

Postmasculinist Directions in Writing Program Administration

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While I have practiced feminist teaching for many years, it was not until my first administrative job helping direct a writing program in a Ph.D. granting department that I began to consider how to transfer feminist principles to an administrative domain. The challenge has been a formidable one. It is one thing to be a practicing feminist in the classroom—a context comparatively set apart from institutional ideologies. But it is another problem altogether to transfer these principles to the administrative domain, embedded as deeply as it is within masculinist traditions of department and academy.¹

For nearly a decade we have mulled over the implications of feminism within the instructional context (Caywood and Overing; Gabriel and Smithson). Generally, such teaching has come to be associated with strategies for ameliorating the power differential between instructor and students. Its hallmarks include collaboration, supportiveness, and an emphasis on process. By most accounts, the feminist classroom emerged in tandem with the student centered class. As Miller, Flynn (423) and others have pointed out, composition studies is in many ways inherently a feminized field. Yet even as we continue to explore all the positive implications of this approach, we have also recognized its conflicts. The political reality for most students is that within the academy they may never again encounter the sorts of cooperative classrooms we create. Nor may they again encounter our process-oriented rhetorical contexts. And as instructors we may struggle to balance nonauthoritarian forms of leadership with institutional conventions, such as assigning grades, that run counter to our own guiding ideologies. These tensions have been apparent for quite some time.

But we have only just begun to see the conflicts in applying similar feminist principles to administration. As was the case with feminist teaching, feminist administration seems to be emerging first from practice, and only now, tentatively, is it being theorized. Not surprisingly, the move to articulate feminist administration is occurring simultaneously with our recognition of the more general need to theorize administrative practices (Pemberton). Yet if feminist teaching is at odds with the larger masculinist academic structure, feminist administration is doubly so. WPAs are struggling as it is to establish and wield power and to oversee administrative structures that are often fragile and fragmented. At every turn, established authoritarian forms of leadership threaten to destroy nascent programmatic philosophies that would cooperatively guide such concerns as teacher training, mentoring, and curriculum development.

I want to focus, then, on this administrative intersection where ideologi-

cal realities collide by considering some basic questions. First of all, what does "feminist directing" look like in actual practice? Secondly, in what ways does a delivery system informed by feminist ideology clash with the masculinist administrative structures in which it is embedded? And, finally, how can two such seemingly incompatible systems be made to mesh into a "postmasculinist" approach?

Some Caveats About Gendered Terms

Feminist directing, like feminist teaching, surely implies such approaches as cooperation, collaboration, shared leadership, and the integration of the cognitive and the affective (Schniedewind). Yet I know that to label such an enterprise "feminist" is risky, for it may sound essentialist. Worse yet, when contrasted with "masculinist" directing, it may seem to reinforce patriarchal epistemologies that characteristically dichotomize reality. That is to say, from years of immersion in masculinist discourse, we habitually adopt a critical stance that assumes "either-or" rather than the more feminist "both-and." The delimiting role of dichotomy on masculinist discourse has been discussed extensively by many feminists (Schaeff; Cixous and Clement; Lloyd). More recently, the problem of inappropriately continuing to apply dichotomous assumptions to pluralistic sociopolitical realities has also been recognized (Gates). So I should say at the outset that within the flawed language and epistemology that we have, I am using the term "feminist" only as a very general designator meaning an orientation, an inclination, a way of seeing and speaking and leading that is probably influenced by gender. It arises from those attitudes and behaviors which in the dominant culture are most associated with women. But it is not practiced exclusively by women or, indeed, found at all in some women.

A second point about feminist directing that I should make is that I am not touting it as an approach superior to masculinist administration. The inherent problems in assuming that matriarchal approaches to directing should replace the patriarchal, thereby substituting one limited *modus operandi* for another, have arisen in previous discussions of the issue (Dickson 145). In fact, alternatives put forward by American feminists have a long history dating back to the nineteenth century of foundering because of these very claims—and fears—that new ideas necessarily extinguish the old. Given these assumptions, I know I risk being trapped/trapping myself in an "either-or" mindset that dictates we must have one or the other but not both. One approach is automatically assumed to be thought better than another.

