

The Future of the Feminist 70s

by Ranjana Khanna, Margaret Taylor Smith Director of Women's Studies

There is an ugly rumor going round that we don't need feminism any more in the United States. Even though we witness on a daily basis the ritual humiliation of women political figures for being women (rather than for the adequacy and inadequacy of their analyses and proposals), and even though we know of continuing issues of equity as well as androcentrism (the practice, conscious or otherwise, of placing male human beings or the masculine point of view at the center of one's view of the world and its culture and history) in the foundational understanding of gender and sexual difference, the rumor for some reason persists.

Problems of sexual and domestic violence are often acknowledged to exist elsewhere as if the old problems on which feminism focused were things of the past for the US, which is ready with its capitalist missionary zeal to fight for freedom elsewhere.

In Women's Studies this year, we consider the decade preceding some of the early moments of "postfeminism." The 1970s saw massive scholarly, artistic, and activist output in feminist circles. Arguments were put forward around wages for housework, lesbian separatism, environmental responsibility, reproductive ideology, pleasure and danger, non-aligned resistance to cold war ideology, and the bringing together of psychoanalysis, Marxism, and feminism. A strong utopian strain full of defiant analysis of the contemporary situation was rich in its imagining other possibilities.

Robyn Wiegman writes that "the 70s are so often referred to in feminist scholarship in stereotypical ways, as if we already know everything we need to know about the decade—and in an idiom that always suggests that it was a decade of error: untheoretical, exclusionary, rigid, and fundamentally misguided in its political vision. It's time for a real reckoning with the 70s on its own terms."

The Women's Studies faculty this year will all be thinking about the 1970s, along with our two postdoctoral fellows **Victoria Hesford** and **Stephanie Gilmore** (read their conversation on page 11). **Kathy Rudy** writes, "My investment in this year's theme is quite personal on several levels. First, I discovered feminism in college back in the late 1970s. I clearly remember passing around the works of Mary Daly, Charlene Spretnack, Susan Griffin, Marge Piercy, Adrienne Rich, Joanna Russ, Gloria Anzaldúa, Starhawk and many other 'radical feminists,' and vividly recollect how alive those texts felt in comparison to most of what we read in our classes. Those women sparked a fire that has guided me through most of my life. Of special interest to me now is the fact that many of those early radical feminists were very deeply involved in environmental and ecological issues. They often theorized a special relationship between women and the earth, and while subsequent feminists have called certain renditions of that equation into question, it seems very important to me that those early Ecofeminist voices not be lost. We live in a world increasingly focused on earth's devastation, but often act as if Al Gore or Bill McKibben or James Lovelock were the first people to notice; the reality is that many feminists were writing about these issues three decades ago.

This year I will teach two classes around our theme, the first focusing on early works on ecology. This version of **WST 167 Feminist Ethics** will study the writings of Daly, Griffin, Anzaldúa, and

Feminist Art from the 1970s

Kimberly Lamm
TTH 11:40 AM - 12:55 PM



What is feminist art? How is feminist art defined, practiced, and theorized? What are its connections to and distinctions from direct political engagement? How and why does it engage with visual culture? This course will pursue these questions by focusing on the Nasher Museum's exhibition *The Deconstructing Impulse: Women Artists Reconfigure the Signs of Power, 1973-1991*, which runs parallel with our course. *The Deconstructing Impulse* gives us a wonderful opportunity to analyze feminism's multiple appearances in contemporary art and visual culture, and in turn, examine the role visual culture plays in the production of gender, race, sexuality, and class.

Lynn Hershman, Substitution, 1984

The Year of the Future of the Feminist 70s

others, alongside other early environmentalists like Aldo Leopold, Rachel Carson, and Lynn White. The entire course will examine the shift from conservation to ecology that took place in the 1970s and look at the ways particular interventions in feminism helped to set wider agendas still in effect today. In this sense, my goal for this class is to rediscover those early environmentalists as pertinent thinkers for today.

In the spring, I will teach the senior capstone course which will focus on the local version (Duke, Durham, North Carolina, or the South more generally) of 1970s feminism. I moved to Durham in 1982, and although I missed the 70s, the wake of their influence was felt everywhere. Back then, there were women's concerts and women-owned businesses, women-only social events, feminist teach-ins about race and class, reading groups and consciousness raising groups galore. It was a very exciting time. The senior seminar will focus on various aspects of local 1970s feminism. Duke's Sallie Bingham Center for Women's History and Culture contains wonderful resources which students will be required to use, including full runs of *Feminary*, *TALF* newsletter, *ALFA* archives, etc. Additionally, students will be required to interview women who were active in local feminist politics in the 70s or early 80s. This will be a community-based course where we will learn about the vibrant impact feminism had in Durham from primary resources and oral histories during this period."

Kathi Weeks will be running a faculty reading group. She is particularly interested in revisiting radical and Marxist feminist thought of the 1970s. She says, "Although I am interested in the historical situation that produced these texts and campaigns, the principal reason to look back is less to set the record straight than to try to see the present and imagine the future in new ways. I want to focus in particular on some of the more controversial (and often today, either actively or passively forgotten) affects, agendas, analyses, and visions, including feminist manifestoes, lesbian separatism, the pro-woman position, the critique of the family, anti-work feminism, and feminist anger. The point is not to celebrate or to rehabilitate these elements of feminist history, but to see what an engagement with them might teach us both about our own relation to the field and about the present state and future possibilities of feminist theory and activism."

