
Ignatian Center for Jesuit Education

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In this issue of explore, we focus on the impact of women on Jesuit higher education in general and Santa Clara in particular. Walter Ong, S.J., a famous Jesuit literary critic and polymath, has written that the inclusion of women in American universities in the 20th century did more to change teaching styles and research topics than any other factor. Santa Clara University President Paul Locatelli, S.J., has said that the admission of women in the 60’s and the emergence of a diverse student body in the past decade were the most important developments at the University in the last half-century. As one who joined the faculty in 1991, it is impossible for me to imagine what this University would be without women faculty and students. Actually it is not a prospect any of us would want to entertain, since it would be such an impoverished place.

In these pages, Santa Clara faculty and alumni examine the impact of women from several angles. Gerald McKevitt, S.J., university historian and co-author of the new book Serving the Intellect, Touching the Heart, traces the integration of women into the Santa Clara University community. Also included are recollections from Jennifer Konecny-Costa ’68, MA ’77 and Peggy Bradshaw ’72, two women who attended Santa Clara in those bold, early days.

A unique article by “Clare Green,” a fictional composite derived from the experience of a number of very real faculty members, details the challenges that female faculty members have faced and the progress they have made over the years. Elizabeth Moran, professor emerita of English, also shares her long view into the past and her hopes for the future. Balancing work and life is a concern to all faculty, male and female alike, and psychology professor Eleanor W. Willemsen draws on her own personal and professional background to explore this struggle for balance. Barbara Molony, the director of the Program for the Study of Women and Gender, discusses the genesis and development of this multidisciplinary program that studies and inspires scholarship on women and gender.

To take a research perspective on this question, we are pleased to reprint excerpts from a significant study entitled “Assessing the Role of Gender in College Students’ Evaluations of Faculty” published in 1999 by three Santa Clara faculty members: Christine M. Bachen, assistant professor in the communications department; Sara S. Garcia, associate professor in the Counseling, Psychology and Education; and Moira M. McLoughlin (1953-1997), who was an assistant professor in the communications department.

To put these essays in a broader context, I offer on the following pages a brief history of how the Society of Jesus in 1995 addressed the impact and role of women for the first time in its history.

William C. Spohn
Director
When examining the impact of women on Jesuit higher education in general and Santa Clara in particular, we have to note the historic document produced in 1995 by the 34th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus. The 220 delegates from around the world passed a decree addressed to all the Jesuit ministries entitled “Jesuits and the Situation of Women in Church and Civil Society.” A decade before, the previous General Congregation had briefly mentioned “the unjust treatment and exploitation of women” as part of a number of justice concerns which Jesuits were called to address. This full-length document, however, was the first such statement since the Society was founded in 1540. What led to this breakthrough?

Individual Jesuit provinces made formal suggestions for the work of the Congregation. Frequently mentioned was the issue of how Jesuits should work with others in the various ministries of the Society, from education to direct pastoral work. Increasingly, lay men and women as well as women religious have become more directly involved in these works. This change was not only a response to dwindling Jesuit numbers, but a development stemming from the open spirit of the Second Vatican Council of 1962-65. An Irish theologian proposed that the Congregation could not do justice to this question without explicitly considering the situation of women. A number of first world delegates were initially somewhat reserved about tackling this issue because they feared that any document might appear to be condescending— one more instance of men speaking for women and defining their role. Some American delegates had clear memories of the attempts of the American bishops to produce a statement on women in the Church, a process that ended in failure after ten years of effort. Many had heard from their women colleagues and friends that, given the controversy over the ordination of women to the priesthood, silence would be preferable to any compromise document. Accordingly, the Congregation urged the Jesuits to accept responsibility “for what we can do as men and as a male religious order. We do not pretend or claim to speak for women. However, we do speak out of what we have learned from women about ourselves and our relationship with them.”

On the other hand, the proposal of a document on the situation of women drew considerable interest from delegates from India, Africa, and Asia. They saw the widespread abuses against women as grave violations of social justice and wanted the Society to dedicate itself to remedying them. The document frankly acknowledges that the dominance of men in their relationships with women has found expression in many ways. It has included discrimination against women in educational opportunities, the disproportionate burden women are called upon to bear in family life, paying them a lesser wage for the same work, limiting their access to positions of influence when admitted to public life, and, sadly but only too frequently, outright violence against women. In some parts of the world, this violence includes female circumcision, dowry deaths, and the murder of unwanted infant girls. Women are commonly treated as objects in advertising and the media. Even though women and men are rejecting such attitudes and practices, “we still have with us the legacy of systematic discrimination against women. It is embedded within the economic, social, political, religious, and even linguistic structures of our societies. It is often part of an even deeper cultural prejudice and stereotype.”

In response to this “universal reality” of discrimination, the Jesuits made a corporate confession and asked for the grace of conversion: “We have been part of a civil and ecclesial tradition that has offended against women....we have often contributed to a form of clericalism which has reinforced male domination with an ostensible divine sanction.” They pledged to “do what we can to change this regrettable situation.”
Unlike the Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and many other religious orders, the Jesuits did not found a women’s community. Nevertheless, Ignatian spirituality and the Jesuit documents were incorporated into many active communities of religious women over the past 460 years. The Congregation expresses its appreciation for the “dedication, generosity, and joy that women bring to the schools, parishes, and other fields where we labor together. This is particularly true of the work of lay and religious women among the urban and rural poor, often in extremely difficult and challenging situations.”

Women have enriched the Ignatian tradition through giving and interpreting the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola. “Many women have helped to reshape our theological tradition in a way that has liberated both men and women.” In appreciation “for this generous contribution of women, [we] hope that this mutuality might continue and flourish.”

Even though the formulation of documents is confined to the Congregation itself, it is widely reported that drafts of this statement were circulated to prominent women in Rome and elsewhere for their suggestions. That process would fit the remarkable advice given as the primary “way forward” to remove discrimination:

In the first place, we invite all Jesuits to listen carefully and courageously to the experience of women. Many women feel that men simply do not listen to them. There is no substitute for such listening. More than anything else it will bring about change. Unless we listen, any action that we take in this area, no matter how well intentioned, is likely to bypass the real concerns of women and reinforce male dominance. Listening, in a spirit of partnership and equality, is the most practical response we can make and is the foundation for our mutual partnership to reform unjust structures.

While recognizing that different cultures will call for different practical steps to effect “solidarity with women,” the Congregation makes some practical suggestions: teaching the essential equality of men and women, supporting movements that oppose exploitation of women and “encourage their entry into political and social life,” bringing specific attention to violence against women, involvement of women as colleagues in Jesuit ministries and institutions, particularly in consultation and decision making, using inclusive language, and promoting the education of women and eliminating gender discrimination in education.

Scholarship has a special role to play here. The many questions about the role of women in society and the Church call for “committed and persevering research, ... exposure to different cultures, and ... reflection on experience” to clarify the issues and bring out the underlying principles of justice. In a discreet nod to the unfinished business facing the Catholic Church, the Congregation remarks, “the change of sensibilities which this involves will inevitably have implications for Church teaching and practice. In this context we ask Jesuits to live, as always, with the tension involved in being faithful to the teachings of the Church while at the same time trying to read accurately the signs of the times.”

Clearly, the Congregation considers the new situation of women and the increased consciousness of the “universal reality” of discrimination against them to be one of the principal signs of our times. That is why it concludes by calling the whole Society to “regard this work for reconciliation between women and men in all its forms as integral” to its commitment to “the faith that does justice” which is supposed to be the unifying principle of all Jesuit endeavors and institutions. This work of reconciliation is more than political since ultimately it must flow “from our God of love and justice, who reconciles all ...” Like all the institutions of Jesuit higher education in the United States, Santa Clara has unfinished business here. Perhaps we can take some encouragement from the fact that this is not a local struggle or one confined to a single cultural or ideological viewpoint, but a central commitment made by the whole Society of Jesus that will be central to its agenda in this new century.

—WILLIAM C. SPOHN
MIXED COMPANY: WOMEN AT SANTA CLARA

Women at SCU in the early ’60s. Front (left to right): Terry Kelly and Lida Biber. Back (left to right): Brenna Bolger, Roseanne Wilson, Janice Dunn, Frances Riley.

All images courtesy of Santa Clara Archives.
t is mannish, but we haven't a woman in the whole place,” said Charles McCoy, newly appointed president, when describing Santa Clara to a visiting journalist in 1926. “And I suppose,” the female reporter quipped, “you wouldn’t know what to do with her if you had.” That brief exchange typified Santa Clara University during much of its first hundred years when women, with rare exceptions, were notable by their absence. Even after the University abandoned its “virile tradition,” as one student put it in 1957, the institution struggled to integrate women into its all-male culture, a process that proved to be as complex as it was transformative.

The absence of women in the university is traceable to both U.S. and European beliefs that emphasized the differences between the sexes. Santa Clara’s Jesuit founders brought from Italy a tradition that assigned women and men separate spheres of activity and carefully monitored contact between them.

Santa Clara, like most institutions of higher learning, began as a single-sex institution. References to women in its early history are infrequent. Co-founder Michael Accolti, S.J., records that when the school opened its doors in 1851, John Nobili, S.J., hired “a respectable matron to take care of the house, the smaller boys, and I know not what else.” Her name and identity, however, are lost to history. Women often visited the College, including Louise Foot Ely, wife of naturalist Charles A. Ely, who left a lively description of the place in 1859. Students sought the company of the opposite sex. A collegian in the 1860s frequently recorded in his diary having “had a good time with all the girls,” usually acquaintances at nearby Notre Dame Academy. Santa Clara’s classrooms, however, remained for generations closed to women.

