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ABSTRACT

This essay examines the ways in which education, as a discipline, has been influenced by feminist scholarship in the field. It explains that foundational studies by feminist scholars have examined sexual differences in identity and ways of knowing, and have challenged the arrogation of feminine experience and viewpoints to generalizations of male experience. The essay goes on to look at the education curriculum, focusing on access and equity, pedagogy, and narrative and identity, noting that autobiographical writing has become an important process in teacher education. It notes that feminist scholars have challenged traditional research paradigms of researcher/researched, knower/known, and subject/object, and have questioned the boundaries that separate public from private by insisting on the political nature of all inquiry. Many of the issues embroiling public education reading instruction in the early grades, the role of parents in determining curriculum, single-sex schools, and the power of teachers in relation to administrators, legislators, and parents are addressed in the thought, research, and teaching of feminist scholars. (Contains 70 references.) (MDM)

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EDUCATION

Discipline Analysis

Madeline Grumet

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WOMEN ⁱⁿ the CURRICULUM

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Women ⁱⁿ the Curriculum

Education

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Curriculum Transformation
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PREFACE

Since the 1970s feminist and multicultural scholarship has been challenging the traditional content, organization, methodologies, and epistemologies of the academic disciplines. By now this scholarship is formidable in both quantity and quality and in its engagement of complex issues. The National Center for Curriculum Transformation Resources on Women is therefore publishing a series of essays that provide brief, succinct overviews of the new scholarship. Outstanding scholars in the disciplines generously agreed to write the essays, which are intended to help faculty who want to revise courses in light of the new information and perspectives. Each essay is accompanied by a bibliography that includes references for further reading, resources for the classroom, and electronic resources.

Elaine Hedges

Series Editor

Education

The study of education is inevitably a study of how one achieves personhood in his or her culture. Every culture identifies those activities, relations, places, and practices that are important to it, and its members become recognized as full-fledged adults in their culture by adopting these norms and mores to an extent that allows them to participate fully in a common life. It is customary for many cultures to distinguish male personhood from female personhood, using the categories of male and female to divide and distribute the labor and functions that sustain human life, even though the ways that various cultures fill those categories are diverse and often contradictory. The project of feminist education is to enlarge our culture's concept of personhood for both males and females and to explore the ways that teaching and learning can be constructed so that schooling is a vehicle of that enlargement. Because schooling is as deeply drenched in cultural history as family life and gender expectations, feminist education requires a thorough critique of the sex/gender system and its presence in schooling, in the discourses of the academic disciplines, and in the institutions of family, work, religion, art, and government that are linked to the institution of the school. The disciplines of education and the processes of schooling are all wedged right into the fracture in culture and thought that feminist scholarship and politics have revealed: the split between the public and the private.

It is telling that whereas the word *public* functions as a noun in this phrase and in every day speech, the word *private* rarely is seen as a noun outside the context of this opposition, except when used to refer to a military recruit, or as a euphemism for genitalia. It is characteristic of our gendered society that the private should function as an index to unnameable contents, an adjective to an absent noun. Feminism has taken up the task of naming the private, taking an inventory of its contents, and of exploring the relation of this category to the public, its putative antonym.

Because schooling and education are the processes through which persons move from the domain of family—the private, to the domain of work and knowledge—the public, it is important for feminist educators to understand the relation of these domains, how the events and relations of one affect the other. Once these categories had been revealed to be cultural constructions, rather than natural or universal necessities, feminist educators began to address the ways that schooling and informal education could deconstruct, rather than reinforce this opposition of private and public experience.

Foundational Studies

The bonding of private experience to public knowledge is important to the philosophy and science of education if we are to understand the ways that formal schooling is related to a person's experience in the world. Because feminists understand that the institutions of public life stand in a complex structural and dialectical relationship to the institutions of private life, it becomes necessary to study schools in relationship to ways of life experienced in

families, in neighborhoods, and in popular culture, as well as in other public institutions such as the economy, legal and penal systems, etc. In too many communities, schools stand as impregnable citadels, holding the children within their walls away from the families, communities, industries, and cultural resources that make up their towns and cities. In too many universities, studies in education are isolated from related work in the disciplines of arts and sciences. The reasons for the isolation of schools, and of the studies of schools, from the worlds that surround them is anchored to centuries of educational practice that isolated learning from doing, that identified learning with religious study, or with the work of women and children. Consequently, feminist educators have worked to reverse this history of separation and to rescue education, educators, and their students from the deprivations of their exile.