Kimberly Lamm is teaching **WST 150 Feminist Art from the 1970s to the Present** in conjunction with an exhibition being held at the Nasher Museum, *The Deconstructive Impulse: Women Artists Reconfigure the Signs of Power, 1973-1991*. Her scholarship deals with many of the feminist artists from the 1970s, when, she writes, "a vibrant art movement in which women artists drew upon innovations in twentieth-century art to cut through stale perceptions of women that reinforced gender inequalities. While there is a compelling aspect of feminist art from the seventies that was modeled on activist practices—the collective 'WAR: Women Artists in Revolution' is just one example—and feminist activists from the late 60s and early 70s often staged performances and created visual scenarios that demonstrated a shrewd understanding of the place where politics and visual culture meet, I am most interested in artists who questioned activism's forward momentum and turned to psychoanalysis to think about women and oppression. With the 1974 publication of Juliet Mitchell's *Psychoanalysis and Feminism*, which argues that psychoanalysis 'is not a recommendation for patriarchal society, but an analysis of one,' feminist activists, artists, and thinkers began to realize it isn't always enough to make inequity visible or insist upon its eradication in institutions bound by the law. This year I will be researching the artwork of Mary Kelly, who made psychoanalysis the basis of her feminist art practice. Kelly is best known for *Post-Partum Document*, an installation of modestly sized wall pieces produced between 1973 and 1979 that represent the mother's desire and loss as the infant develops into a discrete individual through tiny mementos and diary entries as well as complicated graphs from Lacanian psychoanalysis. (*Post-Partum Document* is featured in the current Nasher Museum exhibition—*The Deconstructive Impulse: Women Artists Reconfigure the Signs of Power 1973-1991*). Before *Post-Partum Document*, Kelly worked with the artists Kay Hunt and Margaret Harrison on a project entitled *Women and Work: A Document on the Division of Labor in Industry* (1975), which documented the daily schedules of women who worked in a metal box factory. She was also a part of the *Berwick Street Film Collective*, which produced *Nightcleaners* (1975), a film that tracked efforts to unionize the women who cleaned London office buildings at night. While these projects are extremely valuable, Kelly began to see that they did not account for what she names as 'the subjective moment of women's own oppression,' and so turned to psychoanalysis for its complicated account of how ideas about gender become internalized and repeated."

As part of the themed year on the 1970s, **Ara Wilson** and **Jolie Olcott** (History) are co-teaching our graduate seminar **WST 360 The Future of the Feminist 70s**, a course that aims to think the feminist 1970s internationally, drawing on their expertise in SE Asia and Latin America. The course reflects on the political, cultural and intellectual transformations relevant to feminism in the late Cold War period from 1968 to the early 1980s. It aims to re-examine codified ideas about the period and to trace its ongoing effects in contemporary feminist questions around women in development, sexuality debates, intersectionality, and feminist currents outside the United States. The course taps the expertise of guest speakers, including Professor **Judy Wu** (Ohio State University) and Duke faculty **Toril Moi** (Literature), speaking about Simone de Beauvoir, and Sallie Bingham archivist **Laura Micham**. Also participating in the seminar are women's studies postdoctoral fellows Stephanie Gilmore and Victoria Hesford and Assistant Professor **Sean Metzger** (English).

Frances Hasso's research on the Middle East and North Africa will bring important attention to the many strong and hopeful feminist movements of the decade in that vast region, many of which have since diminished, been dismissed, or been swept away by so-called advancement. *"Among the major events of the 1970s with significant implications for transnational feminism was the UN General Assembly's declaration of 1975 as International Women's Year, with Mexico City as the site of the First World Conference on Women. This moment arguably marks the beginning of the 'NGOization' of feminist and social justice activism and resistance, especially in the third world and in international institutional arenas. This event was followed by the declaration of the UN Decade for Women and a series of international conferences and progress goals that have reflected broader continuing tensions over priorities and approaches to social transformation, including the degree to which universal feminist projects are even possible. The internationalist impulse of the 1970s is predated by earlier more radical forms of activism and solidarity that were often confrontational, although they typically muted conflicts over gender and sexual justice given the manner in which radical masculinist discourses (of anti-colonial, Marxist, and nationalist varieties) often constitute these issues as 'divisive' while Western discourses and institutions often deploy them in ways that directly or indirectly serve subordinating projects. While differences and conflicts over feminist priorities and strategies remain and are inevitable given historical, ideological, positional and generational differences, recent times have witnessed the emergence of increasingly complex transnational feminist projects whose authors are cognizant of the limits and possibilities of coalition and accepting of plural feminist strategies."*

All of us are delighted to be working closely with the **Sallie Bingham Center for Women's History and Culture**, which has a wealth of archival material from the period. We are co-sponsoring the Bingham Center fellows working on the 1970s, and both our postdoctoral fellows and students will be making use of the collection. In addition, we will be hosting a film series **The Features (and Shorts) of the Feminist 70s** highlighting the range of 1970s feminist filmmaking. The series was curated and will be run by recent graduate certificate scholar **Shilyh Warren**.

If postfeminism considers the work of feminism to be complete, attention to the 1970s allows us to think through the proverbial baby that was (at times) thrown out with the bathwater. The trajectory of feminist scholarship after the 1970s has not been solely responsible for the dismissal of the period, even as subsequent work demanded attention to cultural, economic, and racial diversity sometimes perceived as lacking. But many of the most profound theoretical advancements that flourished in the 1980s initially were developed in the previous decade. The climate in general has sometimes seemed averse to the bold and often totalizing polemic found in 1970s scholarship. Revisiting it will perhaps lead to a rereading of its potentiality. I greatly look forward to our discussions.

ASK YOURSELF...

What do these countries have in common? Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Bermuda, Bolivia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chile, Costa Rica, Croatia, Denmark, Dominica, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Germany, Great Britain, Guyana, Haiti, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Jamaica, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Malta, Moldavia, Mongolia, Mozambique, Myanmar, Netherlands Antilles, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Rwanda, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Slovakia, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, Ukraine, Yugoslavia

Turn the page for answer...

Figures of the 70s

Though by no means an exhaustive list, here are some of the prominent women our faculty will be focusing on throughout this year:

Parveen Adams is known for her work in the field of psychoanalysis and feminism. She was the editor of the journal *m/f*, which staked out new directions for feminist theory and politics from the mid-70s to the mid-80s.

Michèle Barrett from the 70s on, became a noted social and cultural theorist, whose work is an engagement with “Marxist ideas and their vexed relation to feminism.”

Ester Boserup a Danish economist, pioneered the discussion of women’s roles in economic development. Her work has inspired the women in development field and encouraged aid agencies to consider questions of gender in all aspects of their work.

Mary Daly was an American philosopher, academic, and theologian who was best known for challenging the basic precepts of the Catholic Church. Her work is often regarded as the foundation of feminist theology.

Christine Delphy is a French feminist sociologist whose work focuses on feminism and class-struggle issues. She co-founded the review *Nouvelles questions féministes* (New Feminist Issues) with Simone de Beauvoir in 1977.

Zillah Eisenstein is an American anti-racist feminist activist, professor, and author. In the 70s she was known for her critiques of capitalism.

Shulamith Firestone argued that gender inequality originated in the patriarchal societal structures imposed upon women through their biology and advocated the use of cybernetics as well as contraception, abortion, and state support for child-rearing.

