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Housewives to Heroines: Continuing Education for Women at the University of Kentucky, 1964-1988

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HOUSEWIVES TO HEROINES:
CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY, 1964-1988

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Education
at the University of Kentucky

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

HOUSEWIVES TO HEROINES: CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR WOMEN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY, 1964-1988

Beginning in the early 1960s, the movement for the continuing education for women (CEW) brought together a seemingly unlikely alliance of American activists, educators, philanthropists, and government agencies. Fueled by philanthropic funds, accelerated by the quest for "womanpower" to bolster national defense, and aligned with regional workforce needs as well as the personal goals of individual women, CEW programs pioneered new models of academic advising and student support that continue to influence higher education practitioners today. By studying the experiences of both administrators and students involved with CEW at the University of Kentucky, this study sheds light on how one land-grant university in the south adapted the principles of CEW to serve institutional goals and student needs. Furthermore, this study picks up where many others leave off—in the second half of the 1960s—and is inclusive of the entire 1970s and most of the 1980s. This is significant because the UK program—like others founded around the same time—experienced its greatest periods of growth and activity during the 1970s, when state-aligned labor initiatives intersected with women's liberationist activism on campus.

The central question of this study is "What place does UK CEW hold in the national history of women's continuing education?" Sub-questions include "How did CEW at UK differ from or align with CEW programs at comparable institutions?" and "In what ways did CEW at UK adapt national models to suit local cultural, economic, and political imperatives?" This study begins from the hypothesis that CEW at UK—while aiming to fulfill many of the same goals as earlier CEW programs at comparable large, public universities—did so with significant adaptations necessitated by the local and regional environment.

This study draws upon primary sources, including correspondence, budgets, proposals, survey responses, enrollment data, marketing collateral, contemporaneous newspapers and magazines, meeting minutes, and extant oral histories. Unfortunately, it is difficult from existing records to determine the positionality of CEW participants and administrators *vis a vis* the intersections of class, race, and sexual orientation. Aside from some materials directly dealing with student financial need, as well as indications of at least a few efforts to recruit African American women to the CEW program, the archive does not lend itself immediately to understanding the involvement of or impact on various demographic groups of women.

This dissertation offers one example of how a CEW program was adapted from a national model pioneered at the University of Minnesota to function in a specific time and place: Kentucky in the 1960s through 1980s. It is the nature and mechanism of this adaptation that may prove instructive to present and future higher education leaders.

KEYWORDS: Women, Higher Education, Continuing Education, 20th Century

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DEDICATION

For Brent, my favorite everything.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 What was Continuing Education for Women?

In the post-World War II United States, the movement for the continuing education for women (CEW) brought together a seemingly unlikely alliance of activists, educators, philanthropists, and government agencies. It's difficult to pinpoint a moment when the CEW movement began—perhaps it was in 1958 when the American Council on Education met in Rye, New York, to discuss prospects for women's higher education. Or it could have been 1960, when psychology professor Virginia Senders and extension administrator Elizabeth Cless started a program for "rusty ladies" returning to class at the University of Minnesota. Maybe CEW began when Florence Anderson, on behalf of the Carnegie Corporation, issued final approval to fund three programs that would create the template for three very different models of CEW: at Minnesota, at Sarah Lawrence College, and at Radcliffe College. Then again, perhaps CEW began much earlier—with a series of conferences between 1948 and 1955, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor (DOL) and focused on how "womanpower" could best be used to supercharge up America's economic and defense capabilities at the dawn the Cold War with the Soviet Union (Department of Labor, 1948; Department of Labor, 1955).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Prior studies of CEW have focused on a handful of institutions, primarily those funded by private philanthropy with the purpose of creating template programs for other schools to follow, and within a narrow period of time, terminating before the end

of the 1960s. Two major gaps exist in the scholarship on CEW programs: no existing study has looked at CEW programs in the south, and little attention has been paid to the trajectory of CEW programs launched from the late 1960s onward and how these programs adapted techniques pioneered in earlier CEW initiatives. To date, scholars have not explored how institutions outside the top tier of public research universities, especially institutions in the south, adapted the principles of CEW to their local political, cultural, and economic imperatives.

1.3 Purpose and Significance of the Study

By studying the experiences of both administrators and students involved with CEW at the University of Kentucky (UK), this study sheds light on how one land-grant university in the south adapted the principles of CEW to serve institutional goals and student needs. Furthermore, this study picks up where many others leave off—in the second half of the 1960s—and is inclusive of the entire 1970s and most of the 1980s. This is significant because the UK program—like others founded around the same time—experienced its greatest periods of growth and activity during the 1970s, when state-aligned labor initiatives intersected with women's liberationist activism on campus.

1.4 Research Questions and Hypothesis

Was the University of Kentucky a follower or a leader in the CEW movement? What happened to CEW at UK from its founding in 1964 until it faded from view in the 1980s—and how was this similar or different from the trajectory of CEW programs

launched around the same time at similar institutions? Finally, what can we learn by studying the history of CEW at UK that may prove useful to present higher education leaders, adult education practitioners, as well as those interested in the educational and career paths of women?

This study begins from the hypothesis that the leaders of CEW at UK, while aiming to fulfill many of the same goals as earlier CEW programs at comparable large, public universities, did so with significant adaptations necessitated by local and regional circumstances—specifically a lack of access to private philanthropic funds, as well as a de-prioritization of CEW by university leadership. In these circumstances, CEW at UK was not well-positioned to survive the widespread cuts in appropriations to state universities starting in the 1970s and reaching a crisis point in the 1980s. This differs from outcomes at some similar-size public institutions, where CEW continued to be a major presence on campus from the 1960s to present day.

1.5 Research Methodology

This study draws upon primary sources including correspondence, budgets, proposals, survey responses, enrollment data, marketing collateral, contemporaneous newspapers and magazines, meeting minutes, and extant oral histories. Through multiple visits to the University of Kentucky Special Collections Research Center, the Carnegie Corporation Archives at Columbia University, and via extensive use of digital archives, I assembled a collection of approximately 3,000 scanned pages of material. The analysis of this collected material proved complex, necessitating the triangulation of

multiple sources to confirm key points in the narrative—especially where extant documents proved to be misfiled, undated, or otherwise difficult to place in context. Ultimately, through extensive cross-referencing of sources, I assembled a comprehensive timeline of the development, launch, and evolution of programming to support the continuing education of "mature" (generally classified as over the age of 25) women at the University of Kentucky from 1964 through 1988.

The archives of the Kentucky *Kernel*, the daily student newspaper of UK during the period under study, provide rich information on campus events and personnel. The smaller archives of the *Communicator*, a newspaper produced by and for under-represented minority (URM) students, provide some insight into the perspectives of URM students at UK in the 1970s and early 1980s. Campus newsletters such as the *Green Bean* (UK Libraries internal faculty/staff newsletter) also provide information on the dates of events such as workshops, open houses, *et cetera*.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

This study evaluates student experiences mostly through survey instruments and correspondence with program officials. Both types of documentation are freighted with concerns about bias and performativity. It is difficult to find the voices of students in conversation with each other about CEW at UK, although some comments made to the *Kernel* seem to be relatively unguarded. The same potential pitfalls of bias and performativity attend the use of extant oral histories, which are by their very nature artifacts of a shared meaning-making process engaged in by interviewer and

interviewee. Further, many of the oral histories of administrators involved with CEW at UK are restricted in the archives, because many of the individuals mentioned are either still alive or not long dead. Such are the hazards of studying the latter half of the 20th century during the first quarter of the 21st.

Another limitation of this study is the non-existence—or at least inaccessibility to scholars—of the archives of former UK community colleges. UK's community college system is mentioned several times in the archives of the CEW program—as an asset, a site for student recruitment, and a site for vocational training at the associate degree and certificate levels. When UK relinquished its community colleges around the turn of the 21st century, the various campuses were mostly absorbed into the new Kentucky Community and Technical College System (KCTCS). If KCTCS holds any records relevant to CEW at UK, they are scattered across the state and, per discussions with UK Libraries archivists, likely uncatalogued and inaccessible. Therefore, this study does not explore the involvement of the community colleges in CEW at UK. Rather, this investigation is confined primarily to UK's central campus in Lexington, Kentucky.

Additionally, it is difficult from existing records to determine the demographics of CEW participants and administrators at UK. This is unfortunate, as an understanding of the class, race, and other characteristics of the people involved in CEW at UK would add important dimensions to this study. Aside from some materials directly dealing with student financial need, as well as indications of at least a few efforts to specifically recruit African American adult women students to the CEW program, the archive does not lend itself immediately to understanding the involvement of or impact on various

groups of women. Is it likely that socioeconomically, racially, and otherwise diverse groups of women participated in CEW at UK? Yes. However, while this study will attempt to delve into intersectional identities where possible, the research is limited by the assembled archive.

This study is also limited in that it does not attempt to retrace existing scholarship on adult learners, non-traditional students, or the economics of higher education. Rather, it offers one example of how UK administrators took the pattern of CEW pioneered at the University of Minnesota and built a program specific to their time and place—Kentucky in the 1960s through 1980s. It is the nature and mechanism of this process that may prove instructive to present and future higher education leaders.

Finally, because this study focuses on primarily White institutions (PWIs), it will not explore the rich history of the the National Association of Deans of Women and Advisers to Girls in Negro Schools, which served as the professional organization for African American deans of women from its founding in 1929 through its 1954 merger with the National Association of Personnel Deans and Advisers of Men in Negro Institutions, forming the National Association of Personnel Workers. Many African American women college graduates and personnel were also members of the National Association of University Women, an organization that traces its lineage to the College Alumnae Club, founded by Mary Church Terrell. These organizations have elsewhere been portrayed as analogous to the National Association of Deans of Women and the American Association of University Women, but they in fact have their own distinct history. It is also important to mention that students and administrators at historically

Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) experienced the role of gender on campus very differently from students at PWIs. With higher labor force participation by Black women than their White similar-age peers, Black college women in the mid-20th century had their own experiences of vocational preparation as well as their own distinct economic and personal goals. For more on the impact of deans of women on the experiences of Black American college women in the 20th century, see Tamara Beauboeuf-Lafontant's *To Live More Abundantly: Black Collegiate Women, Howard University, and the Audacity of Dean Lucy Diggs Slowe* (2022).

1.7 Organization

This dissertation is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1, the introduction, is a brief orientation to the concept of CEW and serves as an overview of the manuscript. Chapter 2 provides a concise review of major existing scholarship on CEW and women's higher education generally. Chapter 3 traces a general history of the CEW movement, from its origins in post-World War II "womanpower" initiatives, through its intersection with a burgeoning 1970s feminist movement, and finally through its influence on higher education and student affairs in the latter part of the 20th century, then onward to present day. Chapter 4 chronicles the trajectory of CEW at UK and is subdivided into three sections. "Administration" describes the political and administrative processes by which CEW at UK came to be in the 1960s. "Activism" follows the path of CEW at UK in the 1970s, with a particular focus on how some CEW participants moved from individualistic to collective perceptions of their goals and struggles. Finally, "Absorption"

reviews the slow dismantling of CEW at UK through budget cuts beginning in the 1980s, and the assimilation of elements of the program into other university departments. Chapter 5 describes the elements of CEW that remain at UK, before examining how the trajectory of CEW at UK may inform present-day policy and practice in higher education—particularly in the "post-pandemic" era of the 2020s.