With these caveats, I am going to go ahead and use the terms "feminist" and "masculinist" to describe conflicting administrative ideologies. Similar approaches go by other names in American business. "Horizontal business organization," "shop-floor and consumer participation management," and "cooperative management" are just a few of the terms used in describing egalitarian rather than top-down hierarchical structures.

These approaches, like those suggested by feminist administration, also stem from multicultural awareness, with most new models adapted from Japanese management strategies. Writing directors Burnham and Nims have drawn on this tradition in using the business term Total Quality Management (TQM) to describe their participatory program. Though such terms are more neutral, and thereby help to avoid essentializing, dichotomizing, and hierarchizing, I am not convinced that it is particularly useful to transfer the language of management to the academic setting. After all, the terms “masculinist” and “feminist” aptly describe the ideological conflict within the academy as I see it from my perspective as a woman and as a feminist. Within our field too, they perhaps best describe the sorts of political connections we are making between classroom and administrative structures. And finally, such terminology is consistent with the way in which feminist theory has been overtly named in its transformation of the academic enterprise at so many other levels—changing research methodologies, pedagogy, and scholarly writing—to name a few. However, recognizing both the real and perceived shortcomings of using this language, I will periodically weave in reminders that I am using the terms more as crude designators than as absolute and opposing categories. In the end, I will also suggest the term “postmasculinist” for the combination of “masculinist” and “feminist” approaches, which may help to lead us beyond linguistic-epistemological-administrative polarization. By taking a closer look at the implications of feminist directing and the nature of the ideological conflicts it encounters, the most significant issues revolve around different conceptions of leadership and administrative structures.

Feminist Leadership and Administrative Power

The exercise of personal power on the part of writing program administrators has become an issue in itself lately for several reasons. It is generally agreed that many administrators feel a sense of powerlessness, more specifically, a sense of having enormous responsibilities without accompanying power. Actual powers are, in fact, limited. Olson and Moxley, for example, in their survey of writing programs, discovered limits in the ability of directors to establish policy in hiring decisions, to set course directions, develop new programs, and handle political problems (53-54). Without such powers, they conclude, WPAs function more as coordinators than as directors. In addition, the lines of responsibility and the boundaries of territory are often blurred. When boundaries overlap, writing administrator concerns are often outweighed by those of department or institution. In a Ph.D. granting department, for example, teaching assistantships may be used to further the aims of the department in attracting the best graduate students rather than in addressing the concerns of a writing director for hiring the best teachers. Other considerations complicating the allotment of power include the untenured status of many WPAs (Janangelo 61) and the underling position of composition in relation to English studies

(Miller). It is no wonder that, in hierarchical terms, many writing directors feel like figurehead monarchs of make-believe realms.

With our institutional authority so compromised, recent discussion has centered on how writing directors can exercise personal authority in a way that not only mitigates our sense of powerlessness but matches our growing sense of professionalism. The underlying premise of this discussion is that seeing is believing. That is, if one looks and acts the part, then this persona can compensate for the actual uncertainty of one's position. For many who are struggling with this issue, the model of personal power being advanced is unmistakably a masculinist one. So, for example, a writing director may be like a general in recognizing adversaries and courting allies (White). Or a director may be statesmanlike: "In interacting with people, prospective WPAs should display confidence, diplomacy, a strong will, and the rhetorical skill and vocal capacity to speak forcefully" (Thomas 43). Certainly, most writing administrators would recognize the utility of this model of leadership.

Nevertheless, a feminist vision of personal power is likely to be quite different. It represents a different way of exercising power because it is based on a different notion of what power is. At base, power is seen as a limitless rather than finite quantity. Therefore, power cannot be subject to a zero-sum game in which we are led to believe that increasing one person's power necessarily diminishes another's. Ideally, as Lamb has said, power can be "mutually enabling" (21). Rather than cultivating "power over," an effective leader focuses on "being peer" (Schaefer 104). Gunner, for example, repudiates the field's internal statements on professional status for advocating a "WPA-centric model" rather than a "decentered" one (10). She says:

In the ideal program... the intellectual agenda and authority would come from a synthesis of informal instructors and the program they develop—it would be a group, or collaborative, entity in need of a spokesperson or liaison, perhaps, but not a single position assigned total curricular responsibility or autocratic power. (13)

Without such internal participation, she warns, programs tend to stagnate and alienate. Howard and her colleagues envision themselves not as White's "warriors" seeking power over others but rather as Cixous's "flying mice" who empower themselves (qtd. in Howard: 39). To lead, then, is not to dominate but rather to facilitate, to share power, and to enable both self and others to contribute.

