lacks visibility and a sharp image in the marketplace as well as on the campus.

A recent opening, for example, for program manager at a county women's commission center, did not call -- by name -- for a women's studies graduate. Special/ preferred qualifications listed included:

> an M.S. degree or better in a social service, social science, counseling, administrative or similar area; a wide knowledge of the problems and concerns of women and their families; a comprehensive knowledge of the legal system as it impacts on women and families; the ability to work evenings and weekends on a regular basis as needed; practical experience in individual short term counseling; practical experience in the running of short term groups which focus on problem or interest areas; the ability to liaison effectively with representatives of numerous organizations at all levels; the ability to work effectively with individuals of all racial, social and economic backgrounds; demonstrated ability in the administration of complex and varied programs; demonstrated ability to supervise and direct employees; demonstrated oral and written effectiveness.

The paragon sought here is obviously not an inexperienced recent graduate in any of the fields mentioned.

That noted, women's studies could certainly be an appropriate "similar area" of academic training to offer for such a position.

We received two lists of "Occupational Opportunities," originally appendixes to a women's studies program proposal at California State University, Northridge (Berry, 1977); they have been reproduced to appear as appendix F. The first list consists of job announcements that have appeared in The Chronicle of Higher Education, in Women's Studies Newsletter, and in local publications in the San Francisco area. The second is of jobs for which women's studies would be useful and appropriate background and is similar to other lists of "occupational suggestions" developed by various women's studies programs. Together they represent part of the range of woman-related employment opportunities in education and the public sector potentially available to women's studies graduates.

Career Planning

Women's studies graduates are like others with strong liberal arts backgrounds in needing a creative approach to career planning and development for a labor market in which the unemployment rate for new entrants is running nearly 15 percent (Monthly Labor Review, 1979).[18] For those who will not receive degrees or have professional credentials in directly job-related ways, and even for many who do have them, it will be necessary to develop the ability to find and create employment that has not been advertised or imagined, drawing upon their knowledge of what is (or needs) being done and what they would be happiest and best prepared to do.

This approach to employment opportunities does not deny the need for skills and knowledge useful to the potential employer; it is, however, more assertive than reflexive, more confident of the job seeker's capacity to shape events than reactive to labor market

projections. "i've been searchin'" was the title Off Our Backs gave to an article on job hunting in this fashion (Leonard, 1978), which describes searching not only for "a job," but for mentors, contacts, networks, and information.[19]

Stineman reported to us on a "careers in women's studies" workshop at the University of Wisconsin in Green Bay in 1979, which was part of a conference on "The Freedom to Choose: Creating Alternatives" sponsored by their women's studies program. Currently enrolled women's studies students, who were taking responsibility for shaping their various programs of study around core concerns like women and aging or pink-collar workers, felt that similarly shaping their own future work was important, possible, and desirable. They were, in effect, practicing creative job development before graduation. Green Bay is an issue-oriented, interdisciplinary university. These particular students, thus, like others in that institution, are exposed to nontraditional thinking about the connection of a field of study and subsequent employment, but so are women's studies students in general, who are participating in an interdisciplinary program of study, dealing with topical problem issues, and interacting with faculty and others whose work and training are various and changing.

It is also possible that women's studies graduates may be a population not like many others with liberal arts degrees. Their degree represents something between "the generalist" and "the professional," just as women's studies represents something between an issue/value focused field of study and an academic discipline. Feminist theorists and scholars speak of shaping a new intellectual paradigm (Kuhn, 1970). There has not been enough history in women's studies yet to say whether and how this paradigm might create a new "profession," but the likelihood of women's studies having anything like guild or legal control over particular activities seems remote (Gabriel, 1975; Bergstrom and Olson, 1975). Former N.O.W.

Even Wilma Scott Heide's claim that feminism should be a bona fide occupational qualification (B.F.O.Q.) for all human concerns is still far from widely accepted.

Few but the most "movement" job descriptions will include feminist as a descriptor, and, as we have seen, few will specifically and directly request women's studies graduates. However, more and more may be expected to welcome or call for persons experienced in women's issues, or knowledgeable about women and employment in such areas as health, law, and the like. For these woman-related jobs, women's studies degrees will be a credential. In the final analysis, the gatekeepers (supervisors, personnel managers, funding agencies) must learn of the existence of persons with degrees in women's studies and of their qualifications. Early women's studies graduates will be representing themselves and their degree, defining and making visible what it means to be "trained in women's studies."

The Knowlege, Skills, and Attitudes Students Acquire from Women's Studies: Published Research

Another in this series of studies concentrates on "The Effectiveness of Women's Studies Teaching" and related evaluation issues. Here we focus primarily on evaluation of the impact of women's studies on students as it is relevant to their activities and achievement in the work world.

A number of studies employing standard evaluation instruments and comparison groups have been made of women's studies courses on several types of campuses (Ruble et al., 1975; Speizer, 1975; Shueman and Sedlacek, 1976; Scott et al., 1977; and Canty, 1977). Each relied on at least one pre- and post-test, plus demographics; some were based on standard psychological scales and tests, while others used newly devised instruments.

These evaluations indicate that a one-semester course in women's studies can increase female and male students' awareness of sex roles, sex stereotyping, and discrimination. They showed that students who enroll in women's studies courses tend to have less traditional attitudes about women's roles than students in classes serving as control groups. They imply that persons who enroll in women's studies courses (and degree programs) have a more feminist orientation initially. While these evaluations did not detect increased career aspirations after a one-semester course, some found more liberal family attitudes and plans by women students to combine paid work with child-rearing more frequent.

Students enrolling in women's studies courses at a selective liberal arts college showed more liberal attitudes toward women than did women's studies students on a regional state university campus with a student population of lower socioeconomic status (Scott et al., 1977). One evaluation based on a study of 429 students in nine different women's studies courses at the University of Maryland showed that students felt the courses to be rigorous (Shueman and Sedlacek, 1976).

All of these evaluations attempted to demonstrate that courses in women's studies change students' self-concepts and enhance their sense of independence, but none succeeded in proving that students had altered attitudes about themselves during one semester of women's studies. One of the studies, made at a Catholic women's college, showed that members of a one-semester psychological statistics class serving as a control group experienced an increase in self-confidence during the semester, while members of a women's studies class did not. The author explained that the statistics students lacked confidence in their ability to do well in that course, but gained self-confidence through successful completion of work in a field often regarded as nontraditional for women.

Women's studies courses have inspired students to work harder, to accept more challenging assignments, and to set higher standards for achievement than have other courses taught in the same university departments. Many women's studies courses require original research, collective or individual work on special projects, and extensive journal and report writing. These courses usually encourage student participation, interaction, and cooperation, and some have been taught collectively by students. The enthusiasm and energy levels of both faculty and student participants are unusually high in women's studies, with much emphasis on consciousness-raising, self-actualization, and political activism (Rosenfelt, 1974). For these reasons, faculty and students have felt that women's studies does effect personal change -- increasing assertiveness, self-confidence, and independence. Changes in these traits are difficult to assess, and the earliest evaluations failed to do so.

Project WELD Evaluation

The first evaluation to show conclusively that women's studies courses can alter attitudes of students about themselves was a formative evaluation of educational programs in coeducational universities, in women's centers, and in women's colleges. Courses offered in environments sympathetic to women's concerns and education were purposely selected for Project WELD (Women's Education: Learning and Doing) (Talburtt, 1977). Fifty faculty members, 25 supervisors (of student interns), and 270 students from eight different campuses participated. Each met for a 1-hour personal interview that included some open-ended questions and a written assessment. The students had completed the course or workshop approximately 1 year prior to the interviews.

This research showed that internships (courses that require "career exposure in an out-of-classroom setting") help students to gain career-related experience, while also increasing their "self-confidence,

openness and assertiveness"; and that classes in women's studies (not necessarily part of a formal women's studies program) provide the expected substantive information and also "foster self-confidence and a greater sense of personal potential." Skills classes in career planning, interpersonal growth, and assertiveness training improve students' communications skills and interpersonal relations as anticipated; they also improve students' "self-confidence, independence, and feminist perspective." This evaluation demonstrated that students gained the skills and information expected from these three types of courses, and, in addition, experienced changes in self-concept and personal attitudes beyond what had been anticipated.

Although Project WELD dealt with course rather than degree program evaluations, the implications for women's studies are significant. Many women's studies programs offer all three types of educational activity as part of their degree curriculum. Based on the Project WELD evaluation, graduates of women's studies programs that provide or integrate field placement experiences and skills workshops and classes, in addition to the usual women's studies courses, probably gain and possess personal qualities extremely useful and desirable in the workplace.

If it can be shown that women's studies courses affect students in surroundings less sympathetic than those campuses visited in the WELD study, then the case for women's studies as preparation for a career becomes even stronger. All the schools and programs participating in the WELD evaluation are selective in their admissions or frequented by upper middle-class women students; none are in the conservative western or southern states. Their students, if not feminists, are likely to be career-oriented at the time of enrollment. In fact, they are not unlike those students who enroll in women's studies degree programs on a variety of campuses.

Decision-Theoretic Evaluations

The methodology for evaluation of women's studies courses was the subject of an early conference at Wesleyan University (Tobias et al., 1973). The "decision theoretic" approach presented there has been a popular and useful technique for evaluation of women's studies. This method requires the joint efforts of students and teachers in determining the goals of the course or program under examination (Guttentag et al., 1978).

Brush and her associates (1978) employed the "decision theoretic" method in preparing questionnaires for an evaluation of women's studies courses on a small, liberal arts, coed campus. They used pre- and post-testing with comparison groups, as well as personal interviews with students who had taken courses in women's studies 1 and 2 years earlier. This evaluation found that women's studies courses on this campus helped women students to gain confidence and independent attitudes and to gain respect for their own "masculine" or "feminine" qualities and interests; the courses did not increase androgynous beliefs. The investigators found that women's studies classes raise questions for students that may be solved only after some time, and noted the importance of evaluators' being aware of this time lag in the detectability of attitudinal changes. They found that students who had a feminist orientation initially were better able to express feelings about sexism and discrimination following the course in women's studies: the course helped this cohort of women students to reinforce and maintain feminist attitudes, while members of the comparison classes in literature and social science became less feminist in perspective during the year following the course.

Educational aspirations of all students (in women's studies and control classes) were high on this campus, but the career aspirations of women's studies students increased appreciably during the semester

course and their plans for graduate study became firmer than those of the comparison group. Women's studies students did not change marriage plans during the course, but many did lower the number of children planned.

U. Mass./Boston Evaluation

In 1974, the University of Massachusetts/Boston undertook evaluation research directed toward strengthening that university's women's studies program. This project was based on survey responses from 40 students who were concentrating in women's studies (concentrators) and from 305 other students who had taken from one to five courses (Mangione and Wiersma, 1974).

One part of the survey required students to rate women's studies courses with respect to the level of achievement of 17 goals that had been compiled by evaluators, faculty, and students. The women's studies concentrators reported greater impact from individual courses than did other students. Both groups reported a higher level of goal achievement for each subsequent course taken, and an apparent synergistic effect, with each additional course (up to five) producing a larger increment of impact.

The University of Massachusetts/Boston evaluation found that concentrators and non-concentrators, males and females, valued the cognitive learning aspects of women's studies more highly than consciousness-raising and changing self-concepts. Students had as primary goals learning of women's perspective in the course subjects and learning about women's role within the "social-economic class"; the concentrators ranked changing personal attitudes third and the non-concentrators, fourth, among the 17 goals.

The concentrators, perhaps because more of them had completed a larger number of courses, indicated receiving greater impact on all 17 goals than did

other students. In rating the courses overall, concentrators rated them higher than other students, and women rated them higher than men.

Summary

In summary, courses in women's studies do increase students' awareness of sex roles, stereotypical behavior, and sex discrimination. Women students do gain confidence, become more assertive, and are better able to articulate feelings about discrimination as a result of the courses. These characteristics and results may not be immediately detectable at the end of the course. On some campuses, women's career aspirations have been increased and attitudes about women's roles in the family have become more liberal as a result of women's studies courses.

Those evaluations that included open-ended questions and personal interviews appeared to detect attitudinal changes more readily than those utilizing only objective questionnaires and standardized testing instruments and procedures. The importance of gathering this sort of personal and onsite data in women's studies is once again reinforced. At one institution, students were observed to receive greater impact from each subsequent course completed in women's studies; these same students highly valued the substantive information learned from the courses. It is not clear that other students participating in evaluations on other campuses were asked to rate courses with respect to cognitive aspects.

Women's studies evaluations to date have tended to be of course, rather than program/degree, impact and to stress measurement of attitudinal changes affected by women's studies courses. Considering the emphasis placed on scholarship and research in many programs, and the superior quality of published materials emanating from them, it is surprising that only the University of Massachusetts/Boston and the

Project WELD tudies identified cognitive learning as one important outcome of women's studies courses. Such learning would, of course, be of importance in describing the usefulness of women's studies for career purposes.

