



THE CCWH

NEWSLETTER

CO-PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

STEPPING AROUND THE DRAIN

By Mary Ann Villarreal

Recently, after reading a book that included Rosa Parks, our seven-year-old asked when the rules changed for African Americans. I gave her a simple synopsis of the Montgomery bus boycott. She had a puzzled look and then asked why it took so long for the Supreme Court to change the rule when it was “clearly a very silly and mean rule.” I had to pause, because sometimes I just give her too much information to process. I agreed with her conclusion and told her that one day she would have a chance to change silly and mean rules. It was the parenting moment of balancing truths with compassion.

I left that conversation reminded of the role we all play in honoring the work of social justice activists. Every day we read about the “very silly and mean” rules of exclusion that result in the violation of human and civil rights, and we ignore the silences of exclusion in the name of process or policy. One of the projects I currently

research is looking at practices aimed at closing the achievement and leadership “gaps.” I live and breathe a strategic plan that hits at the many tensions and contradictions of higher education institutions. For example, goal two of our strategic plan provides a framework for closing the achievement gap for students who are first-generation college attendees, underrepresented populations, and Pell Grant recipients. Goal three calls for the university to increase its diversity among faculty and staff to be more reflective of its student body. Closing the gaps and creating structures of equity often mean working against a tide that presumes that if one gains, then another must lose in the process.

These are not new issues. They were part of the discourse in the late 1980s when I started my undergraduate journey. My friends and I sought out the faculty of color. We attached ourselves to white women faculty who spoke

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to the challenges that we faced in isolation and that we were just learning to name. We had no idea the emotional drain we caused them; we just knew we needed them. Thanks to the work of organizations like CCWH, my generation started to see ourselves reflected in the faculty ranks, but that reflection fades in leadership positions.

The persistence of the pay gap between men and women faculty, while disappointing, should be no surprise when we examine where women are in the administrative and faculty ranks and what type of institution they populate. The higher the rank, the higher the pay, and women overall are crawling upwards in numbers. Women of color hold a steady line, but they certainly are not growing at the same pace as their white women counterparts or men of color.

In a recent article of the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, entitled “The Gender Divide in Academe,” the numbers reveal the problems of the “leaky pipeline,” in which women’s absence is startling in leadership ranks. The “leaky pipeline” that has failed to move women into the upper administrative and faculty ranks at a reasonable pace then impacts the pay gap. For example, the article notes, “Women only represent 29% of full professors in the U.S.” Among presidents and chancellors the percentage of women increased only from 10% in 1986 to 26% in 2011. Unsurprisingly, when we narrow the scope to women of color, those numbers reveal continuing structural inequities, as only 4% of presidents and chancellors were women of color in 2011.

If we are to increase the number of women in our leadership ranks, we cannot wait until they prove their worthiness after reaching the rank of full professor. The fallacy is that the drain in the “leaky pipeline” could be avoided if we followed the straight line to full, then we too would reach higher levels of leadership. If fewer women are achieving full status, then maybe we ought to question what not getting full does to all women who seek a leadership role. The pipeline to leadership in higher education for women, particularly for women of color, is fraught with coded messages about competence and filled with burnout service commitments, as well as risk-averse attitudes that deem the hiring of people of

color too risky. White women and women of color are often deterred from considering leadership opportunities early in their careers, but that is the time that requires intentional decision-making about how we pursue leadership development. And we must do so without appearing overly assertive or arrogant, know that we will be questioned about our ability to negotiate a “work–life balance” simply because we are women, and sadly accept that our faculty colleagues may look at taking an administrator position as the equivalent of moving over to the “dark side.”

Close academic friends often remark that they are not surprised that I chose to move into administration. I am surprised. All the messages I heard early in my faculty career pointed me away from administration. I could only whisper my professional goals among other administrators who sent me back to the faculty line for my “training.” There are very clear rules about how to move from “scholar to administrator” in four-year colleges and universities. The administrators I reached out to knew the code: go through the ranks of the professoriate, or no one will take you seriously. Not following the “scholar to administrator” trajectory, and leaving a tenure-track position for an administrator position, makes me a “risk-taker,” and there is the ever-present threat of committing an error that could potentially put a quick end to my choice to be in administration. I am a veteran; I understand the role of protocol and hierarchy. I know how to “earn my stripes,” but I needed to step around the drain.

Perhaps my friends are not surprised because they knew me when, as a graduate student, I was accepted into ASU’s Preparing Future Faculty (PFF) program. The program, launched in 1993, sought to prepare graduate students for the professoriate. As a result of the “shadow an administrator” assignment, I was offered a research assistantship in the Office of the Provost. By the end of that semester, I knew my professional trajectory included a home in administration.

Today I work for a “trailblazer,” a president who knows that leadership requires that we all have the ganas to ask hard questions and seek solutions together. The people around the table have to represent our changing demographics. Higher education needs a more diverse

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leadership group, especially if that leadership is expected to respond to the needs of the new majority. I accepted an administrative position because I believe that my training as a historian gave me the necessary tools to manage in this environment and lead in times when we have a greater need for solutions that work for more people.