1.8 Definition of Terms

"Continuing Education for Women" (CEW): this study uses the phrase "Continuing Education for Women" or its acronym (CEW) to refer to the type of educational programs developed in the post-World War II U.S. to encourage specific groups of women either to begin or continue post-secondary studies. Characterized variously at the time as "mature" or "adult" women, generally defined as age 25 or older, these non-traditional students were primarily—though not always—engaged in work toward undergraduate degrees. It is important to note the distinction between CEW programs—geared around principles that would today be described as "lifetime learning"—and the type of continuing education required then as it is now for the professional licensure of physicians, dentists, attorneys, *et cetera*.

"Mature women": differentiating CEW students from younger women students, this phrase is used persistently across the archive to refer to women who were age 25 or older while engaged in undergraduate, graduate, or professional studies. Some archival materials use the term interchangeably with "married women." In present day, these students would most often be referred to as "adult" or "non-traditional" students.

This manuscript will describe these learners as “adult students” or “adult women students” in most instances.

“Counselors” and “counseling”: for purposes of this study, these terms refer to what 21st century higher education professionals would describe as academic or vocational advising. These terms do not refer to psychotherapy practitioners or mental health care.

Frequently Used Acronyms:

- UK: University of Kentucky
- CEW: the continuing education of women, generally
- UKCCEW: University of Kentucky Center for the Continuing Education for Women
- PA: Project Ahead, an internship program targeting adult women students
- URM: underrepresented minority

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

In addition to texts focused specifically on the experiences of women in American higher education, this study is informed by scholarship covering the history of higher education generally, the sociology of campus life, and the history of philanthropic support for U.S. colleges and universities. These sources provide context necessary to a complete understanding of women's experiences in 20th century American higher education as students, administrators, and faculty. This study is also shaped by the literature of gender and women's studies. These texts provide texture and nuance, interjecting concepts of intersectionality as well as the existence of multiple femininities and feminisms. The breadth of literature underpinning this dissertation emphasizes the interdisciplinary nature of the study of higher education. Taken together, these key works provide a firm foundation for this project that seeks to understand one way in which women navigated the U.S. higher education system in the 20th century.

2.2 Key Works on Women and Higher Education

An important source for this dissertation is the work of historian Linda Eisenmann. Across multiple texts, Eisenmann writes in depth about the experiences of women in U.S. higher education, the impact of federal policy and philanthropic funds on these experiences, as well as the creation of CEW programs in the mid-20th century.

In "A Time of Quiet Activism: Research, Practice, and Policy in American Women's Higher Education, 1945-1965," Eisenmann (2005a) examines the role of

administrators and faculty in promoting the higher education of women throughout the post-World War II era. Although often viewed as a lull between "waves" of feminist organization, Eisenmann argues that during the 20 years immediately following the end of World War II, higher education for women was shaped by a "quiet type of activism practiced by postwar women educators, an approach which often pales in comparison to the firmer efforts of postsuffrage and World War II activists, or to the lively and boisterous work of late-1960s feminists." Eisenmann (2005a) continues: "this more muted style, when combined with the era's predilection for individualized solutions to women's concerns, marks a particular postwar approach to advocacy that may be different from other eras but that suited the contextually complicated postwar period." The educators described by Eisenmann may have been "quiet" about their activism, in keeping with the behavioral norms of the era, but they were effective in creating educational opportunities for women that aligned government-backed "womanpower" efforts with women's individual desires for vocational advancement and personal growth. Although many of these efforts would blossom to full strength only during the 1970s, they were outgrowths of the 1960s ideology described by Eisenmann.

In the book *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945-1965*, Eisenmann (2006) fleshes out the ideas alluded to in her earlier writing (Eisenmann, 2005a), making clear the interconnected nature of work of lawmakers, education activists and advocates, private philanthropists, and college administrators to build systems for the higher education of women from the end of the World War II until the mid-1960s. The study details how U.S. women students went from rough parity in

campus numbers in the 1930s, to dominating college and university enrollments during World War II, to struggling for recognition on campuses flooded by male veterans utilizing G.I. benefits. Eisenmann notes out that from 1946 onward, women were "marginal students" on campuses increasingly devoted to male vocational training—even though the actual number of American women going to college each year remained stable from the 1930s into the 1960s. Expanded access to higher education for veterans, who were mostly men, meant that women students declined dramatically as a percentage of the total student body at most coeducational institutions.

Per Eisenmann, the marginalization of women on American campuses involved not just women students, but the unenrolled student wives who served as a visible contrast with "coeds." Many male veterans brought with them to campus young wives and children; others married during school, forming new family units on campus. With the creation of married student housing to accommodate veterans' families, campus life was reshaped to include the new American domesticity. In this model, young women occupied two seldom-overlapping roles on campus: as single college students, and as wives of male students. While some women attempted to balance being students and wives, the demands of childcare and the necessity of supporting their husbands' goals typically took precedence over the women's educational aspirations.

The women who began but abandoned degrees in the post-War period were primary targets for the CEW programs that emerged in the early 1960s. Eisenmann (2006) delves deeply into the creation of the first of these programs. In the same work, Eisenmann examines the role of private philanthropy provided by the Carnegie

Corporation in creating models for CEW. In addition to providing funding for the American Council on Education (ACE) meeting on the state of women in higher education, the Carnegie Corporation provided funds for three pilot programs designed to meet the needs of adult women scholars. Located at the University of Minnesota, Sarah Lawrence College, and Radcliffe College, the three CEW programs underwritten and endorsed by Carnegie created national models for similar undertakings. The "Minnesota Plan" in particular provided a template for public universities developing CEW programs throughout the 1960s and 1970s (Anderson, 1967).

Eisenmann's work draws on prior works on women in higher education—notably those of Mabel Newcomer and Barbara Solomon. Newcomer (1959) focuses her study of American women's higher education in the late 19th through mid-20th centuries specifically on the history of women's colleges. Covering the growth of women's colleges from female seminaries to accredited degree-granting institutions, Newcomer also supplies an extensive catalogue of the achievements of college women. Noting that despite years of progress, women in the 1950s made up a smaller proportion of bachelor's degree recipients than their male peers, Newcomer locates the source of this disparity in issues of personal motivation. It is her contention that young women of the 1950s, like their foremothers in the prior century, lacked both early awareness about the importance of higher education as well as the tools to plan their lives to accommodate higher education alongside an assumed inevitability of early marriage and child- rearing. In a contemporaneous review, Althea Hottell (1959) praises Newcomer's contribution to the late-1950s discussion around "the marked changes in what women

have been doing with their lives." Hottell further notes the prescience of Newcomer's analysis, as by 1959 an increasing proportion of American women entered some form of higher education after high school, although more than half of those who enrolled did not complete degrees.

While Newcomer casts women's challenges navigating higher education as issues of personal motivation and life planning, Solomon (1986) frames the issue through the lens of access—concluding with a happy, if premature, report that by 1986 most problems of higher education access for American women had been resolved. With a heavy focus on women's colleges in the northeastern U.S., as well as some exploration of the role of coeducational land-grant colleges in the west and midwest, Solomon's arguments depend a great deal on examples of successful individual graduates. Discussing women's higher education participation in the post-World War II era, she acknowledges a "relative dearth in women's professional training...from 1946 to 1956" followed by a period when "the launching of *Sputnik* by the Russians precipitated a national review of all levels of American education...subsequent legislation [including] the National Defense Act of 1958 [and] other education-related acts in the mid-1960s" broadened possibilities for recruiting "a wider spectrum of students, including women" (Solomon, 1986, p. 198). Although Solomon acknowledges the role of federal policy in shaping American women's experiences in higher education, from a 21st century perspective her focus on access and individual achievement is impossible to separate from the *milieu* of 1980s cultural conservativism and individualism.

In discussing graduate education, Solomon writes of a subset of women who "in contrast to the minority of women who combined marriage and career or who chose to work and not marry...gave up graduate training midway because of family pressures or demands." Those women who did "complete their studies and had careers often did so with a great deal of difficulty" (Solomon, 1986, p. 200).

In *Women of Academe: Outsiders in the Sacred Grove*, Nadya Aisenberg and Mona Harrington (1988) draw upon more than sixty interviews with academic women in illustrate the systemic exclusion of women from the power structure of academia. Most of their interviewees were professionally active from the 1960s through the 1980s. Although Aisenberg and Harrington's subjects are their peers—women with graduate degrees and varying degrees of employment in academia—this ethnography functions as a larger exploration of the acceptance of women on university campuses during this time. Accepted as undergraduates, women found themselves discouraged if not outright barred from graduate and professional study. Many women who did complete advanced study found their academic careers stymied by institutionalized sexism alongside cultural expectations that they subvert their career goals to those of male partners. Some of these women were the target audience for the early CEW program at Radcliffe College, designed to rescue displaced scholars in need of time and resources to develop their intellectual work.

Just as Eisenmann built on earlier works from Solomon and Newcomer, recent scholars have built on hers. In *Deans of Women and the Feminist Movement: Emily Taylor's Activism*, Kelly C. Sartorius (2014) examines the manifestation of Eisenmann's

"quiet activism" in the person of Emily Taylor, who served as dean of women at the University of Kansas from 1956 to 1974. Taylor, while ostensibly tasked with ensuring discipline and social order among women students, was also an innovator in the field of student services. Utilizing a counseling approach that urged women students to consider their own personal development, vocational ambitions, and long-term planning, Taylor sought to help women future-proof their lives. This pragmatic orientation was typical of many deans of women in the post-war years. Having seen their charges fall under the sway of hyper-domestic post-war culture, these student affairs professionals were concerned about what lay in the future for young women who failed to develop any skills or interests that would sustain them when the child-rearing portion of their lives ended. In Sartorius's analysis, Taylor is representative of many women administrators who worked in the post-war era to ensure that women college students had options for continuing education and growth in response to changing needs across their life course.

In *Searching for Scientific Womanpower: Technocratic Feminism and the Politics of National Security, 1940-1980*, Laura Michelletti Puaca (2014) traces the evolution of women's higher education from post-World War II militarization to feminist militancy. In Puaca's analysis, World War II served as a catalyst for seemingly contradictory directions of American public policy *vis a vis* the role of women in U.S. society, with a resurgent ethos of post-war domesticity on the one hand, and the emergence of a new "technocratic feminism" on the other. Driven by Cold War defense imperatives, the 1958 National Defense Education Act (NDEA) supplied gender-neutral academic funding

for students in a wide variety of fields. Coming on the heels of the Soviet Union's launch of the *Sputnik* satellite in 1957, the NDEA sought to bolster U.S. national security through direct support for post-secondary education in sciences, languages, and other fields with defense implications. The "technocratic feminists" were vocationally oriented, militarized, and coached to fulfill roles as educators, mid-level scientists, and government administrators in addition to their domestic duties as wives and mothers. For many women, this meant performing these roles in sequence, with paid work directly after graduation, followed by marriage and child-rearing years, then a return to work in their late 30s or early 40s when their children needed less hands-on care. By devoting their lives to child-rearing in addition to professional or para-professional work in the national interest, technocratic women could build careers while remaining inside the boundaries of post-war gender norms. Following the development of this trend into the 1970s, Puaca notes that "[i]n the context of renewed feminist activism… 'womanpower' had acquired a new meaning" (Puaca, 2014, p. 138). In the 1970s, women's vocational aims collided with activist movements, creating a new goal for American women: full economic citizenship.