Such behavior makes sense within the feminist epistemological stance of "both-and" rather than "either-or." Masculinist epistemologies imply that one must either promote one's own interests or forgo these to further someone else's. In reference to administrative conflict, White operates on this assumption in observing: "... when friendship or even professional loyalty and self-interest conflict, self-interest always wins" (4). However, feminist McNaron provides a counter-example of how such an administrative dynamic can be seen as "both

self and others." In this anecdote she speaks of the collegial relationship she enjoys with two other faculty members:

Once a chairman tried to exploit our connection. As usual, he had failed to award us our deserved merit points for the year and we had written letters of protest. One day, I received a note asking me to stop by his office. He was prepared to grant me additional points, but when I asked about Shirley and Mimi, he said that his original calculations stood. Without missing a beat, I looked him squarely in the eye and said, "Well, then, don't give me any more, since it would be unfair; they had even better years than I." His expression was of someone hearing a language totally foreign to his ear. Unable to believe me, he offered again, only to hear me refuse again. I walked out feeling like the winner; I had spoken from a position of unity and love in response to his meager ground of money and competition. (190)

To apply such a feminist approach to power in writing program administration, suggests, as Mielke did in describing a feminist model, "the inevitable need for reliance on networking, appealing to the web of human connection rather than personal power. . ." (175). Leadership is therefore characterized as relational. Personal authority may appear as being receptive, cooperative, willing to promote discussion, listen to divergent views, and look for common interests. In feminist directing, as Dickson (144) and Bishop and Crossley (70) assert, communicative functions appear as a significant source of power.

My administrative experience contains many examples of applying this approach. I recall facilitating a meeting with three graduate student assistants that took the form of a "think-tank" to share ideas for developing a teacher education seminar. I probably talked the least and listened the most in order to encourage the tentative observations and plans that strengthened the resulting class. During the same week I also headed off a potentially time-consuming grievance by an angry mother whose son had failed a composition course. While my investigation indicated that her accusations against the instructor were groundless, I also reached out to her personally to suggest constructive solutions based on our joint concern for her son. Testimonials like these are typical of success stories associated with feminist exercise of power.

However, this approach cannot be used consistently in an administrative situation comprised of conflicting ideologies. I have found that, ironically, within the institution "being peer" works best when I am "one-up" in masculinist terms. My interactions with actual peers during the same week reveals a different side of the story. On the same day that I employed feminist leadership with graduate students, I had to change to a masculinist style at a meeting held immediately afterwards. The conciliatory talk with the mother was followed by a friendly argument over policy with a colleague who prefers this masculinist mode of problem-solving. In the bi-epistemological institution, personas have to change with context.

But such a balancing act can quickly go awry. Because of ideological conflict, feminist approaches are likely to be misinterpreted from a masculinist point of view. Leadership can appear weak if receptivity is mistaken for passivity; affective responses such as laughter for lack of seriousness; and the sharing of power for looking to others for direction. When boundaries of administrative responsibility blur, cooperative approaches to resolving conflicts may be mistaken for encroachment into territory, thereby turning mild adversarial responses into pitched battles. Such responses are familiar to anyone who has practiced feminist teaching. Sometimes one or two students comment on course evaluations that they are uncomfortable with a feminist style. As one said recently to me, "I'm not used to this." In administration too, changing the game can make others profoundly uneasy. WPAs may be convinced of the value of feminist approaches but have to proceed cautiously given the risks associated with not playing the game. In this light, the general or the statesman may appear as much safer roles to play because they are better understood by others.