Their absence is traceable to both U.S. and European beliefs that emphasized the differences between the sexes. Santa Clara’s Jesuit founders brought from Italy a tradition that assigned women and men separate spheres of activity and carefully monitored contact between them. St. Ignatius, founder of the Society
of Jesus, devoted much attention to women and relied on them for support in
the early years. So chastened was he by charges of undue familiarity and by other
difficulties, however, that his Constitutions ordered Jesuits “not to take charge of
religious women or any other women whatsoever.” Although that ruling proved
to be highly elastic, for much of their history, Jesuits betrayed the same preju-
dices that prevailed in European society at large. In 1886, superior general Peter
Beckx, S.J., instructed members of the order to avoid conversing with women
because they “are generally speaking, inconstant in their resolutions, and talk so
much, that a great deal of time is wasted with them, and very little lasting fruit
comes from it.” Nineteenth-century Jesuits, subject to fierce anti-clerical attacks
and therefore preoccupied with avoiding scandal, exercised extreme caution in
dealing with the opposite sex. When earthquake and fire destroyed San Francis-
cio’s St. Ignatius College in 1906, homeless Jesuits were temporarily housed in a
nuns’ convent. One elderly Italian priest, Telesphorus Demasini, anguished
about the move. “He thought it was compromising for us,” a contemporary
wrote, “and also for the poor sisters.”

Old World biases were reinforced in the New where the public questioned
female educability. By the time Santa Clara was founded, American attitudes
had progressed beyond the view expressed in 1776 by John Adams to his daugh-
ter: “it is scarcely reputable for young ladies to understand Latin and Greek.” In
the early years of the republic, public opinion gradually grew more favorable to
female education in response to a need to raise virtuous citizens. In the nine-
teenth century, the Second Great Awakening promoted female influence as
Christian wife, mother, and instructor of small children; and the desire to Chris-
tianize the western frontier emphasized the training of women as schoolteachers.
Thus, when Santa Clara opened its doors at mid-century, women’s education
A widely read book by Edward Clarke, retired Harvard Medical School professor, *Sex in Education* (1873), maintained if women exhausted their “limited energy” on study, they would not be able to fulfill their biological function as child bearers.

had made great advances, especially through the founding of female academies. But the number of colleges offering joint education of the sexes was few. The first to do so was Oberlin College, then an obscure Midwestern evangelical school, which granted its first degrees to women in 1841, only ten years before Santa Clara’s founding.4

Despite these advances, old prejudices persisted. Many Americans feared that too much education might render a girl unfit for her subservient role as wife and mother. A widely read book by Edward Clarke, retired Harvard Medical School professor, *Sex in Education* (1873), maintained if women exhausted their “limited energy” on study, they would not be able to fulfill their biological function as child bearers. Santa Clara students accepted the notion that women contributed to society not by their erudition, but through their exercise of moral authority. “Man may derive great good from true female society,” the editors of The Owl, the College’s literary magazine, wrote in 1872. “He is bound to be respectful, and thus his morals are guided.” Santa Clarans shared the popular belief that secular education undermined woman’s role in society.

Woman nowhere looks more lovely, more truly great, than in her house, and surrounded by her children. It is not in the court room, in the pulpit, or in the political rostrum, but it is among those of her own household than woman’s influence can effect so much.

Many women accepted their subordinate status. “Man finds his greatest pleasure in winning laurels on the field of battle, triumphs in diplomacy, success in art and science,” a rare female contributor to The Owl wrote in 1874. “Women were not made for such things. She mistakes her mission when she aspires to them.” Female success in the sphere usually reserved to males was greeted with surprise and condescension. After reviewing an impressive issue of the Vassar College magazine, Santa Clara’s student editors reported “we should not have expected anything half so good from a ladies’ college.”5

By the time the College celebrated its fiftieth anniversary, educational advances led to greater respect. More girls than boys were graduating from American high schools, earning them access to more jobs, especially in teaching, the chief profession open to them. However, the number of female college students provoked a fear that they would dominate the schools and interfere with male academic performance. Alarmed at climbing enrollments, Stanford University in 1904 established a ratio of three males to each female student, a restriction that was not overturned until 1933. To divert the rising tide of females attending the
According to historian Edward J. Power, “the moral issue—a determination to preserve the college from becoming a harem—was always the central and deciding one whenever coeducational policies were debated.”

University of California, President Benjamin Wheeler of Berkeley endorsed the establishment of junior colleges throughout the state. Nonetheless, by 1930, over 43 percent of the students enrolled in college were women, with the vast majority of them (82.9%) attending coeducational schools.6

For their part, Catholics, like many other private educators, resisted coeducation. With the exception of Marquette University, which selectively admitted women in 1909, they preferred to educate the sexes separately. According to historian Edward J. Power, “the moral issue—a determination to preserve the college from becoming a harem—was always the central and deciding one whenever coeducational policies were debated.” Santa Clara’s Henry Woods, S.J., voiced this concern in 1904. “The coeducation of the sexes is a fruitful source of immorality,” he wrote. At Berkeley, “young men and young women associate together not only in the classroom but also outside... They are together in the theatre, the dance, the supper, and they are beginning to associate half-clad at their athletic sports. They are subject to no parental control.” These views found support in the 1929 papal encyclical, The Christian Education of Youth, which, underscoring differences between the sexes, officially proscribed coeducation.7

Although its admissions policy remained unaltered, Santa Clara inched closer to the American mainstream after 1910. That year President James P. Morrissey, S.J., “started a democratic regime in which the barriers were felled,” an alumnus recalled, and “Santa Clara entered the march of progress.” The new vogue of social dancing, although often accompanied by driving in cars and drinking, nevertheless led to the first formal dance at the University. The invasion of the flapper in the 1920s brought increased contact between the sexes. Off-campus social functions centering on annual dances were sponsored by societies in the engineering, business, and law schools. Students shared society’s fascination with the strong-willed female, but they also shared the public’s anxiety about the changing role of women. When a 1927 survey asked Santa Clarans if they preferred to marry a “flapper” or “an old-fashioned girl,” 64% of them agreed with a classmate who replied, “if there is an old fashioned girl to be found, I’ll marry her.” Their response to another questionnaire, however, revealed they shared America’s growing respect for educated women—who students described as “the modern girl”—one who is “intelligent and high-minded.”8

Women entered the all-male Santa Clara citadel in increasing numbers, albeit cautiously, in the thirties. Some participated in the activities of the Catala Club,
a women’s service club founded in 1930. Other newcomers found employment in the University library. Intercollegiate athletics brought female spectators to campus events, although, as visitors discovered, there were limits to their participation. When a group of women, including a commissioner of the Pacific Athletic Association, attempted to attend an amateur boxing match in Seifert Gymnasium in 1929, they were turned away at the door. “We did not feel that it was a fit occasion for women,” announced President McCoy, “and consequently did not admit them.” Nor was it deemed appropriate for women to appear in campus dramatic productions. In the thirties, campus director of dramatics, Fenton McKenna, produced several plays, including “The Taming of the Shrew,” requiring female roles, a break with tradition that allowed greater latitude in play production. But controversy ensued. “I am strongly opposed against such an

Ever since I can remember, I wanted to go to SCU. In the ‘50s, I knew it was an unlikely dream for me, even though my three brothers were all looking forward to the experience.

In March of 1961, I was thrilled when it was announced that women would be accepted as undergraduates. My father, Ken Friedenbach ’41, who was a true Bronco and the past president of the Alumni Association, wasn’t as excited. For him, the idea of women at his precious Santa Clara seemed very strange. When I strongly declared my desire to be a Bronco, though, I remember he said something like: “if SCU is going to take women, then my daughter is going to go, too!”

My time as a student at SCU (1964-68) was rich and rewarding, and I was quite aware of how unusual it was to have women at the University.

There was a clear change by 1971, when I returned to SCU to be an associate chaplain and a member of the newly formed Campus Ministry team. Along with other women on staff, I worked to facilitate discussions, networking, and support groups as the female students struggled to break through some of the strong male traditions at SCU.

During these years, I earned my master’s in counseling psychology, which turned out to be the perfect preparation for my eventual (though unplanned) career in human resources. Also, because of the increasing role of women on campus during the ’70s, I felt I had the rare opportunity to help and influence the growth of the University at an important time in its history.

In the ’80s, I took the lessons I learned from SCU out into the workplace, and I found that my broad and rich SCU education served me well.

I never lost touch with Santa Clara, and I became more closely involved with SCU again in the ’90s as a Regent and member of the Board of Trustees. Over the last 40+ years that I have been affiliated with Santa Clara, I have been amazed at how this community evolves, adapts, and changes. The continued expansion of the campus, the increasing diversity in the student and faculty populations, and the exciting throb of the Silicon Valley—all of these factors, and many more, have made for a University that is worlds away from the one I first attended in 1964.

Jennifer Konecny-Costa ’68, MA ’77, is the Senior Vice President of Novell, Inc. in San Jose.
innovation,” one student wrote. “Within the walls of our beloved institution, our students have a right to seek refuge from the outside world so full of troubles and distractions.” Jesuit superiors agreed.

From headquarters came orders in 1937 that women would not appear in dramatic presentations in the future, a ruling that prevailed for the next two decades.