The quest for economic citizenship is the focus of *Citizens by Degree: Higher Education Policy and the Changing Gender Dynamics of American Citizenship* by Deondra Rose (2018). Rose tracks the enrollment of women students after World War II through the 1970s against the background of federal legislation. She argues that federal backing for women's increased enrollments in fact began long before Title IX, with the 1958 National Defense Education Act (NDEA) and its incidental expansion of women's

educational opportunities. Rose writes: "[u]nlike progressive-era social politics that benefited women at the behest of women's groups, the gender-egalitarian effects of the NDEA were rooted in lawmakers' strategic subversion of Cold War politics coupled with extreme caution regarding civil rights and... the window of opportunity presented by the *Sputnik* crisis.... [t]he arguably accidental establishment of gender egalitarianism in U.S. higher education was a byproduct..." (Rose, 2018, p. 57). The NDEA was not designed to ameliorate gender bias, but it did open a new line of gender-neutral educational funding that women were quick to seize upon. Some of these women were Puaca's "technocratic feminists." Not necessarily allied with any explicit feminist or liberationist movement, these women aligned their goals for personal achievement in the workplace with the labor needs of the U.S. at the outset of the Cold War.

The recipients of NDEA funds were diverse academically pursued diverse academic programs. Although the launch of *Sputnik* powered the passage of the NDEA, not all NDEA fellowship recipients engaged in study of the sciences. Many studied languages, English, history, and other liberal arts disciplines. The NDEA made explicit that the U.S. viewed an educated populace as an asset in the Cold War and that women were included in that populace. The NDEA, with its "cautious" approach to civil rights, did not dramatically advance educational access for poor or minority women (Rose, 2018). But it did open new opportunities for middle-class, predominantly White women to pursue higher education under the banner of patriotic self-improvement and service to their nation.

Rose describes the increased educational access women experienced because of the NDEA as a move toward full economic citizenship for individual women. For NDEA fellowship recipients, their personal goals of education and economic mobility were, whether they intended them to be or not, intertwined with American defense imperatives. This was a time of a militarized populace engaged in a full cultural war against the Soviet Union.

Rose asserts that during the time when laws enabling increased access to education for American women in the 20th century were passed—the NDEA, followed by the 1965 Higher Education Act, then amendments to that act including Title IX—activism and public policy had a symbiotic relationship. Rose posits that most of this legislation was generated from inside the Beltway, rather than in response to grassroots movements, with predominantly male legislators' reasons for supporting policy advancing women's access to education often rooted in the experiences of female friends and relations. For the few female legislators in office, the issues were more personal. Even in the 1970s, according to Rose, much of the rise of women's activism on campuses took place after Title IX had broadened women's access to university programs. Title IX has come to be associated in the U.S. with parity in athletic opportunities, and in recent years with campus reports of sexual assault and harassment. But as Rose notes, this association "obscures the broader significance of the groundbreaking public policy...[which] marked the birth of gender-conscious higher education policy in the United States" (Rose, 2018, p. 101). This "full throated call for

gender equality" galvanized nascent campus activist groups, which in turn pushed for more policy reforms on the local, state, and federal levels.

2.3 Key Works on Education

Any scholar who seeks to understand the shifting demographics and culture of higher education should take into consideration *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, the landmark study by Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz (1987). This cultural history traces the development of American college culture, from the early days of all-male campuses where college men engaged in pitched battles against authority figures, through the disruption of hedonistic university life by a series of interlopers. Per Horowitz, poor students, tee-totalers, religious and ethnic minority students, and women were the original campus "outsiders." The seriousness, thriftiness, and cultural otherness of these students marked them as standing apart from the chummy, privileged insider culture of moneyed college men. Horowitz points out that the veterans who flooded college campuses after World War II were also cultural outsiders—marked by their combat experience and vocational interests, but also by their age. Many returning veterans were well past the traditional college-starting age when they enrolled with their G.I. benefits.

While campuses proved eager to make some accommodations for veterans, including by rebuilding their housing stock to include apartments for married students and their families, most colleges and universities retained their focus on recruiting non-veteran students, including women, only from among those who were about to

graduate from high school. Horowitz notes that the NDEA, which opened the door to higher education for multiple groups including women, increased the proportion of "serious" young students on campuses (Horowitz, 1987, p. 221). According to *Campus Life*, when women beyond traditional college enrollment age began to arrive on campuses as part of CEW programs from the 1960s onward, they were "outsiders." But the continued influx of these vocationally oriented "mature" women ultimately contributed to the overall shift toward college campuses as more diverse, serious, and academic spaces.

In *A History of American Higher Education* (2nd ed., 2011), John R. Thelin provides a comprehensive review of American higher education from colonial colleges to present day. Thelin's text includes analysis of many types of institutions—from community colleges to small four-year liberal arts schools, to regional comprehensive schools, to research institutions. It also takes in the breadth of American higher education from public to private, secular to religiously affiliated, and small to large institutions. Rather than relegating the experiences of women, non-White students, and low-income students to separate chapters, Thelin infuses information on these often-minoritized campus populations throughout. Especially relevant to this study, he provides a concise overview of the circumstances of American higher education in the latter half of the 20th century—from the rush of veterans onto campuses, through the militarized Cold War era, on to the consideration of new modes and models of education designed to promote greater economic equity and social mobility in the 1970s.

Andrea Walton's *Women and Philanthropy in Education* (2005), while not restricted to the topic of higher education, is pertinent to this study in its description of the impact of philanthropic funds and actions on women's education. In this anthology, Frances Huehls (2005) casts back to the 19th century, exploring the role of women as teacher-philanthropists, giving of their time and resources to create educational opportunities for others. In another chapter, Amy E. Wells (2005) reviews how philanthropic support from the Rockefeller Foundation shaped academic programming at the University of North Carolina in the 1930s. And, in an early try-out of ideas that would be incorporated in her later book, Eisenmann (2005b) delves into the impact of Carnegie Corporation funding on early CEW programs.

2.4 Key Works on Women and Labor,

Between the works of Solomon and Newcomer, Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) fueled the emergence of a broad awareness—particularly among middle-class, White American women—of both structural and cultural impediments to women's progress in education and careers. Although often credited as a catalyst for second wave feminism, the impact of Friedan and other activists was clear well before the 1970s. Friedan's influence is present in the "quiet activism" described by Eisenmann, as well as the cultural imperatives for college women to develop long-term plans inclusive of family, work, and education.

While Friedan based many of her conclusions on the experiences of her fellow Smith College alumnae—overwhelmingly middle-class homemakers in their post-college

years—other women living in America at the same time had very different experiences of education, labor, and paid work. Alice Kessler-Harris's *Out to Work: a History of Wage-earning Women in the United States* (1982) is essential reading to understand the workings of race, class, and education in American women's labor force participation in the 20th century. The 2018 edition of Kessler-Harris's *Women Have Always Worked: A Concise History* provides further context for understanding women's vocational, education, and economic development—including the trajectory of women's labor movements in the 1960s and 1970s.

CHAPTER 3. NATIONAL TRENDS IN CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR WOMEN

3.1 Adjusting to the Servicemen's Readjustment Act

The 1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act (the "G.I. Bill") granted to returning World War II veterans unprecedented access to post-secondary education, home ownership, and economic capital. The comprehensive program of benefits, billed as a gift to veterans from a grateful nation, was also a carefully designed pressure-release valve. Before the war, an America still emerging from the ravages of the Great Depression suffered from housing shortages. These shortages were no better by the time veterans returned. Ready to build new lives, veterans needed jobs, homes, and something to do with their time. The G.I. Bill provided low-interest home and business loans along with portable education benefits. The architects of the legislation did not expect the education benefit to be as popular as it was, but by 1948 millions of veterans had taken advantage of the program to earn post-secondary education credentials (Thelin, 2011). Although the impact of the G.I. Bill was distributed unevenly, with both servicewomen and non-White male veterans claiming and receiving benefits at lower rates than did White men, it nonetheless marked the emergence of a new college-educated and relatively affluent American middle class.

One legacy of the G.I. Bill was a permanent alteration in the demographics of American college students. Although scholarships had always enabled some particularly promising youths to obtain college degrees even in the face of financial penury, the population of pre-war college students in the U.S. was relatively homogenous. Most institutions were not racially integrated, with separate funding models supporting

HBCUs and PWIs (Gasman, 2007). Minoritized or marginalized students—including poor scholarship students, religious minority students, and women—moved at the periphery of campus culture (Horowitz, 1988). The marginal status of women in the pre-war era is a conundrum, given that as Goldin, Katz, and Kuziemko (2006) observe "the ratio of male-to-female undergraduates in the United States was about at parity from 1900 to 1930." Also prior to the advent of the G.I. Bill, undergraduate students over the age of 25 were practically non-existent at most U.S. post-secondary institutions.

With the advent of the G.I. Bill, not only did the proportion of poor and working-class college students grow, but the average age of college students increased. The first G.I. Bill students were overwhelmingly male, older than typical college students, and extremely vocationally focused. Meanwhile, after enjoying a brief period of campus dominance during World War II, women found themselves pushed further to the margins of American higher education than ever. It is important to note, however, than during this period of campus masculinization, American women continued to enroll in college in large numbers. In fact, while "women's proportion of the overall student body dipped in the late-1940s and 1950s, primarily as a result of generous veterans' benefits to returning soldiers…women's actual numbers attending higher education increased, as they had since 1900. In terms of raw numbers of women who attended college every fall, women's attendance rose every year from 1947 to the 1980s, with the exception of only two years: 1950 and 1951" (Eisenmann, 2001).

The tuition benefit included in the G.I. Bill was an early success for its recipients, so much so that in 1946 President Harry S Truman appointed a Commission on Higher

Education to examine the role American colleges and universities might play in post-war society. Soon thereafter the commission released *Higher Education for American Democrac*y, a book-length report that took an expansive view of higher education as a tool for creating greater social equality, technological progress, and economic advancement in the U.S. (Commission on Higher Education, 1947). Although the report had no force of law, it laid out the case for a set of programs that could function like an expanded G.I. Bill to make available to Americans—regardless of race, sex, class, or creed—the opportunity to live out the promises of the freedom for which they had fought and sacrificed during wartime. *Higher Education for American Democracy* explicitly tied higher education to a national agenda focused on upward social mobility and economic progress through the creation of a highly trained workforce. Women were explicitly included in this goal, although with only a one-paragraph mention *versus* the many pages of text devoted to promotion of racial and religious equality. Nonetheless *Higher Education for American Democracy* foreshadowed the next quarter century of federal policy as, in fits and starts, the federal government aimed to extend to more Americans the benefits of post-secondary education and training. Designed to increase the social and economic mobility of the U.S. populace—while also creating an educated, useful citizenry capable of upholding national security interests—the suggestions offered by the Commission anticipated numerous policy reforms.