The ultimate concern of this study is what graduates of women's studies have learned that is useful and relevant to their work lives. Perhaps one of the strongest expressions of this concern was presented by Nancy Hoffman (1973) in her observations on the lives of alumnae 1 year after graduation from the Portland State University certificate program:

> To ask the question -- how has women's studies affected the work lives of students -- is to come at evaluation of women's studies from an oblique angle. I cannot simply ask how well courses teach their proposed subject matter. Most graduates do not go on to teach courses in nineteenth century feminist movements or seminars in Doris Lessing. Nor do significant numbers of women graduates go on to be full-time women's movement organizers. Thus to judge a women's studies program by how well students know Lessing or how articulate they are about socialist thought seems less fruitful than to examine the range of feminist values put to use after graduation as women continue their work lives.
>
> I by no means want to undervalue the curriculum of women's studies -- its content is the first to make sense in my education or career. We need to answer questions like: what do women learn about authority -- their own and others -- in a women's studies program? How do they handle authority in the real world? What do women learn about their own intellectual pow[illegible] do they become explicit and strong about

> their own values? Particularly, we need to answer the question: do women leave women's studies programs having had positive experience of collective work, and having made a commitment to continue to work with others?

Hoffman described the success of seven graduates who had been working in groups with specified goals. One graduate had organized a rural women's writing group; another taught an experimental course about women and poetry; two were running graduate history seminars; and one, with a teaching certificate and employed by a child care center, had become a "child advocate," encouraging involvement of persons without children at the center. Hoffman remarked that younger women's studies students, still on campus, had raised their career aspirations, become more serious students, and planned medical, law, and other professional careers rarely undertaken by PSU women students a few years earlier.

Hoffman interprets the experiences of these women as reflections of the curriculum in women's studies at PSU, a program in which students participate actively in planning and teaching:

> The implicit curriculum, as I read it, is an American do-it-yourselfism, but not the usual individualistic, boredom-assuaging version. It is rather a version which depends on several firm beliefs: first, women students can best define and meet their own needs....Second, from the point of view of pedagogy, maximum participation, <u>doing</u> rather than <u>hearing</u>, or even <u>reading</u>, means maximum learning. And third, if lack of confidence and fear of engagement accompanied by fear of judging or being judged are particular women's problems, then women's studies must create and perpetuate situations in which each woman student, with

the support of other women, is encouraged to try out power, to be alternatively recipient and provider of skills and knowledge, to participate in the definition of collective needs and goals.

The Knowledge, Skills, and Attitudes Students Acquire from Women's Studies: Graduates' Perceptions and Responses

This study received and reviewed several followup surveys that contained women's studies graduates' perceptions and evaluations of their degree program and its relevance to their postgraduate activities.

University of Washington Survey

The University of Washington B.A. degree program surveyed its graduates in 1976 as part of an overall program evaluation. (Data on career activities of the 18 respondents to that survey appear on p. 33). When compared with the general population, this particular group of graduates demonstrates a fairly high degree of traditional career success: 33 percent hold supervisory/managerial positions, compared with 8 percent of women college graduates nationwide (U.S. Department of Labor, 1975), and their overall employment is 78 percent, compared to 61 percent of all U.S. women college graduates (U.S. Department of Labor, 1976). Three are listed as graduate students, and two others who are also employed attend graduate school, raising to 28 percent the proportion seeking advanced degrees (comparable to the national average). The 22 percent of the total holding traditional women's jobs is characteristic of the national population.

In spite of their comparative early career success, these graduates were critical of the program's failure to develop career skills: seven of eight recommendations for future change suggested increased emphasis on training in job skills.

Graduates were, however, overwhelmingly in favor of the degree, and 14 would choose a women's studies major again, 11 with a "double major."

Two-thirds of the Washington graduates indicated that through women's studies "they had gained awareness of jobs previously held by men, and developed an ability to assess their own skills leading to improved self-concept." Seventy-two percent indicated that they had "developed an awareness of the types of power structures within jobs"; five felt their women's studies degree had been helpful in finding a job, and three that it may have been a drawback.

These graduates' criticism of the lack of skills training in their program may be a function of a number of them being in positions to identify and observe the value of additional career exposure in a campus setting. If they were less confident and had no jobs or less challenging ones, this criticism might not have been as strong or made at all.

Research by Sylvia J. Brown (1978) shows that these graduates' observations were sound. She reports that alumnae of cooperative college programs are more successful in finding jobs relevant to their major fields and believe that their career preparation is superior to that of women who did not gain job-related experience during their college years. The University of Washington has recently introduced a field placement component in its program

University of California/Santa Cruz Survey

The University of California at Santa Cruz very recently surveyed alumnae of its women's studies bachelor's degree program, and they sent us study lists of unclassified responses without accompanying analysis (Lawson, 1979). The data indicate that 17 have career jobs and 7 (all that applied) have been accepted to graduate school. Seven jobs listed require managerial skills ("Coordinator of...," "Top

Administrator at...," "Executive Director...," etc.; five work as teachers; three are legal assistants; and one is a librarian. Several of the jobs listed are nontraditional for women: firefighter, plumber, sports official, Santa Claus. A number of traditional women's jobs are also listed (phone operator, secretary, attendant to disabled woman, etc.), but it is unclear from these preliminary data how many persons hold these jobs or if some persons have more than one job.

Students in the Santa Cruz program participate extensively in coordinating, planning, and teaching. Responses of 21 graduates to a number of open-ended questions on the survey have an enthusiastic tone: all indicated that they would repeat women's studies as a major if starting college now. A request for recommended changes in the program showed no consensus: 22 suggestions were given. Two suggested more assistance with job searching, and one with skills training; two would have liked additional science-related material, and one would have liked more on statistics. Three requested courses in Third World women, and two felt the program needed more funding.

All of the Santa Cruz graduates responded to two questions: "How was women's studies helpful?" and "Did women's studies help in social and personal activities?" The responses, as summarized by the program administrators (tables 4 and 5) are both positive in general and with application to employment issues.

University of Oregon Survey

In 1978, the University of Oregon Women's Studies Program mailed a questionnaire to graduates of its certificate program and received responses from 16, the majority of whom had majored in sociology or psychology/counseling (Lawson, 1978). Fifteen were employed: 5 held traditional women's jobs in food

TABLE 4

RESPONSES TO "HOW WAS WOMEN'S STUDIES HELPFUL?"

- learning organization skills
- provided an analysis and framework to see the world
- in understanding relations between groups and the individual
- got her a job at YWCA
- learning collective process that has helped in political campaigns
- used in MA degree
- incentive for starting Women's Voices
- broadened perspective
- helped in job
- provided a feel for the history of women
- co-coordinating the program was major factor in getting job over business majors due to leadership role
- provided good preprofessional training in law
- gave better perspective while in school
- helped develop concrete arguments against sexism
- self-pride
- basic knowledge and perspective of feminism
- organization and teaching skills
- encouraged community participation
- brought different perspective into job
- made aware of exploitation on many levels
- helped to feel part of the community
- created political goals
- gave support for lifestyle
- provided good theory background
- in job with children/breaking down traditional roles
- helped writing skills
- helped to integrate political to everyday practice
- helpful with personal contacts
- developed new skills of reading, writing, and analyzing
- provided confidence to work in non-traditional jobs
- good liberal arts background; teaches reading, writing, analysis, discussion

Only one person said women's studies was not helpful because it made her too aware of sexism in the workplace, but she said it also helped her to talk to co-workers and make some changes (Lawson, 1979).

TABLE 5

RESPONSES TO "DID WOMEN'S STUDIES HELP IN SOCIAL AND PERSONAL ACTIVITIES?"

All but one answered yes. The one said no because of the UCSC atmosphere rather than women's studies. The following are shortened statements as to how women's studies helped.

- gave good problem solving skills
- collective and political education
- taught how to work within bureaucracy
- helped in work with interrelating with staff and clients
- increased political awareness
- gained friends
- gave focus and priority
- gave great sense of community involvement
- helped in work to be able to object diplomatically and constructively
- learned how to compromise
- learned how to be self-reliant
- taught how to think analytically and with sensitivity
- good theoretical basis for personal and political interactions
- greatly helped self-image
- gained assertiveness
- improved self-image led to the development of good relationships
- led to open emotional/sexual relationships
- dispelled myths making sexuality enjoyable
- supported lifestyle; helped her feel not crazy
- learned how to listen
- learned how to speak up and communicate needs
- learned how to accept and give constructive criticism
- helped to feel more comfortable with people
- felt she was a better person having been a part of the program

The recurring themes of improved self-image, ability to speak and listen, and increased ease in personal relationships were the main emphasis of the answers on this question. I personally think this is a very important part of the program myself. I don't know what the administration will want to hear, but the overwhelming response is that women's studies helped everyone in gaining skills that helped in the personal, social, and political world. The skills gained or increased were practical as well as intellectual ones. Skills that help one to survive in the world. I have noted that some spoke specifically about the skills and how they helped at work (Lawson, 1979).

service and offices; 10 were in jobs with some professional status (statistical research, teaching, counseling, "sales and display/purchasing," etc.).

Only two of five who were in "woman-related" jobs felt that the women's certificate helped them to acquire employment; 3 of the 15 who were employed thought the certificate might be a deterrent to gaining employment and gave the following comments:

> "The connotation of a 'women's libber' is negative in career matters - you're out to steal a man's job"..."I never mentioned it to my boss. I tend to be less vocal about feminism out of the academic environment."...and "I don't feel that the Certificate really matters in my present employment" (in the juvenile center)... "however, when I was job hunting, I was often asked what the Certificate was and received many frowns and insults after I explained."

One graduate commented, "Although...I cannot see how the Certificate would deter me in any way, some people have implied that Women's Studies is not a legitimate or serious area of study." Along these lines, another stated, "The Program needs to be a major."

All the responses of the University of Oregon Certificate recipients to three open-ended questions on careers, jobs, and personal goals follow; these illustrate exactly how alumnae feel about women's studies' effect on their personal and working lives.

- o <u>Do you think your knowledge of Women's Studies has any effect on your day-to-day job experiences?</u>

  It helps me always to better understand and to deal with the sexism to which we as women are subject. I have gained a new sense of

assertiveness with the knowledge that males discriminate most overtly if we are passive and accept it.

It gives me a critical framework for asking questions. And I've had opportunities to learn and practice "group process" skills which I mostly learned in WS 101.

I work with teen-aged young women who have in some way broken the law and have been removed from their homes. These young women have extremely sexist views of men and women. They need to be shown that it's not like that.

It gives me a basis from which to speak, support of knowing my beliefs are in print, helped me put a lot of feelings into words, backed by shared experiences and statistics.

Yes -- my sights are higher. I am not willing to be satisfied with standard "women's jobs." I also recognize better that deep prejudices (even if unknowingly held) are against women as a permanent viable part of the work force. I work with a majority of men -- women are only in secretarial positions and I am in a management-trainee position. Fortunately, my immediate supervisor is somewhat enlightened.

I am not as easily put down by men managers. I am more aware of the political game playing and more sympathetic to other women.

I relate to the world as a woman.

In some ways job frustrations are eased because I understand sexist interactions. However, since my thought patterns have been radicalized, job frustrations are greater on another level because I can't accept a lot of things any more.

Perhaps not as much as just my personal well-being, but certainly in that my consciousness is supported by the knowledge I now have and this cannot help but affect all those around me. Unfortunately, there are not many openings with the requirement of feminist. The Certificate is another college attainment and I feel it adds strength to my general sociological background.

Very much so. I've proven to myself and others that I can take care of me. I've been talking to women about my W.S. classes and how they helped me. Almost everyone has a book of mine, dealing with women.

It has made such a difference in how I relate and respond to people. It bothers me so much to see how some women live or let their lives be controlled. I feel it is so important for women to be happy with themselves and their lives. I'm always working on getting better work benefits for the women at work.

My knowledge of Women's Studies has kept me sane. It has given me courage to challenge injustices against women in working situations. Also, it has helped me understand the problems of working women which I often encounter.

Definitely. I work mostly with women, and my previous study of women has enabled me to understand more the situations different women are in: working mothers, women with few job skills, middle-aged returning to work, etc. I am much more tolerant of the roles I see women "stuck" in as a result of their upbringing. I see examples every day of women in the job world, as I learned in my classes: the socio-economic role women fit into, the token women managers, the low pay scales and, for the most part, dead-end jobs.

I work in county government and find my background in Women's Studies valuable in helping me cope with the male and military oriented system. My knowledge of women's literature allows me to influence the buying practices of the librarians. I feel I have been responsible for enriching our collection with women's works.

- Has your perspective of the world and/or yourself changed as a result of the courses?

All of the courses that I took widened my view of myself and the world. I learned to put words to a lot of things I had felt for some time.