World War II profoundly transformed America’s colleges. As historian Barbara Miller Solomon observes, “for the short time of national emergency the curriculum provided women with opportunities that seemed to belie sex labels.” In 1942, Santa Clara, in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Education, offered courses in engineering, science, and management training for the first time to both men and women. The following year, even Harvard began to open its doors to undergraduate women, evidencing the nation’s new appreciation of female ability. At war’s end, however, women suffered a setback as stereotypes about domesticity reappeared, and the GI bill flooded campuses with millions of veterans, thus curtailing women’s access to higher education.

At postwar Santa Clara, however, opportunities actually increased. In 1947, women were admitted to the business school’s evening program. “Every person in business—and the home is a business that takes sharp knowledge of management these days—should avail himself of this opportunity,” declared Dean Charles J. Dirkson. “The home that is run like a business is an orderly, happy home.” This was “revolutionary news” for the all-male University, the local media observed, but it failed to shock because the campus had grown accustomed to the presence of women students during the war. The hiring of a female professor a few years later raised more eyebrows. In 1955, Margaret Chamberlin, a public speaking instructor from San Jose State, became Santa Clara’s first woman teacher.

A more controversial step in the University’s transformation occurred the following year. In 1956, President Herman J. Hauck, S.J., announced that nurses from nearby O’Connor Hospital would enroll as non-matriculating students at Santa Clara in the fall. Their enrollment reflected contemporary women’s growing preference for occupational training, which accounted for more than 60% of female college graduates. The presidents’ declaration was greeted “with boos, and hissing, and cries of protests,” but, according to the New York Times, stu-
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Dents carried signs the following fall “demanding ‘we want dances’ as twenty-four nurses from O’Connor Hospital signed for one-year liberal arts courses.” Another innovation was equally groundbreaking, although it drew less media attention than the arrival of the nurses. In 1956, the Law School became coeducational, enabling women for the first time in the University’s history to pursue a course of studies leading to a degree. Santa Clara’s movement toward the mainstream of American higher education was advanced still further two years later when the business school enrolled women in its graduate program.

Throughout the fifties, shrinking enrollments—in part a result of the departure of the GI’s—convinced many single-sex colleges to embrace undergraduate coeducation. As Newsweek magazine observed in 1958, over a third of the 3.4 million students enrolled in U.S. colleges were women: “for reasons of efficiency and economy, and academic reward, more and more men and women are studying together and liking it.” Santa Clara’s academic vice-president, Joseph C. Diebels, S.J., argued in 1954 that coeducation would be “a great benefit to the Church.” “Catholic girls are in education to stay,” he argued, “and therefore we face some definite responsibility towards them.” Dean of Arts James A. King, S.J., agreed. “If we consider the need for education” in our area, “there would seem to be no question” that Santa Clara should do it.

A major obstacle to change was the opposition of Bay Area colleges operated by women’s religious congregations. To avoid such conflict, the Jesuit superior general, John B. Janssens, S.J., had ordered that before coeducation could be implemented at any Jesuit college in the U.S., approval would first have to be obtained from the bishop in whose diocese the school was located. After taking office, President Patrick
On March 21, 1961, A. Donohoe, S.J., sought that permission from Archbishop John J. Mitty of San Francisco. There were two basic reasons for the decision, the president maintained: first, "the argument of practical economies"; and secondly, it is good for men "to learn to adjust to the existence of the other half of the human family; a mixed university is a much more accurate mirror of life... and better preparation for the society the student is entering." After months of negotiation, clearance was given. On March 21, 1961, Donohoe startled the campus with a surprise announcement that women would be admitted to the school's undergraduate degree program the following fall. Thus, Santa Clara became the first coeducational Catholic institution of higher learning in the state. That same spring, the first woman to graduate in the 110-year history of the institution, Marian Olsen Doscher, received a master of business administration degree.

Thus, Santa Clara joined the national march toward educational equality. During the 1970s, many prominent institutions that had long resisted—the University of Virginia, Yale, Princeton, and later Columbia—also gave up the battle and admitted women. By 1976, ninety-one percent of all U.S. colleges were coeducational. But the transition was not always easy, as Donohoe later conceded: "We were pretty green when the change took place." Although most of the first women applicants were the daughters of alumni who welcomed the reform, the president's tradition-shattering decision angered many in the all-male student body. The campus struggled to integrate its new students. Hastily written, strict codes of conduct soon had to be modified in favor of more self-discipline, as women students demanded equal status with their male counterparts. In 1976, thirteen years after coeducation was introduced, males still predominated most areas of University life. Only one woman sat on the 21-member board of trustees; and only one was included among the school's top 22 administrators. Of the University's approximately 206 faculty, women occupied only 16 full time and 6 part time positions. "We have to stick together," observed English professor Elizabeth Moran. "There are so few of us."

Feminist consciousness, growing out of the general politicization of the sixties, challenged the University on many fronts in the years that followed. Women discovered the importance of working together, pushing for the inclusion of courses relating to women in the curriculum and for the creation of interdisciplinary women's studies; and faculty research about women yielded an explosion of scholarly writing. Santa Clara participated in the giant strides made nationally by women's collegiate athletics in the seventies. As a result of the women's movement and Title IX, which prohibited sexual discrimination by schools receiving
federal assistance, athletic scholarships for women and participation in women’s collegiate championships multiplied. By 1999, Santa Clara ranked among the nation’s top 36 Division I institutions in allocating equal scholarships for male and female athletes and the highest share of its athletic budget for women’s teams.

As Santa Clara celebrates its 150th anniversary, some conclusions about women’s evolving participation in the life of the institution are self-evident. First, the University’s experience is best understood in the larger context of both American and Catholic higher education. Although a typical single-sex American college in its first decades, Santa Clara increasingly marched to a different

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**Reflections from Santa Clara University Alumna**

I entered Santa Clara University in fall 1968. Our freshman class was about 40% women, and we didn’t struggle the way women five years ahead of us had. We had dormitories and a living complex designed especially for us. Curfews and dress codes didn’t burden us unduly. In the late 60’s and early 70’s, the political and social unrest had a significantly greater impact on me as a student at SCU than did my gender.

Having just graduated from a girl’s high school, I was a bit intimidated at the prospect of competing with men. But almost immediately I was encouraged and rewarded for challenging positions, questioning answers, and solving problems. As the problems presented became more complex, especially problems involving the “intangibles” of ethics and values, and as I learned to deal with them, my confidence grew.

Jesuit education has at its core Jesuit history and tradition, and its accurate to say women are not preeminent in this history. Yet the Jesuits’ commitment to the service of faith and the promotion of justice, which applies to men and, perhaps more naturally, women have affected both my personal and professional success. Santa Clara women have assumed leadership roles both off and on campus in the service of faith and the promotion of justice, and the benefits reaped defy measurement. Personally, my service to the community has opened an awareness that impacts my everyday interaction with people. I am a better businessperson because of the commitment I’ve made to the community, and my professional life has benefited as well due to the many contacts I have made.

Comments on my Santa Clara experience need to include my relationship with God and Catholicism. Gender matters in the Catholic Church. A woman can be a saint but not a deacon, and until recently not even an altar attendant. I am still a Catholic because my Catholicism has been formed by the spirituality of my Jesuit friends, including the dear Father Lou Bannan.

Being a businessperson in Silicon Valley, I have benefited from numerous doors opened by my SCU connection. But for me it is the friendships that began at SCU and have been nurtured, developed, and strengthened in the past thirty years that are the heart of my SCU experience. These friendships have produced countless benefits, including marriage to a man I met on a blind date arranged by a former SCU roommate.

Peggy Bradshaw ’72 is executive vice president of Comerica Bank.
drummer by the turn of the century, pursing a set of values distinct from other American colleges. Catholic colleges, both male and female, along with many other private institutions, adhered to the tradition that emphasized differences rather than similarities between the sexes. Viewed in that context, Santa Clara's evolution was not unique. However, as American higher education, especially the public sector, responded to the shifting role of women in society, so too did the University.

Finally, the company of women profoundly recast the University. Coeducation, accompanied by a greater selectivity in admissions, transformed it from a 1,500-student, all-male school in 1961 to a coeducational university with a total enrollment of more than 7,000 fifteen years later.

Secondly, women's presence on the campus did not begin with their admission as undergraduates in 1961. That event was part of an ongoing continuum that mirrored changing gender relationships in America. Campus fascination with the new arrivals, important as that event was, has tended to overshadow the preceding steps of the postwar era that made full inclusion possible.

Finally, the company of women profoundly recast the University. Coeducation, accompanied by a greater selectivity in admissions, transformed it from a 1,500-student, all-male school in 1961 to a coeducational university with a total enrollment of more than 7,000 fifteen years later. Although the advent of female undergraduates was not the sole cause of Santa Clara's growth in the second half of the century, it played a leading part in the University's enhanced academic and financial standing.

The shift in mentality that accompanied the move toward gender equality, although difficult to measure, was no less significant. The hiring of the University's first woman teacher in 1955 provoked astonishment in the campus newspaper. Forty five years later, students took it for granted that a class might just as well be taught by a female as by a male professor. The law school's first woman student ("all alone— with 1,500 boys," as the press put it) complained she felt "out of place a lot of the time," an experience shared with the University's female undergraduates of the fifties. But by 1999, women constituted a majority in both programs. Although equity in numbers is not a guarantee of equality, it does evidence a fundamental shift in campus social consciousness; it also testifies to an awareness that higher education is as important for women as for men.
END NOTES


4 John Adams to Abigail Adams 2nd, Apr. 18, 1776, Adams Family Correspondence, 1: 387-88.

5 Barbara Miller Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women, 15-16, 56; “Idle Notes,” The Owl (Apr. 1872), 275-276; Agatha S—., “A Young Lady’s Ideas on Women’s Rights,” The Owl (May 1874), 328; “Editor’s Table,” The Owl (June 1873), 389, ASCU.