Feminist teacher educators, curriculum theorists, and educational researchers can not pursue our work without recognizing the irony that the field of education, one that addresses the development of children, has systematically expunged consideration of the experience of raising children in families from its studies of schooling. It is as if children were dropped by storks at the schoolhouse door. Nevertheless, what happens in school is always, unavoidably related to what happens in the kitchen, the office, the church, the theater, the bedroom, and the shop floor.

This rescue of female and family experience from the prison of private life, requires the recuperation of female presence in the story of education. Excluded from the histories, philosophies, and psychologies that have directed schooling, women and girls have been suffocated in the silence that shrouds private life. The project to name these women, to tell their stories and to identify their interests and capacities has emerged in all the foundational studies

of education. This project, sometimes called cultural feminism is complex, for it aspires to articulate and support women's interests without reducing any specific woman to an inventory of putative feminine traits. The conflict between identity and possibility is expressed in debates about what it means to be a woman, and relatedly, the particular contributions that women have made, and can make to education. This theme was announced in the important work of Carol Gilligan (1982), *In a Different Voice*. In that work she criticized Kohlberg's research on moral development, asserting that young women understood and made judgments about ethical dilemmas differently from the young men who were the subjects of Kohlberg's research. Positing a context-specific and improvisational attitude as feminine, Gilligan inspired many researchers and theorists to identify what is particular to feminine thought. *Women's Ways of Knowing* (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986) followed by critiquing William Perry's work on cognitive development. Nel Noddings (1984) identified the feminine standpoint with the ethic of care and articulated the pedagogical implications of responsive and responsible practice that she associated with the maternal interests of women. Madeleine Grumet (1988) addressed reproduction as a theme in consciousness and suggested that orientations toward knowledge and pedagogy were linked to the reproductive experiences of men and women.

All of these approaches have been challenged as essentialist when they have been understood to be ascribing attitudes, abilities, or commitments to women on the basis of their sex. If the analysis of women's interests or talents is reduced to an inventory of inevitable actions or commitments, then it is indeed essentialist, and the attempt to delineate a women's standpoint is a malefic altruism that will limit rather than enhance the educational experience of

women. On the other hand, it is possible to recognize that there are cultural, historical, and embodied experiences that influence the ways that women respond to the world and to the knowledge systems that encode it. This recognition supports our efforts to understand women's educational experiences, choices, and achievements and to provide educational experiences for girls that will engage their interests and build their confidence.

Essentialist rationales surface in feminism in education because of the field's commitment to equity and social action. In an attempt to reorder the politics of schools so that they support the interests and development of women and girls, generalizations about those interests may be inevitable. Nevertheless, feminist critique perpetually examines such assumptions, loathe to replace old stereotypes with new enlightened ones.

Recognizing that the masculine codes and commitments of curriculum are often portrayed as neutral, feminists have challenged the arrogation of feminine experience and viewpoints to generalizations of male experience, for too often public life and letters are seen as inscribing only male experience, thus excluding the private domain and the specificity of women's experiences. The caution that defends the subjectivity and specificity of women from being subsumed in male interests has been extended to feminist practice as well, as ideologies related to feminism or the needs and experience of women and girls are examined for their effacement of the idiosyncratic experiences of individual women as well as the specificities of race, class, religion, ethnicity and sexuality. This respect for difference has linked the feminist classroom with the curriculum of multiculturalism (hooks, 1994).

Feminist studies of education reveal practices and social structures that have been overlooked in traditional accounts of educational history and philosophy and provide inspiring models for contemporary teaching. Jane Roland Martin's study, *Reclaiming a Conversation: The Ideal of the Educated Woman* interrogates the traditions of romanticism and liberalism in the philosophy of education. Jo Anne Pagano's study, *Exiles and Communities: Teaching in the Patriarchal Wilderness* challenges Descartes' notion of an autonomous consciousness that denies relation, and Nel Noddings' *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education* brings a feminist analysis of relation to the discourse of ethics.