My children and the students I work with are my daily reminders of why we need to reach

out and provide a roadmap to all women who wish to serve in a leadership capacity. We have a new majority who continue to experience rules of exclusion based on old norms of who belongs on our campuses. Our obligation is not just to talk about the inequities, but also to change them at all levels in the university. In that change, we must reflect who we educate.

NOTES FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

By Sandra Trudgen Dawson

Spring has arrived in Northern Illinois at last! Spring is my favorite time of the year. It is a beautiful season of regeneration and excitement as the bulbs appear and the shrubs prove they survived the long months of cold and snow.

For those of us in higher education, it is also the season of anticipation. Research and writing in the summer and, of course, the budget for the next academic year. In Illinois, Governor Rauner’s proposed budget reduces the amount of support to the state universities and their reaction is to cut the teaching budget. This is happening all over the country and contingent instructors are scrambling to find teaching jobs to pay the bills.

This is one of the reasons for the recent survey that was sent out to the CCWH membership. Thank you to all of you who completed the survey on adjunct and contingent instructors. Rachel Fuchs is currently compiling the results and she will share those with us soon. Eileen Boris, Susan Wladaver-Morgan and myself wrote an article, “Perspectives on Contingent Labor: Adjuncts, Temporary Contracts, and the Feminization of Labor,” which will be published in the May edition of *Perspectives*. This article is a very brief overview of the AHA roundtable in New York.

At the panel, I was struck by one question from the audience: “Is there anything wrong with a career as a part time adjunct?” The answer is a resounding “no!” There is nothing wrong with a job teaching in higher education. What is wrong are the conditions of work and the low pay. Poor work conditions—no office space, no work computer, no health or retirement benefits, no research money or funds to attend conferences, and the contingent semester to semester contracts—are a problem. These poor work conditions, coupled with low pay that means many with PhDs qualify for welfare, food stamps or other forms of public assistance are the problem.

There is a national movement to change this. Faculty Forward is a movement that seeks \$15,000 per course in total compensation (including health and retirement benefits) plus three- or five-year contracts for greater job security. Please join the movement so that we have a meaningful career path for our graduate students who may not have the chance of a tenure-track job. For more information, see: info@adjunctaction.org

AFFILIATE NEWS

- Women and Gender Historians of the Midwest announces their sixth conference taking place June 11–12, 2015, and preceded by an opening reception June 10 at hotel Vetro, in Iowa City. The theme is “Philanthropy as Activism: Relationships & Power.” Dr. Nancy Beck Young will deliver the keynote address, “A Philanthropic First Lady: Lou Henry Hoover and the Challenge of Charity During the Depression.” For more information, please visit www.wghom.org.
- The 47th annual conference of the Western Association of Women Historians will be held at the Hilton Sacramento Arden West in Sacramento, California, May 14-16, 2015. This year’s keynote is an address by Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin entitled “Our Journey into the World of Women’s History.” This year’s conference offers panels on a wide range of topics and WAWH’s first ever graduate student poster session. Participants represent eighty-seven institutions from twenty-five states and five countries. For more information, see www.wawh.org/conferences/current.
- The Association of Personal Historians (APH) will hold its twentieth annual conference from October 21–25, 2015 in Sacramento, California. Join APH members for their twentieth anniversary celebration as they meet to discuss and learn ways to preserve the personal histories of people, families, communities, businesses, and organizations around the globe. Contact Conference Program Chair Liz Salamy Abess at conferenceprogram@personalhistorians.org or visit www.personalhistorians.org/conference for more details.
- The Association of Black Women in History (ABWH) would like to announce our executive board for 2015–2017. They are: National Director Francille Rusan Wilson, National Vice Director Ula Taylor, Treasurer/Membership Director Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, Secretary Barbara Krauthamer,

Parliamentarian Natanya Duncan, Publications Director Shennette Garrett-Scott, Far Western Regional Director Jessica Millward, Southern Regional Director Talitha LeFlouria, Midwestern Regional Director LaShawn Harris, Eastern Regional Director Tiffany M. Gill, and Graduate Student Representative Nakia Parker. Also, we extend congratulations to our members on their recent contributions and scholarly efforts to the historical field. For more information, please visit www.abwh.org.

- The National Collaborative for Women’s History Sites (NCWHS) held their first fundraiser in Winter 2015. They successfully raised over \$4,000, which included a match from an anonymous donor. They would like to thank everyone involved in the effort and encourage others to join. Erin Devlin, Pam Sanfilippo, and Heather Huyck participated in a panel at the 2015 OAH Annual meeting discussing various topics such as women and slavery at the Grant NHS, freedom suits in St. Louis, the role of the St. Luke building in resisting American apartheid, and Daisy Bates’ participation in the Little Rock Nine. NCWHS works to develop sessions for OAH and similar organizations and welcomes others who work with us. In partnership with the Women’s History Project, a lecture featuring Susan Ferentinos in celebration of Women’s History Month was held at the Evanston History Center on March 27. Dr. Ferentinos discussed her new book, *Interpreting LGBT History at Museums and Historic Sites*. Finally, NCWHS, in its partnership with government agencies, announces that further work will be done to interpret the lives of Annie Wauneka and Pauli Murray. For more information, please visit www.ncwhs.org.