My perspective of the world and myself has greatly changed and benefited from the various Women's Studies courses. Mainly, I do not see the world in terms of men being superior or dominant and women being second class. Rather, I perceive men and women as being equal and not natural born enemies. I see other women in terms of cooperation and unity, rather than competitiveness....I feel more confident, assertive, happier, enlightened and stronger due to the knowledge and experience I have acquired...I feel like I can accomplish what I like and pursue the goals which always seemed to be unattainable or unworthy of any serious effort. Generally, I feel better about myself than I ever did before.

I look at things primarily from a woman's point of view. I am much more critical of things I read and hear. I am an elitist when it comes to choosing people I want to share my time with.

I have such a better image of myself and I am too willing to be assertive to attain what I want.

In a way, I feel like I'm beating the system. I'm not doing what society expects of a woman.

Not changed so much as verified and substantiated. It's difficult to hold onto a perspective which is not pervasive. Although today almost everywhere there is somewhat of a feminist perspective, when my feminist thoughts formed, I felt very much alone.

Gave support and clarity to previously held feminist outlook.

I've become more radical in my feminism.

More knowledge of how alike so many of our experiences are: and our needs and desires as women.

I have a much more feminist perspective on the world. I am a stronger person. I feel my feminist background will give me support in attaining my goals.

I more fully understand my history, potential and the stumbling blocks I had to face. Somehow I thought the rest of the world might get enlightened along with me -- no way.

much more aware of women's problems ...curities. I am getting into some good organizations with other women and enjoying it a great deal.

I view the world from a more political orientation.

I would not be the person that I am were it not for Women's Studies. I am more centered. I am for the first time in control of my life; I have strengths I never knew existed. I am capable of existing alone, on my own, to feel good enough about myself to enjoy my own company. I will never again live in anyone's shadow -- spouse, employer, or child.

o Did your career goals change as a result of these classes?

Yes, most of my classes during my last two years were women oriented. It was really important then, but now I wish I'd explored more (math, computer science, etc.)

Yes. HIGHER.

Yes - I was encouraged to study women's status and contributions within my own academic discipline.

Previously I planned to teach history, and I now would very much like to teach women's history.

Yes, instead of being a teacher I've been thinking about becoming a principal.

My career goals became solidified while I was pursuing my Certificate in Women's Studies. I decided to become a feminist therapist instead of a rather dry psychologist. Also, I realized the typical role of women as a housewife and mother was not for me. Rather, I want to be a very competent, scholarly, and accomplished career woman.

Yes, to have more of a focus on women.

o Other comments:

My career goals still aren't crystallized, so I can't tell.

I was interested (counseling women) before I began.

I don't know if it was directly because of the classes, but I did go into a people-related field.

I have always intended to go to law school. That hasn't changed.

Not really, although I can see how easy it would be for such classes to do so. I was already relatively molded by the time I was enrolled in WS.

My frame of thinking is so much more positive. I feel I am a very capable, bright person who can attain whatever I seek in the future -- quite different from a person lacking in self-confidence.

Not really, except that I generally became more interested in areas that affect and [illegible]men.

George Washington University Survey

The only graduate program that sent results of a followup survey with detailed responses from students was the George Washington University M.A. degree program (Streicher, 1977). (Information from that survey was referred to extensively in the section on master's degree graduates, and details of graduates' employment patterns will not be repeated here.) The GWU program offers a practicum and research project course sequence as an option to a master's thesis; 7 of 46 graduates surveyed indicated that they obtained

employment as a direct result of their practicum; three found employment through earlier jobs, and six held their present jobs when entering graduate school. In the "comment" section of the survey, several of the GWU alumnae specified benefits deriving from their practicum experience.

The GWU survey had few open-ended questions, but did invite comments on some questions and at the close of the questionnaire. Here are some that seem relevant to this study:

> WS gave me confidence and put me into contact with the outside world, especially after being a housewife. I might have restructured my program, but this was not the fault of WS but rather that I didn't know where I was going. I have learned that the important thing is "guts" - go out after what you want.
>
> The program led to my present job, and I benefited and grew from the degree in other ways. Some things in WS were disappointing, but some of the courses are relevant to my current employment.
>
> WS gave me the courage "to do my thing." Some courses, like Women and the Law, were excellent.
>
> I would take WS again, even though I could have done my present work without the WS degree. I particularly benefited from my practicum and research.
>
> WS was right for me in terms of vocational interest and present job.
>
> I would take WS again, but I might have added business courses.

Definitely would take WS again. Would also like to do other things. Maybe get an MD in epidemiology.

I knew what I wanted to do, but needed more in-depth information about women and I got it.

Given the same conditions, I would take WS again, although the degree is not very marketable. There's nothing wrong with the degree; it's the world that's fouled up. People are not as important as profits.

I might better have majored in Management or Public Administration and taken lots of electives in WS. WS helped me to get a job through my practicum and research. I took WS because I wanted professional status (credentials) - I did not want to be considered just a feminist radical.

WS gave me a break from the work environment I was in so that I could effectively evaluate my career goals. I took it at a critical point in my career.

I get a better feeling of self and womanhood. I was helped by meeting women I had respect for and were role models.

WS neutralized the experience of growing up in a "male-studies" world. It added the feminine perspective.

WS gave an added dimension to my life. I formerly had a lack of self and self-esteem which has improved. The camaraderie with other women was very gratifying. WS gave insight into myself - as a person and as a woman.

If I were looking for a job I would not take WS but I didn't take it to get a job. WS gave me direction; women's history was valuable for the work I eventually would like to do.

I feel I couldn't have prepared in any other way for my present volunteer work, though I might have taken Public Administration or Political Science if there were more women-oriented courses.

WS was helpful to me, but I feel there should be a stronger base in statistical methodology, management skills, and maybe computer technology - in particular, subjects geared to the real world of work.

Comments from Wichita State University

Lastly, two pertinent comments on their education in women's studies from graduates of the Wichita State University program were enclosed in correspondence sent to this study (Walters, 1979):

The world has become exciting for women. Today we have more choices about and control over our lives than ever before. But an option unknown is no option at all. A major in Women's Studies keeps me aware of my alternatives in career choices as well as in life-style.

I am presently a postal supervisor and have both men and women working under me. Perhaps my Women's Studies is not directly related to my job, but I feel the experience helps me. I serve on the Postmaster's EEO committee; I am involved in job counseling at work; the postal service is presently undergoing great changes for the better

> concerning female employees. I never wanted a Women's Studies job or expected my degree to be directly related, but rather I feel it improves me as an individual and a management employee for the Post Office.

These women's studies graduates' evaluations of their educational experience, many written years and miles from their program, express deep and positive feelings, almost reminiscent of religious testimony. These graduates do not separate the person and the worker, the uses of the degree for themselves and for the job, however they may be participating in the world.

Coda: What Future for Women's Studies Graduates?

Program followup studies appear to indicate that many women's studies students have characteristics associated with career achievement for women: intelligence, self-reliance, and a strong commitment to career success, all characteristics that women's studies programs and courses are able to nurture and support. Family/class background, another indicator of career success for women (and men), cannot be changed by educational environments, but its effect on the individual might be affected by institutional and curricular attention and sensitivity to issues of race, class, and ethnicity.

A recent study of 263 junior and senior women at an eastern women's college with a women's studies program and many women's studies courses found that students identified as feminist differed from those less feminist in their greater commitment to uninterrupted careers (Cummings, 1977); most students surveyed were planning for marriage, family, and careers, but the feminists were more emphatic about plans for egalitarian marriages that would permit the option of continued employment through childrearing years.

Research by Hennig and Jardim (1977) offers a profile of "the managerial woman" that also shows some similarity to that of women's studies graduates. Their cohort of 25 top-level women managers had strong and early commitment to career success and the ability to achieve in competitive situations without feeling that their sex was a limiting factor. All but one of them had chosen to attend coeducational institutions, environments permitting (or requiring) regular interaction and competition with men. Graduates of women's studies programs may well be assumed to be accustomed to meeting and overcoming challenges through verbal competencies and political skill; the very act of being a women's studies major is a political one in most schools, likely to precipitate continuing challenges and discussions (on and off campus) that require value-clarification and self-definition.

Fifty-six percent of the Hennig-Jardim cohort had undergraduate majors in business, economics, or mathematics. Graduates in women's studies who indicated that additional training in business or public administration would have been beneficial to them may be demonstrating a similarity to this group and an interest in becoming "feminist managerial women"; data from this study do show, however, women's studies graduates tending to choose related fields of study from those traditionally female (social sciences, humanities, education, counseling), where at most one-quarter of the Hennig-Jardim sample had majored in history or other liberal arts.

Persons who succeed in natural sciences and engineering careers demonstrate competence in mathematics, persistence in work and research, independence, and somewhat more interest in "things" than in "people," a complex of traits not necessarily characteristic of women's studies graduates (Tidball, 1974; Olson, 1977). Science and engineering have been dominated by men, and only the most career-committed women have managed to penetrate their barriers: tight networks of male mentors and the presumed importance

of early career success and an ability or willingness to work long and irregular hours. The increased presence of women could conceivably alter scientific occupational structures and "humanize" these fields, but women generally -- and, one presumes, women's studies graduates -- have restricted their option to become part of such a presence by failing to take the necessary prerequisites in mathematics during high school and early college years.

Moreover, wide application of computer technology throughout corporate management now seems to extend the need for at least some mathematical preparation to training for careers in administration, business, and finance. (The Hennig/Jardim cohort was educated before the advent of computers, and mathematical training may have been less a factor for that group.) With the possible exception of law, success in most professions traditionally leading to policymaking has been related to some degree of achievement and competence in mathematics (Fox et al., 1977). The commitment to careers and egalitarian relationships exhibited by feminist graduates is not itself sufficient for gaining entrance to centers of corporate and political power. Fortunately, tracking women away from mathematics and science training is coming to be seen as a national problem, and some remedial efforts are in progress (National Institute of Education, 1977; see also S.568, "Women in Science and Technology Educational Opportunity Act," 1979).

Graduates of women's studies programs would appear to have characteristics and preparation important for many kinds and aspects of employment, including respect for the uses of collective/collaborative processes, experience in working with groups, and experience in dealing with and creating organizational structures. Education in women's history and on the current legal status of women reinforces the confidence and self-reliance of women's studies graduates. Role models provided by faculty and peers encourage goalsetting and increase career

commitment. Women's studies graduates, knowledgeable about the causes and effects of sex discrimination and determined to gain equitable treatment for themselves and others, seem particularly well equipped to overcome barriers of sex discrimination in graduate study or in the workplace.

Brush et al. (1978) report 13 of 30 former women's studies students describing incidents in which they refused to conform to traditional female behavior, e.g., turning down a job "that I know had been offered because of (my) looks..." These former students would "not let (male chauvinist) remarks pass; rather they would insist on the issue being discussed and their views heard." The responses of the University of Oregon graduates cited above similarly reflect both career commitment and determination to resist discrimination. Women's studies students apparently have been trained to neutralize sex-role conflict on the job.[20]

Asking what sorts of careers women's studies graduates are committed to, and how their (individual and collective) success will be measured, recalls the questions originally posed by this study and suggests others far beyond its present scope.

In Women and the Power to Change (1973), Florence Howe concluded, "...women should focus on building their potential for strong and effective leadership in those areas where they are currently numerically dominant -- education, social work, nursing, for example -- rather than diluting their possible power base by urging that those most energetic and talented serve as additional tokens in nontraditional fields of study."

Whether as part of a conscious strategy or for other reasons, many women's studies graduates are, it seems, now seeking and finding employment in this direction. They include those working in the "new" women's jobs and those employed in traditional

female occupations: human services work that usually involves direct contact with people, usually women and children.

Other graduates are seeking out what have been nontraditional fields of study and employment for women, whether urged, or otherwise impelled, to do so. No responses to this study indicate women's studies graduates to have entered the male realms of natural sciences and engineering or the military, but some numbers have chosen to work in law, law enforcement, aspects of athletics and health care, construction, business, management, and administration.[21]

Nontraditional work for women may also be said to be involved with human services, depending on what is being legislated, constructed, or managed; in comparison to traditionally female fields, however, it is: (1) less likely to involve immediate human interaction; (2) more likely to require year-round out-of-doors activity and/or physical strength and stamina; or (3) more likely to lead to potential public power and social influence. The presence of token women does not yet alter the fact that, at the highest ranks in virtually all fields and certainly in these last, there have been only men, a male power structure, and male definitions of competency, achievement, power, and success. Whether and how women's studies graduates, with other women, will be able to attain -- or transform -- careers and career success remains to be seen.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

Educators and researchers concerned with "women's studies graduates" as a distinguishable research topic, and with the issues raised in this study, need to be able to place their concerns within a context of related problem areas. The recommendations that follow should, therefore, be considered in conjunction with those included in the other monographs in this series.