The collection, *Changing Education: Women as Radicals and Conservators* edited by Joyce Antler and Sari Knopp Biklin (1990), has brought together studies by historians, sociologists, and philosophers of education that significantly reinterpret the foundational discourses of education to include the experience of women. Recent projects of school reform have attempted to reorganize the politics of schooling and teaching, giving teachers greater agency in determining the ways their schools are organized, and managed. Feminist studies of schooling support these reform movements for if teacher educators send their students out to change the schools without giving them a strong sense of the traditions and preferences which sustain the status quo, they deny them the knowledge they need to analyze resistance and pursue support. The recent publication of a number of introductory texts and collections of articles on feminism in education attests to the continued significance of feminist thought and practice for education today (Biklen & Pollard, 1993; Stone, 1994; Weinter, 1994; Weis & Fione, 1993).

Curriculum

Access and Equity

Because education is an event, and a responsibility, as well as a field of study, feminist education scholars have linked their analyses of domestic, political, aesthetic, and institutional cultures to strategies for change. Initial efforts to combat sexism in education addressed issues of equity and sexual discrimination and gender stereotyping. This approach, sometimes characterized as liberal feminism, is based on an analysis of rights and access. In what has been called the “reformist” agenda, feminist critiques of elementary school readers, children’s literature, and romance novels revealed the portrayals of women in these texts as passive, dependent, and dull (Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery, and Taubman, 1995). In what may have functioned as a precursor to what we now call the study of popular culture, feminist educators alerted parents, teachers, publishers, and television producers to the significance and influence of the images that they were constructing for the fantasies of young children. The work of Selma Greenberg, (1978), *Women on Words and Images* (1975); Christian-Smith, (1988, 1990); Steffere (1975) was significant. This work was extended in studies of the ways that the academic disciplines exclude or discourage the participation of women and girls. Work in the fields of science and mathematics, such as Sheila Tobias’ (1981) work on girls’ responses to mathematics, prepared the way for the work of Sandra Harding (1986, 1991), Donna Haraway (1991) and Evelyn Fox Keller (1985) as they analyzed these disciplines as cultural discourses, as well as knowledge systems.

Criticism of sexual discrimination in academic tracking, classroom discourse, and classroom interaction led to the awareness of the ways that opportunities were withheld from women (Frazier & Sadlek, 1972; Bull, 1974; Sears & Feldman, 1974; Serbin & O'Leary, 1975). This awareness contributed to the passage of Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendment, which denied federal monies to any educational institution practicing sexual discrimination. Sadker and Sadker (1994), Klein (1992), and the report of the American Association of University Women (1995), *How Schools Shortchange Girls*, indicate that equity issues are far from resolved despite the passage of Title IX.

Projects such as these, diminishing gender stereotyping in educational materials or providing equal access to facilities and educational opportunities, conform to Donovan's (1978) summary of the tenets of liberal feminism: faith in rationality, confidence in individual conscience, conviction in the similarity of male and female rationality, a belief in education as a force to change society, and the doctrine of natural rights (Donovan, 1978).

Liberal feminism thrives in educational studies because it is situated in observable reality and points to actions that can be taken to provide access to educational resources. Instances of favoritism can be counted. Budgets for male and female sports programs can be compared. The presence of women in mathematics and science courses can be quantified and tracked over time. Furthermore, fairness is a principle that students can support, even though they may disagree about what constitutes fair practice in any given educational setting or situation.

Because the patterns of preference that operate in schools were present as well in the school situations of the students we are preparing to be teachers, they may appear

natural or necessary—the way things are done. Attention to the research on equity is a consciousness raising step that reveals unclaimed rights and unfair disadvantages to students who may have suffered these constraints without recognizing or resenting them. Because the concerns of liberal feminism are the least threatening of contemporary feminist studies, and because an immediate and clear extension to curriculum can be made, liberal feminism provides a good place to start the feminist study of education.