6 Solomon, In the Company of Educated Women, 56-59; Mabel Newcomer, Higher Education for American Women, 46,49.


8 The Monthly Santa Claran (May 1935), ASCU; “Students Ban Flappers as Wives,” unidentified clippings, Jan. 13, 1927 and April/May 1930, “SCU Clipping Scrapbook,” Microfilm 4, ASCU; The Santa Clara, Jan. 20, 1927, ASCU.

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11 San Jose Evening News, Sept. 15, 1948, “SCU Clipping Scrapbook,” Microfilm 4, ASCU.


13 Newsweek, Sept. 23, 1956; Diebels to Hauck, Feb. 5, 1954, President’s Papers; and King to Hauck, Feb. 17, 1954, President’s Papers, ASCU.


17 Unidentified clipping, 1956, President’s Papers: Coeducation file, ASCU. During the 1999-2000 academic year, 56% of the University’s undergraduates and 53% of its law students were women.
Over the last thirty years, women professors have made remarkable contributions to Santa Clara University. But adjustments have not always been easy. Our professional identities have clashed with old patriarchal perceptions and myths about women, some of which are still with us. The following is a collection of real-life stories from women faculty members, told by a composite woman professor, Dr. Clare Green.

When I came here twenty-five years ago, there were only a handful of women professors. I felt strangely out of place. The first time I went to lunch at the faculty club, I saw a room full of gentleman in tweed sport coats. There was no one who looked like me, so I turned around and walked out the door. The rest of the quarter I had lunch in Benson Center.

Students kept strolling into my office, asking where different colleagues were and when were their office hours. I finally asked a student why he thought I knew these things. “Aren’t you the department secretary?” he asked.

When I lived in an apartment near campus, I was awakened late one night by a car engine racing, muffled voices, and rustling outside my apartment door. Wondering if someone was trying to break into my apartment, I peered out my second story bedroom window. There were two male students trying to turn in a course paper under my front door.

I was glad my students perceived me as approachable, but my first year here I was astonished by how much they told me about their private lives. I was also concerned when they asked for advice in areas outside my professional expertise. Was I Dr. Green to them or Dear Abby?

How do students perceive us? Explaining how much she liked my course, one woman student confided to me at the end of the quarter, “We always like to see what you’re wearing to class.” Sometimes they see us more as mothers or big sisters than their professors. One day years ago, a former student came by my office. “Excuse me,” he asked, “But are you doing anything this weekend?”
“Why?” I asked.

“Because all the girls are busy writing term papers and I can’t get anyone to type my paper for me. If you’d do it, I’d pay you fifty cents a page.”

I stood up from my desk in disbelief. Mentioning the names of two male colleagues, I asked, “Would you ask Dr. ____ or Dr. _____ that question?”

“Oh, no, of course not,” he answered.

“Well, then,” I asked, “WHY are you asking me?”

When I got my first annual evaluation, my department chair said I had gotten high numerical evaluations because I was an “attractive” professor and my courses were “popular” with students. When I said this language was unprofessional, he didn’t understand what I was talking about.

But language is important and conveys a world of meaning. Although I was single when I came here, the students kept calling me Mrs. Green, while they referred to my male colleagues by their doctoral titles. The distinction is unconscious but revealing: they perceive my male colleagues as professionals, while they see me as someone’s wife. While some of my experiences have been laughable, others have been disheartening. At some subliminal level many people apparently still see women professionals as a contradiction in terms, often discounting us as professionals simply because we’re women.

Years ago at a department meeting, I offered to be the Faculty Senate Council representative. One senior male faculty member was shocked and looked around at the all-male tenured faculty. “Oh, but we can’t have a woman there!” he said emphatically.

When I was still on tenure track, I was scheduled to give a faculty presentation. About twenty to twenty-five colleagues came, though not a single male faculty member other than my department chair. When I noted this later, the chair was very surprised. He hadn’t noticed.

Sometimes I feel invisible. When I make a point at meetings, it’s often ignored, only to have the same point taken seriously when a male colleague brings it up moments later. When my male colleagues disagree, they can be quite outspoken. When I disagree, one of my male colleagues turns to me saying, “Oh, Clare, don’t be so huffy!”

At other times, I feel like an alien. On several occasions I’ve stood chatting with different senior male administrators. When a male colleague came over, the body language changed: the administrators relaxed, smiled, and seemed very relieved to have one of their own to talk to. I’m very aware of my gender in such situations, and it makes me feel that women are less wel-

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referred journals and had begun writing a book while teaching full time, going through two pregnancies, raising two small children, and offering daily assistance to her best friend dying of cancer—all these he dismissed as the flimsiest of excuses. Obviously, to him, she was not really serious about her career.

Another friend was discussing the difficulties the lack of infant/toddler care here on campus presented with a colleague. He empathized and asked at what age Kids on Campus began accepting children. When she replied "at six months of age" he was astounded that she would consider sending her child to daycare that young. She asked what she should do with the child when the maximum time she would receive leave from Santa Clara was six months. He had never even considered this dilemma.

I've noticed that when a male colleague leaves a meeting early to pick up his son or daughter from child care, he's a hero, getting a nod of approval from the women and an understanding look from the men. But when women faculty have children, they are often regarded as "unprofessional."

Two weeks after one of my women colleagues was hired, she learned she was pregnant and would not be able to teach during the fall quarter. I overheard some male faculty discussing her, wondering if there was a way they could rescind her offer. The administrator even mentioned her previous fertility problems in official correspondence copied to the department and department chair.

A women candidate who had had twins during her previous position was asked by one of my male colleagues why she had had children if she had wanted to receive tenure.

When she was pregnant, a non-tenured woman colleague endured jokes from the men in her department implying that a colleague was the father of her child.

One woman colleague with a sick husband and newborn baby who was not yet sleeping through the night was forced to teach late night classes that quarter. Another women colleague with a newborn had worked out elaborate child care arrangements around her next quarter's teaching schedule, only to have her department chair change her schedule at the last minute.

When discussing the relative merits and weaknesses of two job candidates, the department chair wrote them on the blackboard. Under the woman's name he listed as a weakness the fact that she was married, stating that she probably wouldn't accept our offer. The man's marital status was not mentioned.

Looking back over the past three decades, I often think we've made great progress. When I came here I could count the number of tenured women faculty on one hand. Now there are tenured women in almost every department, as well as some women associate deans and provost, and we serve on important university policy committees. The Women Faculty Group has exercised leadership on vital issues such as research, governance, and faculty development. Yet sometimes it still feels like we're in the dark ages. Just last week, a male colleague commented to me that one of our senior women colleagues really just needed to lose weight and find a husband and all of her problems would be over. We may be living in a new millennium, but we're still haunted by the ghost of an old paradigm. My hope for the future is that all of us at Santa Clara recognize how profoundly our actions and attitudes create our world and that together we build a new paradigm of respect that transcends outworn myths and misperceptions.
The Program for the Study of Women and Gender: Twenty Years of Growth

By Barbara Molony
Director, Program for the Study of Women and Gender, Santa Clara University

Women’s Studies was conceived in 1978, when President William Rewak, S.J., appointed a task force, chaired by (now Emerita) Professor Mary Gordon of the History Department, to study the concerns of women on campus. Women’s studies programs had been growing by leaps and bounds throughout the U.S. since the first one was created at San Diego State in 1970. Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, women’s studies programs worked hard to bridge academia and feminist concerns for social/gender justice. Activist and academic agendas were typical of women’s studies programs at the time. After receiving a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, SCU established the Women’s Studies Program in May 1980, and President Rewak appointed Mary Gordon its first director. Professor Gordon was asked, during those early years, to become involved in any issue that concerned the status of women in addition to running the academic program. The program was,
admittedly, tiny; with just eight courses its first year, it offered an “emphasis” rather than a minor.

When I arrived at Santa Clara in 1981, there were no more than a dozen tenured or tenure-track women faculty. Professor Gordon had been given a mandate by President Rewak to get involved in departmental hires to make sure that departments considered faculty who could teach courses that enhanced the nascent Women’s Studies Program. That certainly got my foot in the door—as well as the feet of several additional women hired in the next few years. Slowly, Women’s and Gender Studies, even while engaging the difficult questions of femininities, masculinities, and sexualities, ... will always offer a place where women and men can challenge their assumptions and engage in a quest for a more humane society.

women began to filter into the departments, though it has taken decades for a “critical mass” to emerge in some departments. Some encountered snide comments; one faculty member recalls a colleague deriding women’s studies by sending out a parody “memo” announcing the founding of “little people’s studies.” Horror stories abound of individual women whose scholarly interests in the study of women or gender were met with hostility from antediluvian colleagues. For the most part, however, Santa Clara’s Women’s Studies Program as a program or field of study was not subjected to the hostility many other programs encountered elsewhere.