Another long-term, although perhaps accidental, impact of the G.I. Bill was to diminish the role of deans of women at coeducational institutions across the U.S. (Sartorius, 2014). Prior to and during World War II, the National Association of Deans of

Women (NADW) held sway over most facets of campus life for White undergraduate women across America. Despite persistent stereotyping of deans of women as strict headmistresses, these higher education professionals were often socially progressive. Many members of NADW were also active in national organizations like the American Association of University Women (AAUW) and the League of Women Voters.

Without the ability to remove *in loco parentis* regulations on campuses, NADW members like Emily Taylor at Oklahoma State University and Sarah Bennett Holmes at UK nonetheless worked with campus chapters of the Association of Women Students (AWS) to provide avenues for college women to exercise self-governance. Favoring a counseling model rather than a punitive approach, deans of women invested in the social development of their students while pioneering innovations in academic and career advising (Sartorius, 2020). Even if the existence of deans of women was in some ways a relic of the "separate spheres" ideology of the 19th century, by the mid-point of the 20th century these women administrators had reached the peak of their power as, left alone to mind the business of women on campus, they created progressive environments for university women while pioneering much of modern student development theory. The heyday of the dean of women role came during World War II, when with men away at war women dominated most coeducational campuses. After the war, however, as male veterans returned, many deans of women found themselves sidelined in favor of male administrators who took on new positions as deans of students. By the end of the 1950s, many deans of women had either retired or been shuffled into inconsequential assistant dean roles.

3.2 Cold War Demand for "Womanpower"

In October 1957, for the first time, a smooth metallic ball began its orbit around the Earth. *Sputnik*, as the Soviet Union called its creation, was the first human-made satellite. As a scientific achievement, the Soviets' project was impressive. As a shot in the Cold War, it was emphatic. The U.S. government knew that to beat the U.S.S.R. in the ongoing "space race" and ensure continued hegemony by America and its allies, they were going to have to do something drastic: hire women as scientists.

That the U.S. needed the brainpower of women to maintain its position as a global superpower was not a new idea. In 1955, the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor (DOL) called a conference on "The Effective Use of Womanpower." According to the official report of the conference, "approximately 600 persons representing women's national organizations, civic and professional groups, labor and management groups, and our own and other governments" attended the event in Washington, D.C. There, the attendees heard from speakers who ran the gamut from female investment bankers to male human resources managers, to a male Freudian psychiatrist who bemoaned the tendency of women to work not out of economic necessity, but a sense of "neurotic competition." The focus of the 1955 "Womanpower" conference, as it comes to us in the archives, appears to have been almost entirely on White women in middle-class professional jobs requiring college degrees, with a heavy emphasis on science and technology (Department of Labor, 1955).

The 1955 conference, although not the first gathering of its type to be called by the DOL since the end of World War II, was certainly the largest. It attracted three times the attendance of the 1948 conference on "The American Woman: Her Changing Role," and represented a consolidation of the post-war shift by the Women's Bureau away from the affairs of working-class women that had filled dozens of DOL reports in the first half of the 20th century, and toward a focus on the middle-class, college-educated White women upon whom the U.S. government was about to pin their hopes for Cold War victory. This ethos mirrors what Puaca (2014) describes as an emerging "technocratic feminism" focused on women's potential contributions to the military industrial complex in Cold War America. This movement was limited, with no overt recognition of paid labor by non-White and/or working-class women, or of any women's domestic labor. It was, nonetheless, a movement that allowed some American women to breach the borders of post-war domesticity.

From 1958 onward, the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) provided many women with the funds they needed to secure an education. The NDEA didn't just fund science education, either. Taking a holistic view of education as a general good for national security, the NDEA gave many women who would not otherwise have had the opportunity to attend college the means to study languages, history, and education, as well as physics and biology. The NDEA was not intended specifically to benefit women, but it did not specifically exclude them either. Ultimately, as the first federal program to provide gender-neutral funding for college students, the NDEA moved the needle on the number of women entering college (Rose, 2018).

3.3 Continuing Education for Women and American Philanthropy

After World War II, foundations like the Carnegie Corporation joined the rest of the United States in grappling with questions about how the nation could harness human and intellectual capital to maintain its place at the top of the new world order. At this point in history, the Carnegie Corporation had moved on from its early history of funding pipe organs and public libraries, to assume a role as a *de facto* leader of U.S. educational policy. Pioneering concepts like school accreditation, the Carnegie Corporation exercised an outsize influence on American education. For recipients of Carnegie grants, the benefits extended beyond funding into a prestige conferred by association with the Carnegie Corporation.

Along with general questions about adult education, higher education, and the labor force, Carnegie leaders engaged in the ongoing national discussion about "womanpower"—or what to do with millions of women pushed out of the labor market at the end of the war. Related to the womanpower question, in the 1950s the Carnegie Corporation also began to engage with issues specific to women's higher education. John Gardner, Carnegie president from 1955 to 1965, "didn't think we could just wait twenty years to start thinking about what was going to happen when [baby boomers] hit the colleges" (Anderson, 1967).

The Carnegie Corporation followed the lead of the DOL by casting the issue of women's education and employment as one of workforce needs rather than individual goal fulfilment. If the U.S. was to keep one step ahead of the Soviet Union, it would need all available human capital at the ready. The women who had left the factories to

make way for returning G.I.s at the conclusion of World War II, and who had given birth to the baby boomers, would soon be at loose ends without children at home—just as their nation could use them. But in many cases these same women had foregone education and training in the interest of family concerns. What was a society to do with all this raw human potential?

The Carnegie Corporation entered the discussion of women's higher education when they—along with Carnegie grantee agency the Brookings Institute—signed on as part of the American Council on Education's Commission on the Education of Women in 1955. Up to that point, the Commission had only produced one substantive product: the report "How Fare American Women?" (Hottell, 1955). Along with representatives from the DOL and the National Manpower Council, Carnegie moved to reorient the work of the Commission from the wellbeing of women toward a dual focus on how best to utilize the nation's "womanpower" (also a buzzword of the National Manpower Council) alongside a general interest in the future of women's education. Thanks to the intervention of Florence Anderson, Corporate Secretary of the Carnegie Corporation from 1954 to 1975, the foundation provided a modest amount of funding to the Commission. The Carnegie grant allowed the committee to hold a research conference "to assess the present status of research on the education of women" (Hottell, 1955). The conference took place in Rye, New York, in October of 1957—the same month the U.S.S.R. launched *Sputnik*. With further funding from neither Carnegie nor another agency forthcoming, in 1960 the Commission became a catalyst for discussion on the

topic of women's education, issuing a four-page policy statement titled "The Span of a Woman's Life and Learning" (American Council on Education, 1960).

At the 1955 Rye Conference, as in Washington, D.C., the term "womanpower" was not inclusive of all American women. Despite the presence of millions of American women of all demographics who contributed to the war effort only to be displaced by returning G.I.s, discussion around "womanpower" in the 1950s focused almost exclusively on women who were college educated, middle-class, and White. The majority of these women were, in 1955, not in the paid labor force. By 1960, "64 percent of Black upper-middle-class mothers worked outside of the home. By contrast, only 35 percent of White lower middle-class mothers and 27 percent of White upper-middle-class mothers held outside jobs that year" (Puaca, 2020, p. 384-385, citing Coontz, 2011). Working-class women might have lost their well-paid war jobs, but they almost universally participated in paid work in factories, agriculture, or domestic service in addition to their own household duties. Looking to White, middle- and upper-middle-class women as the source of increased labor participation made sense as they were most likely to possess the resources and time to engage in additional work or training.

Perhaps the most significant development to come out of the Rye Conference was the elevation of Mary "Polly" Bunting as Commission chair. Bunting, who would go on to be president of Radcliffe College, pushed for a national equivalency test for college credits. Here she found support from Carnegie. In 1960, Carnegie funds and credentials backed the College Entrance Examination Board in creating the College-Level Examination Program (CLEP). These subject tests allowed students to "CLEP out" of

required courses by presenting qualifying scores. This proved useful to a variety of students including home schoolers, international students, transfer students, and returning students. Without specifically targeting women, CLEP proved to be a useful tool for women who returned to college, allowing them to transfer credits and speed degree completion. CLEP worked because, endorsed by the Carnegie Corporation, it was accepted by colleges nationwide.

In the early 1960s, the Carnegie Corporation funded three innovative programs for the continuing education of women. The University of Minnesota was the first institution to successfully apply for Carnegie funds for a women's continuing education program. Virginia Senders and Elizabeth Cless, administrators in the university's extension division, focused their proposal on workforce issues as well as the personal development and satisfaction of women students. Their outline had some things in common with an earlier proposal written by Senders when she was on the faculty at Antioch College but would operate on a much larger scale at the flagship University of Minnesota. Focused on young women of traditional college age as well as older returning women students, the "Minnesota Plan" sought to place women in the mainstream of campus life while providing specialized support and counseling. With proposal in hand, Senders contacted John Gardner, her former professor at Mt. Holyoke College and then-president of the Carnegie Corporation. His interest piqued, he referred Senders to Florence Anderson. Senders would later describe Anderson as instrumental in the approval of the $110,000 grant from Carnegie to the University of Minnesota. Anderson, recalled Senders, was "practical and tenacious." She was a clear ally of

women's education, and "returned academic proposals in this field over and over again, until they were rewritten in such a way that they could stand on their own, not as imitations of other new CEW programs" (Eisenmann, 2010, p. 187).

Figure 3-1 Virginia Senders (University of Minnesota Collections)

Figure 3-2 Elizabeth Cless (University of Minnesota Collections)

In 1960, Sarah Lawrence College also sought financial support to create a program for the continuing education of women. Initial funding requests made by the small, private liberal arts college to Carnegie and other foundations were turned down. After Carnegie rejected the application made by Sarah Lawrence president Paul Ward

and dean Esther Raushenbush, Anderson wrote directly to Ward indicating her personal interest and that she would welcome further discussion of the proposal. It doubtless did not harm the chances of Sarah Lawrence that Raushenbush and Anderson were old friends who ran in the same New York City social circles. After Raushenbush consulted with Anderson, the next application by Sarah Lawrence to Carnegie was successful. Anderson added the program at Sarah Lawrence to the program at the University of Minnesota as part of her personal grant management portfolio.

Figure 3-3 Esther Raushenbush

Although Anderson nurtured "her" programs, she did so with a critical eye. At Sarah Lawrence the "Westchester housewives," as Anderson described them, had to prove their ability to excel in collegiate work with a "good, stiff course" before progressing to further studies (Anderson, 1967). Nonetheless, Anderson took an active role in ensuring the success of the Sarah Lawrence program. When administrative foul-ups threatened to derail a partnership with another institution, Anderson admonished a male administrator via what she called a "real hot letter" that "you accepted this

proposal. You said you were going to do thus and so for these women...If you've now found that this isn't feasible, you'd better just cut out of it and we'll close up that part of the program" (Anderson, 1967).