Furthermore the concerns of liberal feminism provide a lens through which the daily politics of the public school classroom may be viewed. When teaching is observed to reveal patterns of preference in classroom discourse determined by the degree, quality, or type of attention given to students, or by the frequency or quality of teacher responses to students' ideas or questions, classroom communication is problematized and students can examine its effect on the learning possibilities of all students. What liberal feminism does not question is the meaning of gendered identities. It talks about the rights of women and girls without asking what it means to be a woman, or a girl. It takes up the challenge of equity, securing for women the rights and privileges that men have exercised without asking whether all of these so-called privileges are desirable.

What distinguishes the other feminist approaches from the liberal agenda is a dialectical understanding of identity, which recognizes that every identity is a partial and tentative expression of both maleness and femaleness and that maleness and femaleness themselves, are terms that depend on each other for their very existence and character. As a result, whereas liberal feminism tends to address change in public structures, other forms of feminism link that change to the social, cultural and psycholog-

ical experiences in everyday life that constitute actors' sense of their gendered identities and life possibilities.

It follows that as we change our ideas about who we are, what constitutes our interests and possibilities as knowers, we will also change our ideas about what can be known, and what can and should be valued as knowledge. These studies, which challenge the frameworks which hold our identities, extend beyond personal psychology to studies and critiques of the academic disciplines as well. Studies of history and the social sciences have been enlarged to include accounts taken from domestic life as well as from mercantile and school narratives as social and oral histories have sought to enlarge the scope of experience deemed worthy of study and analysis. Literature studies have been extended beyond the canon to bring in the writings of persons whose gender, class, race, or religion had not qualified their texts for publication or study, and the role of writing in learning to read has been accentuated in feminist practice (Dooley, 1995). Feminist studies of the feminization of nature and the parallels of sexual exploitation and the abuse and destruction of the environment have helped to bring environmental concerns and inquiries to the forefront in the curriculum of the natural and physical sciences (Griffin, 1978; Krall, 1994; Keller, 1985).

Pedagogy

The bonding of private experience to public knowledge is also essential to good teaching, for situated within this connection is the love for the world that permits a teacher to inspire her students with its wonder. It is within the realm of the private, of family and close personal relationships, that powerful feelings reside, and those feelings generate the energy and intentionality that carry us into the

world, open or closed to its wonders. It is within the realm of the public world, of schools, cultural institutions, and the disciplines of knowledge that we learn to understand the relations and feelings generated in our families and to give form and focus to the aspirations that have been generated there. The work of Maxine Greene, notably *Teacher as Stranger* (1973), has consistently called for teachers to take up their teaching as they take their lives, open to the aspirations and dilemmas that shape their existential situations and give force and meaning to their lives and their work.

Narrative and Identity

The recognition that knowledge is generated in human relationships has brought dignity and legitimacy to the process of thinking about teaching. It supports the conviction that teachers can not teach well unless their own worldly concerns and commitments animate their work and has led to a reflexive turn in teacher preparation programs that encourages students to attend to their own experiences of learning, of schooling, and of teaching. This interest in reflexivity in teaching mirrors the project of consciousness raising that developed in the 60s and the 70s, expressed in the women's movement's slogan "the personal is political." In professional meetings and in every day life, women met to speak and study what had been kept secret in their lives. The history, function, and cultural processes of the separation of the public and the private were explored in the significant works of Dorothy Dinnerstein (1976), *The Mermaid and the Minotaur*, Nancy Chodorow (1978), *The Reproduction of Mothering*. Jean Bethke Elshtain (1981), *Public Man, Private Woman*, and Mary O'Brien (1981) *The Politics of Reproduction*.

Psychoanalytic and object relations theories, as well as the scholarship in political economy developed in this era, moved the feminist analysis of educational experience from the liberal emphasis on rights and equity to the discussion and analysis of desire. Because the process through which a person comes to identify as a male or a female and the processes through which we become knowers of the world are intertwined, what it means to be male or female, girl or boy, in any given culture, will greatly influence the ways that persons of both sexes experience education.