MEMBER NEWS

- Catherine Allgor is entering her third year as the Nadine and Robert A. Skotheim Director of Education at the Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens in San Marino, CA. She has also joined the Board of Directors of the National Women’s History Museum. Her latest article, “Believing the Ladies Had Great Influence: Early National American Women’s Patronage in Transatlantic Context,” has just been published in *American Political Thought*.
- Nupur Chaudhuri (Texas Southern University) has published an article entitled “Reactions of Two Bengali Women Travelers: Krishnobhabini Das and Chitrita Devi” in *Historic Engagements with Occidental Cultures, Religions, Powers*, edited by Anne R. Richards and Iraj Omdivar, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2014.
- Elizabeth M. Covart recently launched *Ben Franklin’s World: A Podcast about Early American History*. Ben Franklin’s World is a weekly show that introduces non-specialist history enthusiasts to the people and events that have impacted and shaped our present-day world. The goal of the podcast is to create wide public awareness about the early

American past by interviewing historians who have fantastic research, books, and interpretive programs to share. You can find more information about the podcast by visiting www.benfranklinworld.com.

- Page Harrington, executive director of the Sewall-Belmont House & Museum, led a discussion at the National Archives on how the temperance and suffrage movements provide a fascinating study of the individuals who participated in both movements, the organizations they created, and women as the driving force behind significant change in the United States. Lori Osborne, archivist and president of the Frances Willard Historical Association in Evanston, IL, participated in the discussion. Dr. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, Professor Emerita of Morgan State University, was the third participant in the discussion. The program, entitled “Temperance and Woman Suffrage: Reform Movements and the Women Who Changed America,” was presented in partnership with the Sewall-Belmont House & Museum in celebration of Women’s History Month. See a video of the program at www.youtube.com/watch?v=HHwHZAufuYk&feature=youtu.be.

JANNELLE GRIFFIN WARREN-FINDLEY

March 15, 1945–February 4, 2015



Jannelle Warren-Findley passed away on February 4, 2015 at St. Joseph's Hospital in Phoenix, AZ, from pulmonary fibrosis attended by family and friends. She was 69 years old.

Jann, as she was known to her friends and family, was a third generation Arizonan, born in Tucson on March 15, 1945. Her roots and knowledge of the Southwest kept her bound to her birthplace but her adventurous spirit and travels took her to many different parts of the country and world to study, conduct research, and teach.

She grew up in Tucson and Phoenix, AZ. After graduating from Catalina High School in Tucson, she attended the University of Arizona and was a member of Phi Mu Sorority. She completed her undergraduate studies at Texas Woman's University and earned a PhD in American Studies from The George Washington University. Jann spent three years as a Fulbright Scholar, teaching and doing research in Sweden, and then two years teaching for the University of Maryland in England. She then lived in the Washington, DC, area, teaching and establishing a professional historical research group. She moved to Arizona and was an Associate Professor of History at Arizona State University for more than 20 years. She taught graduate courses and later directed the Public History Program. She served as president of the National Council on Public History; on the executive board of the Organization of American Historians; as chair of the editorial board of the *Public Historian*; on the board of the Australian journal, *Public History Review*; and furthered the research, teaching, and mentoring of public history stateside as well as creating lasting links between the USA and Sweden, England,

Australia, New Zealand, and China. In addition, she worked with the World Heritage Committee for Monuments and Sites administered by UNESCO. Her distinguished and outstanding achievements led to her being given the prestigious Robert Kelley Award, which, in part, recognized her invaluable support for establishing the International Federation for Public History.

She mentored graduate students by relentlessly encouraging them to network and volunteer and learn not just the theory of public history but also the nuts and bolts of practicing in the field. She steered students into Fulbright Scholarships and international internship positions. She directed graduate students into careers in historic preservation, cultural and natural resource management, cultural and historic organizational administration and leadership, research and policy formation, library science and archives, museums, and teaching public history.

Her son and light and love, Benjamin, traveled with her to teaching and research positions across the globe. After retirement in 2014, she made one final international trip to China to teach public history and cultural tourism at the Center for American Culture at Sichuan University.

She was preceded in death by her grandparents, Bacil Augustine and Adell (Mudi) Warren; her parents, Bacil Benjamin and Annelle Griffin Warren; her aunt, Mary Conn and cousin, Paul Conn, all of Tucson; and her aunt, Dr. Aileen Griffin of Dallas, Texas. She is survived by her son, Benjamin James Findley of Tempe and Boston; her former husband, Jon D. Findley of Mesa; her sister-in-law, Gail Warren and nephew Bacil Donovan Warren, both of Tucson; and nephew, Edward Griffin Warren of New York City.

MARJORY STONEMAN DOUGLAS HOUSE

Home of Marjory Stoneman Douglas, Everglades Defender, Becomes National Historic Landmark

By Antonio Ramirez

Marjory Stoneman Douglas was one of the nation's most significant environmentalists. Astonishing in its breadth, her writing and activism on behalf of South Florida's natural environment spanned much of the twentieth century and permanently reshaped the national understanding of the Everglades.