Figure 3-4 Florence Anderson (Carnegie Corporation Files)

Anderson also played a key role in Carnegie's support of Bunting's work at Radcliffe College. Anderson knew Radcliffe president Mary Bunting from their mutual involvement with the ACE Commission. Bunting had a different sort of plan, offering workspace and professional connections to women who already held terminal degrees, but whose work could benefit from the time and space needed for intellectual engagement. Based at Radcliffe College, the women's coordinate college also known as the "Harvard Annex," the program, launched in 1961, continues today as the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University.

Figure 3-5 Mary "Polly" Bunting (Radcliffe Institute)

Also under Anderson's tenure as Corporate Secretary and grant gatekeeper, the Carnegie Corporation funded women's vocational counseling programs at the University of Pennsylvania and Barnard College. By design, the various women's education programs sponsored by Carnegie at mid-century had widely divergent aims, audiences, and structures. This application of so-called "scientific philanthropy" enabled Carnegie to maximize their impact by creating model programs to be copied and modified nationwide. Thus, Anderson was behind every piece of Carnegie's effort to remake women's higher education during this time.

Eisenmann (2010) writes, "[t]he Carnegie Corporation provided the first concentrated boost to woman-oriented philanthropy when it supported a small group of 'continuing education for women' programs in the early 1960s. Although this was not a large effort, Carnegie money proved to be prestigious, newsworthy, and fertile, kindling a women's continuing education movement that would produce over a hundred similar programs." Indeed, beyond creating models for future women's education programs, the projects underwritten by Carnegie changed the game for all

varieties of older, part-time, and returning college students by introducing innovations such as part-time graduate programs, easier credit transfers, advising and counseling services for non-traditional students, and childcare options for parents. These services continue to benefit countless adult students today, opening doors to degree completion, advanced study, and professional certification for groups including parents, veterans, those retraining for new careers, those obliged to work their way through college, and those who are all the above. Sara Engelhardt, who served as Anderson's *protégé* and deputy before becoming Corporate Secretary upon Anderson's retirement in 1975, later recalled that "the continuing education program...was really the framework on which non-traditional education was built" (Engelhardt, 1998).

Eisenmann (2010) describes the activity undertaken by women like Anderson, Cless, Senders, Raushenbush, and Bunting as "a quiet type of activism practiced by post-war women educators, an approach which often pales in comparison to the firmer efforts of post suffrage and World War activists, or to the lively and boisterous work of late-1960s feminists." But there can be no mistake—the women who worked to open the door to educational opportunities for non-traditional students were change-makers, and their legacy surrounds us today as scholars of women's history and activism.

3.4 Higher Education Act of 1965

In the 1960s, several strands of governmental action converged to realize many of the promises of *Higher Education for American Democracy*. Notably, Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 specified that "no person in the United States shall, on the

ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." Therefore, institutions that wished to accept G.I. Bill student grants, NDEA student grants, or other federal funds were forbidden from practicing discrimination on the grounds of racial, ethnic, or immigration status. In 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Higher Education Act, Title IV of which created many programs that are familiar today, such as Pell Grants, direct subsidized and unsubsidized loans, and federal work-study programs. Applicants for these programs fell under the protections of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, as institutions receiving federal grant and loan monies on behalf of students were prohibited from the type of discrimination banned by that law. Like the NDEA, the programs created by the 1965 act were gender-neutral—but the legislation contained no explicit protections based on gender. That task would fall to future legislators.

3.5 The Newman Report

In 1969, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), commissioned a group led by Frank Newman of Stanford University to evaluate the state of American higher education and make recommendations for its future. The group produced the *Report on Higher Education*, popularly known as the *Newman Report.* (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1971). The *Newman Report* was the work of a group of administrators from leading national public and private universities. With a broad charge to "devote [their] energies to the problems facing the

nation's system of higher education in the 1970s," the authors "concentrated on how well the functioning of that system matched the public interest." The federally-commissioned *Report*—which takes a broad view of the U.S. system of higher education and how it could be improved to better serve American society—was according to its authors "as much addressed to the State capitols, foundations, colleges and universities, and families concerned about higher education as it to [people] in Washington" (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1971).

Before laying out a vision for American higher education in the latter years of the 20th century, the *Newman Report* assessed the progress the nation had made since the Truman Commission issued *Higher Education for American Democracy* in 1947. The Truman Commission was innovative in its very existence, as by tradition as well as by the authority of the U.S. Constitution, American education was and is largely a state and local concern. However, the experience of wartime training and research partnerships between the military and campuses, as well as the early success of the G.I. Bill, demonstrated that not only was it possible for the federal government to exert influence over higher education policy, but it could be an effective way to influence American culture by educating a great mass of young citizens destined for jobs as leaders in the public and private sectors.

In retrospect, *Higher Education for American Democracy* was doomed by its own progressive aspirations. The document argued for the creation of federally funded educational benefits like those of the G.I. Bill—including grants to cover tuition and living expenses, redeemable at a variety of public and private institutions—and went

further by asserting that higher education should break down barriers brought about by racial, ethnic, religious, and class discrimination. However, American society at the time was unwilling to accept radical ideas, and the report mostly fell upon deaf ears. Although its recommendations were not directly implemented, the Truman Commission's findings did nonetheless presage events like *Brown v. Board of Education*, as well as legal maneuverings of students like Lyman T. Johnson, who in 1949 became the first African American student admitted to the White-only University of Kentucky after seeking admission to a graduate program not available at HBCU Kentucky State University (University of Kentucky, 1949). Johnson's argument for admission to the University of Kentucky was predicated on the fact that limited resources made it impossible for the state of Kentucky to support separate-but-equal graduate programs for at UK and KSU; this echoes the argument made in *Higher Education for American Democracy* that ending segregation in higher education would constitute a financial and manpower efficiency by eliminating the need for duplicate programs. Is it possible that the Truman Commission could have made a difference in women's access to higher education by coming out more strongly in their report against gender-based discrimination in the academy? Perhaps, but that would have required a reconsideration of the goals of cultural reproduction inherent in the report's stated aim to cultivate in students "a firm allegiance to the democratic faith" and to "inspire in our young people a consuming enthusiasm for the democratic way of life" (Commission on Higher Education, 1947).

While in some ways *Higher Education for Democracy* seems set on countering the theory of education as a means of cultural reproduction with its proposals for a state-led dismantling of class and racial divisions in higher education (which would by extension flow into the society at large), on the subject of gender it falls in line with an imperative to preserve the status quo by decreeing that the percentage of women enrolled in higher education in 1946 was adequate. Bourdieu writes, "in America no less than in Europe, credentials contribute to ensuring the reproduction of social inequality by safeguarding the preservation of the structure of the distribution of powers through a constant re-distribution of people and titles characterized, behind the impeccable appearance of equity and meritocracy, by a systematic bias in favour of the possessors of inherited cultural capital" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). The Truman Commission was ready to continue the work of the G.I. Bill to bulldoze barriers for any number of diverse groups of young men seeking access to cultural capital in the form of college credentials. For women, however, the status quo of theoretically equal access to education that in fact resulted in a dearth of actual earned credentials was apparently acceptable to the authors of the report.

Nearly a quarter century after the end of World War II, the *Newman Report* picked up where the Truman Commission had left off. Newman and company emphasize the problems created by a "lock-step" model of American education, which through much of the 20th century saw promising secondary school students channelled from high school to university, to possible graduate school or professional training, then into the workforce with no pause or divergence. In this model, not only were

undergraduates of “non-traditional” age (e.g., outside the range of 18 to 22 years old) rare, but even “mature” graduate students (those beginning a program after the age of 25) were seen as a waste of time by many departments. By 1971, the potential for wasted talent and lost intellectual capital was particularly evident among women. Combined with general discrimination against women as students and professionals, the “lock-step” model made it nearly impossible for women beyond traditional student age to begin or resume progress toward bachelor’s, master’s, or doctoral degrees. The problem was compounded by the tendency of women of the era to enter upon marriage and motherhood at relatively young ages, as well as to change geographic locations based on the education and employment of male partners.

On the topic of overt discrimination against women in higher education, the *Newman Report* plainly details challenges faced by women, particularly in securing advanced degrees. One striking passage recounts an exchange by one prospective female graduate student with a faculty member at the ostensibly progressive University of California, Berkeley; after being presented with evidence of the student’s prior coursework and qualifications the faculty member replied “You would probably not get into graduate school. If you did, you would meet so much hostility that I doubt if you would stay in. Most women do not finish their work, and we couldn’t take a chance on you. We don’t want women in the department anyway, and certainly not older women. This may be unfair to you in light of your record, but we are just not going to chance it” (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1971).

Anticipating poor performance from female graduate students due to hostility within the academy was a self -fulfilling prophecy, a conundrum explored in great depth by Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) in their study of women in academia from the 1960s through the 1980s.

Per the *Newman Report*, by the late 1960s, women were less likely than men to advance from high school to undergraduate studies, or from undergraduate to advanced or professional studies, despite out-performing male peers on every academic benchmark (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1971). Although, also per the *Report*, discrimination also persisted toward other groups—most notably URM students attending primarily White institutions—the authors note that while racist discrimination continued despite legislative efforts, gender-based discrimination in education was allowed, and in some cases encouraged, to flourish from the earliest days of federal intervention in higher education.

The *Newman Report* sought to address the "traditional and artificial" limits on who could be a college student. Acknowledging that women were "openly discriminated against," the document positioned the experiences of women as equivalent to those confronted by racial and ethnic minorities—although without any acknowledgment of the intersecting identities of URM women. But the *Newman Report* did address directly address the concerns of all whose identity put them outside the stereotype of a relatively young, White, male, able-bodied student at a residential college or university (United States, 1971). In so doing, the *Newman Report* set the stage for the next wave

of legislative remedies that would— directly or indirectly—address discrimination in higher education.

3.6 Title IX and Beyond

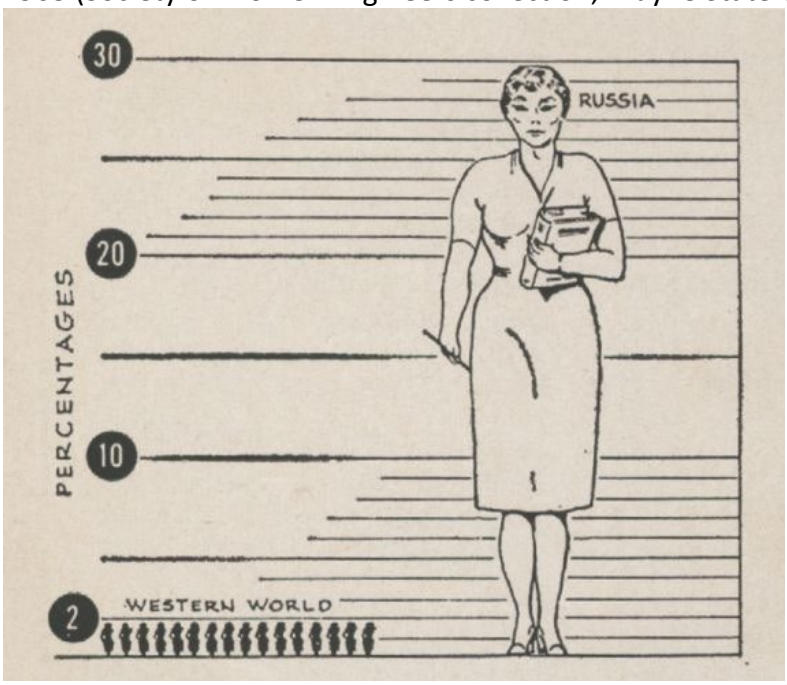
In 1972, with the passage of amendments to the 1965 Higher Education Act, Title IX prohibited discrimination against girls and women in federally funded education. Just as the U.S. government had used the provision of federal student aid dollars to assert control over institutions that resisted racial integration, Title IX empowered the government to withhold funds from institutions engaging in overt gender-based discrimination. Also in the early 1970s, women across the U.S. gained the right to access credit without a male co-signer, enabling them to take on federal educational loans that required colleges and universities to adhere to the same policies that ensured Pell and G.I. institutional eligibility.