Influenced by Lacan, the psychoanalytic portrayal of desire lodged power in the imagination, believing that it accrued to certain people or to people who were male or tall or mature because of the projections of others, as they associated power, privilege, superiority, and resources to be associated with men and not with women. As analysts studied the motives for these attributions, consciousness raising invited women to come together in their everyday lives to talk about their lives and to see how they had been complicit in the arrangements that oppressed them. The autobiographical voice was invited not only to speak in public of the experience considered private, but in the process of that speaking to resymbolize this experience, formulating a story and a theory that would extend the knowledge and experience of private life into the public life of communities, knowledge, and government.

The autobiographical turn in education encouraged articulation of students' and teachers' accounts of their own educational experience: stories, and meanings that had been effaced in an archive dominated by quantitative achievement measures and historical and sociological records of the evolution of intricate and bulky bureaucracies. In the early work of Pinar and Grumet (1976) auto-

biographical analyses of educational experience were sought as means to focus on the specificity of educational situations and histories, as well as to draw out negations of constraints into images for the future. Janet Miller (1990) worked with teachers to elicit their understandings of their work, interested in building school communities from groups of teachers whose reflections would generate a common project, and Connelly and Clandinin (1988) approached autobiography as a method to encourage teachers' reflexive grasp of their teaching, drawing out images that expressed the ways they understood and constructed curriculum within the context of the school. Wendy Atwell-Vasey's work (1998), *Nourishing Words: Bridging Private Reading and Public Teaching*, analyzes teachers' narratives of their own reading experiences to understand how these passionate readers have participated in a literature curriculum that often repudiates the feelings and fascination that connected them as young readers to literature.

Autobiographical writing has become an important process in teacher education. Although the model of the "reflective practitioner" of Donald Schon (1987) gained credibility and became an icon of the enlightened teacher, establishing the processes of thought and communication that could sustain a critical and thoughtful reflection on teaching practice became a challenge for feminist educators of teachers. It has reinforced the school reform agenda of providing time and space for teachers to share their work with each other, their concerns about students, their ideas about curriculum, and school organization, and their experiences of doing the complex and challenging work of teaching.

The writing and sharing of autobiographical accounts of educational experiences alert students of educa-

tion to the complexity of their own educational experience and encourage empathy for experiences that differ from their own. This process, can, however, become sentimental and exacerbate the public/private split if the written accounts are not themselves critiqued to recognize the assumptions they embody. The work can be cloistered and self-referential if the issues raised are not addressed in relation to contemporary teaching practices and ideologies. Lacking theoretical scaffolding as well as identification of educational aims, reflexivity, on its own, can dwindle into the paralysis of infinite regression or self-absorbed trivia (Grumet, 1990; Orner, 1992; Lenzo, 1995). It is the intertwining and reciprocity of public and private readings that will support teachers' agency and understanding of the ways that their own experiences of life in schools may be used to inform the project of school reform (Grumet, 1992).

Furthermore, when the text for a class of prospective teachers is composed of each others' autobiographical writings, students are faced with the challenge of developing a hermeneutic for their discussion of these texts. The politics of interpretation are present whenever texts are used in classrooms, but often literary texts or textbooks arrive escorted with a set of assumptions that declares what is worthy of discussion and what is not. When the texts in question have been written by the students themselves, they must become the arbiters of this discussion and in so doing they shape the path that their text will take from private writing to public readings.

Finally, autobiographical writings can be used to help students situate themselves within the disciplines that they are preparing to teach to others. When the discourse of a discipline sustains an androcentric voice, it is difficult for female students to find a place within it from which they can act and write and do research with strength, confi-

dence, and agency. Narratives which provide accounts of their contact with the phenomena of the discipline invite their authors to stake their claims to its territory.

Autobiographical work in education is also a strand in qualitative studies of education, where the perspective of the researcher is woven into an ethnography, denying the emptiness of the eye that sees and describes only other people's realities. In the accounts of so-called research "subjects," autobiographical texts are joined to other accounts, empirical\quantitative, or ethnographic, to ensure the participation of research subjects in the account that is being constructed to stand for their experience.