For women administrators working in a feminist way, the problems are compounded, since women's authority is still problematic in academic culture. This quandary has been apparent for some time in teaching. As Friedman points out, "Both students and ourselves are socialized to believe . . . that any kind of authority is incompatible with the feminine" (207). As a female teacher, establishing authority can be difficult; as a female administrator, it is even more challenging. Students, colleagues across the institution, and members of the community are still likely to doubt women's credentials (Eichhorn, Farris, Hayes, Hernandez, Jarratt, Stubbs, and Sciachitano 299). I vividly recall such an encounter after a meeting in which I had represented my department as an administrator. Someone said to me incredulously: "*You* are a professor?" Then, adding insult to injury, "Tenure track?"

Of course, most women academics have learned to take such comments in stride, but they are reminders of our outsider status. If we add to this position an outsider persona and a "different voiced" leadership style, it may exacerbate the problems. On the other hand, as studies have shown, when women adopt more masculinist personas, other difficulties may develop. Positive qualities such as assertiveness in men can be seen negatively as domineering behavior in women. The challenge for feminist administrators, particularly if we are women, is much the same as that Aisenberg and Harrington point to for women throughout the academy:

The problem, then, for women [and WPAs generally] who reject the prevailing model for professional discourse is to find a countermodel that commands respect. How can women become insiders and acquire an insider's voice of authority while questioning insider values? Where is the model for new forms of discourse? Not readily available, is the predictable answer. (78)

Yet we must surely attempt to articulate new forms of leadership in administration, just as we have in the classroom.

Undoing Hierarchic Structures and Feminist Administration

Feminist administrative structures are also likely to be different from masculinist systems established in the academy. In general, the concept of community in which leadership is shared can be substituted for the notion of hierarchy. With the self seen as inter-relational and personal power enhanced by empowering others, such a community is marked by collaboration and cooperation. Rather than striving to develop uniform and universalized rules, feminist communities tend to produce flexible decisions arising from experiential contexts. Ideas are tentative, and thus subject to alteration as contextual needs change. While not all members of a community need to agree on all details, there is generally basic consensus on important points.

In our writing program we have put in place feminist structures insofar as we can.² With the staff, which consists largely of graduate students and adjunct faculty, we collaborate to set course goals and share class materials. Instructors gather twice a year at the beginning of each semester to exchange ideas. Throughout the year teachers also contribute ideas to a resource file for our two freshman courses that everyone can consult and use. By sharing information in this way, course structures can develop organically from instructors themselves rather than from the more masculinist approach of a top-down edict dictating content. New directions for courses emerge gradually as teachers respond to the changing needs of students and ongoing shifts in pedagogical applications of composition theory.

Such feminist innovations have been successful in both this composition program and others. However, each WPA also inherits a delivery system determined in part by the department, the institution, and the accrediting system to which the program belongs. Since most are informed by masculinist ideology, they tend to be structured hierarchically. Herein lies the source of contradiction and conflict. In my writing program, for example, hierarchy is embedded in the way that teacher education is structured as a seminar taught by the composition director for which a student is graded. No doubt when this course was originally developed, it followed the convention that imparting knowledge about teaching was a one-person, top-down enterprise. In this masculinist model, only the director designs and teaches the course. Now, however, we have feminized the approach by collaborating with instructor volunteers who offer pedagogical presentations and lead small group discussions. Such a model introduces new instructors immediately to the sort of teaching collaborative that structures the writing program. Yet this informal feminist collaboration continues paradoxically within the formal masculinist system of a traditional seminar, an accrediting convention unlikely to change.