Women's studies, as noted in the preface, is "a field in the process of development, a complex interdisciplinary area of scholarship and curriculum that is also a strategy for educational change." Assessment of data-gathering needs and the recommendations for further research and policy development for women's studies presented in this monograph and its companion volumes make it evident that those needs are great, that research strategies must be closely related to ongoing practice, and that adequate resources will be required to undertake and coordinate significant activities. The results of these efforts promise expanded understanding of the educational process generally, and, specifically, of its impact on women.

The summary preceding the body of this monograph outlines the basic shape of research needs in the area of women's studies graduates. The body of the monograph amplifies and confirms those needs, summarized here in the form of brief, key recommendations, essentially in the order in which issues have been discussed.

Encourage Research Literature On Women's Studies Graduates

Women's studies has, simultaneously, created a body of research, curriculum models, courses of study, and programmatic strategies. Unlike educational practitioners whose work is structured "from the

top," deriving, for example, from the findings of a germinal figure in the field or from the reports of a "blue ribbon" conference or commission, women's studies scholars, students, teachers, theoreticians, and program developers most frequently began wherever they were to do the work they saw as necessary. They reported to one another in whatever settings and/or media could be developed or used for their purposes: meetings and publications of professional association women's caucuses; general feminist media; regional, area, or campus conferences and resource publications; and the like.

Long after others, not involved, were still suggesting there was not sufficient material or theory available for a women's studies course in a particular subject area (or that there were no standards by which feminist scholarship could be judged, and/or no experts to consult, and/or no funds available...), the work was well under way.

Similarly, although empirical research literature about women's studies and on women's studies graduates is still developing and has yet to become sufficiently visible in established settings and publications, the process of such research is certainly under way. We assume that more local studies exist already than are reported in our pilot survey, and that data for others are being gathered and shared, if only informally. They await, often, only "translation" into those products known as publications.

It is a vital concern of this study to call for the sorts of research and ensuing publication traditionally sponsored by agencies like the National Institute of Education. We would note as well and more generally the continuing need for women's studies faculty and administrators, and women's studies graduates themselves, to be able to share their experiences and impressions, reflections, and overviews: in workshops and working papers, short reports as well as longer articles; to feminist/educational

audiences and those that believe themselves interested only in "women's" or in "educational" issues; and within regional and national networks of women's studies programs and researchers.

Such encouragement to publish and present therefore must be enhanced and accompanied by a call to postsecondary institutions and external funding sources for support (whether in the form of conference travel funds, released time, or clerical/technical assistance/printing subsidy), and to editors of various publications and presses for sensitive and imaginative perspectives on materials solicited or accepted.

Gather Data on Women's Studies
Graduates, Degrees, and Programs

The identification of women's studies graduates, degrees, and programs, and the development of consistent and available national data to support further research and study in these related areas, will require efforts involving Federal agencies, educational institutions, and the academic research community.

First, it is recommended that The National Center for Education Statistics move to include "Women's Studies" in its taxonomy of degrees granted and take steps to encourage consistent reporting of women's studies concentrations under appropriate existing degree classifications. Such actions alone would not identify or make available to researchers necessary and related data on students whose credential in women's studies takes the form of a minor or certificate or on those graduates not previously counted, but they would substantially advance work in this area in the future.

This recommendation reaffirms a similar recommendation made in Seven Years Later, one that also called for "women's studies" to be added to the

data-gathering and reporting categories of other Federal offices that deal with education, research, and scholarship. Publications like Sex Equity in Education: NIE-Sponsored Projects and Publications (Klein, 1980) need to be compiled and published more than occasionally by agencies whose work on women's concerns is not visible in their mandate, both to make available to the field information about research still in progress or unpublished and to heighten consciousness within the agency about its own efforts in this area.

Second, it is recommended that colleges and universities assign authority, responsibility, and necessary resources for coordinated identification and internal and external reporting of women's studies degrees and degree recipients, including minors and certificates in women's studies.

Women's studies programs should be the coordinating agency on their campuses for information on departmental specializations and concentrations and on individualized and specialized degrees in women's studies. They should serve as consultants to institutional offices responsible for reporting to NCES, and should be called upon to advise those offices responsible for preparing institutional publications (catalogues, handbooks, etc.) and promoting materials (including descriptive materials submitted to the various national guides to postsecondary education). It is assumed that programs will continue to report "to the field" via informational surveys of the National Women's Studies Association.

On campuses without formally established women's studies programs, these functions should be assigned to an appropriate academic officer, who should be expected to know and to consult with faculty or student women's groups, the campus women's center, and/or other persons or groups "unofficially" advising students or coordinating women's studies activities.

On all campuses, efforts should be made to identify and maintain data on students taking one or more courses in women's studies who do not obtain a credential. At the undergraduate level, such data-gathering may simply involve tabulations from class rosters. At the graduate level, data gathering would necessarily be more complex, involving identification of: students designing research projects in women's studies; patterns of advising and supervision available to students, within their fields of study or outside of them, to pursue feminist research projects or training; patterns of self-designed reading courses; and committee decisions required, as for a special examination area. As noted previously, further work is needed to establish the issues particular to post-B.A. work in women's studies, and the strategies most appropriate for collaborative data-gathering between university graduate schools and departments and the various disciplinary and professional associations.

Third, it is recommended that educational researchers and organizations that track and query graduates add "Women's Studies" to the lists of degrees, fields of study, or research included in their survey instruments. Similarly, studies of employment status (male and female) and career achievement in the various professions and disciplines should include "Women's Studies" among their categories of professional preparation, interest, and/or activity.

This recommendation might well be extended to: indexing, abstracting, literature search, and bibliography projects and services that should include "Women's Studies" among their topical descriptors; professional associations, particularly those representing fields frequently involving women's studies students and graduates, that should include women's studies program and degree information in their own publications, listings, and directories; institutional associations -- of the various subcategories of

junior/community colleges, liberal arts colleges, women's colleges, land-grant colleges -- that should include women's studies information in their materials and meetings.

Obviously, responsibility for implementing such recommendations becomes diffused, often falling to women's caucuses and committees in the various organizations and to other parties interested or active both in women's studies and the institution or group in question. NWSA might well be expected to continue its ongoing advocacy role for women's studies and to seek additional support to assist in such efforts.

Short of Government mandate, however, and sometimes not even then, there may be no single strategy for speeding the process by which a new question's importance is established, and the absence of an answer becomes apparent and thus significant. As with "women," so with "women's studies." There has been, one might suggest, some progress in the last decade, and more may be expected as the synergistic dynamic continues between data gathering/requesting and publicizing/reporting of data already available.

Profile and Track Women's Studies Graduates

The question with which this study began, "What do women's studies graduates do?" suggests a prior question: "Who are women's studies graduates?" And it would seem that there is much one would want to know about the basic profile of this population and about women's studies students who do not obtain credentials: sex; age; educational status and history; employment history; volunteer, extracurricular, and political activities and experience; race; sexual preference; marital/parental status and history; income and/or means of support; birth rank; number of siblings and their sex; parents' occupation; educational and ethnic/religious background...in general, within the pertinent legal constraints and research protocols related to such data-gathering,

data to establish a picture of this population for use in subsequent longitudinal, projective, and comparative studies.

It is therefore recommended that all students enrolling in women's studies courses, and most particularly, those who become candidates for degrees and credentials in women's studies, be systematically surveyed to obtain standard demographic data and information of particular relevance to a profile of women's studies students. The ideal survey instrument would be standardized and computer-compatible, brief and sufficiently empirical to allow and encourage wide, easy use and reliable, cumulative tabulations. Its design would be such as to permit exit update at time of graduation and correlation with campus institutional data and related profiles of women's studies programs, degrees, and areas of concentration. It would also be suitable for self-administration by students or past graduates who are identified at conferences, for example, or by mailings or advertisements.

In addition to the followup surveys reported in this monograph and those currently under way, there is still a need for more widespread and continuing data collection on the postgraduate activities of women's studies graduates, sufficient at least for the establishment of statistically significant cohorts, with various credentials from various types of institutions, to establish a data base for further study. It is therefore recommended that women's studies programs offering degrees, and institutions providing certification in women's studies, develop mechanisms to survey recent graduates (i.e., 1 year after the granting of degree) to obtain updated personal information, data on educational, employment, and other activities, and evaluation(s) of the uses and usefulness of the degree and degree program.

Component questions for such a survey, and questions about those questions, are discussed in

sections 1 and 2 of this monograph. Here it should be noted that, while the apparent agents of implementation for recommendations offered on profile data-gathering and followup data-gathering appear to be the same, and the same as those called on to identify degrees and degree candidates, realistic and strategic considerations would suggest potentially different practical developments.

It should not be difficult for a working group representing NWSA's Ad Hoc Committee on Research and the Network of Women's Studies Program Administrators to develop and confirm consensus on a profile questionnaire/survey instrument. Once established, it would also be a relatively small-scale project to begin making that instrument available for distribution and to establish a center for recording data collected.

Both development of a followup instrument, and of mechanisms by which it would be distributed to a graduate population, pose more difficult problems. Despite the self-evident worthiness of keeping in touch with students after graduation, building an alumnae network, and pursuing followup studies, it seems reasonable to assume that many programs may not have such capacity without massive aid from outside. The basic concerns of a followup/tracking survey are also evident -- replicating traditional queries and procedures with additional questions relevant to women's studies, but developing, refining, and standardizing such a survey instrument and technique for women's studies, will still require a significant commitment of resources and time.

Work would probably best begin as a followup to existing followups (i.e., a project designed to repeat studies undertaken or directed to programs with significant numbers of graduates, seeking virtually 100 percent response rates and using interviews as well as written questionnaires). Such a project would also be concerned with developing or using data from

and about the programs themselves, toward assessment of curricular and programmatic factors impacting on graduates' activities, achievements, and attitudes, and at least with exploring the possibility of interviews or questionnaires addressed to the graduates' employers, graduate supervisors, or others in a position to comment, from another perspective, on their competencies, capabilities, and "success."

Reports to the field from such a project, over the course of its first cycles of activity, would serve to encourage other programs not included in this sample to begin or look toward beginning similar efforts.

Develop/Distribute Information on
Career and Employment Issues in Women's Studies

This study suggests that more is actually known about "what women's studies graduates do" than has been made known to audiences of students, parents, administrators, and employers, and that more is being learned about the curricular and programmatic impact of women's studies programs on their students' career development. Information and materials gathered for and/or cited in this paper would lend themselves to adaptation into a more popular format. This is true also for information and materials gathered or prepared as part of NWSA's Project to Improve Service Learning in Women's Studies, a research/faculty development project to investigate current practice and needs in women's studies internships, practica, and campus-based activities supporting experiential learning at a worksite.

Even pending further research and major data-gathering, it is recommended that Federal agencies and foundations dealing with employment and education issues be encouraged to support development and distribution of materials about career and employment

issues for women's studies students to women's studies programs, educational institutions, and other appropriate audiences.

APPENDIX A

DATA PROVIDED BY THE NATIONAL CENTER
FOR EDUCATION STATISTICS ON EARNED DEGREES
CONFERRED IN WOMEN'S STUDIES, 1975 TO 1977

1975-76 Earned Degrees Conferred in Women's Studies
(from Higher Education General Information Survey XI)

0399 - Area Studies (other)

Women's Studies	
Union Experimenting College & University, Ohio	1 Bachelor's

1599 - Letters (other)

Women in Contemporary American/ British Literature	
St. Olaf College, Minnesota	1 Bachelor's
Women/Literature	
St. Olaf College, Minnesota	1 Bachelor's

2299 - Social Sciences (other)

Social Studies (Feminist Studies)	
Goddard College, Vermont	18 Master's
Women's History	
Sarah Lawrence College, New York	4 Master's
Women's Studies	
Antioch College, Ohio	1 Bachelor's
Goucher College, Maryland	1 Bachelor's
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities	1 Bachelor's
St. Olaf's College, Minnesota	1 Bachelor's
	4

4999 - Interdisciplinary

Women's Studies	
George Washington University, D.C.	7 Master's
Macalester College, Minnesota	1 Bachelor's
City College, CUNY, New York	1 Bachelor's
Richmond College, CUNY, New York	6 Bachelor's
North Carolina Wesleyan, North Carolina	1 Bachelor's
Wichita State University, Kansas	1 Bachelor's
	10

5599 - Public-Service-Related Technologies

Women's Studies	
Saddleback Community College, California	1 Associate

TOTALS: 17 Bachelor's, 29 Master's, 1 Associate

1976-77 Earned Degrees Conferred in Women's Studies
(from Higher Education General Information Survey XII)

0399 - Area Studies (other)

Women's Studies	
Washington University, Missouri	4 Bachelor's

1599 - Letters (other)

Women/Literature	
Kirkland College, New York	1 Bachelor's

2299 - Social Sciences (other)

Feminist Studies

Immaculate Heart College, California	1 Bachelor's

2299 - Social Sciences (other) (Continued)

Women's History

Sarah Lawrence College, New York	12 Master's

Women's Studies

Antioch College, Ohio	2 Bachelor's
Henderson State University, Arkansas	1 Bachelor's
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	2 Bachelor's
University of Minnesota, Minneapolis	4 Bachelor's
New England College, New Hampshire	2 Bachelor's
	11

4999 - Interdisciplinary

Women's Studies

University of Alabama, University	1 Bachelor's
State University of New York Graduate School	2 Bachelor's
Queen's College, North Carolina	1 Bachelor's
San Francisco State University, California	3 Bachelor's
Scripps College, California	1 Bachelor's
Staten Island College, (St. George) New York	3 Bachelor's
	11

5599 - Public-Service-Related Technologies

Women's Studies
Saddleback Community College,
California 1 Associate

TOTALS: 28 Bachelor's, 12 Master's, 1 Associate

APPENDIX B

INSTITUTIONS THAT OFFER MINORS, CERTIFICATES, AND DEGREES IN WOMEN'S STUDIES

This appendix derives from "Women's Studies Programs" (1978), from information provided to the National Women's Studies Association, and from responses to this study.