Poststructuralist critics of autobiography have expressed their suspicions of all these writing selves. Critics have challenged the spurious unity of the narrating self and its linear psychology. Accompanying the logic of its narrative, is, they assert, a naive conflation of viewpoint and truth, as if the risk of confession and discomfort of disclosure were sufficient to confirm the veracity and authority of its judgments (Willinsky, 1989). This critique challenges the reliance on reflexivity that came to dominate the discourse of teacher education and development in the 1980's (Schon, 1987), as well as educational research in the 1990's (Lather, 1991).

In response to the poststructuralist critique of the autobiographical self, feminist educators have pointed to the irony that poststructuralism arrived to erase the speaking self just at the moment when women had seized the podium (Brodbribb, 1992). This sardonic observation is accompanied with a serious concern that the activist and political expressions of feminism will not survive the assault on the psychological self, which, despite its questionable cohesion, supports the social identities capable of so-

cial action. Defending the poststructuralist critique, McCoy (1997), drawing on Butler (1992) and Spivak (1993), argues that the function of foundational critiques, such as those challenging identity, is important when these critiques reveal presuppositions that constrain action and, in so doing, open in-between spaces where different sorts of action are imaginable.

The function of generalization has been a theme and an issue in feminist pedagogies. Feminist pedagogies share a commitment to developing students' confidence in their own agency: in their ability to think critically about their experiences, to express their ideas and concerns, and to work collectively for social change. Some feminist professors have worried about the influence of ideology on students and classroom discourse, while others have argued for methods which encourage the expression of each student's individuality (Culley and Portuges, 1985). Frinde Maher and Mary Kay Tetreault (1991) have examined the effects of feminist pedagogics on classroom discourse, and Kathleen Weiler (1988) has explored the dialectic between the structural constraints of schools and the political efforts of feminist educators. Jo Anne Pagano (1990), in *Exiles and Communities*, analyzes the sources of pedagogical authority. In an incendiary piece in the *Harvard Educational Review*, "Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering?" Elizabeth Ellsworth (1989) addresses the sexist assumptions of critical pedagogy, a progressive pedagogy bent on challenging the biases and presuppositions of students, and Luke & Gore (1992) have edited a collection of essays that examine a variety of feminist responses to critical pedagogy.

This tension between identity and possibility persists in all educational contexts whenever teachers try to acknowledge the idiosyncracies and preferences of students

while at the same time introducing them to options they may not have recognized or considered. It surfaces in classrooms which confront issues of identity in society, and in classrooms which use collaborative approaches to teaching and learning (Reagan, Fox, and Bleich, 1994). Addressing this tension through the issue of gender may serve as a heuristic for other ascriptions of identity that demand recognition in the classroom.

Educational Research and School Governance/Politics

Feminist scholars have contributed to the methodological literature on research in education. The most significant work is that which has questioned the power relations inherent in the binaries that structure traditional research paradigms: researcher/researched, knower/known, subject/object. Feminists have responded to these questions by articulating new approaches to the conception, conduct, validation, representation, and utilization of research in education. Feminist educational researchers have challenged the boundaries that separate public from private by insisting on the political nature of all inquiry, revealing the collusion of the public spy and the private eye. Patti Lather has maintained that the emancipatory project of feminist scholarship repudiates the disinterested stance of research. The recognition that all research is situated and motivated raises serious questions about validation and representation. Researchers have been challenged to address the juxtapositions of feminist and poststructural theories, their own political commitments, and the lived experiences of research participants (Lather 1991; Lather & Smithies, 1997). The autobiographical turn in feminist scholarship, which has already been discussed, has been

significant to the methodological literature in its insistence on privileging of research participants' experiences and voices. Other methodological contributions have been made by Middleton's (1987) life histories of feminist teachers; McWilliam's (1994) study of action research and teacher education; Ladsen-Billings' (1994) articulation of an Afrocentric feminist epistemology; Pillow's (1997) rethinking of policy studies on teenage pregnancy; and St. Pierre's (1997) analysis of unusual kinds of data in her research with older southern women.