Whereas in this case we had to modify an existing structure, in other cases we have had to supplement one. An inherited mentor system for new teaching assistants, similar to that of many programs, is permanently in place. Though it serves many useful functions, it too is based on a hierarchical scheme

in which a faculty member "supervises" a new teacher. Here we have supplemented with the more feminist notion of mentor groups that provide "support" rather than "supervision." In these groups new instructors meet regularly with other new and experienced teachers, including faculty or graduate student administrators, throughout the first year. Group members discuss pedagogical issues and take turns visiting one another's classes. In many ways, the two mentoring systems are successful in providing double support and/or supervision for new instructors. Still, the burden of shifting between the different ideologies on which the two systems are based falls on new instructors. In one mentor group, for example, I described a protocol for observing another teacher's class, stressing the notion of observing rather than judging and of working collaboratively with the observed teacher in providing feedback. One member of my group asked, "Is this the approach to class observations that our faculty mentors will use?" Of course, in many cases, it was not. They were more likely to construct the purpose of the visits in hierarchical terms of judging a teacher's competency. At times like these, new instructors feel buffeted between feminist and masculinist ideologies.

Overall, such examples suggest that masculinist and feminist delivery systems can be successfully—if lopsidedly—blended. The result may be a better admixture or an awkward compromise. However, this overlay of ideologies is unlikely to be perceived as comprised of equal contributions. Instead, within the more established ideologies of department and institution, it is probably only hierarchical administrative structure that counts. In such a system, lines of accountability are viewed as all-important. One person at the top must function as a figure to take both credit and blame. As a result, just as feminist directors must alternate feminist and masculinist personas to cope with double ideologies, we also need to design collaborative administrative structures that can be translated hierarchically.

Whether feminist systems masquerade as masculinist systems or are openly apparent, they are still subject to misunderstanding. The seeming lack of centralized mono-authority is often perceived as chaos. Such misperception probably arises from the masculinist epistemological perspective in which an organizational structure is assumed to be either hierarchical or chaotic. Understandably, since this long established system has claimed universality for itself, it is difficult for those of us conditioned by it to recognize an alternative organizing principle. Fears of administrative chaos sound familiar since they parallel similar reactions to decentered feminist teaching that we have been aware of for a long time. Therefore, the challenge for feminist directors is not only to figure out how to blend actual delivery systems but how to assuage fears. For, as Howard asserts, directors must not only figure out how to develop such structures but how to maintain them—"to function as a collective within the hierarchy. . . (47).

Combining Feminist and Masculinist Administration

Though I have no formulas for dissolving all the tensions between the two systems, I do have some suggestions for WPAs introducing feminist approaches. Above all, it is essential to communicate attempts to reinvent the game. Explain the philosophy that undergirds new methods, if possible, before rather than after the fact in order to prepare others for the differences. Afterwards, draw attention to any positive outcomes. Model different kinds of leadership and different delivery systems. Time and again, I have seen the need for such clarification. I think, for example, of a recent “think-tank” collaborative effort in which a latecomer mistook it for a leaderless group and began trying to dominate. I think of a colleague from another department for whom we develop special composition courses who was concerned that the courses we offered did not look alike, not seeing the common course goals that underlay them. Therefore, the more explicit we are about specific applications, the more comfortable everyone will become, and the easier it will be for others to generalize this way of working to other parts of the program.

However, do not expect communication to resolve all resistance easily. Just as students often resist the unfamiliar tenets of the feminist classroom, so too many people will find feminist directing a threat. When seen through the lenses of masculinist assumptions, as I have suggested, leadership may look weak and the delivery system chaotic. Communicating the rationale and modeling the alternative can surely help. But as many marginalized groups have learned, resistance to new approaches can in itself be quite resistant to attempts at explanation. As Lorde warned early on, being put in a position of constantly explaining, justifying, and defending new perspectives may lead to a “diversion of energies,” which eventually becomes depleting (100). Schaefer’s rule of thumb for dealing with this sort of resistance is to explain new concepts only twice (55). Thus it is important to communicate and then act rather than to bog down perpetually explaining.

Secondly, provide some focal points for communication. Since the focus of authority is decentered, tangible mechanisms can not only facilitate collaboration but help to eliminate confusion. My colleague Dennis Hall began a composition newsletter produced by the administrative staff each week. It advertises ongoing activities in the program—courses, meetings, and workshops, along with items of professional interest such as calls for papers and acknowledgments of the professional activities of our staff. The newsletter communicates not only to those in the program but to other faculty and administrators throughout the English department and university who receive it. Other mechanisms facilitate communication among teachers. Course units contributed by instructors are collected in a resource file to which everyone has access. The best of the group has been assembled into a copy center packet complete with unit overviews, readings, journal entries, and ideas for class activities. Such collections formalize the informal exchange of teaching ideas that we encourage. Each year we also distribute a “Who’s Using What” list of texts currently used by instructors, along

with textbook reviews, so that teachers can contact others either using the same texts or ones they would like to try. These and other mechanisms provide tangible points of reference.