Luce Irigaray’s French critique of the exclusion of women from both philosophy and psychoanalytic theory has earned her recognition as a leading feminist theorist and continental philosopher.

Audre Lorde referred to herself as “a black feminist lesbian mother poet.” Her poetry is often an indictment of an unjust society that allows women to be treated unfairly, even brutally. During the 70s she chronicled her experiences with her mastectomy and its aftermath.

Juliet Mitchell a British psychoanalyst and socialist feminist, tried to reconcile psychoanalysis and feminism when many considered them incompatible.

Marge Piercy “wanted to write fiction with a political dimension and she wanted to write about women she could recognize, working class people who were not as simple as they were supposed to be.” Her 1976 novel, *Woman on the Edge of Time*, is often described as a feminist utopia where gender roles have been eliminated.

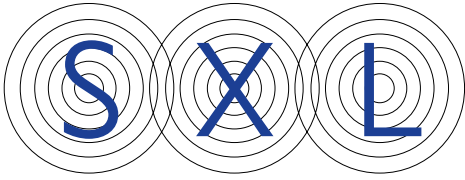
Griselda Pollock was part of the Women’s Art History Collective in the early 1970s and published a crucial essay in 1977 titled “What’s Wrong With ‘Images of Women?’” in the journal *Screen*. She is a British art historian who later made a crucial contribution of reading the art historical canon from a feminist perspective.

Gayle Rubin is an American cultural anthropologist best known for key influential articles (“The Traffic in Women: Notes on the Political Economy of Sex”) about sex and gender politics.

Dorothy E Smith became a professor of sociology when she realized she wanted to challenge how the intellectual and cultural world had been put together from men’s standpoint. She developed a sociology for women/people that became an *institutional ethnography*, a focus on the everyday, concrete social relations that constitute lived experience.

Celestine Ware a black feminist theorist and a member of the Stanton-Anthony Brigade, was the author of *Woman Power: The Movement for Women’s Liberation* (published in 1970, when her first name was still spelled Cellestine).

Answer: All have had a female president or prime minister elected since the start of the 20th century...some have had more than two; some have been interim, appointed or served less than a year; one was placed under house arrest and never served! Currently, there are 20 female world leaders. The United States is not on this list.



the program in the study of sexualities at duke

The program in the study of sexualities continues to showcase innovate scholarship that situates sexuality in a broader context of gender, race, and culture. Continuing its successful **Profiles in Sexuality Research** series, cosponsored with the **Center for LGBT Life**, in Spring 2011 Duke postdoctoral fellow, **Rosalind Chou**, spoke about racial stereotypes of Asian Americans and sexuality. For the second year, the program hosted a lecture in recognition of the contributions of the late **Eve Sedgwick**, a Duke professor and one of the key architects of queer theory. **José Esteban Muñoz** was an ideal speaker for this



series, as former student of Sedgwick's and Duke PhD, and Chair of the Department of Performance Studies, Tisch School of the Arts at New York University. Muñoz's talk, "Race, Sex, and the Incommensurate: Gary Fisher with Eve Sedgwick," discussed Sedgwick's mentoring relationship with Fisher, an iconoclastic African-American author, as a way to

think about intimacy and difference. This fall, SXL offers six undergraduate courses, the range of which can be seen through their titles: **Gender and Sexuality in the Middle East**, **Vampire Chronicles**, **Race, Gender, and Sexuality**, **Medieval Appetites: Sex and Food**, **Beyond Wonder Woman**, and **The Global History of Sexuality**.

MARK YOUR CALENDARS...
February 23-26, 2012

WINNINGWOMEN
Advocates • Educators • Athletes

Come back to campus for this biennial Duke Women's Weekend, celebrating:

- the 40th anniversary of Duke Women's Athletics
- the merging of the Woman's College with Trinity College

and key milestones marking transitions for women in the life of the University, including the establishment of the Program in Women's Studies. For info, please visit

www.dukewomensweekend.com

Fall Events

- 9/15 **Muslims in America: The Next Ten Years** Religion Newswriters Association "Critical Perspectives on Social Media, Youth, and Politics" with Frances Hasso
- 9/15 **Loving Animals: Toward a New Animal Advocacy** Kathy Rudy reading from her book *The Regulator Bookshop*
- 9/15 **The Deconstructive Impulse: Women Artists Reconfigure the Signs of Power, 1973-1991** Exhibition and Opening Curators Talk with Helaine Posner (SUNY Purchase) and Nancy Princenthal (writer and former senior editor of *Art in America*) Moderated by Kimberly Lamm *Nasher Museum of Art*
- 9/21 **Sylvie Frigon** Professor and Chair, Criminology, University of Ottawa "Exploring Violence Committed by Women: Karla Homolka as a Case Study" *Center for Canadian Studies*
- 9/23 **Simone de Beauvoir Today** Speakers: Emily Apter (NYU), Stella Sandford (Kingston University, UK), Ursula Tidd (Univ of Manchester, UK), and Linda Zerilli (Univ of Chicago); Duke Grad Students: Ali Mian, Amey Adkins, Azeen Khan, and Postdoc Ashley Scheu; Respondents: Nancy Bauer (Tufts) and Toril Moi (Duke) *Co-sponsored by the Center for Philosophy, Arts, and Literature Future of the Feminist 70s*
- 10/4 **Judy Tzu-Chun Wu** Associate Professor of Women's Studies and History, Ohio State University "Rethinking Global Feminism: The Vietnam Women's Union and the Cultivation of International Women's Peace Movements" *Future of the Feminist 70s*
- 10/5 **The Features (and Shorts) of the Feminist 70s Film Series – Firsts** *I Am Somebody* (Madeline Anderson) and *Wanda* (Barbara Loden) *Co-sponsored by Screen/Society and Duke University Libraries Future of the Feminist 70s*
- 10/13 **Victoria Hesford** WST Postdoctoral Associate II-12 "Figures of Feminism: 'The Woman Identified Woman,' circa 1970" *Future of the Feminist 70s*
- 11/9 **The Features (and Shorts) of the Feminist 70s Film Series – The Personal Is Political** *The Woman's Film* (Newsreel) and *News from Home* (Chantal Akerman) *Co-sponsored by Screen/Society and Duke University Libraries Future of the Feminist 70s*



Please check our website for more information.