In 2014, the National Collaborative for Women's History Sites (NCWHS) and the National Park Service (NPS) began a collaboration that aimed to recognize Douglas's place in twentieth-century U.S. environmentalism as part of the NPS Women's History Initiative.¹ In April 2015, Sally Jewell, US Secretary of the Interior, designated Douglas's lifelong home in Coconut Grove, Florida, a National Historic Landmark. The Marjory Stoneman Douglas House joins about 2,500 other National Historic Landmarks that have been recognized by the Secretary of the Interior as exceptionally significant in the nation's history.

Douglas was born in Minnesota in 1890 and raised in Massachusetts by her mother and grandmother, but she relocated to Florida in 1915. Douglas was immediately captivated by the state's subtropical environment and vibrant political and social scene. With striking clarity and a sharp wit, Douglas documented the natural and political history of early twentieth-century South Florida in countless articles and poems in a daily column for the *Miami Herald*. She also joined the community of Progressive clubwomen, arguing for women's suffrage and conservation. It was through her writing and advocacy that Douglas developed a deep understanding of South Florida's subtropical environment—its lush plants, diverse species of birds, and, later, the Everglades—as a regional strength that should be promoted and defended.

In the early 1920s, Douglas asked architect

George Hyde to design her a small house on Stewart Avenue in Coconut Grove, a community in Miami. She would spend the next seventy years writing and organizing eloquent defenses of South Florida's natural environment from the Stewart Avenue cottage.

By 1947 Douglas was a cornerstone of Florida's conservation movement. That year she sat as an invited guest behind President Truman as he dedicated the Everglades National Park, a unique addition to the National Park System. That same year Douglas published her masterwork, *The Everglades: River of Grass*, a canonical work of twentieth-century environmental literature. The book helped Americans permanently reimagine the Everglades as a valuable part of the interconnected South Florida environment rather than a useless swamp. The book's famous opening sentence powerfully encapsulates the importance of the Everglades in the global environment: "There are no other Everglades in the world. They are, they always have been, one of the unique regions of the earth."

When she published *River of Grass*, Douglas was almost sixty years old and had enjoyed a long writing career that included fifty published short stories and twenty years of magazine writing. But it was not until twenty years later, at age seventy-nine, that Douglas became an activist, solidifying her place in the history of U.S. environmentalism.

In 1969 Douglas met Judy Wilson, a Florida Audubon Society member who asked her what she had done recently on behalf of Florida's natural resources. Douglas mentioned writing *River of Grass*, to which Wilson replied: "That's not enough." Douglas mumbled a promise to do what she could.

The next day, environmentalist Joe Browder arrived at Douglas's home to encourage her to oppose a proposed jetport that Dade County was planning

to build in the middle of the Everglades. As Miami had boomed in the late 1960s, officials drew up plans for a massive facility that could make the city more accessible by air. The jetport would be the largest in the world, bigger than the next four US airports combined. When Browder proposed Douglas start an organization to oppose the jetport, she agreed. Douglas and her new organization, the Friends of the Everglades, joined the burgeoning late twentieth-century environmental movement and converted the defense of the Everglades into a national cause.

Over the next three decades, Douglas came to personify the defense of the Everglades. The tough-talking, tireless Douglas and her wide-brimmed hat became the most important national symbol of the defense of Florida's Everglades. One reporter called her "one of Florida's natural resources," citing her ability to challenge the sugar industry, the Florida state legislature, private developers, the federal government, and any other threat to the Everglades. When another journalist asked the ninety-five-year-old Douglas if she ever tired of activism, she replied, "Of course I don't get tired of it. I don't get tired of

breathing either."²

In 1980 Florida's Department of Natural Resources unveiled its new headquarters in Tallahassee, the Marjory Stoneman Douglas Building. In 1984 Florida declared a "Marjory Stoneman Douglas Day." And in 1993 President Bill Clinton awarded Douglas the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Douglas passed away in her Stewart Avenue home in 1998 at age 108. Today, thanks to the hard work of the NCWHS, Marjory Stoneman Douglas's role as a defender of Florida's natural environment and her lifelong Coconut Grove home have been recognized as an important part of our national heritage.

Antonio Ramirez teaches history and political science at Elgin Community College. He prepared the National Historic Landmark nomination for the Marjory Stoneman Douglas House.

1. For more on the Women's History Initiative, see www.nps.gov/history/heritageinitiatives/tellingthewholestory.
2. Mary Schlich, "Lady Of Legend Still Fighting For Her 'Glades At 95," *Chicago Tribune*, March 26, 1986.

I like to think of myself as scrappy, but the search for summer funding has often felt like scrounging. As my first unfunded summer approached several years ago, I furtively asked other students how they made ends meet between April and September. A few said their parents or partners pay their rent. Most shrugged and said "something always works out." Some summers I was lucky enough to be granted funding. Other summers I worked full-time, sacrificing academic progress so that I could be sure my bills would be paid. What I thought of as proof that I would do anything to stay in school was seen by some as a sign that I wasn't really "committed" to my work. Those who face the financial challenges of graduate school without a safety net in the form of family support and/or those who enter graduate school with additional expenses, like student loans or parenthood, are forced to make decisions based on money that can create an impression that they are not "serious" students. These decisions include everything from taking a part-time job to adopting living situations that limit the ability to work at home to delaying research travel. And the financial stresses of graduate school have real consequences. Graduate students are no strangers to eating poorly or not getting enough exercise (yoga classes cost money!). They may face emotional challenges from not being able to see family as often as others. Absolutely none of these problems are insurmountable, but they do impose restrictions that, in the absence of honest

absolutely not acceptable in my new environment.