Many of the issues that embroil public education — approaches to reading instruction in the early grades, the roles of parents in the determination of curriculum and materials, the creation of single-sex schools, the power of teachers in relation to the power of administrators, legislators, and parents, the school's role in sex education, the status of disciplines in the curriculum — are all addressed in the thought, research, and teaching of feminist scholars.

For example, marxist-socialist feminists have joined the discussion of access and equity, but have brought to that discussion consideration of social class experience and its intersection with gender, critical of androcentric marxism's refusal to acknowledge the domestic work of women as real labor (O'Brien, 1981). By incorporating women into the marxist paradigm and insisting on the analysis of domestic labor, many marxist/socialist feminists have worked to bridge the private-public schism in marxist theory and educational practice. Lather (1987) and Grumet (1995) examine the work of teaching as an extension of domestic labor. Leslie Roman (1988) emphasizes research practices that help women involved in a study to recognize the roles that race, class, and gender have played in their experiences of oppression. She articulates a feminist epistemology that encourages participants to develop their

own strategies for studying and changing their worlds. Other significant work includes McRobbie (1978) on working class girls' reinforcement of the public/private split; Valli (1986) on women in the clerical workplace; and Weis (1990) on the effects of de-industrialization on the study of cultural reproduction.

A rich thematic that may be drawn from socialist-feminist work for education is an analysis of the conditions of teaching for the predominately female workforce providing the labor of pedagogy. The project to professionalize teaching and to give teachers the power and responsibility to determine how their schools are organized and governed is political work. It requires teachers to be advocates for themselves and their peers as they challenge the ways their work is structured. Attempts to change the structure of teaching must be informed by the history of teaching, which is also a history of women's work.

Because studies of schooling often ignore the exploitation of teachers and the denigration of families, ethnographic research projects provide opportunities for students to examine the culture of teaching and the relations of parents and teachers through the lens of the feminist critique of androcentric views of labor.

Ever since feminists denied that women were the only custodians of the next generation, we have recognized that our communities, our legislatures, our corporations, our community-based-organizations, and our schools must collaborate to construct a safe and educational environment for young children. Feminist educators have begun to move out beyond the boundaries of the school to work with other institutions so that these community collaborations can be built. Nevertheless, feminists have not affiliated with each other to establish strong collective and public

positions on these issues, except for their support for the struggles for equity and against sexual harassment. Although the status of feminist scholarship has flourished in the academy, the grassroots participation in feminism that erupted in the 60s and the 70s has waned. As feminist scholarship and teaching penetrated the canon and gained credibility and acclaim in universities, the power of public speech — its capacity to efface whatever deviates from it or to exile that material to the hushed rooms of private experience — has left the feminist project of liberation in shadow. It has been possible for the project of feminism to flourish in the academy while children and their single mothers are denied food stamps and health care, while immigrant women are employed in sweatshops and denied college educations, while there are violent attacks on birth control clinics and reports of escalating child abuse and sexual abuse of women. It has been possible for the project of feminism to flourish in the academy while there is inadequate childcare, substandard early education programs, overcrowded public school classrooms, and underfunded programs of teacher education.

The capacity to influence and direct public policy in education will require the understanding, collaboration, and activism of feminists within and beyond the academy in order to realize the transformation of society that feminist educators have envisioned.

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Dr. Grumet received her bachelor's degree in English literature from Barnard College and her master's and doctoral degrees from the University of Rochester. She is the author of *Bitter Milk: Women and Teaching*, a study of the relation of reproduction and family experience to schooling and teaching, and is the coauthor of *Toward a Poor Curriculum*, a study of the relation of autobiographical narrative to educational experience. Within her field of curriculum theory, Dr. Grumet specializes in humanities and arts curriculum, in autobiographical methods in educational research and teacher education, and in feminist theory, and has written numerous articles and chapters in these fields. She edits a book series on feminist theory and education for the State University of New York Press, and a series on the Politics of Identity and Education for Teachers College Press.

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(Available fall 1997)

➤ ***Introductory Bibliography for Curriculum Transformation***

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