FACULTY UPDATES

Frances Hasso spent a significant part of 2011 closely following the Arab Spring uprisings. In July, she was in Cairo interviewing people, gathering documents, and paying careful attention to revolutionary debates and tensions reflected in newspapers, on the streets, and on Facebook. Her formal interviews focused on the gender dynamics of the youth movement, as well as the impact of the revolution on marriage and citizenship in constitutional, legal and policy debates. In February, she was an invited guest on Al Jazeera English's *Riz Khan Show* for a segment focused on "Women and Revolution" and participated in a roundtable discussion at the Human Rights in Islam: The Politics of Cultural Translation conference at Duke. She gave the 13th Annual Sally A. Miller Humanities Lecture and a faculty and graduate student seminar focused on her recently published book, *Consuming Desires: Family Crisis and the State in the Middle East* (Stanford University Press), at the University of Akron. In August, she presented a paper on the Feminist Theory panel of the American Sociological Association meeting in Las Vegas. She co-organized and is writing a paper for a panel on "Freedom and the 1/11 Revolutions" for the December meeting of the Middle East Studies Association in DC. Last but not least, she bit the proverbial bullet and moved with her partner and two children from Cleveland, Ohio to Durham, NC this summer.

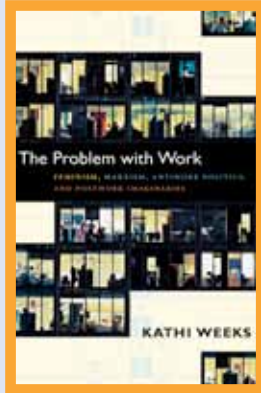
Ranjana Khanna spent this summer in Australia as a fellow at the Humanities Research Center at the Australian National University in Canberra. As part of the fellowship, she was asked to give a talk and a masterclass on asylum, the topic on which she has been working. Political asylum has been a source of great debate recently in Australia, and it was helpful to discuss with students and faculty from different disciplinary backgrounds and geographical locations. Her most recent publication was an article in the journal *Public Culture*. This semester, she will be giving talks at Cornell University, University of Wisconsin-Madison, UNC, and The Clark Institute.

After a rewarding and productive first year at Duke, **Kimberly Lamm** spent the summer working on her book manuscript "Inadequacies and Interruptions: Writing Feminist Imaginaries in Contemporary Art." She traveled to Florence, Italy to look at the Uffizi Gallery's famous collection of painting and sculpture, and to Venice to attend the 54th annual Biennale, an exhibition of contemporary art from around the world. In Venice, Kimberly participated in the research symposium "The Biennale, Global Art, and the Digital Environment of Theory and Criticism," sponsored by the Franklin Humanities Institute and led by Ian Baucom, Director of FHI at Duke. This fall, she is looking forward to running a reading group with Kathy Rudy focused on 70s feminism, and teaching **Feminist Art from the 1970s to the Present** in tandem with the Nasher Museum exhibition *The Deconstructive Impulse: Women Artists Reconfigure the Signs of Power, 1973-1991*.

After twelve years in her small house off Lakewood Avenue, **Kathy Rudy** moved herself and all her animals to a wonderfully bigger house in the Rockwood/Hope Valley area of Durham. Along with sorting and arranging books and papers, painting and settling into her new home, she also spent time putting finishing touches on three forthcoming essays; reviewing five manuscripts for various presses and journals; and reading fairly broadly in ecology, environmentalism,



and feminism. Her new book, *Loving Animals* (Minnesota University Press), came out this summer and has already received some early notice and good reviews. She hopes to extend her thesis about affect and love into growing concerns around impending planetary devastation. In addition to teaching **WST 195S Senior Seminar: Future of the Feminist 70s: A Local Perspective** this spring, Kathy has been invited to co-teach with new Dean of Arts & Sciences **Laurie Patton** and **Charlie Thompson**, Education & Curriculum Director, Center for Documentary Studies.



Kathi Weeks is looking forward to teaching this fall at Venice International University. She will be teaching the Women's Studies course **Money, Sex and Power** to a group that will include undergraduates from Duke and from a consortium of universities around the world. Her new book, *The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics and*

Postwork Imaginaries (Duke University Press), came out in August.

For the first time in 2011, **Robyn Wiegman** taught **Thinking Gender**, the introductory course to the major, and will be revising it for its second iteration this spring. She was faculty-in-residence at Dartmouth's Institute for the Futures of American Studies in June and is developing a graduate course for Spring 2012 that will be an interdisciplinary research workshop aimed at considering the challenges of academic writing. Students will

workshop their papers-in-progress with the goal of preparing an article for publication during the term. Additionally, Robyn serves as the job placement coordinator for the Literature Program and is a member of the committee on the revision of the major there. Robyn has recently returned to a book project on feminism and Women's Studies called "Being in Time with Feminism." She is looking forward to the publication of *Object Lessons* (Duke University Press) at year end.

During the past year, **Ara Wilson** presented her work at Yale University, University of Michigan, University of Wisconsin, Brown University, and at international workshops in Singapore and Barcelona. Her article on medical tourism was recently published in *Body & Society* and an essay on the category of intimacy is forthcoming in the anthology *Global Intimacies*. Last spring, she taught a new undergraduate course on **Gender, Sexuality, and Human Rights** and this fall she is co-teaching the women's studies graduate seminar on **The Future of the Feminist 70s**.

Fall 2011 Courses

WST 49S	Gender and Sexuality in the Middle East - Frances Hasso	WST 150S	Beyond Wonder Women - Sara Appel
WST 49S	Women Behind the Da Vinci Code - Jennifer Copeland	WST 150S	Race, Gender & Performance - Nina Prieur
WST 102S	Food, Farming and Feminism - Kathy Rudy	WST 160S	Feminism in Historical Context - Stephanie Gilmore
WST 117	Gender and Culture - Irene Silverblatt	WST 161	Money, Sex and Power - Ara Wilson
WST 131S	Vampire Chronicles - Carlos Roja	WST 162S	Gender and Popular Culture - Kimberly Lamm
WST 150	19th Century British Novel - Nancy Armstrong	WST 164S	Race, Gender and Sexuality - Miles Grier
WST 150	Medieval Appetites: Sex and Food - Katharine Dubois	WST 167S	Feminist Ethics - Kathy Rudy
WST 150S	Feminist Art from the 1970s - Kimberly Lamm	WST 240S	Critical Genealogies: US Studies-American Exceptionalism - Robyn Wiegman
		WST 360	Interdisciplinary Debates: Future of the Feminist 1970s - Ara Wilson/Jolie Olcott

The Feminist Theory Workshop

The Feminist Theory Workshop is a signature event of The Program in Women's Studies at Duke. Launched in 2007 by then director **Robyn Wiegman**, and since 2008 run by **Ranjana Khanna** (or the current director), the "workshop" approach of this conference requires active participation of both presenters and attendees. Small seminars allowing for focused participant exchange, roundtables synthesizing central debates of the weekend, and provocative keynote lectures all bring everyone who attends the workshop into collaborative conversations.