Financial anxiety was, for me, compounded by culture shock. Graduate students who come from less privileged backgrounds are often, like me, woefully unprepared for the culture of a PhD program. My own experiences attending community college and then a non-elite undergraduate university were vital to my success, allowed me to build confidence, to catch up and make mistakes, and do it surrounded by people from diverse backgrounds. I was also fortunate to have been a participant in two different programs designed to help less privileged students transition to graduate school, one at the end of my undergraduate program and another the summer before I began PhD studies. These programs made me confident that I was prepared, so I was blindsided by what became the real challenge for me. The real challenge was not the work—which I expected to be difficult, and it was—but instead it was in all the unspoken rules surrounding the work. I didn't know what a response paper was. Seminars seemed to run on a logic of their own that I couldn't decipher. I didn't know that the culture demanded feigned confidence rather than a willingness to admit ignorance. Suddenly the values that I'd learned as a hyper-curious undergrad became liabilities, and I lost my intellectual footing at the same time that I was thrust into a social world unlike any I'd experienced. I became more and more convinced that everyone knew the rules except me. Unfamiliarity with the

GRADUATE COLUMN

BLUE COLLAR IN THE IVORY TOWER

By Melissa Johnson

Summer is looming, and with it the clenched stomachs and sleepless nights of graduate students everywhere who are still wondering how they will pay their bills until classes (along with fellowships or TA positions) start up again in September. Or maybe not everywhere. Wealth inequality has increasingly become a topic of national conversation, and graduate school is not immune to the consequences

of wealth disparity. But despite our insistent and important conversations about the historical significance of economic circumstances, we are often reluctant to discuss the way it affects our disciplinary practice and our lived experience within the academy.

conversations about our financial circumstances, can make some students appear less committed.

The stigma of being economically less privileged can make navigating these discussions with our faculty advisors incredibly tricky and uncomfortable. Graduate students without economic privilege tend to speak to one another in hushed tones about their financial struggles, with good reason. I was slow to learn that money wasn't supposed to be a topic of open conversation, and I made few friends by voicing anxiety and frustration about it in ways that were normal in the economic culture I came from but

culture and unspoken rules of academia leave many new PhD students at a deficit when trying to "prove themselves" to their professors. Lack of familiarity with the process can distract from our ability to perform or can render our performance illegible to our faculty.

To be clear, PhD programs are challenging for everyone, and we all face it in our own ways. However, I think some challenges are more openly acknowledged than others. Financial inequalities require attention and reflection not only from students facing them, but also faculty who mentor us.

We need to take ownership of our own (in my case, many) mistakes, but we also need to consider the structural barriers in place that in some ways made those mistakes easier to make. As graduate programs make strides to increase diversity among their incoming cohorts, they should also give attention to diversity in faculty hires—that is, among programs fortunate enough to still be hiring—and professors who advise and mentor graduate students need to make themselves aware of the economic and cultural burdens students bring with them. We do not begin graduate school with a clean slate. Attention to social justice in our intellectual work needs to be mirrored in our interpersonal practices, and privilege needs to be acknowledged as much in the real circumstances of our classrooms as it is in the abstract.

I say all of this knowing that I am in a much better position than many PhD students—my program is well-funded and the students are cared for financially with much more stability than most. I cannot imagine the stress carried by students in programs for which funding is insecure from semester to semester, or for whom no funding is available. Economic inequality among graduate programs hugely complicates the circumstances of low-SES and first-generation graduate students.

There are those who will probably say that economic instability is simply part of the graduate school experience, that financial sacrifice is part of the price we pay for these tremendous opportunities, and that students who complain about finances are ungrateful for the huge outlay programs make on our behalf in the form of tuition, stipends, and other funds. But those kinds of statements fail to account for the vast differences between students for whom a stipend is the difference between groceries and no-groceries, and those students for whom family and other resources provide a safety net that alleviates

anxiety.

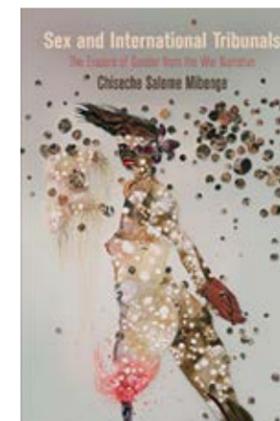
We might not be able to change the larger structural issues, but we can make changes to the way we approach students, both undergraduate and graduate students. We can create opportunities for students to learn about academic and upper-class culture in low-stakes environments, and we can try to recognize that students who appear to be struggling with the work may actually be suffering from a form of culture shock. We need to resist making assumptions about students' lives—for instance, what their lives might look like when they go home, or that their families can visit, that they share the same cultural touchstones, and that they've been exposed to the same experiences.