Title IX made a clear difference to women's enrollment numbers, as well as their retention and degree completion. Rose (2018) tracks the enrollment of women students after World War II through the 1970s against the background of federal legislation. She argues that federal backing for women's increased enrollments in fact began long before Title IX, with the 1958 NDEA. The NDEA was not designed to ameliorate gender bias, but it did open a new line of gender-neutral educational funding that women were quick to seize upon. Some of these women fall under what Puaca (2014) termed "technocratic feminists." Instead of being allied with any explicit feminist movement, these women aligned their goals for personal vocational development with the

manpower needs of the United States at the outset of the Cold War. Although the launch of *Sputnik* and the beginning of the U.S. versus Soviet "space race" acted as justification for the NDEA, not all NDEA fellowship recipients engaged in study of the sciences. Many studied languages, English, history, and other liberal arts topics. The NDEA made explicit that the U.S. viewed an educated populace as an asset in the Cold War, and that women should be included in that populace.

Rose describes the increased educational access women experienced because of the NDEA as a move toward full economic citizenship for individual women. For NDEA fellowship recipients, their personal goals of education and economic mobility were, whether they intended them to be or not, intertwined with American defense imperatives. As unlikely as it may seem now, the U.S. government invested in defense not just by encouraging students to study the sciences, but also paying for some NDEA fellows to study the humanities. This was a time of a militarized populace—including English majors—engaged in a full cultural war against the Soviet Union.

Figure 3-6 Drawing illustrating science education levels of Western vs. Soviet women, 1963 (Society of Women Engineers collection, Wayne State University)



As Rose (2018) states, activism and policy were engaged in a symbiotic push and pull during the time when many of the laws that enabled increased access to education for American women in the 20th century were promulgated by small groups of mostly male federal legislators. These lawmakers' reasons for supporting legislation advancing women's access were varied, but often rooted in the experiences of female friends and relations. For a few female legislators, the issues were more personal. Rose asserts that much of the legislation broadening women's access to higher education, starting with the NDEA and up through Title IX, was generated from inside the Beltway rather than in response to grassroots movements. Even in the activist 1970s, according to Rose, much of the rise of women's organizing on campuses took place after Title IX had already broadened women's access to said campuses. Indeed, the data seem to bear out her

argument for the impact of federal policy on women's enrollments. And yet, it is clear from anecdotal accounts that activism had a real impact on broadening women's educational opportunities in the 20th century.

From the early 1970s, the Title IX and the women's liberation movement writ large changed how women experienced college. Even those women who did not view themselves as active participants in feminism—many of them cultural insiders who remained outside the fray of women's liberation—benefitted from advances in women's rights on campus. Most women students of the era benefitted from increased access to academic programs, better campus jobs, participation in athletics, and parity in use of campus facilities. Many also benefitted from support found in new women's organizations, as well as camaraderie born of sharing their experiences with other women. It was during the time that many CEW programs hit their stride, propelled by a combination of public policy solutions as well as enthusiastic engagement by individual women students seeking community.

The 1980s brought financial austerity to many sectors of higher education. Following the inflation and wage stagnation of the 1970s, colleges and universities nationwide tightened their belts. Contracting enrollments, along with state appropriations that continued to decline, presented new challenges to administrators. Due to Reagan-era fiscal conservatism and hostility toward affirmative action, programs perceived as serving special interests such as under-represented student groups struggled to obtain funding (Ehrenberg, 2009, p. 274).

CHAPTER 4. CEW AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

4.1 Administration, 1964-1969

Figure 4-1 Doris Seward in her office (UK Archives)

In May 1964, Doris M. Seward, who had served as Dean of Women at UK since taking over from the long-serving Sarah Bennett Holmes in 1957, attended a conference in Boston sponsored by Catalyst, a non-profit organization focused on women's educational and labor issues. In promotional materials for the conference, the Catalyst organization described itself as "a nation-wide agency to bring to our country's needs the unused capacities of intelligent women who want to combine family and work." With a board of directors that included presidents of Wellesley College, Sarah Lawrence College, Smith College, and Duke University, the group was headquartered in New York.

According to conference materials, the aim of the 1964 gathering was to launch pilot programs across the nation dedicated to adult women undergraduate students.

4.1.1 Doris Seward at the Catalyst Conference

Seward attended the Catalyst conference, held on the campus of Margaret Morrison Carnegie College, at the invitation of Helen Schleman, then president of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors (NAWDC, the successor to the NADW), and Dean of Women at Purdue University. Schleman probably knew Seward both from their joint membership in the NADW/NAWDC as well as from the time Seward spent working at Indiana University before moving to Kentucky. At the Boston conference, Seward was in the minority as a representative of a southern institution. Attendees represented some of the largest public universities and university systems in the nation, including Indiana University, the University of California Los Angeles, Stanford University, the University of Wisconsin, and the State University of New York system. The University of Minnesota, already home to an established CEW program, was represented by administrator Vera Schletzer. Psychologist Virginia Senders, who along with Elizabeth Class of the University of Minnesota Extension Program had launched the Minnesota Plan for CEW, joined the conference in her new role at the New England Board of Higher Education. Other attendees included representatives from the Educational Testing Service (ETS) and the College Level Examination Program (CLEP).

At the conference, Seward and other attendees discussed the “life pattern of the educated woman” through the following phases:

- Ages 0-18, childhood and high school

- Ages 18-22, college
- Ages 22-25, college graduation to birth of first child
- Ages 25-35, parenting babies and pre-school children
- Ages 35-45, parenting school-age children
- Ages 45-65, no children at home

Asked to consider "what are realistic goals for women with families that are socially useful and personally fulfilling?" and "what are the significant factors in society that impede the achievement of these goals?" conference attendees contemplated how each life phase could "be used most effectively in pursuit of these goals." Discussion at the Catalyst conference focused on how college-educated women could utilize the years without children at home productively. To engage in paid or volunteer work in their 40s, 50s, and 60s, however, women needed a way to keep their skills sharp through the years of childrearing. For women who followed the typical "life pattern of the educated woman," that often meant a return to some sort of academic or vocational training in their 30s. With their children enrolled in K-12 school, many middle-class White women found new hours in the day to devote to self-improvement.

Another session at the Catalyst conference examined "the college's role in relation to the special needs of women." Participants considered administrative and academic efforts to motivate traditional-age undergraduates to consider their future life plans, as well as how to offer "intellectual stimulation and direction to graduates" during their "family years." On the agenda were off-campus and on-campus programs, extension courses for credit, expanded career counseling and academic advising, and collaboration and communication between institutions.

The ethos underlying the Catalyst conference was one of self-efficacy—namely that women could and should, from the time they left high school, take an active role in designing a future that through appropriate education and personal development kept them busy and active through all the phases of their adult lives. While second wave feminist thought would eventually lead to calls for deconstruction of patriarchal norms across the U.S., many women in the early 1960s were only beginning to grapple with the sense that the post-World War II ideal of domesticity would not age well across their lifespans. At the same time, the U.S. needed more workers—especially in education, health, and human services.

To ensure that a 1964 undergraduate would later be ready to spring into action as a teacher, social worker, or health para-professional when her last child left home, it was essential that women plan for a life course of continued education, personal development, and economic and social usefulness. To this end, Catalyst conference organizers provided attendees with pre-written editorials designed for dissemination through campus newspapers; the texts targeted undergraduate women with messages about the importance of long-range planning for the future beyond marriage and childrearing. While acknowledging the all-consuming duties of the "family years," this messaging encouraged women with children at home to keep their intellects sharp by engaging with community issues that affected their immediate home and family (e.g., school boards, local planning) while also engaging in further education and, if possible, part-time work. This advice, which would not be out of place in 21st century women's magazines, was directed women to keep a toe in the waters of intellectual, personal,

and professional growth and to keep their resumes and credentials current (Catalyst on Campus, 1964). This road map proposed to help women avoid the years of domestic frustration described by Friedan (1963) among her cohort of educated housewives.

1964, however, the lives of many American women looked very difference than those of the college-educated, comfortably middle-class, mostly White women who were the topic of the Catalyst conference. A broad group of women of all races were engaged in paid labor including clerical work, manufacturing, agricultural work, and domestic service. Many women who had undertaken post-secondary education were already engaged in professional and para-professional jobs in education, health, and human services. In fact, women experienced a steady increase in labor force participation from the end of World War II through the late 1950s (Kessler-Harris, 1982). Although many middle-class and college-educated women stepped out of the workforce upon the birth of their first child, many others remained employed well into marriage and childbearing. Still others dipped in and out of employment as their families grew. A 1964 report from the U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau found that 51 percent of 1957 women college graduates were in the workforce seven years after graduation (Department of Labor, 1964). This data tracks with the overall rise in labor force participation by women college graduates from 1952 to 1964 (Department of Labor, 1964).

4.1.2 Celia K. Zyzniewski, the first UKCCEW Director

Figure 4-2 Celia K. Zyzniewski (UK Archives)

Upon her return from Boston, Seward set about establishing a CEW program at UK. One of Seward's first actions was to designate a program director; she selected Celia K. Zyzniewski, a newcomer to Seward's office staff who brought with her extensive connections throughout the university and local community. Zyzniewski was a "faculty wife." Though the term may sound retrograde to 21st century sensibilities, Eisenmann (2001) argues that at a time when coeducational universities excluded women from roles as faculty members or senior administrators, women placed in the orbit of the university community through marriage to male professors occupied roles of considerable influence on campus. In many ways, Zyzniewski was an archetypal faculty wife. Holding bachelor's and master's degrees herself, she had previously published a single scholarly article on Polish women in the workforce (Zyzniewski, 1959). Her

scholarship overlapped with that of her husband Stanley Zyzniewski, whose professional path brought the couple to Kentucky when he accepted a position as a professor of history and Slavic studies. Celia Zyzniewski became involved in the civic life of her new community, serving as president of the Lexington League of Women Voters. But as was the case for many academia-adjacent women, Celia was obliged to accommodate her activities to her husband's career when in 1964 Stanley accepted a Fulbright fellowship that took the couple to Europe for a year. Upon the couple's return to Kentucky in 1965, Celia went to work with Seward.