Each year the two-day event continues to attract increasing numbers of graduate scholars with eminent and imminent faculty to discuss and debate the current work of feminist scholarship from across the globe. For the upcoming sixth annual FTW, once again, the roster of speakers is stellar; read about them here and check our website for more details on the program and registration later this fall.

FTW 2012

Joanna Hodge Professor of Philosophy at Manchester Metropolitan University UK works in transcendental philosophy and phenomenology. She published *Heidegger and Ethics* (Routledge) in 1995, and had AHRC funding (2003-2004) for *Derrida on Time* (2007), also with Routledge. She has recently published articles on Queering Hegel, and on *Differance*, as a rewriting of Transcendental Aesthetics. She is currently working on a study of the transformation of transcendental aesthetics, in phenomenology, through the thematics of horizontality, touch, trace, and writing at the limit of sense.

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak University Professor in the Humanities at Columbia University, comes from a proto-feminist family, and has lived through many transformations of feminism in her long and diversified career. An activist in rural education and feminist and ecological social movements since 1986, she is somewhat bemused by the success of her early essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in 1988. Her most interesting recent academic intervention here is the version of "Situating Feminisms" given in Delhi, soon to be published in Italian in *aut aut*.

Leti Volpp Professor of Law, University of California-Berkeley School of Law is a well-known scholar in law and the humanities. She writes about citizenship, migration, culture and identity. Her most recent publications include the edited volume *Legal Borderlands: Law and the Construction of American Borders* (with Mary Dudziak) (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006); "The Culture of Citizenship" in *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* (2007) and "Disappearing Acts: On Gendered Violence, Pathological Cultures and Civil Society" in *PMLA* (2006).

Patricia J. Williams James L. Dohr Professor of Law at Columbia Law School, has practiced as deputy city attorney, Office of the Los Angeles City Attorney; and as staff lawyer, Western Center on Law and Poverty. She has been at Columbia since 1991 and has published widely in the areas of race, gender, and law, and on other issues of legal theory and legal writing. Her books include *The Alchemy of Race and Rights: Diary of a Law Professor*; *The Rooster's Egg*; and *Seeing a Color-Blind Future: The Paradox of Race*. Columnist, *The Nation*. In 2000, she was awarded the prestigious MacArthur Fellowship.

The FTW is free of charge.
Look for registration to open sometime in late November.
For updates check our website

womenstudies.duke.edu



Noela, Iryna, and Katrine with all the 2011 FTW's travel award recipients. (See their comments box right.)

Save the Date! The Sixth Annual FTW March 16-17, 2012

As diverse voices continue to be crucial to the FTW's drive to understand feminist theory across both disciplinary and national lines, keynote speakers have come to us from India, South Africa, the UK, and Australia. Regular participants also have come from across the globe. This international perspective among general participants has been possible because established scholars are funded by their universities or the host institution as a privilege of their rank. However, we have had predictably far fewer younger scholars who are only beginning to build their careers from non-Western and less privileged academic sites.

Our experience shows us that bringing together disparate voices to tackle common questions yields more rigorous dialogue and a greater scope of solutions simply because our experiences and contexts are more varied. The diversity of perspectives that FTW offers stays with many participants once they embark on or continue their research because our scholars encounter ideas and perspectives that can change the course of their research. With the generous one-time support of the **Mary Duke Biddle Foundation** (2011) and the **Josiah Charles Trent Memorial Foundation** (2010), over the past two years, the Program in Women's Studies offered competitive travel awards and broadened the diversity of FTW by boosting the attendance of international emerging scholars, typically graduate and post-graduate students.

We thought you'd enjoy reading some of their feedback regarding FTW 2011 and we hope to find the financial resources to continue making travel grants available to under-represented audiences to attend in future.

By bringing together a diverse array of feminist researchers: from work on marine invertebrates to instituting aid programs for slum dwellers in India; from the politics of labour migration to an analysis of literary tropes (to name but a few), the Feminist Theory Workshop showed how myriad are the practical and political applications that can be made of feminist theory. This is a vital contribution of the workshop, for it is surely in political interventions in the world that feminist theory realises its potential. The papers presented, and the conversations between the formal talks, revealed many exciting possibilities for political interventions in society.

Noela Davis, University of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia

One of my motivations to attend the conference was my curiosity about the differences between how gender studies take shape in the United States compared to Europe. In Europe, I think there is a movement towards claiming a 'European' feminist identity over against the perceived Anglo-American 'mainstream'. I am very doubtful about this strategy and work to break down this kind of Trans-Atlantic dis-connection. However, I only know the 'European side' of it, and thus I was curious to see how feminist theory is practiced in the US, and how this might differ from the institutional and political/societal context I am familiar with.

Katrine Smiet, Radboud University, Nijmegen, the Netherlands

In Ukraine, where my colleagues would like to see the day when Women Studies is recognized as a discipline of its own right, they remain conscious of the new challenges such recognition could bring. How do we stay away from canonizing feminist or queer theory? How can we keep the richness of topics and methods that the broadly interdisciplinary field of enquiry of Women and Gender Studies offers?

One of the possible answers to this dilemma, in my view, has been given by the Feminist Theory Workshop, and that answer comes in a form of a word that itself once drew enhanced attention from feminist scholars, encapsulating power, identity, and subjectivity, among the other of the key concepts of analysis — *recognition*. By recognizing the equally valuable contribution that scholars from various disciplines make to the feminist theory and engaging with their research we not only enrich the tradition of the feminist enquiry, but first and foremost ensure it remains a reflective, innovative, and informed domain of knowledge production.

Iryna Koshulap, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

What You Missed!