To be sure, all has not always been smooth sailing. Women’s Studies at SCU is a program rather than a department; I believe that status strengthens its position but it also has drawbacks. All of our faculty have departmental appointments and must teach courses approved by their departments. At times, this has meant that faculty wishing to teach a course focusing on women or gender have not been able to do so. Or if they were allowed to teach a gender course, it might be scheduled at a time convenient for the home department but inconvenient for the Women’s and Gender Studies Program. Lack of departmental status has meant we have had a rather modest budget to fund events and scholarship, too.

These concerns truly pale by comparison with the growing pains the field has suffered elsewhere. Women’s studies has been at the heart of the Right’s culture wars nationwide. The field has been trivialized, mocked, castigated as “soft” because of its concern for gender justice and its frequent call for new pedagogy, scorned as immoral for its questioning of “sex roles” mistakenly thought to be “natural,” and misunderstood for its practitioners’ interest in interdisciplinarity. (The Right’s criticisms are ungrounded in empirical evidence of actual practices in women’s studies, but unfortunately, they must be acknowledged.) In response to necessary, probing questions from women of color, lesbians, and disabled women from within the field’s own ranks, women’s studies began to foreground the importance of experience and identity and to downplay universal, totalizing explanations about “women.” This further inflamed opponents on many campuses.

Why have we, as a program, been so fortunate to avoid these attacks at Santa Clara? An optimist could ascribe our relative success to a culture of good will, a pessimist to potential opponents’ cynicism about changing anything already approved. But I think it may be the result of our structure. Not a department, we are a program ubiquitous throughout the College and beginning to make inroads in other schools. With limited resources we offer more courses than many departments. In those courses approved for inclusion in the program, we try to maintain a balance between disciplinary characteristics and requirements and modes of analysis used in women’s and gender studies. Our faculty are respected members of more than a dozen departments. Our members have produced a significant part of the liveliest recent scholarship at...
SCU. Financially supported from its inception by the Office of the Provost (formerly the Academic Vice President's Office), Women's and Gender Studies, in many ways, is successful in mainstream, conventional terms. The program's incremental growth, year by year, has maintained its strength. Sociology Professor Alma Garcia, director from 1990 to 1996, judiciously built on this strength to replace the "emphasis" with a minor in 1994; a major may be developed in the future. Are we in danger, then, of forgetting African-American lesbian poet Audre Lorde's important manifesto, that "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house"? 1 I think not. Not yet, anyway. For the master's house—disciplines devoid of women's voices, fostering homogeneity of thought by exclusionary gatekeeping—needs some buttresses if it's going to stay up. Many academics have become so used to gender as a category of analysis that they would no more ignore gender than other central categories of analysis. So the master's house is sporting some cracks. We may not spend most of our time on the barricades fighting for gender justice, but our teaching can transform our students and ourselves and undermine the rigidity of disciplinary boundaries.

Anecdotal evidence underscores this paradox of the field's ability to transform even while it has become institutionalized. Virtually all of the faculty in SCU's Women's and Gender Studies Program report that they have received sincere comments from students that women and gender courses have been the most challenging intellectually and, in the end, the most transformative. An exceptionally high number of our minors (or earlier, emphasis students) have gone on to graduate studies or to work that involves gender justice in some form. Research has shown, interestingly, that it is less "feminist teaching methods"—a rebalancing of classroom dynamics to downplay the role of the teacher through more interactive discussion—than it is the content of feminist classes that gets students to be effective, critical thinkers who make connections between the classroom material and their lives. 2 This gives hope to faculty wishing to teach gender courses but uncomfortable with interactive teaching methods.

As we celebrate 20 years of growth and success, we ask ourselves where we are headed. A decade ago, some women and gender specialists foresaw a day when gender was so integrated in all courses, in all discourse, in all research that the field itself would wither away. If that is to happen, the day has not yet been reached. Besides, the field has just begun to develop, and there are rich avenues of scholarship that have not even been entered. As Marilyn Jacoby Boxer analogizes in her superb study of the field, historical analysis has been informed by philosophical questions and economic methods; does that mean that there is no more role for the disciplines of philosophy or economics? Not yet, indeed.

Women's and Gender Studies, even while engaging the difficult questions of femininities, masculinities, and sexualities, even while questioning the very stability of terms like "women" or "men," will always offer a place where women and men can challenge their assumptions and engage in a quest for a more humane society.

END NOTES


Working out a balance

A sked to write about “work-life balance” at Santa Clara for this issue of explore, I was going to offer the usual protestations about how this is really not my expertise, etc., when I found myself in the throws of a full-scale anxiety episode. It is the first week of Spring Quarter and I haven’t caught my breath since I finished winter grades. Our daughter is getting married this weekend in Ashland, Oregon and my husband, Mike, and I need to put our minds on joint work for the class Psychology and Law that we co-teach this term. All of a sudden it feels like I am, at least experientially, an expert on this subject.
So, let's begin by clarifying the problem as it occurs for faculty. All of us are teachers with a passion for scientific discovery, artistic expression, mathematical elegance, or research in any number of scholarly fields. We also have love for the people with whom we are connected and a strong need to stay in touch with our inner selves: our feelings and thoughts and spiritual yearnings. Finding time and mental energy for all of these very different facets of our lives, and also for activities to sustain our health, is a continual challenge. This is the work-life balance problem.

This problem of finding balance in our lives is not unique to Santa Clara. Indeed, our local community, Silicon Valley, is famous for, among other things, the out-of-balance lives leaders and workers alike are leading. I recently heard a public radio panel discussion about the culture of Silicon Valley “start-up” firms in which one young C.E.O. bragged that he didn’t have a life because running his company was more fun. Most of us on the SCU faculty want to have a life and we want it to include excellent achievement as teacher-scholars. Like any organization, our University has a corporate culture and we all must seek to find our balance within this cultural context. I will have more to say about this as I go along, but at the outset I’ll identify what stands out for me about the context: we must help our students grow and become women and men who are “whole persons,” intellectual, spiritual, emotional, and physical persons while we ourselves struggle mightily to achieve this kind of wholeness ourselves. I believe that it is essential to the educational mission of Santa Clara that the cultural climate here affirm faculty and staff as whole persons as well as students.

My own experiences finding my place at Santa Clara will give me a tool for identifying the strengths and weaknesses of this environment for nurturing balance. My observations of many other colleagues over the years can broaden my view a bit. When I arrived at Santa Clara in 1970, I had already been teaching for 5 years as a part-time, and then full-time lecturer at three other institutions of higher education. I was 31, six years post-Ph.D., the mother of a kindergartner, and a wife for 10 years. I had recently returned to the Bay Area, which is my childhood home, and I was eager to get started on my “real” career and establish a teaching style I could develop as well as a program of scholarship. My widowed mother still lived in the old farmhouse in Los Altos where I grew up and one day while sharing her coffee break from her job as a librarian, I expressed anxiety to her about what it would mean for me to be taking up my career at a Catholic, Jesuit university. I had no experience with Jesuits, but she did since she has studied with several in her comparative literature master’s program. She reassured me as only a mother can. “You’ll love it. It will a place where you can really be you...where what you do will be valued.” She was certainly right about my being valued here, but now about this “you can really be you” stuff. What about the days when I can’t find me?

We must help our students grow and become women and men who are “whole persons,” intellectual, spiritual, emotional, and physical persons while we ourselves struggle mightily to achieve this kind of wholeness ourselves.

In my first four pre-tenure years here, I dealt with multiple problems of work-life balance. There were all the common stresses of a working professional woman in the 1970s who was also a mother, a wife, and an active extended family member. I worked long hours to prepare my classes and carry out data collection. I searched for excellent childcare, but after a long while settled for “O.K.” My husband “helped,” but I was the executive officer. He was commuting to San Francisco from our home in Palo Alto to build
his career as a permanent legal staff person for the State Supreme Court. Then he got cancer and, for six miserable months in my 34th year, we did not know whether or not he would live. I needed to be there for him, to do all the childcare and house things, and continue to carry on at SCU. He did live and we recently celebrated our 40th wedding anniversary, but let’s stay with that moment for a bit.

In the early 1970s at SCU, there were no official written policies about how a faculty member’s work situation could be adjusted to assist her with a multiple challenges like this. There was nothing in the faculty handbook about schedule adjustments, reduced loads, or the like. I had resources however. I had nearby a (working) mother and a retired school teacher uncle who were good with children. I had a very supportive department chair, Ron Lowe, who not only encouraged me to take time away from campus but also taught many periods of my introductory and child psychology classes when there were turning points in Mike’s cancer treatment. My then Dean, John Drahmann, could not have been more supportive. He often reminded me to put “first things first”—meaning family—and he called me over for chats in which he reassured me that, when the time came for me to re-focus at work, I would “get my edge” back and be fine. I had friends on the faculty who listened to me vent and I found it possible to express my anxieties and worries to the people around me at work. I got through this difficult period well.

Over the years there have been similar times when I was preoccupied with my mother’s death, my uncle’s death, my in-laws’ deaths, or my own several health crises. Santa Clara has been a place where I have found support.

In the years since that first experience in the early 1970s, I have observed many other faculty dealing with many terribly difficult situations: a husband’s death, one’s own potentially mortal illness, a crisis of faith, worries over childcare—perhaps for a special needs child—and eldercare. As I watch others struggle with these life balance issues I see several things. A universal theme is the loss of self: “where is there time or space for me to collect my thoughts, to exercise, to read?” Another theme that exists in our institutional culture is the perception: “you have never done enough.” The cultural climate of our Jesuit institution emphasizes giving of self to students and to our own community. The form that this message takes varies widely from one department or program to another. Colleagues may experience it as a requirement to be on campus long hours, or as an expectation to spend more time on student papers, or as an expectation that their scholarship bring renown to their programs, or as a perception that they will be thought of as poor teachers if they do not always have an open door for students. Psychologists know that giving of self requires preservation of that self and this is an ongoing challenge for SCU faculty.