Several institutions that do not confer credentials or degrees in women's studies provided some information to this project; they include:

Bryn Mawr C, Bryn Mawr, PA
Columbus C, Columbus, GA
Metropolitan Community College, Minneapolis, MN
Pennsylvania SU, Capitol Campus, Middletown, PA
Queens College, Charlotte, NC
Presbyterian School of Christian Education, Richmond, VA
Seattle Community College, Seattle, WA
Texas, U of, Arlington

Other respondents are indicated by (*) in lists that follow.

Institutions That Offer a Bachelor's Degree in Women's Studies**

Alabama, U of, University
Barnard C, New York, NY
Bowling Green SU, Bowling Green, OH
Brooklyn C, CUNY, Brooklyn, NY
California SC, Sonoma

*Respondents to this study.
**May be granted as a B.A. through the women's studies program, but is frequently granted through a special university option (e.g., as an individualized degree or contract major).

*California SU, Long Beach
California, U of, Berkeley
*California, U of, Los Angeles
*California, U of, Kresge C, Santa Cruz
Case Western Reserve U, Cleveland, OH
City C, The, CUNY, New York, NY
*Colorado, U of, Boulder
*Cornell U, Ithaca, NY
Denison U, Granville, OH
Douglass C, Rutgers U, New Brunswick, NJ
Florida Atlantic U, Boca Raton
*Georgia, U of, Athens
Goddard C, Plainfield, VT
Governors State U, Park Forest South, IL
*Hawaii, U of, Manoa, Honolulu
*Henderson SU, Arkadelphia, AR
Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, NY
Humboldt SU, Arcata, CA
Hunter C, CUNY, New York, NY
Illinois SU, Normal
*Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, U of
Illinois at Chicago Circle, U of
Iowa, U of, Iowa City
*Jersey City SC, Jersey City, NJ
*Kansas SU, Lawrence
*Kentucky, U of, Lexington, KY
*Livingston C, Rutgers C, New Brunswick, NJ
*Maryland, U of, College Park
*Massachusetts, U of, Amherst
Michigan, U of, Ann Arbor
Mills C, Oakland, CA
*Minnesota, U of, Minneapolis
Mundelein C, Chicago, IL
Nebraska, U of, Lincoln
New England C, Henniker, NH
New Rochelle, C of, New Rochelle, NY
*New York, SU of, Albany
*New York, SU of, Binghamton
*New York, SU of, Buffalo
New York, SU of, Stony Brook

New York, SUC, Brockport
New York, SUC, Fredonia
*New York, SUC, New Paltz
New York SUC, Old Westbury
New York, SUC, Oswego
New York, SUC, Plattsburgh
North Carolina, U of, Chapel Hill
*Northeastern Illinois U, Chicago, IL
*Northern Colorado, U of, Greeley
Northwestern U, Evanston, IL
Oberlin C; Oberlin, OH
Oklahoma, U of, Norman
Pennsylvania, U of, Philadelphia
*Pittsburgh, U of, Pittsburgh, PA.
*Pitzer C, Claremont, CA
*Portland SU, Portland, OR
Quinnipiac C, Hamden, CT
*Rhode Island C, Providence
St. Catherine, C of, St. Paul, MN
San Francisco SU, San Francisco, CA
*Sangamon SU, Springfield, IL
Skidmore C, Saratoga Springs, NY
South Carolina, U of, Columbia
*South Florida, U of, Tampa
*Southern California, U of, Los Angeles
Staten Island, C of, CUNY
Stephens C, Columbia, MO
Temple U, Philadelphia, PA
*Towson SU, Towson, MD
*Utah, U of, Salt Lake City
*Washington, U of, Seattle
Webster C, St. Louis, MO
*Wichita SU, Wichita, KS
*Wisconsin, U of, Madison
Wisconsin, U of, Whitewater

Institutions That Offer an Undergraduate Minor or Certificate in Women's Studies

Min- Alabama, U of, University
Cer- Arizona SU, Tempe

*Min- Arizona, U of, Tucson
Min- Avila C, Kansas City, MO
Min- California SC, Bakersfield
Cer- California SC, San Bernardino
*Min- California SU, Chico
Min- California SU, Fresno
Min- California SU, Hayward
*Min- California SU, Long Beach
Min- California SU, Los Angeles
Min- California SU, Northridge
Min- California SU, Sacramento
Min- Central Michigan U, Mt. Pleasant
*Cer- Cincinnati, U of, Cincinnati, OH
Cer- Colorado SU, Fort Collins
*Cer- Colorado, U of, Boulder
Min- Colorado Women's C, Denver
*Cer- Dartmouth C, Hanover, NH
Min- Delaware, U of, Newark
Cer- Douglass C, Rutgers U, New Brunswick, NJ
*Min- Eastern Michigan U, Ypsilanti
Min- Eastern Washington SC, Cheney
*Min- Florida SU, Talahasee
Min- Florida, U of, Gainesville
*Cer- Georgia, U of, Athens
Min- Hofstra U, Hempstead, NY
Min- Humboldt SU, Arcata, CA
Min- Hunter C, CUNY, NY
Min- Illinois SU, Normal
Min- Illinois at Chicago Circle, U of
*Cer- Indiana U, Bloomington
Min- Lake Forest C, Lake Forest, IL
*Min- Livingston C, Rutgers C, New Brunswick, NJ
Min- Long Island U, CW Post Ctr., NY
Min- Loretto Heights C, Denver, CO
Min- Lowell, U of, Lowell, MA
Min- Mankato SU, Mankato, MN
*Cer- Maryland, U of, College Park
Cer- Maryland, U of, European Division, APO, NY
*Cer- Massachusetts, U of, Amherst
Min- Massachusetts, U of, Boston

*Cer- Miami U, Oxford, OH
*Min- Michigan SU, East Lansing
Min- Montclair SC, Upper Montclair, NJ
Min- Moorhead SU, Moorhead, MN
Min- Nebraska, U of, Lincoln
*Min- Nevada, U of, Reno
Min- New Hampshire, U of, Durham
*Min- New Mexico, U of, Albuquerque
Min- New Rochelle, C of, New Rochelle, NY
*Min- New York, SU of Albany
*Cer- New York, SU of, Binghamton
Min- New York, SU of, Stony Brook
Min- New York, SUC, Buffalo
Min- New York, SUC, Oneonta
Min- New York, SUC, Brockport
*Min- New York, SUC, New Paltz
Min- North Carolina, U of, Greensboro
*Min- Northern Colorado, U of, Greeley
Min- Northern Iowa, U of, Cedar Falls
Min- Northern Kentucky, U, Highland Heights
*Cer- Oregon SU, Corvallis
*Cer- Oregon, U of, Eugene
*Cer- Pittsburgh, U of, Pittsburgh, PA
*Cer- Portland SU, Portland, OR
Min- Puget Sound, U of, Tacoma, WA
*Min- Ramapo C, Mahwah, NJ
*Min- Rhode Island C, Providence
Min- Rutgers U, Newark, NJ
Min- St. Cloud SU, St. Cloud, MN
Min- St. Olaf C, Northfield, MN
*Min- San Diego SU, San Diego, CA
*Min- San Jose SU, San Jose, CA
Min- Skidmore C, Saratoga Springs, NY
Min- Simmons C, Boston, MA
Min- Southern Illinois U, Edwardsville
Min- Southern Methodist U, Dallas, TX
Min- Stockton SC, Pomona, NJ
Min- Tennessee, U of, Knoxville
*Min- Towson SU, Towson, MD
Min- Trenton SC, Trenton, NJ

Min- Utah SU, Logan
Min- Washington SU, Pullman
Min- Webster C, St. Louis, MO
Min- West Chester SC, West Chester, PA
Min- Western Michigan U, Kalamazoo
Min- Western Washington SC, Bellingham
Min- Wilson C, Chambersburg, PA
Min- Wisconsin, U of, Oshkosh
Cer- Wisconsin, U of, Platteville
Min- Wisconsin, U of, Stevens Point
Min- Wisconsin, U of, Superior
Min- Wisconsin, U of, Whitewater

Institutions That Grant a Master's Degree
Or Graduate Minor in Women's Studies

MA Alabama, U of, University. Through American studies.

*Graduate Minor Arizona, U of, Tucson. In women's studies in literature.

*MA California SU, Chico. Individualized through graduate division.

*MA California SU, Long Beach. Through a special major.

(a)MA Case Western Reserve U, Cleveland, OH. Through American studies.

*MA Colorado, U of, Denver. Individualized major.

*Graduate Minor Cornell U, Ithaca, NY. With an interdisciplinary graduate major in another field.

*MA Eastern Michigan U, Ypsilanti. Through individualized studies program.

*MA The George Washington U, Washington, D.C. Through special studies in Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.

MA Goddard College, Plainfield, VT. Through non-resident graduate program.

*MA Goddard-Cambridge Graduate Program in Social Change, Cambridge, MA. Feminist studies through a collective study or individualized approach.

*Graduate Minor MA Governors State U, Park Forest South, IL. Interdisciplinary program in College of Cultural Studies.

(b)Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, CA. Through its Center for Women and Religion, offers courses, programs, and services related to women's studies in theological education.

(a)MA Iowa, U of, Iowa City. With focus on women's studies offered through traditional departments.

*MA Maryland, U of, College Park. As a specialization in history or as a supporting field in American studies.

(a)MA New York, SU of Binghamton, Binghamton. In History of Women.

*MA New York, SU of Buffalo. Through American studies.

*MA Northeastern Illinois U, Chicago. Through social sciences or American studies.

(a)*MA Northern Colorado, U of, Greeley. Through School of Educational Change and Development.

*MA Oklahoma, U of, Norman. Individualized, interdisciplinary program in the graduate college.

*MA Sangamon SU, Springfield, IL. Through individual option program.

*MA San Jose SU, San Jose, CA. As an emphasis in social science.

*MA Sarah Lawrence C, Bronxville, NY. Through women's history program.

*MA Wichita SU, Wichita, KS. Through liberal studies program or as an emphasis (12-15 hours) in education, sociology, or cross-cultural communication.

*Graduate Minor Wisconsin, U of, Madison. Through Option B Minor Plan.

(a)These institutions and the Union Graduate School, New Haven, CT, have provisions for granting a doctoral degree in women's studies.

(b)A graduate school that offers degrees through a consortium of nine Bay Area seminaries.

APPENDIX C

AN EXAMINATION OF THE RELIABILITY OF FOLLOWUP INFORMATION ON WOMEN'S STUDIES GRADUATES

Women's studies programs provided information on the postgraduate activities of only 35 percent of the alumnae tnat were counted. Are the career patterns of the other 65 percent similar to the graduates that were tracked or do they differ significantly? Are more or less employed? Are they equally satisfied/ dissatisfied with their degree in women's studies?

The accompanying table is a comparison of the proportion of graduates seeking employment with the response rates to six program followup studies. Response rates to these surveys were quite variable, ranging from 48 percent to 100 percent, while the proportion of graduates seeking employment ranged only from 6 percent to 13 percent.

The Sarah Lawrence and Minnesota reports did not discuss their survey methodology, but reports from the other four programs included descriptions of their data collection processes.

Lack of funds at Oregon precluded mailing reminders to nonrespondents, the implication being that the response rate would have been higher had reminders been sent. Neither Pittsburgh nor Washington reports commented on sending reminders, but the Pittsburgh program felt that the 50 percent response rate was "very good for a mailed survey." In the George Washington University survey, graduates were contacted by telephone to achieve a 100 percent response rate.

If one considers the age (over 50) of four of the GWU alumnae seeking employment as a factor in their unemployment, then the proportion seeking employment

for the GWU group that responded 100 percent does not differ from groups with lower response rates. Other factors may also be involved, including graduate and undergraduate career patterns.

While there are little data to confirm that respondents and nonrespondents are seeking employment at about the same rate, this analysis would suggest a tentative observation that such may be the case.