With so many events and only two newsletters a year there's always more to share than we have room for...here are a few moments you missed. If you're traveling to Durham or nearby, please let us know and come join us this fall!

*A celebratory tea in honor of **Anne Firor Scott** on the occasion of her 90th birthday and 50th year of association with Duke University 3/26*



[left] **Anne** chatting with **David S. Ferriero**, former Duke University Librarian and Vice Provost for Library Affairs, now Archivist of the United States and [right] smiling with **Gail Zimmerman**, UNC-TV Associate General Manager.

[left] Among the many guests, **Laura F Edwards**, Professor of History, Duke; **Rebecca J Scott**, Charles Gibson Distinguished Professor of History and Professor of Law, University of Michigan (and Anne's daughter!); **Rey Chow**, Anne Firor Scott Professor of Literature, Duke; **Sallie Bingham**, whose Center for Women's History and Culture at Duke cosponsored the event; and Anne's former student, **Michael Boyer O'Leary**, Assistant Professor, Georgetown University, the McDonough School of Business



The WST Graduation was a packed house! 5/13

[right] Graduate Certificate in Feminist Studies Scholars, **Cynthia Current** (UNC-CH), **Corina Stan**, **Lesley Shannon Curtis**, and **Ignacio Adriasola Muñoz** were all smiles after receiving their certificates.



[left] At an earlier **Graduation with Distinction 4/22** event following presentations of their theses, **Tangere Hoagland**, **Allyson Helmers**, and **Trent Serwetz** are congratulated by advisors **Diane Nelson**, Professor of Cultural Anthropology and Women's Studies (left) and **Robyn Wiegman**, Professor of Women's Studies and Literature.



Greetings from Montana!

Two of our graduating seniors **Ji-Hyeun Kwon** (left) and **Celeste Brown** (right) traveled west last summer to follow up on issues raised with Professor **Kathy Rudy**.

"We just returned from Montana and learned how to make our own bread, our own jelly, and get fresh eggs from a chicken coop. We called this summer trip our 'eco-feminist retreat' and our trip was inspired by our Feminist Ethics class!"

“Wonder why it’s taken us so much time...” Lyric from The New Haven Women’s Liberation Rock Band 1972

A Conversation with Dr. Stephanie Gilmore and Dr. Victoria J. Hesford



Stephanie Gilmore is a 2011-2012 postdoctoral fellow in Women’s Studies and Assistant Professor of Women’s and Gender Studies at Dickinson College in Carlisle, PA. Her research focuses on grassroots social movement activism and identity, feminist histories, and sexual violence. She is currently completing her first monograph, *Groundswell: Grassroots Feminist Activism in Postwar United States*, (forthcoming Routledge Press). She also edited *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives on Second-Wave Feminism in the United States* (University of Illinois, 2008), and articles and essays in a wide range of academic journals and mainstream and feminist press.



Victoria Hesford is a 2011-2012 postdoctoral fellow in Women’s Studies and an Assistant Professor of Women’s and Gender Studies at Stony Brook University (State University of New York). Her fields of interest include gender, sexuality, feminist and queer postwar histories, memory studies, and cultural studies. She is currently completing a book, *Feeling Women’s Liberation: Figures of Feminism* (under contract, Duke University Press) and has published essays in *Women’s Studies Quarterly* and *Feminist Theory*. She is also a co-editor of *Feminist Time Against Nation Time: Gender, Politics, and the Nation State in an Age of Permanent War* (Lexington Books, 2008).

SG: Well Victoria, I hope your move from New York went smoothly and that you’re settled in. Now that we’re both here, I’m glad we have a chance to talk.

VH: I’m happy to be here. I’ve been in Durham since July and have enjoyed getting to know the city, as has my dog, who appreciates the less hectic pace. I have appreciated the amazing gardens—there are obviously lots of serious gardeners in Durham.

SG: Yes. And serious farmers and chefs as well! I’ve only been here since the beginning of August, but I count down the minutes until I can get to the farmers’ market. And the restaurants...we’re very lucky to hold these fellowships in such a beautiful town! **So, can you tell me a bit about your research? What are your goals for this postdoctoral fellowship year?**

VH: Right now **I am finishing up a book project called *Feeling Women’s Liberation: Figures of Feminism*, which investigates how the women’s liberation movement has been remembered and narrativized since it first erupted onto the scene of American national politics and culture in the late 1960s.** I try to account for the eventfulness of the movement in order

to combat some of the more reductive and limited stories about that era. **My research** more generally comes from a background in the two interdisciplinary fields of American Studies and Women’s Studies, and **focuses on queer and feminist social movements and cultural productions in the 20th century.** **Rather than come at those social movements from a perspective that tries to account for the reasons for their emergence and their success or failure, I try to be attentive to their cultural and rhetorical productivity** and treat them as singular events rather than as episodes in a much bigger historical arc, although it is also true that their singularity can only be apprehended in relation to the historical context from which they emerged.

My goal for this postdoctoral fellowship year is to move from 1970—the year my book is mostly focused on—to the rest of the 70s. I want to look at the ways in which popular and mass culture encoded the new feminist movements of the late 1960s/early 1970s for a national audience. I’m really looking forward to watching TV shows like *Maude*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, and films like *The Stepford Wives* and *Foxy Brown*, and thinking about what kinds of cultural figures and stories about feminism were being produced in the 1970s.

I think what mass culture was saying about feminism in the 1970s was quite different from what it says now—at least that's my hypothesis!

SG: I've always thought Norman Lear was a fascinating person in terms of 1970s cultural production and social movements, so **your new work sounds quite interesting. I really like the way you're describing your book project, Victoria. Are there any particular cases you're looking at?** I think of how the Miss America pageant protest in 1968 gave way to the term "bra-burners" but I'm sure there are so many other examples that provide those "click" moments in terms of how the movement is remembered.

VH: Yes—the Miss America protest is certainly a "click moment," as you nicely phrase it, in that it produced an image-memory of 1970s feminism that conjures a whole range of notions and emotions about that era, but not always in ways that provide access to the details of that protest. However, my primary case is the outing of Kate Millett by *Time* magazine in the summer of 1970. I read this moment as key to the production of women's liberation as a public event and as a form of feminism largely remembered through a particular representation of the lesbian.

Now that I've shared what my work is about Stephanie, let me throw your original questions back to you. How are you settling in, and what are your research goals for the year?