It is unclear whether Zyzniewski was hired specifically to head the CEW program or received the assignment after taking up her staff role, but she entered into the work with competence and precision. In Fall of 1966, Zyzniewski distributed a survey to all women over the age of 25 enrolled on UK's main campus. As of September 1966, UK had a total all-campus enrollment of 20,800, an increase over the previous year's figure of 18,600. Growth from 1965 to 1966 was spread across the main campus in Lexington, the Lexington Technical Institute, and the expanding community college system (University of Kentucky Board of Trustees, 1966). Of the 13,802 students enrolled on the main campus in Fall 1966, 822 were women ages 25 and older. According to Zyzniewski's notes, this figure represented a 40 percent increase in "mature" women students over Fall 1965. This growth was organic, as no concentrated recruitment effort had yet to reach these women. Inclusive only of students on the main campus, this number was also not directly related to the expansion of UK's community college system.

Out of 822 surveys distributed to 557 adult women graduate students (comprising 25 percent of total graduate students at UK) and 265 undergraduate students, Zyzniewski received 224 responses—a return rate of approximately 30 percent. The survey aimed to "obtain statistical data and a personal profile" of adult women students, "to elicit reactions to problems," and "to allow an opportunity for suggestions," per an accompanying letter from Zyzniewski.

The original survey instrument and responses appear to be lost to time but reading between the lines of Zyzniewski's summary of the results it seems likely that the survey prompted students to give narrative responses, which Zyzniewski later coded into categories. In a report to Robert L. Johnson, UK vice president for student affairs, Zyzniewski noted that 182 of the 224 respondents (135 graduate students and 89 undergraduates) identified areas where UK could improve their experience as students. The top three concerns identified were "registration" (n=43), "counseling," e.g., academic and career advising (n=48), and "lounge space" (n=35). "Parking" (n=28) came in as a strong fourth. Four students identified "eating facilities" as a concern and two respondents identified "study space" as a problem, although it is unclear how they differentiated this from "lounge space." Twelve students each identified "financial" and "babysitting" as their primary areas of concern. Without access to the original survey instrument, it is difficult to determine if the question posed to students led them to prioritize issues where they believed the university could make a difference—and if so, whether that influenced the low ranking of financial aid and childcare needs as priorities in the survey results. Regardless, the fact remains that survey respondents identified

items in the broad categories of registration processes, advising, and facilities as among their top challenges.

Figure 4-3 Chaotic class registration at Memorial Coliseum in 1952. UK used the same registration process and location throughout the 1960s. (UK Archives)

The challenges identified by the survey were interwoven with each other—as well as with other concerns such as childcare and finances. Many students found their faculty advisors to be variously rushed, dismissive, or kind but ill-informed. Poor advising, in their view, led to further complications as they dealt with an already-byzantine registration process. Many complained that faculty advisors gave students bad advice, leading them to waste time and money on classes that would not fulfill their educational or career goals. Furthermore, unable to complete advising, registration, and

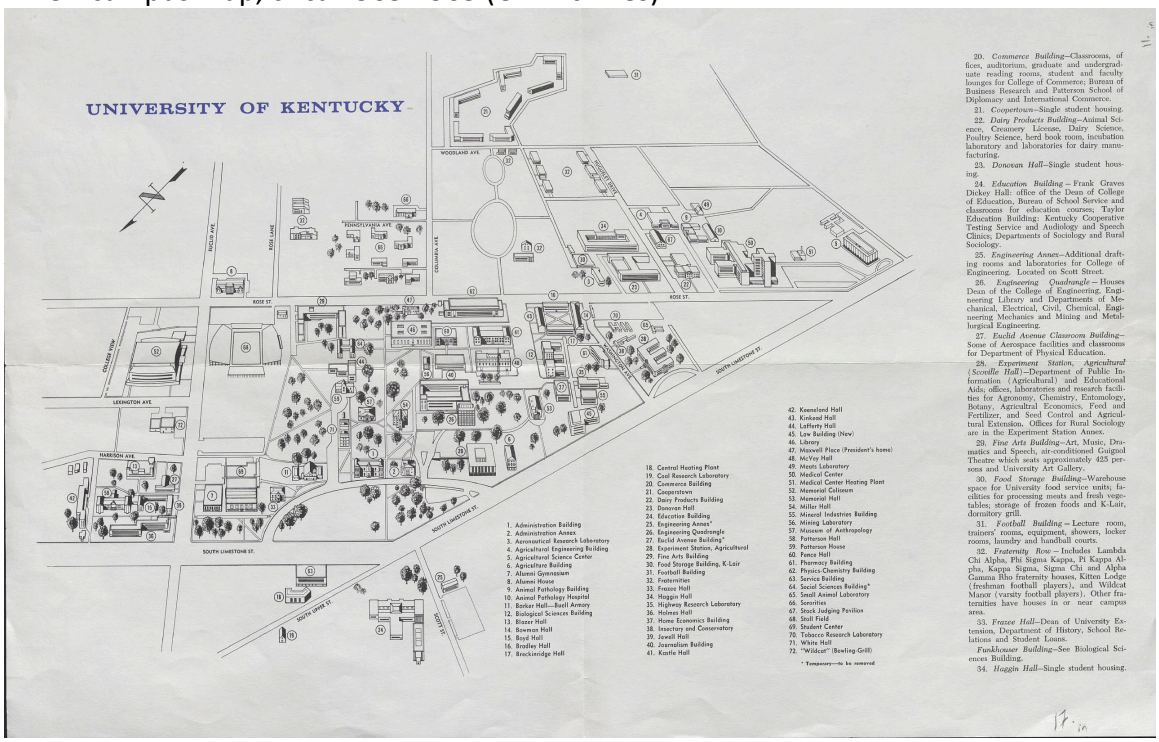
fee payment in one trip, adult women students found themselves making multiple trips to campus, where they encountered difficulties with parking and irregular office hours.

"It shouldn't really be necessary to run from Frazee to the 'quad' for a drop-add, find the building locked for lunch, wait an hour, go to McVey for signatures, leave to pick up children, [then] return to find the course closed," wrote one student.

"Why [should I] have to make a special trip to the campus, with parking as it is, to pay tuition—isn't there some way that one trip could take care of all registration and payment of fees?" asked another woman.

"So far as I am concerned, registration is still the biggest problem, since I have to arrange to be away from work. Often classes I want are filled or have been eliminated, and there is no one to help make adjustments," another student responded.

Figure 4-4 UK campus map, circa 1963-1965 (UK Archives)



Women understood that they would need to plan for childcare during classes, but found the process complicated by registration procedures requiring multiple trips to campus, along with an inability to schedule their classes at convenient times. If these items could be worked out, they seemed to believe they could cope with managing childcare and finances.

"There seemed to be no special set-up for the mature woman returning to college: same forms, vague answers to special problem questions, little interest in your specific situation as compared to average young student in college, no encouragement," was the summing-up delivered by one survey respondent.

Just as mature woman students did not have time to waste during registration, some resented what they viewed as poor academic advising that cost them time and money.

"Counselors [e.g., faculty advisors] should be more realistic about the amount of courses needed to qualify for a teacher's certificate," wrote one respondent. "I entered into this program expecting it to be somewhat less lengthy than it has turned out to be— [had I known I] probably wouldn't have started it."

"There should be someone, somewhere one could go to and find out just what must be done to get two degrees. I made several needless trips only to be sent somewhere else. I still do not have the solution," noted another student.

Respondents to the survey had suggestions for how to ameliorate the difficulties facing adult women students. They sought streamlined registration procedures for adult and part-time students, as well as a core of staff advisors in each college, ideally with

specialized knowledge of the concerns of adult women students and able to provide more focused and timely assistance than faculty advisors.

"Each school on campus should have counselors so that teaching staff may concentrate on teaching," wrote one student.

Survey respondents also desired places to eat, network, and study together at convenient times, as well ways to travel to and from campus efficiently [e.g., better parking]. Most seemed to believe they could manage their academic and family responsibilities well if provided with these resources. This population of students did not ask for special accommodations in the classroom, but they craved the opportunity to talk with someone—anyone—at the university who understood the challenges they faced.

Beyond constructive criticism, students who responded to the survey reflected on the positive aspects of their experiences as mature women on campus. Some found camaraderie with their classmates. One woman wrote: "I enjoy the younger students. I have refrained from acting like their mother and they have delighted me by not treating me like their mother. Whatever one's age, it's great to be a part of an intelligent, creative, and inquiring student body and I appreciate the privilege."

"It's exhilarating to be back in the world of the mind, and to meet and know our young colleagues face to face," wrote another woman. "This, in itself, is a liberal education."

Finally, for some students, simply being asked for their opinion was gratifying.

"It is impossible for me to tell you how pleased and appreciative I was when I read your accompanying letter," wrote a student. "It does give me a good feeling to know that your office does take an interest in me. It really gives me more a sense of 'belonging' than anything that has happened since enrolling."

The results of the Fall 1966 student survey undertaken by Zyzniewski informed the curriculum of a seminar series held at UK in February of 1967. Zyzniewski was the primary organizer of the seminar series, with Seward providing budget and executive sponsorship. The series took place on four successive weekends; 104 unique participants attended at least one weekend session, while 50 participants attended all four weekend sessions. Attendees discussed the role of women in modern life, as well as the concept of "multiple roles" throughout the lifespan of women. Participants also attended orientations to university life—including library tours and lunch with current UK adult women students. Through the seminar series, participants had the chance to make connections with other women interested in pursuing continuing education. Some of these connections evolved into cohorts as incoming students stayed in touch through the admission and matriculation processes.

Following the seminar series, Zyzniewski's evaluation report described the participants as "motivated women searching for clues to self." In demographic information gathered from seminar participants, most listed their occupation as "housewife," while approximately 15 percent of the women indicated that they combined housework with part-time or full-time paid labor. Most of the women were married, and most of the married women reported their husbands as employed in

professional fields such as law, medicine, or business management. More than half of the women were mothers of children under the age of twelve. Forty-seven percent of the respondents already held bachelor's degrees. A striking majority of seminar participants—71 percent—said they were interested in pursuing further education, but also that they required assistance navigating the processes of enrollment, matriculation, course selection, and vocational planning. The top reasons women cited for pursuing further education were "personal enrichment" and "economic motives"—but these answers fell along educational dividing lines, with bachelor's degree holders more likely to cite "personal enrichment" as their primary motivation. Those who did not hold bachelor's degrees were more likely to cite economic advancement as their reason for seeking continuing education. Many participants cited the seminars as an opportunity for "organized thinking," with one woman writing that the "lectures helped to fortify my intentions of returning to school." And for at least one woman, the seminars were most valuable because they provided "the opportunity to come to the university and feel I was wanted."

"There are many other women who would like to further their education but are holding back for fear of being rejected by the teenagers or faculty or some other reason. Another series may resolve some of their problems as they did for me," wrote one woman, who identified herself as a mother of three children and noted that she had already applied for admission to UK for the Summer 1967 term.

4.1.3 Support from Oswald Administration

In late 1966, while planning the seminars that would be held in February 1967, Zyzniewski traveled to Boston for a conference on women's education held at Northeastern University. While there, Zyzniewski met with Virginia Bullard of Northeastern University; Constance Smith, dean of the Radcliffe Institute for Independent Study; and Freda Goldman of the Boston University Center for Study of Liberal Education of Adults. In her report to Seward, Zyzniewski commented on the other programs: while Northeastern's program was only part-time and not focused on women, Zyzniewski praised the "very well-funded" Radcliffe Institute as well as the Boston University program. Based on what she learned from and about other institutions, Zyzniewski reported to Seward that "the number of women studying at UK is impressive," and the 30 percent return rate on their survey indicated high engagement compared to peers. She further posited that UK's land-grant status, reach through community colleges, and leadership role in a rural state positioned UK well to lead, rather than follow or compete with, other institutions in Kentucky.