A second observation I have is that there is great variation from one campus department or program to another in supporting faculty to balance their work and life issues. In one department, there might be an official policy about how class schedules are assigned that is directed towards supporting scholarship or helping faculty with multiple responsibilities. In another, schedules and assignments are made with a view towards cookie-cutter equality and the personal circumstances of faculty are considered irrelevant. It is not only the official actions of department heads that vary, but the “corporate culture” related to work-life issues that is created among the colleagues varies greatly from department to department. The result of variation in both offi-
cial policy and department culture is that faculty members in different areas experience radically different amounts of informal and formal support in their efforts to juggle all their responsibilities and care for themselves.

The final observation I want to share is probably one only a psychologist would comment on. Many faculty members have told me that they feel inhibited from discussing anything personal, especially if it involves feelings or any sense on their part of being inadequate in some area. In other words, faculty do not express their feelings very fully at work. I surely would not propose that the mailbox area in every department be converted to a group therapy room, but it is important for our mental health—and thus for our effectiveness as fully present teachers and colleagues—that we be able to communicate how we are really doing in an informal way to those around us. We can’t arrange this by policy; it is a matter of department culture. But departments can reflect together on their cultures and decide whether they would like them to develop or change.

In view of my observations about work/life issues at Santa Clara, what can be done to help improve the balance? My first recommendation is that policies that already exist be clarified and communicated in written form to all the faculty and staff. Perhaps we should be annually reminded to check into policies about family leave, maternity leave, phased retirement, disability leave, personal time, and so on. Beyond this, we need to develop some new policies to legitimate requests from faculty for schedules and service work assignments that fit with current family and personal demands. Over the long term, it is essential that we all “row the boat” by helping to make the University the very best it can be. But there will be different epochs in peoples’ lives when their contributions will be more behind the scenes and when their presence on campus during certain hours will be difficult. Later on, they will do the high-visibility jobs and

be here early and late while the next cohort of faculty are bearing and raising children. There should be an official University administration voice dictating that departments make these kinds of allowances.

Beyond the sphere of official policy is the building of community among one another. We need to be a community where we listen to each other as whole persons. We need to support each other’s search for balance which may include taking over each other’s tasks, encouraging each other to find time for one’s self and to express ourselves in a natural way as we go about our daily efforts to be the best teacher-scholars and staff members we can be. To get us started we might consider setting up some discussion groups as “protected space” where people with similar situations in their lives could come together to brown bag and just talk about our lives. However we achieve it, I hope we will all work together to build a more humane work place where each of us feels nourished and inspired to nourish our students.

However we achieve it, I hope we will all work together to build a more humane work place where each of us feels nourished and inspired to nourish our students.

Eleanor E. Willemsen
Professor of Psychology, Santa Clara University
ASSESSING THE ROLE OF GENDER IN COLLEGE STUDENTS’ EVALUATIONS OF FACULTY

Editor’s note: These excerpts were reprinted from Communication Education, Volume 48, July 1999. Used with permission of the National Communication Association.

This study investigates whether students’ assessments of male and female professors are influenced by traditional gender schema. Nearly 500 university students were surveyed about their perceptions of male and female faculty. Analysis of five factors reflecting teaching characteristics consistent with both stereotypically masculine and feminine traits revealed a significant interaction between student gender and professor gender. Female students rated female faculty especially high across five teaching dimensions and male faculty comparatively lower, while male students did not evaluate male and female professors as significantly different. Qualitative analysis reveals, however, that assessments of faculty were further influenced by the strength of students’ gender schema, and that gender schema may also lead to differential preference for particular teaching styles.

DISCUSSION

We have found that students’ assessments of male and female professors are—to an extent—guided by sex-role expectations and evaluations. However, in line with other research (e.g., Bennett, 1982; Feldman, 1992, 1993; Martin, 1984; Winocur et al., 1989), we too have found that the way in which gender schema shape student evaluations is not uniform or simple. Indeed, for some students, gender schema appear to hold little sway in their assessments of male and female faculty. Individual differences among faculty or teaching differences linked to disciplinary area better accounts for variation in some students’ experience.
Generally, the analysis of the checklist of teaching characteristics revealed that—in this sample of university students—there was a very strong interaction between student gender and professor gender. The responses of female students were principally responsible for this effect through the especially high ratings given to female professors and the comparatively lower ratings given to male professors on measures encompassing the qualities of being caring-expressive, interactive, professional-challenging, and organized. In contrast, the evaluations by male students of male and female faculty did not differ significantly on any of these factors.

The analysis of the open-ended responses yielded a better understanding of the complex way that gender schema affect expectations and responses to male and female faculty, although it is worth repeating that students who responded to the open-ended question were more extreme in their closed-ended ratings of male and female professors on the caring-expressive and professional-challenging dimensions than those who did not, and thus may not represent the views of the entire sample.

For male and, especially, female students in this group the defining characteristic of the female professor is her approachability, interest in and support of the student, and enthusiasm. But, similar to findings of Bennett (1982) and Martin (1984), if the female professor is perceived to be lacking in these nurturing qualities, she is criticized as “high on herself” or as someone with “something to prove,” especially by male students.

The greatest penalties for female faculty who deviate from the nurturer role are assigned by those who espouse stronger gender schema, as evidenced by their use of terminology reflecting traditional stereotypes and their more dichotomous comparisons between male and female faculty. Some of these students (largely male but inclusive of a small number of female) even praised female faculty for their caring or enthusiasm, but went on to challenge her presence as a professional in the classroom, seeing her as insecure, intimidated, and ineffective.

Rubin (1981) found students held male faculty less accountable to the qualities of caring and expressiveness, even though these were part of what students think of as the “ideal” in college professors. In our study this seemed to hold true for more male students generally and for female students grounded by more traditional gender schema. But a number of female students pushed beyond these traditional gender expectations for males. Their answers challenged the notion that male faculty need not be caring or interested in and encouraging of the student.

Moreover, in this group of students we see a positive evaluation of the bridging of teaching approaches that exemplify caring-expressiveness and professionalism-challenge. In effect, for these students the schema underlying the ideal professor is dominant. Judgments of competence and professionalism are linked to—and possibly dependent upon—relationship-building strategies such as
care, concern, and understanding. The caring, interested professor is an effective one. Students may contribute something valuable to class discussions by sharing their own experiences. Letting student needs help prioritize classroom procedures need not be a sign of loss of control or weakness on the part of the faculty member. Some of these students make clear that their learning must be “connected” to the real world, to the professor, and to their peers.

The responses of the female students, in particular, help us understand their very high ratings of female faculty on the checklist of teacher characteristics, not only in the caring-expressive dimension, but also in the professional-challenging dimension. Many of the female students have found in female faculty someone with whom they can relate, faculty who will encourage them at the same time they demand much from them. Their comments reveal that these female stu-

dents relate to, or are “comfortable” with, female professors because they bring to the student-teacher interaction behaviors or attitudes that “enable” the development of a relationship. These relationships are possible, the answers suggest, because female professors are able to bring what was valued on the relationship-building dimension to the world of the classroom. Some communicate a powerful identification with their female professors, this female sophomore suggests, reflecting support for a kindred “outsider.”

Male professors, especially in my field, do not take me—as a female student—seriously. However, often times, the older male students are worse because they can be very condescending. Male professors seem to expect less while female professors demand more of me because they seem to realize it takes more or will take more for me to succeed.

Another clear implication that follows from these students’ responses is that some male and female faculty may use quite different teaching approaches—that perceived differences by students are, in fact, the product of real differences. Male and female faculty may differently value the teaching characteristics that fall within the professor role or exhibit different behaviors in achieving certain teaching goals. For some students there seems to be a same-sex bias in their perceptions of professors’ professionalism and ability to challenge the student, suggesting that faculty and students of each gender may share certain norms, values, and communication patterns that emerge out of a common gender schema. Further exploration of these differences are important for better understanding students’ responses to faculty and how to facilitate the learning environment for students. The female student who feels intimidated by what may seem to her as

These conclusions, and the complex picture of gender and professor that they create, point to the need for the reconsideration of the methods used to study the influence of professor gender in the classroom.
a less personal teaching approach in some male faculty's classroom may be hampering her own learning, and her discovery that the faculty member may indeed be supportive and interested in her. Likewise, the male student who judges the female faculty member as less competent because of her inclusion of more connected learning strategies may limit his learning and understanding of other approaches to knowledge acquisition.

These conclusions, and the complex picture of gender and professor that they create, point to the need for the reconsideration of the methods used to study the influence of professor gender in the classroom. While we included a fairly nuanced set of quantitative measures covering the various aspects of the ideal professor, we have seen that a purely quantitative approach cannot draw out the complexity of the schema that a qualitative approach has made visible.

While we found the analysis of student responses revealing, future research should explore alternative ways of eliciting student feedback on instructors' style that can then be analyzed according to instructor gender, student gender, disciplinary area of student and faculty, and proportion of males and females on the faculty. Data gathered in the course of end-term narrative feedback, for example, would provide a useful check to the possibility of demand characteristics inherent in a question that asks students to discuss any differences they might have experienced between male and female faculty. Additionally, research with other samples at other universities is needed to explore whether the gap between female students' evaluations of female and male faculty is as consistently large as we have found in this study.