SG: Like you, I am finishing a book project, *Groundswell: Grassroots Feminist Activism in Postwar United States*. In this work, I look at what's going on in Memphis, Tennessee; Columbus, Ohio; and San Francisco, California to explore how local dynamics shape feminist identity and activism. My training is in comparative women's history, and I'm very aware that we never think of feminist activism in the singular anywhere else in the world. **There is no singular "African feminism" or "European feminism." Yet we insist on a singular feminist arc in the history of US feminism, often rendered in a series of "waves." My work seeks to trouble the water a bit by exploring and analyzing how**

feminists embraced, rejected, and negotiated this identity in different locations. After all, feminism in the South takes on a different dimension than feminism on the East Coast.

I have other projects in the works as well. **I've been looking at how women and LGBT students negotiate sexual violence on residential college campuses. Rather than repeat what we know statistically about sexual violence, I'm interested in talking to students about what they do in the immediate, as well as generally on campus, to negotiate it.** I won't lie—it is really difficult to talk to students about rape and other forms of sexual assault, as well as their experiences as women and/or as gay, bisexual, lesbian, or transgender students who witness or endure various forms of harassment and violation. But I believe it's important to get their stories out there.

This work also makes me think about the future of 70s feminism. **Feminists in the 1970s did so many things; they put significant laws in place. But laws don't enforce themselves, so I see part of the future of 70s feminism as doing the hard work of enforcing laws, and I see this happening on college campuses with respect to sexual violence.** Students are just now pursuing cases under Title IX, understanding that a campus culture that condones, even promotes, sexual violence denies them equal access to education. I see this move to enforcing these laws as part of the future of 70s feminism.

Part of my task as a historian—and I'm certainly not alone here—is to understand the complexities, nuances, contradictions of 70s feminism. For example, the Slut Walks of 2011, in which women (and some men) have taken over public spaces to speak out against sexual violence and claim the right to wear what they choose without being subject to rape, certainly have an immediate impetus. But they're not new: 70s feminists called them "Take Back the Night"—and women in the 1970s marched through public spaces at night also to speak out against sexual violence. I don't mean to suggest that they are the same thing, but at the

same time, **I do think we can see and explore the historical connections in terms of the continued social movement activism against sexual violence and turn our collective attention to perpetrators rather than just blaming victims.** This history only makes it possible to see the complexities of feminism today and gives us a stronger foundation on which to build a feminist future.

What about you, Victoria? What do you think “the Future of the Feminist 70s” is?

VH: I hope the future of 1970s feminism is about it becoming strange, so that we can retrieve what Linda Zerilli calls its “lost treasure,” but also so that, as you say, we can begin to account for its connections with and entanglements in other political movements and events, both in the US and elsewhere over the past 40 or so years.

SG: Fascinating! **What do you mean by “becoming strange”?**

VH: Well, I think **the way we “know” 1970s feminism has become too routine and is too often used as an alibi for either not engaging with the complexities of the era, or for maintaining certain political/theoretical/institutional positions in the present. For example, one of the key interventions I see my own work engaged in is historicizing how the movement became a white women’s movement.**

SG: I agree; this is one of my observations in the histories of the women’s movement, and a goal with my work. By looking at feminism in different locations, we can look seriously at what people were actually doing and the local conditions in which they responded to women’s activism and to feminist activism, to the label of “feminism,” and to many different activisms underway at the time. **The women’s movement became defined by its “stars,” most of whom lived and were activists on the East Coast. But the rank and file of the movement—which includes so many strands and streams of feminist activism—was so much more diverse in so many ways.**

It seems like we’ll have many fruitful and fabulous conversations in our office.

VH: Yes, I think so too. **Here’s the last question: what do you think will be challenging or difficult about the year ahead?**

SG: I don’t anticipate many difficulties ahead. From the Sallie Bingham Center to the Nasher Museum, and especially in the department, everyone has been so helpful and accommodating in terms of helping me with my class, **WST 160 Feminism in Historical Context**—a course designed to explore theoretical, intellectual, and activist perspectives on feminism and its meanings over time — offering assistance with my research, and more. I do miss my students and colleagues at Dickinson, but I’m filled with happy anticipation about the coming year and the opportunity to dig deep into *The Future of the Feminist 70s* with you, other faculty, archivists, curators, graduate students, undergraduate students in our classes, friends, and more. Who knows? You and I might end up editing a book on the subject!

VH: Well, I’m certainly looking forward to the seminar on the *Future of the Feminist 70s*, teaching **WST 162S Gender and Popular Culture** in spring, and especially hearing what the graduate students at Duke have to say about that era. Of course, coming to a new institution has its challenges: it takes time to get to know the people and students, and you also have to adapt to a different academic culture. However, having visited Duke on a number of occasions for the Feminist Theory Workshop, I know that the University offers an incredibly stimulating intellectual environment, and I’m looking forward to participating in its events and being inspired by the work being done here.

SG: Here! Here!

Congratulations to...



Ranji Khanna and Tina enjoy a moment together outside the classroom.

and Europe more broadly. During her tenure at Duke she served as the interim Director of Women's Studies and Director of Graduate Studies. She gave the speech at our commencement celebration of graduating majors, minors and graduate certificate recipients, in May, extolling our students to always "be full of wonder." In Tina's own words:

My students at Duke have taught me how to wonder and they have taught me how to teach them and others to revel in the capacity to wonder.

They've taught me to ask about each text or topic that I teach: Why think about this? Why does it matter? What's important about it? They've taught me to ask those questions because if I don't, then they (most certainly) will! They've taught me to take nothing for granted about who they are in the world. And they've taught me to respect the fact that we have very different understandings of what it means to be a feminist and to understand their sense of what that means, and to linger and wonder about how they will reshape it in the future.

As you graduate today, I know that you are full of wonder. You are full of doubt and uncertainty; full of speculation and curiosity. And we as your teachers and instructors are full of wonder for you—full of admiration and astonishment and rapt attention.

As you leave us, I challenge you to continue to wonder and to cultivate it as a daily practice. Continue to wonder why the hell not, and continue to wonder what the world might look like if...? Continue to appreciate, to marvel, to discover and rediscover the new, the astonishing and the beauty in the minute and mundane everyday practices of those around you and I have absolute faith that your wondering may very well change the world in which you live.