I don't have an answer for all of this. I only know what I have done, which is that I made a lot of mistakes and worried about the wrong things and talked to a lot of the wrong people before I finally found a group of like-minded peers with whom I can discuss my challenges and questions without fear of reprisal. For these peers I am more grateful than I can say. With their help I have learned to stop being angry and start being proactive by treating academic culture as another field of inquiry, studying its shapes and methods and learning about its structures. I hope that the entry of scholars like me and my friends into the academy will help to slowly change the culture, but until our collective commitment to increasing all kinds of diversity in department faculty catches up with our intentions, and until we are able to become more outspoken about our diverse challenges and our triumphs, less privileged graduate students will continue to reinvent the wheel, or break themselves upon it.

BOOK REVIEWS

Sex and International Tribunals: The Erasure of Gender from the War Narrative. Mibenge, Chiseche Salome. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. 248 pp. \$55.00. ISBN 978-0-812-24518-9.

Sara E. Brown, *Strassler Center for Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Clark University*



In *Sex and International Tribunals: the Erasure of Gender from the War Narrative*, Dr. Chiseche Salome Mibenge argues that international justice is not an objective process; rather, it is subject to and biased by hegemonic power relations, politics, and international maneuvering. Examining the international tribunals established for Rwanda and Sierra Leone respectively, Mibenge explores how these transitional justice mechanisms address violence against

women and its impact on “women’s relationship to law and justice” (16). Mibenge’s research draws upon analysis of narratives from her work as a human rights consultant as well as her own experiences, observations, and interpretations. Mibenge’s book questions the efficacy of legal scholarly analysis that relies heavily upon legal text, including transcripts and case law, thus inscribing “femininity and masculinity into our understanding of war’s victims and perpetrators” and creating a gendered binary (5). By inserting narratives of Rwandans and Sierra Leoneans who speak in general and direct terms about gender and violence into her legal framework of analysis, she achieves a more nuanced analysis of gender and transitional justice mechanisms.

Chapter 1 opens with an anecdote describing the challenges faced by a Rwandan prosecutor when trying crimes of rape committed during the genocide. The reticence of women rape victims to participate in criminal prosecutions belies the stigma and essentialized portrayal of women survivors

and serves as the segue for Mibenge’s three tiers of international humanitarian law (IHL) and international human rights law (HRL). Mibenge finds that the first tier, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), promotes formal equality but universalizes women’s experiences and upholds their subordination and vulnerability in private spheres. Mibenge argues that although the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and Banjul Charter represent significant improvements, “they fail to expose gender-based discrimination as a pervasive human rights violation” (30). Her second tier focuses on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) as an evolution from first-tier instruments but limited due to its focus on formal equality and the discrimination experienced by middle-class white women. Mibenge notes that the Human Rights Committee (HRC) and CERD Committee have over time, through their General Comments, addressed the multitude of women’s experiences and identities and gender-based discrimination. In the third tier, she includes the Maputo Protocol and CEDAW General Recommendations, which focus foremost on gender and go beyond formal equality to address discrimination in societies where women are traditionally subordinate to men. Mibenge’s feminist critique of international humanitarian law examines “the way it constructs women chiefly as mothers and wives in relations to men,” noting that human rights law has outpaced the laws of wars with respect to gender-based violence (44).

Chapter 2 examines the other side of the

gendered narrative of rape during conflict. It opens with another anecdote in which a woman exclaims, “Show me a woman who wasn’t raped” during the Rwandan genocide (60). In this chapter, Mibenge provides an insightful and incisive critique of the shortcomings of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). She exposes the foundational issues of the ICTR’s structure by examining the ICTR’s handling of gender-based violence charges. Mibenge elucidates how the ICTR privileges ethnicity over gender in its prosecutions, thereby applying a “formal equality to the collectivization of Tutsi victimhood within the legal narrative” and overlooking the differences in women’s identities and experiences during the genocide (69). She points out that when the ICTR does address gender and gender-based violence, it falls into the mental rut of essentializing women as mothers and caregivers and focusing on women’s reproductive functions rather than on gender as a social construct.

Chapter 3 examines the exclusionary nature of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in Sierra Leone and its final report, wherein women who did not fit the victim typecast were excluded and men were subject to widespread vilification as perpetrators. Mibenge challenges the insider’s status of the TRC as a hybrid body and its assertion that Sierra Leonean women exist in a perpetual state of subordination constrained by “gender hegemonies” that govern the private sphere. Noting the role that prior TRCs and the international aid community play in creating a monolithic narrative of women’s participation during and following the conflict, Mibenge addresses the stark differences between wartime “marriage” and marriage during peace time, citing ethnographic studies to illustrate the degree of agency Sierra Leonean women exercise.

Chapter 4 critiques the Sierra Leone Special Court’s simultaneously international and local approach that gendered forced marriage and sexed enslavement. Mibenge

rejects the court’s characterization as “hybrid” and notes that while its gender considerations closely aligned with the Beijing Declaration and Platform, the prosecutor’s decision not to recognize women and girls as former combatants “undermined the multiple roles Sierra Leonean girls filled during the armed conflict” (132). Instead, they were restricted to gendered victim roles and denied their own narratives, experiencing consequences including stigma upon return home, exclusion from the demobilization process, and extreme vulnerability. In addition, the court’s omission of sexual violence in its CDF judgment and gendered approach to sexual enslavement further narrowed the gender considerations and limited the effectiveness of the court.