A final implication is that it makes sense to investigate not only the schema that operate for students in their preconceptions and evaluations of faculty but also for the faculty themselves. As men and women approach the teaching profession, they are themselves influenced by the schema of "ideal" professor and try to build all the professional qualities associated with that into their role. They also may be influenced by gender schema in negotiating some aspects of this role. Their own understandings of the way occupational role expectations and gender intertwine may provide important directions for future study of student responses.

To obtain a complete copy of this study, please contact the National Communication Association, 5105 Backlick Road, Bldg. E, Annandale, VA 22003 tel: 703-750-0533. For a complete list of references used in this study, please refer to our web site: www.scu.edu/BannanInstitute/.

Christine M. Bachen (Ph.D., Stanford University, 1982) is an assistant professor in the communication department; Moira M. McLoughlin (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1994) was an assistant professor in the communication department (now deceased); Sara S. Garcia (Ph.D., University of California at Santa Barbara, 1990) is an associate professor in the division of Counseling Psychology and Education at Santa Clara University. This study was supported by a Thomas Terry Grant from Santa Clara University.
Thus read the headline in the SCU campus paper on March 22, 1961. When President Patrick Donohoe, S. J., made this announcement, it was greeted with tremendous aversion and resentment by both male faculty and students. However, one of the students who spoke up in support of the change was ASUSC President Jerry Kerr. On March 22, 1961, Kerr was quoted in The Santa Clara as saying: “Progress has to be served. I realize that at this time student protests are vehement. However, upon reflection, I think the people will see the reasons behind it. The University has to move forward and this is a necessary step.” (Kerr is the current and long-term Executive Director of Alumni Relations.)
My arrival came in February 1963 when I replaced my friend Patricia Neal (now a professor of English at Spring Hill College in Mobile, Ala.). Out of 86 faculty, there were three women—one in honors, one in biology, and myself in English. It was very lonely.

It was an exciting time; there was an air of change and expectation. There were many challenges and concerns; for instance I had to locate the few restroom facilities available to women. When President Donohoe, S.J., gave the Adobe Lodge to the faculty, Alexis Meé, S.J., academic vice president, sent out a memo asking for suggestions. It took a lot of courage, but I wrote to him requesting that the Faculty Club have facilities for both men and women. In his response he thanked me, noting that ordinarily Jesuits don’t think of such things.

And there were some hazards, too: my first office was a cavernous room in Dunne Basement, divided by fairly flimsy partitions into 4 offices shared with three male faculty. In advising students even a whisper could be heard by all in the area. The only entry, a stairwell, posed its own hazards. Male students living in the dorm frequently watched for coeds, dropping water balloons on them. I had to keep a sharp eye out when entering or leaving the building.

The animosity expressed by male faculty and students was very real. In conversations with Viola Kamena, dean of women, and Marygrace Colby in athletics, I soon learned which faculty to warn the coeds about. In a number of cases, a young woman would never get a grade higher than "C" no matter how bright she was. Academic advising was a minefield one had to navigate with care.

Obviously, the enrollment in 1962-63 was small in comparison with today. There were about 100 to 125 women students and 800 men. Some young women liked the odds—as did some males. Naturally, classes were predominantly male. At times, young women hesitated to speak up in class, feeling intimidated by their peers. However, as women students were required to have higher grade point averages (GPAs) for admission to SCU, it wasn’t long before they competed with men on their own terms.

My favorite quotation during this time was a statement by President Donohoe, S.J., when asked for the umpteenth time, "Why did you admit women?" His answer, "To raise the GPA." Which it did! But it also improved the financial situation at Santa Clara.

### EARLY DAYS: A QUIET CAMPAIGN

At the time I was hired, the atmosphere was very informal. I had met the English department chair, John Quinn, just long enough to shake hands and engage in small talk. Yet when my friend Professor Neal had to leave in January 1963, she suggested that I take her place. Later I did have an interview with Thomas Terry, S.J., dean of Arts and Sciences, but it was not until 1964-5 that I filled out a formal application and got letters of recommendation from my graduate professors while they still remembered me. This was at my instigation.

My favorite quotation during this time was a statement by President Donohoe, S.J., when asked for the umpteenth time, "Why did you admit women?" His answer, "To raise the GPA." Which it did!

Several years later, in 1967, the new English department chair, George Sullwold, came to tell me that I had received tenure. I didn’t even know that I was being considered for tenure. Present-day faculty will find this hard to believe.

Of course, from the very beginning, I wanted more women colleagues and began a quiet campaign, talking to deans and department heads about this need. It was slow going at first. It took some time for women to be hired in the sciences;
the first was Gerry Tomlinson in biology. After that came Eleanor Willemsen in psychology. But it took years to get women faculty in business and engineering.

There have been major changes. I remember Dean Bob Parden in engineering tried to hire women but was unsuccessful as they could get better jobs in industry. Today, the School of Engineering has 11 women and 26 men on the faculty, with the former holding three full professorships, 2 associates, 5 assistants, and one lecturer. This is in contrast to 11 male full professors, 10 associates, and 5 assistants. Chances are that nowhere else in the U.S. is there as great a percentage of women full-time engineering faculty.

**WOMEN FACULTY—IMPACT IN THE CLASSROOM**

Having been educated entirely at public institutions, I was unaccustomed to the lack of women — both students and faculty. One incident made the difference very clear to me.

One of my freshman students left class one day without a word. I wasn't surprised or concerned. Students often had doctor's appointments or other personal business. The next day he arrived in my office to discuss his absence. His reason: "I have a problem with a woman as an authority figure." Having been educated in Jesuit schools all his life, he had never had a woman teacher before.

"Well, you do have a problem," I said. I was sympathetic, suggesting that he could change to another class as it was early in the semester. To my surprise, he stayed with it and me. At the end of the term, he again appeared in my office to ask my advice: "Which teacher would you recommend for a math class the next term?" I smiled at him and replied, "you're not going to like my suggestion: she's a woman!"

After the next term began, I couldn't wait to check with my female colleague. Did he register for her class? He certainly did. Later, he enrolled in one of my advanced classes.

It had never occurred to me that students might have difficulty with women as teachers. I am thankful that it's no longer a sticking point.

The impact of women faculty soon began to affect the classroom. As one woman states:

"In writing classes, women faculty have designed curricula that integrates collaborative work, ranging from one-on-one conferences with students to team projects that students carry out. We have also engaged in collaborative research and writing projects, thus resisting the notion of the ivory-towered scholar, working alone and in competition with her colleagues. Embedded in these designs is the assumption that there are many ways to come to knowledge, some of which can be easily overlooked if we do not push beyond conventional views of teaching writing and doing research."

In mathematics, a discipline known to be avoided by women, one woman faculty member in the department stated that "by the early 1980s the balance between women and men taking mathematics classes at SCU was about 50-50. A check of my class rolls shows that many classes since the '80s were predominantly women, some of those classes having well over 75 percent women."

In engineering, a woman professor stresses "hands on" experiences in contrast to many male colleagues who focus more on the theoretical.

**WOMEN'S STUDIES PROGRAM**

The most significant change effected by women is the Program for the Study of Women and Gender, which began as the Women's Studies Program in Fall 1980. Earlier in May of that year President Rewak, S. J. appointed Professor Mary Gordon as director in response to a study funded by a $50,000 grant. The program has grown to include courses taught in 15 different depart-
ments, ranging from anthropology and art to history, political science, religious studies, and others. An academic minor was added in 1994, which averages 15 students each year.

These courses, which are designed to examine gender as it intersects with class, ethnicity, and nationality, are taught by 36 faculty, six of whom are male. There are 53 multidisciplinary courses offered, including "Gender, Media and Representation," "Gender, Race, and Class in 20th Century Europe," and "Family in U.S. History." The basic introductory course is entitled "Women and Gender Studies" with a capstone course for seniors (and some juniors) consisting of directed reading/research and/or internship.

**FACULTY PROGRAMS AND SCHOLARSHIP**

Aside from the changing curriculum, there were changes in faculty programs as well. In 1978, a Faculty Development Program (initiated by Diane Dreher in English, David White in chemistry, and myself) was established to advise faculty about research and grant opportunities. An additional incentive included overnight conferences on matters of teaching and research. At times, off-campus scholars presented their expertise to the faculty, meeting at Villa Maria, Santa Cruz. At other times SCU faculty shared their experiences with one another. This stimulated cross-disciplinary discussion as faculty from various departments participated in formal and informal meetings. From these overnights grew a real camaraderie and a strong sense of collegiality.

In the area of scholarship, women faculty have made an impressive contribution to SCU. In 1981, our first recipient of the Graves Award was Diane Dreher. These awards are given under the auspices of Pomona College to young faculty (under age 42) to support research and travel. In subsequent years, eight members of our faculty—4 men and 4 women—received these biennial awards.

SCU’s first NSF Presidential Young Investigator Award, a five-year award to 100 “young” faculty nationwide in all fields, was given to Sally Wood, of electrical engineering. As a result of the visibility of this award, she served for six years on a committee advisory to the Director of NSF on equal opportunity in Science and Engineering. During that time she also chaired the Women’s Subcommittee for almost three years.

Currently, there is an NSF Faculty Early Career Development Program, commonly referred to as CAREER Program, which two SCU faculty have received: Weijia Shang in computer engineering and Leilani Miller in biology.