After nine years as a member of the Duke faculty and the Program in Women's Studies, our colleague **Tina M Camp** has joined Barnard College, New York as Professor of Women's, Gender and Sexuality Studies and Director of the Africana Studies Program. Author of *Other Germans: Black Germans and the Politics of Race, Gender and Memory in the Third Reich* and the forthcoming *Image Matters: Archive, Photography and the African Diaspora in Europe* (2012) which examines the status of photographs in the process of historical interpretation. Tina's research theorizes gendered, racial and diasporic formation in black communities in Germany,



Tina and Ara Wilson at graduation (and friends since they played rugby together as undergrads at Vassar College!)

Everyone here in Women's Studies wishes her well; Tina's made an invaluable contribution to gender and women's studies scholarship as well as this program; and though it goes without saying, we will say — she will be greatly missed.

Lesley Shannon Curtis (PhD Romance Studies & Certificate in Feminist Studies 2011) is a Lecturer at the University of New Hampshire, Department of Languages, Literatures, and Cultures.

Elisabeth Lund Engebretsen (WST Postdoc 08-09) is leaving her position as a Faculty Lecturer at McGill University's Institute for Gender, Sexuality, and Feminist Studies in Montreal to return to her native Norway to take up a two-year research fellowship, at the Collegium for Advanced Studies, University Helsinki.

Ignacio Adriasola Muñoz (PhD Art, Art History & Visual Studies & Certificate in Feminist Studies 2011) is a postdoctoral fellow at the Freer Sackler Museum in Washington DC.

Rachel Weeks (Women's Studies 2007) owner of School House LLC has been chosen as this year's recipient for the prestigious Outstanding Woman-Owned Small Business award given by The SCORE Foundation. School House, a collegiate clothing firm that practices ethical manufacturing, is receiving this award out of hundreds of nominees based on its successful small business growth and community partnerships. After its start in Sri Lanka, (see "Fashion and Feminism Unite" Spring 2009 newsletter) currently, Rachel has moved all manufacturing operations to Wendell, North Carolina, where School House proudly produces apparel that is "Made in America." www.shopschoolhouse.com



Corina Stan (PhD Literature & Certificate in Feminist Studies 2010) is Assistant Professor of Literature at Leiden University College in The Hague, Netherlands, and is running the Brill-Nijhoff Writing Institute.

Kris Weller (WST Postdoc 10-11) is a postdoctoral fellow at the Institute for the Arts and Humanities, Pennsylvania State University. Her postdoctoral project, "Humans on Earth: Planetary Hospice?" asks how understanding the intricacies of care giving and identity in cases of psychiatric disability might help humans learn to be more responsible inhabitants of the planet in this age of environmental change.

Become a Friend of Women's Studies

After the spring issue came out (with those inspiring and heartfelt Senior Stories), we received gifts from long-time supporters as well as WST majors/minors that either had never given to the program or hadn't given in many years...how pleased and grateful we were! Perhaps the words of the seniors resonated with these donors and brought back their feelings about Women's Studies in their day. Sometimes, the more things change, the more they stay the same. From my point of view, supporting and cultivating feminist scholarship and activism at the undergraduate and graduate levels remains a core focus of our faculty and staff, and is a great tradition to support. **Our deepest thanks to:**

Hillary Holmes Archer • Dr. Mary H. Beaven • Annie Laura Cotton • Ann (Peetie) Woodall Davant • Judith Abrams Maynes • Rachel Elizabeth Nichols • Kelly Quirk • Marcee Susan Harris Schwartz • Phyllis Holshouser Sparling • Mary Suzanne (Suzy) Stimler • Barbara Buchman Williams

You can make your gift by credit card at Duke's secure credit card site (<https://www.gifts.duke.edu/>). Under the section Additional/Other Designations please type Friend of Women's Studies and in the Designation Comments box, please include NWS, fund code 399-2735. Or you can send your contribution (with NWS, 399-2735, on the memo line) to Duke University, Alumni and Development Records, Box 90581, Durham, NC 27708.

Owing to the generosity of our donors, the following award recipients were selected and announced in May:

Women's Studies 2011-2012 Dissertation Fellowships

- **Leah Allen** (Literature)
- **Georgia Paige Welch** (History)

Graduate Scholars Colloquium 2011-2012 Leaders

- **Lindsey Andrews** (English)
- **Tamar Shirinian** (Cultural Anthropology)

Ernestine Friedl Research Awards given to an advanced graduate student whose dissertation explores the cultural, social, and biological construction of gender.

- **Lesley Curtis** (Romance Studies) for "Imagining the Ideal Colony: French Women Writers on the Revolutionary Caribbean, 1789-1848"
- **Anne Phillips** (History) for "Adulterous Wives and Murderous Husbands: Governance, Gendered Violence, and East Indian Indentureship in the British Atlantic, 1858-1917"
- **Victor Ray** (2013/Sociology) for "Collateral Damage: Race, Gender, and the Post-Combat Transition"

Anne McDougall Memorial Award given to a woman undergraduate or graduate student who pursues areas of human service by studying psychology and related fields.

- **Alissa Wigdor** (Psychology & Neuroscience) "Children's National Medical Center"
- **Leah Madeline McCrary** (2011/ Cultural Anthropology) "UNC- Kamuzu Central Hospital Project Malawi" [deferred from last year]

Gender and Race Research Awards given to undergraduate and graduate students whose projects promote scholarly exploration and research on topics of gender and race.

- **Layla Brown** (Cultural Anthropology) for "Raising Voices, Building History: Afro-Venezuelan Women and the Bolivarian Revolution"
- **Yoonhyun Cho** (2012/Economics and Political Science) for "Rebuilding Women's Rights in Haiti"
- **Kristen Lee** (2013/Sociology) "Racialized Love"
- **Anne Phillips** (History) for "Adulterous Wives and Murderous Husbands: Governance, Gendered Violence, and East Indian Indentureship in the British Atlantic, 1858-1917"
- **Georgia Paige Welch** (History) "Right of Way: The Trans-Alaska Pipeline and the 1970s Frontier"

Dora Anne Little Awards given to a student at the undergraduate or graduate level who has excelled in service to the campus and community which extends beyond the classroom.

- **Julia Finch** (2011/ Women's Studies) for "Bridging the Gap Between Feminist Theory and Activism in the Duke and Durham Communities"
- **Sophie Smith** (Literature) "No More Deaths"
- **Trent Serwetz** (2011/ Women's Studies) "Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, WomensLaw, and Legal Aid Societies"