One concern is that throughout the book, the integration of personal observations, conversations, relevant literature, and analysis are occasionally choppy and lack linear progression. Another concern is that in Chapter 2, the author risks underplaying the role of ethnicity during the Rwandan genocide, particularly in instances of genocidal rape, with her description of witness BJ. Mibenge speculates as to the intent of the perpetrators—that they targeted BJ for rape because she was a woman regardless of her ethnicity—and surmises that BJ’s gender trumped her ethnic identity when she was victimized. Historical evidence indicates that during the genocide, Tutsi women were specifically targeted for genocidal rape because they were Tutsi, a point that should not be minimized.

Mibenge notes that “the role of my gender critique in this book is to affirm existing gender inclusions in the case law as well as to point out the exclusionary practices and interpretations that render the narrative on gender and violence incomplete” (62). The author has penned a book that adds a needed gender analysis to the international tribunals established in Rwanda and Sierra Leone and contributes to the dynamic evolution of international law.

Our Minds on Freedom: Women and the Struggle for Black Equality in Louisiana, 1924-1967. Frystak, Shannon. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2009. 261 pp. \$42.50. ISBN 978-0-807-13493-1.

Simon D. Elin Fisher, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Shannon Frystak’s *Our Minds on Freedom* provides a history of women’s leadership in Louisiana’s Long Civil Rights Movement. Joining the work of recent feminist scholars, Frystak critiques the historiographical focus on the traditional male heroes of the movement and instead offers a view of social change based on community organizing and localized persistent pressure. Using both

historical and sociological evidence, she demonstrates that the male leadership rarely challenged misogyny in their fight for racial justice. Therefore, women in Louisiana faced immense resistance both within and outside of civil rights organizations. This forced them to create strategies unique to their location, which became models for other women activists across the South.

The first chapter charts the establishment of Louisiana

women’s “strong tradition of dissent,” documenting a chronology of their early involvement with the NAACP. Black and white women risked much to participate in one of the only integrated organizations in the South. As plaintiffs, black women defined the future of local civil rights struggles from the 1920s through the 1940s by focusing on the vast inequalities present in Louisiana’s segregated school system. This shaped the way other women led their communities through the violent resistance to the *Brown* decision, which Frystak details in the third chapter.

In the second chapter, Frystak traces the statewide networks that pushed the region to directly address racial and economic inequalities in the tumultuous years during and after World War II. The focus is on individual women who organized within their own racial communities, but also used broader organizations to forge strategic interracial connections, enhancing their local efforts. Especially after the *Brown* decision, Louisiana lawmakers did nearly everything to prevent voter registration and school desegregation efforts, including outlawing interracial organizations.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 focus on the most prominent civil rights struggles—school desegregation, the sit-ins, and the Freedom Rides. Centering the organizing efforts across rural and urban Louisiana, Frystak’s research gives readers a thorough local view of these campaigns. In her coverage of the New Orleans school desegregation crisis, Frystak follows women leaders from the previous chapter, such as Rosa Keller, who were experienced activists by 1954. Pushing from within the white community and networking with black women, Keller connected with her audiences by stressing gender solidarity and sympathy with black mothers. Frystak notes that an appeal to conservative gender norms worked to win over more reticent whites, especially white women.

Chapter 5 follows primarily African American women as they joined the quickly escalating sit-in movement, starting in 1960 at Southern University in Baton Rouge. As direct action organizations evolved, the young women who joined the movement, Frystak argues, were of a different stock than their activist foremothers. Many came from working-class or poor communities outside urban centers, parishes where women had taken up leadership positions in the various boycott and school desegregation fights of the previous decade. Building on this experience as well as the loosening of stringent gender norms, women of the 1960s participated with a ferocity not seen in previous decades.

The sixth chapter addresses the way the New Orleans CORE chapter navigated the

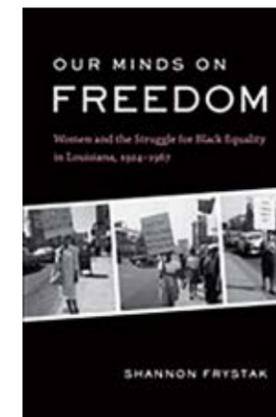
turn away from the interracial “beloved community.” By following the actions of black chairwoman Oretha Castle, Frystak is able to complicate the traditional historiography of this crucial moment. Instead of a history that follows black men’s ousting of white men, Frystak demonstrates how black women also argued for all-black membership in these prominent organizations.

In the last two chapters, Frystak incorporates a new set of oral histories and delves deep into the history of rural voter registration drives. She does not shy away from the violence visited upon black women by local vigilantes and police officers. Instead,

she allows the evidence to demonstrate the courage displayed by Louisiana women in the face of virulent white supremacy. By the mid-1960s, rural CORE groups faced similar internal fissures to those of their New Orleans counterpart. As the monograph comes to a close, Frystak narrates the denouement of the Louisiana movement as part and parcel of a larger regional decline in direct action. In the late 1960s, black and white women built a broadly diversified plethora of organizations focused more narrowly on issues of local concern. Louisiana women continued to take leadership roles within and outside of formal organizing, modeling the “strong tradition of

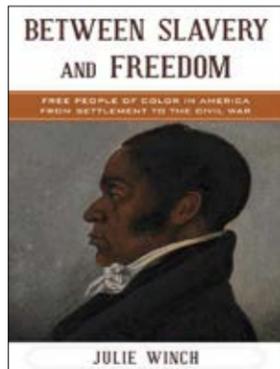
dissent” evident throughout the mid-twentieth century.