Recently, Eileen Elrod in English was the first and so far only SCU recipient of the Pew Evangelical Scholars Program award, centered at the University of Notre Dame. She received a 1998-99 Research Fellowship of $35,000 to support her work on a book manuscript examining the religious sensibilities reflected in autobiographical texts by early American writers.

Are SCU women on the cutting edge of research and scholarship? The $493,532 grant Ruth Davis of computer engineering received from the Institute for Women and Technology and Hewlett Packard to support the IWT Virtual Development Center is just one of many examples that demonstrates this very clearly.

**THE PACE OF PROGRESS**

Historically, progress in increasing the number of women faculty was slow. By 1977-78 (earlier data was not available), there were 174 men and 20 women full-time faculty. Twenty-four years after women were admitted, in 1985-86, male faculty numbered 199, while there were only 51 females. In 1988-89, the number of full-time faculty was...
male faculty had risen to 233, while there were 114 full-time female faculty members.

That seems like a big improvement, but in looking at the actual number of tenured men (152) to tenured women (49) in 1998-99, we still have a long way to go.

As we consider the male-female student ratio over the years, the undergraduate enrollment has changed far more significantly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>2,129</td>
<td>1,233</td>
<td>3,362</td>
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<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>2,114</td>
<td>1,559</td>
<td>3,673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>1,868</td>
<td>1,754</td>
<td>3,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-99</td>
<td>1,990</td>
<td>2,342</td>
<td>4,332</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One added note: Since the installation of our Phi Beta Kappa Chapter in 1977, 699 students have been initiated. Of that number, 424 or 60+% are women.

Indeed, without women students and faculty where would SCU be today? Has the impact of women on SCU been a positive one? Undeniably so. But one woman colleague notes, "as the number of women faculty has increased, a culture of shared leadership has been firmly established among faculty in its own governance process and at the lower levels of administration [department chair and associate dean]. Yet there remains a definite glass ceiling here."

And according to another, "Jesuits who teach here and are now assuming leadership have grown up in an era of women and men working together and are much more comfortable with women than were those I met in 1970."

Another point to a most positive change in certain policies "to allow a better work/life balance, including maternity leave, family leave, and stopped tenure clocks" has come about due to the needs of women and men at SCU.

From my perspective, the changes through the thirty-nine years since women were first admitted to this campus could not have occurred without the support of male colleagues and the encouragement of administrators, sometimes with a bit of prodding on my part.

In particular, my personal thanks to James Albertson, former academic vice president; Don Dodson, vice provost for academic affairs and university planning; President Paul Locatelli, S.J.; former Presidents William J. Rewak, S.J., and Thomas Terry, S.J.; and Professors Gerald Alexanderson and Frederic Parrella.

However, one important aspect of the academic scene not included in this report is the impact of staff women who provide the backbone of the University. In fact, without the help of the following staff, I could not have completed this report. Thanks to: Linda Campbell, director, University Marketing Communications; Anne McMahon, University Archivist, and Barbara Stewart, director, Institutional Research.

Also I gratefully acknowledge the following colleagues who contributed in various ways to make this a fuller picture of the way it was: Professors Ann Brady, English; Ruth Davis, computer engineering; Diane Dreher, English; Lee Hornberger, mechanical engineering; Barbara Molony, history; Jean Pedersen, mathematics; Eleanor Willemsen, psychology; and Sally Wood, electrical engineering.

Our collective memory is far more accurate than my own selective memory. Women make great collaborators! As we strive to improve academic quality, research and scholarship, may God bless all our endeavors—female and male alike. It has been instructive to look back on the past and recall the progress we have made. Tradition may have been shattered in 1961, but I predict that women faculty and students will continue to shatter even more traditions in this new millennium!

Elizabeth Moran
Professor Emerita, English,
Santa Clara University
THE 2000-01 SANTA CLARA LECTURE SERIES

In 1994, through the generosity of the Bannan Institute for Jesuit Education and Christian Values, the Department of Religious Studies of Santa Clara University inaugurated the Santa Clara Lectures. This series brings to campus leading scholars in theology, offering the University community and the general public an ongoing exposure to debates on the significant issues of our time. Santa Clara University will publish these lectures and distribute them throughout the United States and internationally.

"WHO OWNS TRADITION? RELIGION AND THE MESSINESS OF HISTORY"
Sunday, Feb. 4, 8 p.m., at the Recital Hall in the Performing Arts Center
Lecture by Catherine Bell

"LIFE'S BREAD"
Sunday, April 8, 8 p.m., at the Recital Hall in the Performing Arts Center
Lecture by Richard Curry, S.J.

The Santa Clara Lectures are free and open to the public. If you have a disability and require a reasonable accommodation, please call 408-554-4547 or California Relay at 800-735-2929 (TTY) one week prior to the event.

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2001 BANNA N VISIT OR

**Avery Dulles, S.J.**

Avery Dulles, S.J., 2001 Bannan Visitor, will present a public lecture entitled “Pope John Paul II’s Theology and the American Catholic Church” on Thursday, January 25 at 7:30 p.m. in Sobrato Commons, Sobrato Residential Learning Complex.

Dulles, recently named a cardinal by Pope John Paul II, is one of the best-known theologians on Vatican II, the thought of John Paul II, and how the American Catholic Church has a distinctive identity within the Roman Catholic Church.

He is the Laurence J. McGinley Professor of Religion and Society at Fordham University, a position he has held since 1988.

Dulles entered the Jesuit Order in 1946, and was ordained to the priesthood in 1956. After a year in Germany, he studied at the Gregorian University in Rome, and was awarded the doctorate in Sacred Theology in 1960. He served on the faculty of Woodstock College from 1960 to 1974 and that of the Catholic University of America from 1974 to 1988.

Nine grants totaling over $27,000 awarded to campus projects including three grants to Santa Clara undergrads

A Local Religion Project, a "Forgiveness" reading group, a project to bring Carl Upchurch to campus to celebrate Black History month, and a student-organized immersion trip to Tijuana to build houses in needy communities are among the nine grant proposals approved this year by the Bannan Institute Steering Committee.

The Bannan Institute offers two kinds of grants, both of which are designed to encourage faculty, staff, and students to pursue the Bannan Institute mission "to assist the university in maintaining its Catholic and Jesuit character at the center of the educational enterprise." Bannan Grants are designed to fund scholarly and pedagogical efforts for Santa Clara faculty, staff, and students that further the mission of the institute. Dialogue and Design Grants are intended to encourage early and creative collaborative scholarly efforts by faculty across departmental lines. They are intended as "seed" funding before a project is well developed conceptually.

Three Bannan Grant proposals submitted by students received funding this year. Shawna O'day received a $2,000 grant for her "Not in My Backyard" proposal. This project will organize a four-day alternative spring break trip for five undergraduate Santa Clara University students, with a follow-up forum to explore community issues in East Palo Alto.

Christopher Madruga was granted $3,000 to partially fund "The Tijuana Immersion Trip" where SCU students will build houses with needy families. According to the proposal, "the mission trip is a short-term mission based on serving the local church in Mexico, while creating cross-cultural understanding through direct exposure to Mexican culture."

Melissa Hudson was given $2,200 to fund "CHRISMA!" a community building performance team that explores and celebrates spirituality and God's grace through the artistic media of movement, music, and the spoken word.

The Carl Upchurch Project, coordinated by Professors Carol Giancarlo (liberal studies) and Aldo Billingslea (music and dance), was given a Bannan Grant of $2,500 to partially fund this project to bring a gifted speaker to Santa Clara for an entire week, February 19–24. As a part of the Santa Clara University Sesquicentennial Celebration, Carl Upchurch will help the campus to celebrate Black History month, serve as the central event for the African American Alumni Association reunion, and be a keynote speaker in the Markkula Center's education conference and the University Dialog Committee's principal sponsored event for the 2000-2001 academic year.

Other proposals receiving Bannan Grants include: Dennis Gordon (international programs) for Casa de la Solidaridad—$4,900; Paul Crowley (religious studies) for Future of Religious Colleges Conference—$500; and Catherine Bell (religious studies) for the Local Religion Project—$3,602.

Dialogue and Design Grants include: Jane Curry (political science) for the "Forgiveness" Reading Group—$4,200; and Mark Ravizza, S.J., (Bannan Senior Fellow) for Justice Conference follow-up—$4,200.00.

Guidelines for submitting Bannan Grants and Dialogue and Design Grants can be found on our website: www.scu.edu/BannanInstitute. For information call 408-551-1951.
next issue: "Jesuit colleges and universities ought to educate for justice in a distinctive way. Jesuit spirituality prizes an engagement in the world, convinced that God is not found on the mountaintop or in the desert but in the marketplace, the classroom, the hospital, even in City Hall.

A Jesuit, Catholic university should welcome the full range of voices on justice and what should be done with our world, but it should also stand for something. No genuine university can mandate a single theoretical framework for discussion or advocate an ideology to guide practice. Yet if a Jesuit, Catholic university is only a marketplace for ideas, a forum for discourse without end and without consequence, has it not failed in its mission?"

With these words, William Spohn, Director of the Bannan Institute, opened our recent national conference, "The Commitment to Justice in Jesuit Higher Education."

In our next issue, we will recap the conference with a series of highlights, including excerpts from the keynote addresses given by Leon Panetta, Claire Gaudiani, and Father Peter-H ans Kolvenbach, S.J., Superior General of the Society of Jesus. We will also feature reflections about the role of justice from several people who attended the conference.