TABLE C-1

PROPORTION OF GRADUATES SEEKING EMPLOYMENT COMPARED WITH RESPONSE RATES ON FOLLOWUP SURVEYS OF WOMEN'S STUDIES GRADUATES

Program	Year Degree Established	Year of Survey	Number of Graduates Surveyed	Response Rate	Percent of Grads. Seeking Employment
Univ. of Oregon (Certificate)	1974	1978	33*	48%	6%(1)
Univ. of Pittsburgh (Certificate)	1973	1977	30	50%	7%(1)
Univ. of Minnesota (B.A. Women's Studies)	1975	1978	18	50%	0
Univ. of Washington (B.A. General Interdisciplinary Studies)	1970	1975	27	67%	11%(2)
Sarah Lawrence (M.A. in Women's History)	1972	1977	19	100%	0
George Washington Univ. (M.A. in Special Studies)	1973	1977	46*	100%	13%(6)

*Four graduates from Oregon and two from GWU could not be located and did not participate in the survey.

APPENDIX D

SELECTION OF
PRACTICUMS COMPLETED BY GRADUATES OF
THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S STUDIES
M.A. DEGREE PROGRAM

Center for Group Studies, Psychiatric Institute Foundation -- Co-leader of a group of elderly women at the Arcola House in Montgomery County.

Continuing Education for Women -- Assistant Counselor in career development class; prepared written case studies.

Special Assistant to the Director of the U.S. Center for International Women's Year -- Developed a speaker's bank by state; developed a speaker's information kit; researched and wrote a monthly newsletter, attended various meetings of persons concerned with IWY.

National Institute of Education -- Experience in a research office whose past and ongoing work related to data collection and data analysis on women.

EEO Services, Inc. -- Conducted research projects connected with servicing clients in EEO consulting relationships.

Department of Labor, Office of Equal Employment Opportunity -- Assistant counselor in a Developing New Horizons group (CEW) -- Planned and developed a special seminar.

Cook Cavanaugh Agency -- Planned and prepared materials for workshops on women at Mount Vernon College, Health Services Administration, and Office of Education.

At EEOC -- Prepared brochure and a guidebook for the Federal Women's Program, reviewed and evaluated upward mobility program, and served as a member of the IWY Council.

Assisted in preparation of course material and taught worker's education courses at Federal City College in labor history and shop stewards; prepared material for a course on women in the work force; was involved in other work in the area of labor studies.

National Women's Political Caucus -- Organized a system of communications and assistance for women political candidates and party workers at local and state levels.

Task Force on Women's Roles in the Church, Diocese of Washington, Protestant Episcopal Church -- Assisted in designing diagnostic and consciousness-raising events; administered and evaluated the events.

Career Development for Employed Women (CEW) -- Assisted in planning a seminar for separated and divorced women; related activities included developing a bibliography for the group.

Pre-operational planning for an educational broadcasting station at the University of North Carolina -- Activities included audience research and compilation of resource material for women's programming.

Developed and taught a Women's Studies course at Northern Virginia Community College, Annandale Campus, through their continuing education department.

Chairperson for a 3-day conference sponsored by the Arlington County Commission on the Status of Women; coordinated all IWY activities for the commission.

CEW and counseling office at the Northern Virginia Community College, Alexandria -- Activities included planning a workshop and counseling students.

Assistant counselor in Career Planning for Young Women and Career Development for Employed Women.

Assistant to chairperson of Interagency Committee to Eliminate Sexism in the Public Schools, Connecticut.

Researched materials for and attended International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City.

Higher Education Administration Referral Services -- Collected and analyzed data on women administators in higher education and developed strategies for increasing number of women using referral services.

Assisted Political Action Coordinator of National Women's Political Caucus -- Designed questionnaire for local caucuses regarding political involvement; set up information file on women candidates.

Women's Legal Clinic of the Community Legal Clinic of the National Law Center (GWU) -- Worked on divorce cases of varying complexity and related client problems; responsible for research, drafting, client counseling and filing of legal papers at DC Superior Court for cases.

Child Development Center of Northern Virginia -- Observed counseling of young mothers with handicapped children; wrote a handbook for parents.

Planned and taught a 1-year women's studies course for secondary students at the Maret School.

Wrote a pamphlet on the subject of rape for the Fairfax County Commission on Women.

Office of Education/Women's Program Staff -- Gathered, classified, and analyzed information on OE programs related to women; classified materials and publications in WPS office and noted for implications for WEEA.

Assistant to acting chairperson, Department of Teacher Education, Federal City College, for varied administrative areas.

Research analyst at Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies -- Collected data concerning relationship of women's labor force participation to housing and transportation patterns.

Special teaching assistant in Psychology 1 course at GWU -- Expanded to include testing and counseling.

Legislative Assistant, Women's Issues, Office of Congressman Donald M. Fraser -- Researched legislation affecting women; wrote reports and articles for newsletter; analyzed data.

Designed, developed, and taught noncredit seminar, Women's Studies Bibliography, within Independent Study program, University of Maryland.

Designed, developed, and taught noncredit seminar, "How to Research and Write Nonfiction and Biography," within CEW, GWU.

Assistant to director, Office of Management Planning, DHEW, for management incentives.

Co-leader of children's group in pro-child unit, Department of Human Resources, Arlington County. Also, counselor assistant with nurses, working with difficult or dying patients, Arlington Community Hospital.

Teaching assistant in History 185 -- Women in American History.

Assistant to coordinator, Equal Opportunity Programs, American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation -- Particular emphasis on Title IX, Higher Education Act, impact on women's athletics.

National Council on Crime and Delinquency -- Research for Council's policy statement on women offenders.

Assistant to Women's Program Coordinators, DOM, Washington, D.C. Government -- Assisted in implementation of the agency's IWY plan of action.

Montgomery County Commission on Aging -- Administered and coordinated a discount program for senior citizens in Montgomery; supervised volunteers; updated and streamlined the discount handbook.

CEW -- Developed a series of preretirement seminars covering financial, social, psychological, and physical aspects.

The Psychiatric Institute -- Co-led therapy groups offered by the Adjunctive Therapy Department, including assertiveness training, intensive care unit sports, and occupational therapy.

APPENDIX E

ESTHER STINEMAN REQUEST FOR INFORMATION
ON EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN'S STUDIES GRADUATES

The University of Wisconsin System

WOMEN'S STUDIES LIBRARIAN-AT-LARGE
464 Memorial Library / 728 State Street / Madison, WI 53706 Tel. 608/263-5754

February 27, 1980

Women's Studies as a discipline has become increasingly visible in the undergraduate academic curriculum. There is much interest among those involved in Women's Studies in the University of Wisconsin system concerning the employment of graduates with minors and/or certificates in Women's Studies. Specifically, we are wondering whether women who can demonstrate a substantial course background in Women's Studies can use this as a marketable skill. Do you have documentation concerning specific employment areas where such a background might be an asset?

Have you done any research on this topic? Have you noted any trends or patterns? Do you know of any research being conducted on this issue? Can you identify specific Women's Studies courses or types of courses which might be considered particularly helpful to women seeking professional positions?

Any information regarding the ways in which a Women's Studies background might enhance the credentials of a female job applicant is of interest to us. We look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Esther Stineman

Esther Stineman
Women's Studies Librarian-at-Large

Universities: Eau Claire, Green Bay, LaCrosse, Madison, Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Parkside, Platteville, River Falls, Stevens Point, Stout, Superior, Whitewater. University Centers: Baraboo/Sauk County, Barron County, Fond du Lac, Fox Valley, Manitowoc County, Marathon County, Marinette County, Marshfield/Wood County, Medford, Richland, Rock County, Sheboygan County, Washington County, Waukesha County. Extension. Statewide.

RESPONDENTS TO THE ESTHER STINEMAN REQUEST

Adult Education Association of the United States of America; Chair, Continuing Education for Women

American Advertising Federation; Manager, Information and Educational Services

American Association of University Women; Assistant Director of Program, Women

American Business Women's Association; Public Relations Coordinator

American Chemical Society; Chair, Women Chemists Committee

American Historical Association; Assistant Executive Director.

American Mathematical Society; Deputy Executive Director

American Society of Biological Chemists; Chairman, Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women

American Society of Women Accountants; Executive Director

Association of American Colleges Project on the Status and Education of Women; Administrative Associate

Association of College-Unions International; Coordinator, Women's Concerns

Association for Continuing Higher Education; Executive Vice President

Brooklyn College of the City of New York; Co-coordinator, Women's Studies Program

Business and Professional Women's Foundation; Librarian

Central Intelligence Agency; Federal Women's Program Coordinator

Coordinating Committee on Women in the Historical Profession; Executive Secretary

Council for Career Planning, Incorporated; Administrative Assistant

Massachusetts, University of, Amherst; Women's Studies Staff

The Medical College of Pennsylvania and Hospital Center for Women in Medicine

National Association of Bank Women, Incorporated; Educational Director

National Association of Women in Construction; Chairwoman, Occupation Research and Placement

New York, State University of, Buffalo; Associate Director of University Placement and Career Guidance

St. John's University, Jamaica, New York; Staff Person

Thomas Jefferson College, Allendale, Michigan; Chairperson, Committee on the Status of Women and Girls

The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Coordinator, Employment Opportunities

Women in Communications, Incorporated; Executive Director

APPENDIX F

OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES (IN WOMEN'S STUDIES)

The information presented here is from appendix A to a Report to the Educational Policies Committee from Elizabeth Berry, Director, Women's Studies Program, California State University, Northridge, April 3, 1977. It has been reprinted with the permission of the author.

Sample Job Listings

The following sample job listings were taken from the Chronicle of Higher Education, the Women's Studies Newsletter, the newsletter of the Bay Area Women's Coalition, and notices from the University of California, Berkeley's Center for Continuing Education for Women.

Employment with a B.A. Degree
In Women's Studies

Director, Women's Vocational Institute, San Francisco

Fundraiser, Women's Vocational Institute, San Francisco

Affirmative Action Officer, State University of New York, Binghamton

Women's Job Development Specialist, William Paterson College, N.J.

Assistant Director of Personnel and Affirmative Action, State University of New York, Canton

Federal Women's Program Personnel, Los Angeles

Executive Director for Connecticut Women's Educational and Legal Fund, New Haven

Assistant Project Coordinator and Field Coordinator for Project Agility: provides counseling, support, and physical training for women beginning as police officers or other protective service officers, San Francisco

Public Relations Assistant for Home Economics Newspaper, Bay Area

Book Editor, Distribution Manager, Clearinghouse Coordinator and Managing Editor of Women's Studies Newsletter, Administrator/in-service Teacher at The Feminist Press, Old Westbury, N.Y.

Counseling Assistant for Center for Continuing Education of Women, University of California, Berkeley

Manager, Women's Resource Center, University of California, San Diego

Assistant Director of Athletics, especially women's team sports and clubs, Manhattanville College, N.Y.

Counselor for Women's Shelter, Berkeley

Employment with an M.A. Degree
(With B.A. Degree in Women's Studies)

Affirmative Action Researcher, Rutgers University, NJ

Director of Affirmative Action for Women, University of Washington, Seattle

Project Director, Equal Rights for Women in Education, Denver

Training Consultant for National Women's Organization, N.Y.

Associate Director of campus programming, especially for needs of women students, Washington University, St. Louis

Assistant to Coordinator for Minority Affairs/ Women's Programs, University of Nebraska, Omaha

Administrative Head at the Center for Continuing Education for Women, University of California, Berkeley

Women's Re-entry Coordinator, Napa College

Director of Center for Continuing Education, Claremont College

Assistant Dean for Students and Minority Affairs, State University of New York, Stony Brook

Director of Women's Studies, University of Cincinnati
Director of Women's Studies, University of Alabama
Lecturer in Women's Studies (Behavioral and Social Sciences), San Diego State University

Employment with Ph.D. or M.D.
(With B.A. in Women's Studies)

Psychologists with interest in women's studies, York College, City University of New York
Director of Women's Studies, University of Oklahoma
Curriculum Coordinator for Training Institute on Sex Desegregation in Public Schools, Continuing Education for Women, Rutgers University, N.J.
Woman Historian/Coordinator Women's Studies Program, Newark College, Rutgers University, N.J.
Woman historian with specialty in Women in History, U.C., Davis
Sociologist or Social Anthropologist in Women's Studies, Governors State University, Ill.
Assistant Professor Sociology to teach Sociology of Women, University of Pittsburgh
Sociologist specializing in Sociology of Women, University of Maryland, Baltimore
Associate Professor of Women's Studies, to teach advanced Feminist Theory, Douglass College, N.J.
Coordinator of Women's Studies Program, State University College, New Paltz, N.Y.
Director of Women's Studies, University of Connecticut
Positions in European and Western Civilization, specialty in Women and/or Ethnic Studies, Sangamon State University, Ill.
Director of Women's Studies, Ohio State University, Columbus

Assistant Professor of Women's Studies (Psychobiology), University of Washington, Seattle
President, Wells College, New York
President, Barnard College, New York
Gynecologist and OB/GYN nurse practitioner to coordinate Women's Health Clinic and Family Planning Clinic, Provincetown, Mass.
Feminist Doctor for Women's Health Clinic, Iowa City
Physician for non-profit health clinic for women, Vermont Women's Health Center, Burlington
Associate Professor, with tenure, to teach interdisciplinary Women's Studies courses and coordinate Women's Studies program
Assistant or Associate Professor to teach interdisciplinary women's studies courses and serve as managing editor of a women's studies journal, University of Maryland

Jobs Requiring Knowledge of Women's Studies

The following was taken from appendix B to the Report to the Educational Policies Committee from Elizabeth Berry, Director, Women's Studies Program, California State University, Northridge, April 3, 1977. It has been reprinted with the permission of the author.