Frystak is at her strongest when she adheres closely to her archive, following the stories of individual women and local community organizing. She is less finessed when linking these stories with secondary source material, with which she provides the national or historiographical framework. Additionally, Frystak does not push forward analyses of gender in the civil rights movement. In utilizing well-established sociological texts from which to produce the theory used to analyze the material, her analysis does not offer any new tools for the movement historian. But Frystak should be commended for her archival research and the ways she allows the evidence to do the heavy lifting. With such compelling histories, there is little need for theoretical enhancement.



Between Slavery and Freedom: Free People of Color in America from Settlement to the Civil War.
 Winch, Julie. Pennsylvania: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014. 150 pp. \$35.00. ISBN 978-0-742-55114-5.

Susan Stanfield. University of Iowa



In *Between Slavery and Freedom*, noted scholar Julie Winch provides a comprehensive narrative of the experience of free people of color from the early colonial era to the beginning of the US Civil War. Although the research for this book is not new, Winch provides a powerful synthesis of the current state of historical works on this topic that is a useful introduction to those new to the subject. The arc of the book follows the arrival of Africans and the institutionalization of chattel slavery to the Americas, the gradual process of emancipation (by region), and the claims for civic standing that culminated in the *Dred Scott* decision (1857), which closed the judicial route to citizenship for African Americans. The book concludes with the coming of the Civil War, which offered political and military answers to the status of African Americans.

Winch explains in her introduction that her goal is to “probe the ill-defined space between black freedom and white freedom,” and she does so through an impressive mix of traditional political and legal history with cultural and social approaches that never let the reader forget the agency of her subjects (xv). The book is divided into five chapters and in addition includes over thirty-five pages of documents. One of the greatest strengths of this book is her attention to regional differences in the experiences of people of color. The first chapter does not merely retell the beginnings of slavery in British North America, but also offers an explanation of the development of slavery in Spanish, French, and Dutch America. She recognizes that colonial powers offered different (limited) rights to the enslaved and explains how the codification of slavery occurred in those regions. Significantly, she suggests that people of color were aware of the differing statuses of the enslaved throughout the Americas and referenced those differences in claims for freedom.

Between Slavery and Freedom also examines the divergent regional experiences of slavery and emancipation in British North America and eventually the United States. Chapter 2 assesses the American Revolution and how it offered different routes to freedom based on allegiance to the British or the colonists. Chapter 3 focuses on the era of the early republic and describes how slavery and freedom were experienced throughout the new nation. At this time emancipation came to the US North in a jumbled fashion through state legislatures and the courts. However, Winch astutely points out that emancipation did not result in citizenship, or at least an equal citizenship with white Americans. This patchwork of laws across the new nation meant that civic standing was influenced by voting and property rights as well as “soft” civic rights such as access to jobs, education, and social mobility—rights that varied throughout the nation. Chapter 4 covers 1820 to 1850 a time frame that was critical for coalition building and the creation of African American organizations. The final chapter examines the 1850s when the status of slavery reached a political and social crisis point. Importantly, throughout the book, Winch never loses sight of her subjects, and she highlights the ways in which African Americans were instrumental in negotiating their own freedom and status.

As I read this book, I became excited about its potential for use in the classroom. In particular, I believe that it would be useful to assign in a US survey course alongside a more traditional textbook. Chapters could be assigned throughout the semester (as opposed to students reading the entire book at once) and students would be able to more fully contextualize the American experience. The tables included in this book are sure to generate discussion among students as they demonstrate the changing demographics of the enslaved and freed by city, state, and territory. *Between Slavery and Freedom* begins with a substantial timeline for easy reference for readers. The primary documents included at the end of the book are a perfect length for classroom instruction. Winch has included examples of laws, speeches, advertisements, letters, narratives, and

regional experiences of slavery and emancipation in British North America and eventually the United States. Chapter 2 assesses the American Revolution and how it offered different routes to freedom based on allegiance to the British or the colonists. Chapter 3 focuses on the era of the early republic and describes how slavery and freedom were experienced throughout the new nation. At this time emancipation came to the US North in a jumbled fashion through state legislatures and the courts. However, Winch astutely points out that emancipation did not result in citizenship, or at least an equal citizenship with white Americans. This patchwork of laws across the new nation meant that civic standing was influenced by voting and property rights as well as “soft” civic rights such as access to jobs, education, and social mobility—rights that varied throughout the nation. Chapter 4 covers 1820 to 1850 a time frame that was critical for coalition building and the creation of African American organizations. The final chapter examines the 1850s when the status of slavery reached a political and social crisis point. Importantly, throughout the book, Winch never loses sight of her subjects, and she highlights the ways in which African Americans were instrumental in negotiating their own freedom and status.



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