Finally, begin developing appropriate language for feminist directing. As rhetoricians we understand the extent to which language shapes reality. In fact, a large part of the feminist enterprise has been to invent terms for concepts and experiences unacknowledged by the dominant culture. With feminist administration too, we need to develop new descriptive terms that reflect systemic change. In my own case, I refer to our staff of graduate teaching assistants and adjunct faculty as a "teaching collaborative" and to small support groups as "mentor groups." More recently, in a letter to new teaching assistants, I coined the term "web of support," drawing unconsciously on Gilligan's work, as a way of describing our program.

Other more traditional terms suggesting hierarchy have simply been replaced. Instead of "teaching assistants," we use "teachers" or "instructors." After all, as a colleague once pointed out, they actually are assisting no one but are instead running their own classes. We have also adopted the current term "teacher education" instead of the more traditional expression "teacher training," which has implications of running lesser beings through a prescribed set of paces on command rather than providing adults with materials with which to make informed decisions. None of the terms I have developed is wildly imaginative, but they make a start at rectifying the conflict between hierarchical language and feminist approaches. Ultimately, changed language will reinforce changed ways of working.

In keeping with the notion that language reflects and reinforces change, I would like to suggest the term "postmasculinist" for the kind of approach that is likely to evolve as feminist and masculinist orientations to administration are combined. From a philosophical standpoint, the principle of "both-and" indicates that these divergent perspectives can at least be made congruent. As a matter of practicality, the two must merge. After all, masculinist assumptions about power, leadership, and administrative structure permeate the academy, affecting feminist approaches at every turn. Merging the two requires a WPA to take a bi-epistemological stance. As a marginalized group, women have historically learned to function in two worlds. Compositionists who apply feminist principles in the classroom do the same. Thus it is not surprising that WPAs would also need to employ these strategies. Outsiders of all sorts are singularly adept at playing two games: we play both the established game even as we attempt to reinvent the game. Or as Mielke says flatly, "The marginal should employ marginal strategies" (175). The postmasculinist, then, is not just a matter of replacing masculinist with feminist, but rather of somehow doing both or creating a space for one to exist within the other.

At least in my institution, thus far, such an approach is working—awkward, ungainly, and self-contradictory though it may be. And in other schools, for the moment, the ideological conflicts seem to be meshing similarly. Howard and her colleagues, for example, have been so successful at playing both

games that they have managed to create an ideologically workable space for themselves. She explains her strategy:

Those in the outer circle who wish to change an institution have a much higher probability of success if what they propose is depicted as an enhancement of the status quo and if those who propose it depict themselves as the equal rather than the superior or inferior of those to whom they propose it. (38)

From this bi-epistemological stance, they have been able not “to win a higher place in the established order” but rather “to shape [their] own place, a place of power-sharing collectivity and liberatory pedagogy” (39). She explains their “both-and” approach: “I can only say that although we have recognized and participated in the hierarchical structures endemic to academic bureaucracy, we have at the same time striven to level or avert hierarchy, or at least to devise an alternative to it” (44-45).