Women's center directors, both campus-based and community
Student activity directors for women students' programs
Commissioners and staff of Commissions on the Status of Women, Federal, state, county and municipal
Directors and staff of women's organizations
Editors of women's publications
Lobbyists on legislation affecting women
Researchers, in public and private organizations and institutions, on women-related topics
Employee organization representatives in women's work areas

Directors and staff of service programs, such as health care, counseling, and financial consultants

Instructors of inservice training in government, business, and industry on topics related to women

Curriculum specialists to develop materials without sex-role stereotypes

Attorneys specializing in laws regarding women, including laws on discrimination

Professional writers of books and articles related to women

Executives and professional staff of women-oriented businesses, industries, and educational institutions

Project directors in research and development areas for women such as the WEEA and WEAL projects

Teachers and professors in traditional disciplines with women's studies topics and in women's studies courses

Journalists covering both traditional and non-traditional activities of women

Specialists and consultants in specifically women-related areas, such as abortion, rape, sex discrimination, re-entry programs, career planning

Counselors and therapists for women

Correction officers for women's prisons, probation and parole work

Police officers working with women as victims or as offenders

Critics and theorists in the area of women's studies itself

Curators of special collections of materials on women

Religious leaders, such as ministers, priests, and rabbis and as coordinator of religious activities for women

Design engineers for items used by women and for development or adaptation of equipment or tools used by women

Directors and staff in government agencies for women, such as Women's Bureau (Department of Labor), Women's Action Program (HEW), Civil Rights Commission, EEOC, Title IX Compliance Office
Librarians for reference materials on women
Biographers of women
Affirmative action coordinators
Producers and directors of women-related films
Social workers working with individual women and groups
Directors and staff of referral agencies
Public school Title IX administrators
Teacher trainers (to train and re-train public school teachers in non-sexist methodology)

REFERENCES

1. A search was made of Women's Studies Newsletter from Volume I (1972), and of Women's Studies Abstracts from Volume I (1972), for literature on women's studies programs and graduates; evaluation in women's studies; student views of women's studies; job advertisements for persons with a background in women's studies. A computer search was made of the ERIC files, the Social Science Citation Index, and Dissertation Abstracts International from 1972. In these searches, American and Black (including Afro-American) Studies were chosen in addition to Women and Women's Studies as primary fields. Descriptors employed were skill, employment, competency, career, job, unemployment, performance, success, followup, and evaluation. (To avoid unwieldy numbers of course evaluations, titles containing "course" were rejected.)

   We also examined numerous monographs on women in higher education, such as those included in Academic Women on the Move (Rossi and Calderwood, 1973) and Women and the Power to Change (Howe, 1973), and studies like Opportunities for Women in Higher Education: Their Current Participation, Prospects for the Future, and Recommendations for Action (The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, 1973) and Women in Higher Education (Furniss and Graham, 1974).

2. Our search was also designed to locate literature related to the evaluative and comparative concerns of this study. We sought evaluations and assessments of women's studies and women's studies programs that might indicate or describe qualities, competencies, skills, and experiences gained by women's studies students in their degree programs, but anticipated correctly that little would yet be available to define the

impact on students of a women's studies degree or program, as distinguished from that of a particular course or courses in women's studies. Research in this area is still closely related to initial graduate followup and tracking.

Also, we sought literature on graduates (and the tracking of alumnae/i) of other nontraditional, interdisciplinary, and/or feminist educational programs; information on the marketplace in which women's studies students would be using their degrees and the support offered them by their programs in search of work; literature on the relation of education and work and on the uses of the liberal arts and the assessment of experiential learning; and literature on female career patterns and work behaviors.

Among the literature of background interest on the question, "What do women's studies graduates do?" was a study of "University Student Attitudes Towards Women's Studies" (Bravy and Sedlacek, 1976). Its abstract notes the "ambivalence" of both women and men surveyed about the practicality of a women's studies major in finding a job, and pointed to this issue as a prime area for further research. In this study, entering freshmen had been asked whether they agreed that women's studies would not be a good preparation for getting a job after graduation, and whether they agreed that prospective employers might be prejudiced against persons majoring in women's studies. Since they had also been ambivalent about their awareness of the women's studies program on their campus and about the nature of "what women's studies is," the results here should not be surprising and are, perhaps, more positive about the student attitudes in this area than the abstract would suggest.

In an impact survey sampling nonparticipants' attitudes toward women's studies (DeBiasi, 1979),

a university student population that included all classes and all schools was asked whether it thought women's studies related in some ways to their future work; 57 percent believed that it did.

A "Shoptalk" column in Women's Work (LaBier, 1977) reported interviews with women's studies program administrators and women administrators in Government agencies about job prospects for women with a degree in women's studies. It concluded that this diversified and timely area of concentration would be valuable in many kinds of work, if not necessarily a guarantee of obtaining employment.

News for Alumni (Bowling Green State University, February 1978) reported approval by the Ohio Board of Regents of a university baccalaureate program in women's studies. "Although students may major or minor in women's studies," the unsigned article noted, "it is advised that students select the program as a second major for reasons of employability. Career positions include counseling, personnel management, journalism, politics, and law, among others."

A planning/position paper, "Vocational Possibilities of Graduates of Women's Studies Programs," developed at the State University College of New York/New Paltz (Gambill, 1978), described women's studies serving as a catalyst for women students to take themselves seriously, offering support and challenge to enter fields traditionally closed to them and to move into the vanguard of new career areas contributing to equity for women. The paper also noted women's studies' usefulness and attraction to teachers, counselors, and others already employed who wish to infuse new knowledge about women's issues into established fields of work.

3. "Women's Studies Programs" (1980) was being compiled by the National Women's Studies Association as this study was in press; it appeared in the Winter 1980 issue of Women's Studies Newsletter. Reprints are available with a stamped, self-addressed envelope from either NWSA (University of Maryland, College Park 20742) or The Feminist Press (Box 334, Old Westbury, New York 11568). The survey to update 1978 data for this listing sought more detailed information on credit-hour-requirements and on particular titles of degrees than had been included previously, and reports new programs and various degrees not previously listed,

4. Among the resolutions passed by those present at the plenary session of the Barnard College Conference on Special Programs for Women in Higher Education, March 1979, was a call to NWSA to undertake publication of a "women's guide to higher education (tentatively titled Guide to the Quality of Women-Centered Education) that evaluates the adequacy of support for women on campus (e.g., the provision of services, curriculum, scheduling, and the status of female faculty and staff)."

5. Generally speaking, the employment patterns of women's studies graduates reported here are similar to those of women college graduates in general. Including those employed part-time, 58 percent of the B.A. degree alumnae and 63 percent of the certificate/minor alumnae are in the work force, values comparable to the 61 percent work force participation of women college graduates nationwide (U.S. Department of Labor, 1976). The five B.A. and seven certificate graduates working part-time represent 8 percent and 14 percent, respectively, of the total employed with each credential, values lower than the national average of 23 percent of women with 4 or more years of college who are part-time workers (U.S. Department of Labor, 1975).

One national survey shows that 29 percent of women with B.A. degrees expect to begin graduate or professional study within 1 year of college graduation (Baird, 1973); a comparable proportion (32 percent) of B.A. degree graduates in this study are continuing into graduate or professional schools and training.

The unemployment rate for women over 20 years of age has been 6 to 8 percent over the past several years, the period when data have been collected on these women's studies graduates. For all women college graduates, nationally, the unemployment figure -- those not working and seeking employment -- is about 3 percent, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (Monthly Labor Review, 1979). Other research indicates that unemployment for recent women college graduates who have not previously been in the work force is 8 to 10 percent (Royer and Creager, 1976; Bienstock, 1973).

6. The question of "underemployment" is a complex one, the more so when the populations involved are female. Some researchers argue that -- while the number of openings in occupations previously filled by college graduates does not increase as rapidly as the number of graduates -- college graduates create, move into, and increase the productivity of new occupations (Witmer, 1978; Ginzberg, 1980). Such a line of argument could have potential applicability to research on women's studies graduates and might usefully be tested there.

7. Of the institutions listed here, only Goddard-Cambridge offered an autonomous M.A. in feminist studies; that program was terminated in 1979. The Cornell Program offers an interdisciplinary minor. All other degrees reported here are individualized, disciplinary or interdisciplinary

concentrations and/or offered in association with a university or field/departmental degree program.

Since the emphasis of this study was "graduates," we did not specifically seek to ascertain numbers of students currently enrolled in women's studies degree programs, either undergraduate or graduate. Several programs did send enrollment figures, but these alone are inadequate for projecting numbers of future graduates.

Table 3 shows that at least five persons received an interdisciplinary M.A. or Ph.D. at Cornell with an elected minor in women's studies. Other institutions are known to offer or be initiating departmental or committee procedures for graduate minors (e.g., Governors State University, The Universities of Arizona and Wisconsin), but current information on numbers of students enrolled and/or alumnae of these and other programs was not available for this report.

Enrollment information provided by Governors State for the years 1975-78 indicates approximately a dozen students have or soon will have completed M.A.'s at that institution (Gross, 1979). The State University of New York at Binghamton reported 10 degree candidates in its History of Women Program (MA. and Ph.D), and Eastern Michigan University reported that it expects 10 students to complete the new women's studies M.A. available there (through individualized studies) within the next 2 years ("Graduate Programs in Women's Studies," Fall 1978; Winter 1979).

8. Streicher reported that 10 of the 18 employed part-time had school-aged children, and 6 were over 50 years of age. All those unemployed and/or those working as volunteers were married and living with husbands; two had children younger than 5, and the others were older women.

The median age of these earliest GWU graduates was 40 at the time of the followup survey; 13 were between 50 and 59 years old. Many had been out of the work force for a number of years, and their career expectations may differ from those of a younger or already employed group. Streicher reported from her data that some of these alumnae did not have employment goals in mind when enrolling in this program, and implied that some were satisfied with part-time and volunteer work; some supported by husbands were not necessarily motivated to seek full-time employment. GW alumnae in her survey who were employed and planning careers in the paid labor force were more dissatisfied with their degree in women's studies than were those less career-oriented.

9. See Women's Studies Evaluation Handbook, Millsap et al., 1979.

10. Further analysis of the Wilson Women's Studies Fellows data might involve comparisons with "Where are They Now?," a 1977 survey by the Foundation of Woodrow Wilson Fellows and Dissertation Fellows elected between 1945 and 1971. It might also explore various "women's studies" questions and correlations: the relationship between field of study and degree-granting institutions to employment patterns, for example, or the relationship of fields of study and degree-granting institutions to feminist scholarly activity in the field and women's studies courses and related activity on campus. To what extent did these students participate in a feminist academic community, local or national; to what extent was their work shared only with particular mentors, advisors, or peers? Information made available to us did include data on "institution granting the Ph.D." and "institution at which employed," but analyses of those data were not undertaken here.

11. Questionnaires used in preparing "Undergraduate and Graduate American Studies Programs in the United States: A Survey" (Bassett, 1975) were mailed in the spring of 1973 and reflect data from 1972 back. Information reported there on B.A. graduates is rather general, expressed as percentages of institutions surveyed reporting, mentioning, or indicating particular fields or occupations attracting or claiming graduates: 42 percent, teaching; 32 percent, law; media and government service, 15 percent each; business, 14 percent; social work, museum curatorship, library science, and medicine, "most of the rest." Some 22 percent of the institutions specified graduate study in other disciplines as the immediate career choice of the B.A. graduates, only 11 percent in American studies.

Bassett confirms in conversation and correspondence that "the careers of both undergraduate and graduate students in American studies was one of the 'softest' areas in my questionnaire. Almost 40 percent of the institutions failed to respond to this question at all, and those that did reply cautioned that the "data was impressionistic, not really firm."

Bassett's questionnaire did ask if significant differences existed in the vocational preferences of men and women graduates of A.S. programs. Only 50 percent of the sample responded to that question. Of those who responded, 80 percent indicated no difference; those who found a difference wrote that more women become teachers, more men attorneys.