I am not claiming, of course, that such an approach resolves all problems. In reading Howard’s account, I infer that at her institution, as at mine, there is basic underlying support for the aims and methods of the composition program, despite profound ideological conflicts. Certainly, the situation is different elsewhere. Bishop and Crossley conclude, in describing their recent situation, that some sort of ideological clash is inevitable. For, they say, “Understandings of our field are built on defining *against* mainstream academic values more than anything else” (77). Bishop found herself seemingly forced to choose between masculinist “fiscal realities” that higher administration decreed would enlarge her program and her feminist concern for protecting the quality of the program she had worked so hard to establish. One reviewer read her story in masculinist terms as a classic dichotomy, in which her feminist concern was morally superior but practically unworkable—resulting in a battle that was unwinnable. The other reviewer, however, offered a more feminist reading of a Gilligan-esque dilemma of competing responsibilities, suggesting that she collaborate with the chair in figuring out how to increase resources to handle the heavier load (73-74). I cannot know, of course, whether this was really a workable solution in Bishop’s specific case given the differences from one institution to another. But it is a response in keeping with the sort of bi-epistemological stance that characterizes a postmasculinist approach. It is resolving conflict from a “both-and” rather than “either-or” position, and exercising power from a position of equality. Certainly, Bishop’s resignation calls attention to the serious repercussions of ideological conflicts. As we continue gravitating towards—even endorsing—feminist approaches to administration, it is urgent that, in postmasculinist fashion, we find ways to accommodate both masculinist and feminist models.

Notes

1. I wish to thank Sherrie Gradin and Amber Dahlin for their helpful comments on an early draft of this piece, along with the WPA reviewers for their responses to a later draft.

2. In developing approaches to feminist directing, I am indebted to Robert Brown, director of the composition program at the University of Minnesota during my early years as a graduate student there. A pioneer in feminist administration, he produced an unusually innovative writing program. My own efforts have roots in his model.

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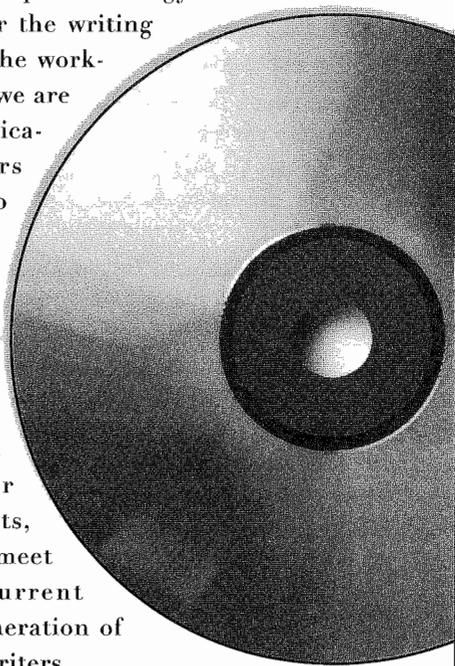
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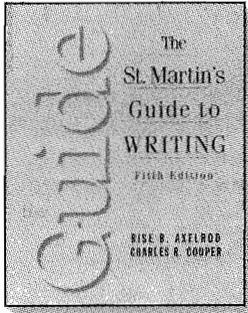
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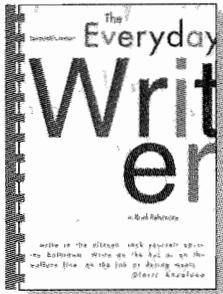
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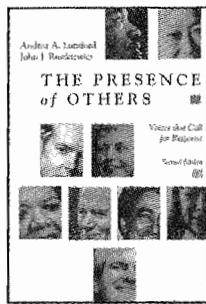
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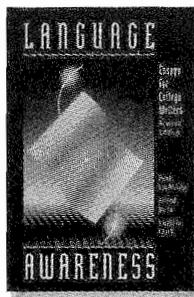
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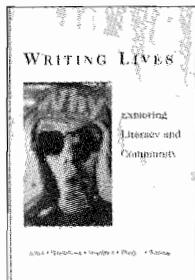
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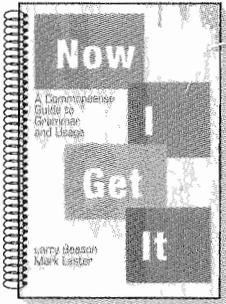
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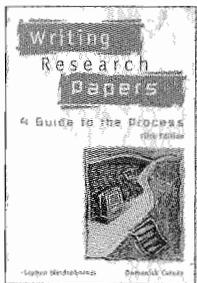
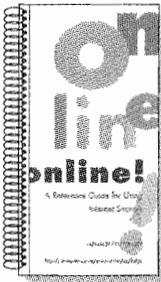
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