In "American Studies Graduates and the Careers They Choose: A National Study" (Whitlow, 1977), the author again reports that only 42 (30.4 percent) of the 277 questionnaires he sent were returned with enough precise data to be useful. Some institutions responded that information on

graduates was not kept or that their programs were too new to have reliable data.

Whitlow's survey was organized to provide comparison with data on percentages of career choices reported in American Studies in the United States (Walker, 1958). His results, presumably reflecting data from 1975 back, showed American studies B.A. graduates choosing law, 27 percent; public school teaching, 8 percent; business, 7 percent; graduate work in American studies, history and English, communications and unspecified, a total of 18 percent; government service/politics, 4 percent; journalism, 4 percent; and 1-2 percent each in public/social service, urban affairs, librarianship, media, museum work, and publishing. Another 18 percent were reported as "miscellaneous," and less than a full percentage in other graduate fields of study.

The major difference reported between the 1950's and 1970's American studies data was a rise in law school attendance, in almost direct proportion to the decline in students entering teaching, analyzed as a function of the changing job market. Other shifts showed drops in business, government service, social work, the ministry, and library/museum work, with increases in graduate school attendance; urban affairs and media had not been reported categories in the earlier study. Sex does not seem to have been a variable in either Whitlow's or Walker's surveys.

Just as women's studies researchers will recognize the data-gathering problems faced by their colleagues in American studies, those involved in the development of women's studies will also recognize many of the debates surrounding the development of Black Studies. One consistent theme expressed in the collection of essays titled The Black Studies Debate (Gordon and

Rosser, 1974) is the criticism that Black studies programs (alone) will not prepare students to be competent to deal with communications, labor law, business, finance, and medicine. The study of black culture might be a luxury for black students, though a necessity for white students.

Some authors here speak of the need for a trained intelligentia of black men and women, but most who attempt to define the educational ends to which the black man should aspire do seem to be thinking only of men.

In the concluding chapter of Black Studies: Threat or Challenge, Nick Aaron Ford offers "Thought Provoking Answers to Challenging Questions." Question (4) asks "what can a student do with a major in Black studies?' Ford's answer:

> He can do anything that one with a major in philosophy can do except teach philosophy. Yet I have never heard the major in philosophy questioned because of its lack of focus on immediate job requirements. In addition to being qualified to teach Black studies in secondary schools, a student with a Black studies major can qualify to enter professional schools of law, medicine and social work, as well as various fields of graduate study leading to higher degrees, as is the case of any other undergraduate major with sufficient concentrated electives or required minors or second majors (most generally required in Black studies)...

> One black faculty member from a midwestern university offered this explanation: "We know that Black studies, by themselves, won't get jobs. We know that we need doctors, lawyers and other professionals in the black community. But we hope that by the aid of the perspectives of Black studies programs black professionals won't be as concerned with making $30,000 a year as they are with giving effective service to the black community" (Ford, 1973, p. 182).

Others of Ford's questions and answers, for example, on the concept and objectives of Black studies, would also be relevant for comparisons with women's studies, as would his historical and structural data and analyses.

A paper on methodological strategies for training graduate students in Black history notes, "It is important to equip students with the knowledge that millions of persons in this country will never consider their work important, and not just for the reasons that usually plague academics..., but because anything having to do with persons of African descent is believed to be of little consequence. Black students who have managed to get to the university usually understand this, but considerable emotional and psychological support will have to be provided those white students who, although interested in Black History, expect their interest will receive the same support and respect as their fellows who are interested in Medieval History" (Jones, 1975).

12. "Women's studies graduate" and "graduate of a women's college" are not always distinct categories, of course. According to Howard (1978),

women's colleges are somewhat more likely to offer women's studies courses than are coeducational institutions, with 83 percent of women's colleges and only 70 percent of coeducational schools in her sample reporting courses and/or programs. Women's colleges comprise 6 percent of all 4-year institutions, but they are only a slightly higher percentage, 9 percent, of the 4-year institutions listed in "Women's Studies Programs" (1978); only 15 of 24 women's colleges on that list offer a credential in women's studies.

Reports to this study indicate that at least a few women's colleges choose not to develop women's studies programs, but instead attempt to emphasize and incorporate a feminist perspective throughout the curriculum, encouraging students to undertake projects and research on women's issues. Depending on the ideology of the particular institution and its implementation, of course, alumnae of women's colleges may have participated in educational experiences varying from fully feminist to fundamental/conservative.

In the spring of 1979, the Women's College Coalition received foundation funding to develop a data base on women's colleges. In a 2-year data collection project, the Coalition will provide a profile of undergraduate, single-sex institutions, as well as conduct and report on special topics of critical interest to women's colleges and women's education advocates. That project could and should be able to gather and contribute data to the sorts of comparative studies projected here.

13. Productive comparisons would also be possible with (women) graduates of cooperative degree programs not necessarily designed primarily for women or including women's studies curriculum

components. Information on this population could be derived from studies at the Cooperative Education Research Center, Northeastern University, Boston (Brown, 1978).

Relatedly, one would wish to investigate the impact of women's studies curriculum on graduates of 2-year institutions to explore the effect of what some have called their "cooling out" function: a process of institutional tracking of students to lowered aspirations for further study and/or professional work (Shor, 1979).

14. Several institutions and organizations have published research reports on CEW alumnae that might provide bases for comparison of this population with women's studies graduates (Schletzer et al., 1967; Richter and Whipple, 1972; Seay and Jackson, 1973; Osborn and Strauss, 1975; Astin and Bisconti, 1976). The Office of Institutional Policy Research on Women's Education, Radcliffe College, is currently studying the impact of that college's various lifelong-learning programs, and should become another important data source for comparative study. (See also related studies in this series on re-entry women in women's studies and women's studies in the community college, and note recommendation in the preface to this monograph for further study of noncredit curriculum development in campus women's centers, continuing education for women, and community based women's centers. To that list might also be added the various training programs being established for displaced homemakers.)

15. For instances: "A Certificate in Women's Studies is relevant to many areas of employment, particularly counseling, public education, affirmative action, law enforcement, management, personnel, extension, and agencies whose clientele include women and men sensitive to the treatment of the sexes as unequal persons."

"Students enter nontraditional careers for women, like law, medicine, science, theology and business, but they are also in the vanguard of many new careers, such as: mid-wifery, para-legal and para-medical jobs, and environmental projects. Women's studies has actually created job opportunities by opening up new areas of interest about women, e.g., crisis intervention work with battered women and assault and rape victims; work with older women returning to school; development of new concepts and techniques in psychology through integration of feminist values in therapy..."

"The purpose of the Women's Studies Cognate is to prepare students for managerial, professional, and public service occupations by increasing their understanding of events that will shape our lives in the late twentieth century. Under the supervision of the Office of Women's Studies, students will select a focus for their cognate courses which complements their concentration...Students are encouraged to take a senior seminar or practicum which will integrate their course work and orient them to career opportunities. Students are also encouraged to acquire administrative, research, and communications skills through courses such as parliamentary procedure, statistics, computer science and foreign languages."

"The M.A. in Women's Studies is a career-oriented degree combining practical and theoretical training within a context of feminist political analysis...This program is designed for women who wish to further their present careers in business, health, government, education, the arts, etc., as well as for those women who wish to resume their active participation in the workforce after a period of absence."

And, in a different tone, from an evaluation and assessment report: "...The skills in analysis and criticism which the Women's Studies curriculum seeks to develop are the best guarantors we know of continued intellectual growth and habits of lifelong learning. What 'body of knowledge' our students will pursue beyond the limits of their degree is hardly for us to determine...Undergraduate education, at its best, stimulates students to pursue knowledge, to interpret and reinterpret familiar materials and received doctrine, to discover neglected sources of understanding, and to create new modes of experiencing the world and living meaningfully in it...It is the special task of Women's Studies to encourage students to choose their mode or modes of participation in the public realm: to enjoy a wider range of options and opportunities, in profession, avocation, and lifestyles."

16. Women's Studies Newletter and NWSA have not yet strenuously undertaken to seek out job notices, except for the informal Job Information Exchange at the Association's annual meeting. Most notices sent for possible publication in the Newsletter are those meant to reach its readership of feminist educators, although in these days of affirmative action, one suspects some percentage of pro forma mailings to identified women's groups and publications.

The great variety of programs for women in and around educational institutions would presume a need for feminist educators, researchers, administrators and counselors, but another study beyond this one would be needed to chart the training, recruitment, and employment mechanisms actually or potentially involved. Postsecondary academic and administrative positions are likely to be advertised in the various professional, discipline, and education journals. Women's centers positions are advertised through feminist

education networks and general women's movement publications, but many, it would seem, are most likely to be announced locally, regionally, or through civil service or system channels. Public school teachers with women's studies credentials or training in women's studies summer institutes might be expected to be in particular demand in those states that have legislated development of nonsexist curriculum, but additional investigation would be needed to test this hypothesis. Various federally-mandated positions (Title IX Coordinator, Affirmative Action Officer, Vocational Education Sex Equity Coordinator, etc.) seem, at the outset, often to be assigned to staff already in place, and only after or in larger institutions to become new positions, a pattern familiar in women's studies as well.

17. On the other hand, the letter from the American Chemical Society's Women Chemists Committee remarked: "In the field of chemistry, Women's Studies is not a marketable skill. For a scientist, a good scientific background with writing courses and business courses are of the most use as far as selling oneself in the job market..." The statement is true enough, but a related truth is the unusually high proportion of women scientists, particularly those who marry and have families, who drop out of the work force at all degree levels. One National Science Foundation report (1977) indicates that 47 percent of women trained in science were not in the work force in 1974, as compared with 12 percent of men trained in science and 36.5 percent of all women college graduates.

The NSF considers this problem serious. It now funds programs to assist women scientists to re-enter the work force, and others to encourage women students to enter or continue training in science fields. Women's studies and its

graduates could conceivably be part of the solution in several ways. As the research on, and responses to, women's studies cited indicate, a certificate or minor in women's studies might well assist the woman science major to prepare to accommodate marriage, family, and career in science, and in preparing her to confront the sexism inherent in both the style of the scientific professions and many of their research agendas. Other women's studies graduates might serve as counselors, advisors, administrators, or teachers, whose offices could support women scientists in continuing their careers. At least some NSF-sponsored projects for women scientists have been coordinated by women's studies programs.

And there is now an entire curriculum and pedagogical literature developing around math education and its sex biases and variables.

18. That figure is not broken down by sex. "According to the College Placement Council, Inc.,..., women graduating with a bachelor's degree in 1977 received only 19 percent of the job offers tendered by private industry and, except for teaching positions, those of federal, state and local governments, and nonprofit organizations. That left men with 81 percent of the offers from which to pick. One reason for this imbalance is the nature of the jobs available. Fully 55 percent were for openings in various fields of engineering. And women with bachelor's degrees in engineering did quite well -- with beginning salary offers, on the average, higher than men. But jobs in the humanities or social sciences, fields traditionally chosen by women, amounted to 6 percent of the offers, and the council reports that in all the disciplines other than engineering, women's (salary) averages were lower -- in some cases, considerably lower" (Northrop, 1978).

19. This mode of job development is associated with the work of Richard Nelson Bolles, whose What Color is Your Parachute is something of an underground classic (Bolles, 1977). Some universities are providing similar innovative/imaginative career-planning services. Columbia University's DIG (Deeper Investigation of Growth), for example, is "designed to help individuals by teaching them to identify connections between successes in life, and to recognize emerging patterns that may be relevant to career direction" (Gummere, 1972). One university internship director interviewed by Stineman in the course of her research made related recommendations specifically about the private sector, suggesting that women's studies students learn to study the larger companies for interest in setting up career advancement programs for women in which they might participate, and/or to study their affirmative action and personnel programs to see how receptive an environment they provided for women employees.

20. "Employers and co-workers sometimes treat female workers in ways which neutralize task orientation and elicit sex-role orientation. Women workers, employers, and co-workers can be trained to be aware of and to avoid styles of interaction that disrupt task effectiveness. In general, research has neglected the immediate interactions of working women and the ways in which role partners -- most notably co-workers, employers and husbands -- regard and discourage aspiration and effort...The worker's own awareness of the role pressures producing the conflict can do much to disarm its effectiveness. Most women have a greater stake in doing the job well than in gaining male approval for their femininity... Women who believe that men approve female competence permit themselves high aspirations; those who believe that men disapprove, radically

restrict their goals. Bringing about changes in these perceptions needs to go back to adolescence and probably before" (Long Laws, 1976).

To which one might only add the possibility of women-centered women who have found female support for their competence and aspirations and can thus be less emotionally concerned about male approval or disapproval.

21. This rather crude occupational sociology does not, of course, adequately distinguish traditional, nontraditional, and feminist aspects of women's studies graduates' involvement in academia, self-employment in business and the arts, and/or political activity.

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