In the same memo in which Zyzniewski reported on her Boston trip, she rolled out a series of proposals for CEW at UK: non-credit, cash pay seminars on personal development topics; short programs focused on career development; improved counseling/advising; a new core curriculum friendly to CEW students; and more options for independent study credits. She also suggested that the nascent CEW at UK establish an advisory committee, pursue federal and private grants, partner with the newly established Kentucky Educational Television for outreach opportunities, and look for

opportunities to improve enrollment and registration procedures. Zyzniewski also drew a straight line between workforce needs in Central Kentucky and women's continuing education, writing "the need for personnel in the expanding community—Allied Health Professionals an example with new [the new Veterans Administration] hospital wing [adjacent to UK's teaching hospital]—might dictate launching 'sub-professional' programs to train personnel to work under supervision—occupational therapy assistants, physical therapy assistants, social worker aides, etc." Zyzniewski attached to her report the document "A Five-Year Report, 1960-1965 of the Minnesota Plan for Continuing Education of Women," from the University of Minnesota (Schletzer, 1967). Not only did Zyzniewski's inclusion of this document indicate that UK hoped to follow the example of the Minnesota Plan, but it also served as evidence that UM fulfilled the aim of its Carnegie funding by providing a template for other institutions. Perhaps UK administrators also looked to UM for inspiration not just because of the success of the Minnesota Plan, but because of similarities between the schools; both UK and UM occupied dual roles as flagship research universities and land-grant institutions for their states—roles that were divided between two separate universities in most states.

With Zyzniewski's survey data in hand, in December 1966 Seward wrote a memo to Elbert W. Ockerman, registrar and dean of admissions at UK. Arguing that streamlining the registration process for adult women students would save the university money while contributing to a positive learning environment, Seward requested that these students be allowed to register—and pay tuition fees—via mail. Ockerman responded promptly, relaying to Seward that the university was already

considering mail-in registration as an option for all incoming students. Whether or not Seward's communication helped the process along is difficult to determine, but by 1967 all UK graduate students could register by mail, and by 1968 all UK students had the option to pay fees by mail.

While Seward pushed for adjustments to university policies, Zyzniewski engaged in investigating vocational options for adult women students while attempting some level of state government engagement. Starting in November of 1966, Zyzniewski wrote a series of letters to various state offices and employers. She began each letter by identifying herself as a UK staff employee, stating "my position is a new one in the Office of the Dean of Women and is primarily concerned with the coordination of all these activities that are a particular concern to mature women continuing their education." Noting that "several inquiries have been made pertinent to...employment possibilities in the future" by returning women students, she specifically asked each recipient for information on professional employment suitable for college graduates. She also solicited further involvement from state agencies.

Zyzniewski sent requests for information on employment, including five- and ten-year projections when available, to contacts in various state agencies. In a 1966 letter to Joy Sisk of the Kentucky Department of Economic Security Personnel and Training Section, Zyzniewski included a note about the careers interests of returning women students *versus* those of traditional undergraduates, reflecting that "it is significant to note that many women, because of maturity, have multi-interests in identifying with a profession." Margaret Willis, State Librarian at the Kentucky

Department of Libraries, wrote to Zyzniewski that the state "can offer scholarships to qualified applicants with A.B. or B.S. degrees for graduate study in Library Science." In 1966 the scholarship amount was $3,000. For each $1,000 provided, the Master of Library Science graduates were obligated to work one year as regional librarians for the state. According to Willis, the state anticipated hiring at least three librarians per year for the foreseeable future.

Not every contact was as helpful as Willis. When Zyzniewski reached out to M. L. Archer at the Commonwealth of Kentucky Department of Personnel, she asked him if he would "participate in workshops which are being planned for early 1967...concern[ing] the emerging role of women." While Archer expressed a willingness to participate in "workshops and any other programs that you might sponsor at the university," and a desire to "cooperate in any way possible in furthering the employment of women in state government," he referred Zyzniewski to the UK Placement Office for any career information, noting the state already supplied that information to UK through the Placement Office. The fact that this information had already been sent to UK, but Zyzniewski and Seward were unaware of its existence was a result of general silo-ing within the complex university structure. It might also speak to the position of the Office of the Dean of as outside the flow of administrative information—an interpretation that would mesh with Seward's apparent lack of awareness of registration-by-mail proposals under consideration by Ockerman's office.

Participant feedback gathered by Zyzniewski's evaluation of the February 1967 programming made a clear case for establishing a formal CEW program at UK. Adult

women in the community were eager to pursue continuing education—and interested in doing so at UK. The women also clearly articulated their need for student services different from those offered to traditional undergraduates. But to make an organized CEW program reality at UK would take more than Seward's goodwill and Zyzniewski's careful planning. Providing resources for the many interested adult women students would require support from senior administration—and funding to match.

In January 1967, UK President John Oswald issued a report to the UK Board of Trustees; the President's Report 1 (PR1), issued ahead of every board meeting and made available to news media, was an important public relations tool for Oswald. Assembled by staff in the university's external relations office, each PR1 document delivered the "greatest hits" of recent news that the administration wished to promote as part of UK's institutional image.

The January 1967 PR1 included this passage: "Women over the age of 25 are being encouraged to enroll at the University. A new program was launched last September designed to help enrich the lives of mature women. Presently 557 are enrolled as graduate students, and 265 as undergraduates. Most are housewives, and the most popular studies are education, home economics, library science, counselling, and English" (University of Kentucky, 1967).

The "program" mentioned above consisted solely of Zyzniewski, who was under contract to devote about half her time to launching CEW at UK. Oswald—or staff working on his behalf—may have overstated the scope of the project because they realized its potential public relations value. The 557 adult women graduate students and

265 adult women undergraduate students then at UK were not there because of any explicit recruitment efforts, and to that point had only been contacted to fill out a survey. No specific programming or advising yet existed to assist these students—but a detail like the non-existence of a CEW program was not enough to deter Oswald from touting the principle.

The February 1967 PR1 grouped multiple news briefs under the heading "Programs explore woman's role in modern life." One item summarized a recent lecture by James W. Gladden, professor of sociology at UK, who told his audience "the best adjustment for women in a rapidly developing complex society, especially for those who have at least a high school education, is a multiple role—the acceptance of marriage, child-rearing, and participation at least part time in the labor force." The same PR1 reported briefly on Zyzniewski's Fall 1966 trip to Boston, as well as the four-part seminar series organized by Zyzniewski, described as geared toward introducing "mature" women to "personal development topics"—including academic and vocational options.

Oswald demonstrated support for CEW at UK in other public ways. In a February 1967 speech to the Kentucky Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs in Louisville, Oswald cited Zyzniewski's survey data. However, while survey respondents had emphasized systemic university issues such as parking, registration, and advising as barriers, Oswald chose to focus on financial need and personal family concerns as obstacles to women's continuing education. Although Oswald did acknowledge that UK had should offer adult women students "better counseling and more acceptance by the faculty," at least publicly he chose to focus on women's individual challenges, rather

than address any systemic barriers within the university. Speaking to the Louisville audience, Oswald made clear that UK was not in the business of remaking American society but was willing to reflect on the role of the university in preparing women to confront the circumstances of their individual lives (University of Kentucky, 1967, p. 5).

"To sum it up...if the universities are, as some claim, running marriage bureaus, we should be certain we are additionally educating wives and mothers, not preparing divorcées," Oswald said. Educators, continued Oswald, should give young girls "a long-range look at their lives" and "pre-condition them" to return for further education when "they again are ready to enter the realm of career or activities outside their homes" (University of Kentucky, 1967, p. 5).

Figure 4-5 John Oswald (UK Archives)

Oswald's public support for CEW at UK could not have been a surprise to those who hired him. Oswald, who assumed the UK presidency in 1963, came to Kentucky from the University of California (UC), where he had been mentored by Clark Kerr. Kerr, who became the first chancellor of UC Berkeley in 1952, was in 1957 appointed by the UC Board of Regents to head the entire statewide university system. It was in this capacity that Kerr promoted the "California System," which from 1960 onward

organized the state's universities into tiers. At the top were public research universities like UC Berkeley and UC Los Angeles. The California State Universities (CSUs) were designated as mid-tier institutions, intended to handle the bulk of undergraduate education. At the base of the system were the public community colleges, which provided vocational training as well as opportunities to earn credits transferable to UC and CSU institutions (Thelin, 2011). Although Kerr was dismissed from his role at UC in 1967 by new California Governor Ronald Reagan, the system he developed continued to thrive in California—and to be copied nationwide.

When UK hired Oswald as president in 1963, Kerr's project of reorganization was already well known among higher education leaders (Kerr, 1963). By hiring Kerr's disciple to head UK, the board of trustees signaled their readiness to grow UK into a multi-tiered, statewide institution. Kentucky in the 1960s had a less unified higher education system than many other states. The University of Kentucky served then, as it does now, as both the flagship research university for the state, as well as its land-grant service institution. During this time regional campuses such as Eastern Kentucky University and Western Kentucky University, which from their inception operated as independent institutions, were just emerging from their status as teacher's colleges into life as full-fledged universities. The University of Louisville was a metropolitan campus primarily serving students from Jefferson County. Liberal arts colleges of varying degrees of quality and religiosity, as well as scattered junior colleges, comprised the rest of higher education in the Commonwealth.

Almost immediately upon starting work at UK, Oswald pushed to create a statewide community college system under the banner of the flagship university. UK took over existing junior colleges, as well as building new campuses across the state. From Paducah to Pikeville, students at the new community colleges were encouraged to think of themselves as UK students. The system grew rapidly, giving a boost to UK's enrollment and statewide influence. The community colleges, in addition to the UK agricultural extension offices already in place throughout the 120 counties of the Commonwealth, made UK a truly statewide institution and anchor of higher education in Kentucky—a model that continued until the early 2000s when, under the leadership of President Lee T. Todd, UK shed its community college campuses to focus on growth as a research institution.

4.1.4 Staff and Stamps

In 1967, UK combined the functions previously fulfilled by the Dean of Men and Dean of Women into a single Dean of Students position. The first UK Dean of Students was Jack Hall. Seward, meanwhile, remained at UK in a diminished and displaced role in the new Office of the Dean of Students. According to Seward, the impetus for the reorganization came from Oswald, in alignment with national trends. In an oral history of her time at UK, Seward traced the shift in student affairs models "going back even to the arrival of the [G.I. Bill] veterans, most of whom were men."

"[Returning veterans] gave sort of a different feeling to student personnel," said Seward. "The girls were still...docile under all those [*in loco parentis* rules]. The men were older and didn't need that kind of regulation...so a lot of that traditional college

rah rah stuff had gone by the board...right after the war. Then there was all the Civil Rights interest...the Vietnam War...there were so many forces. Then within student personnel itself, deans of women, finally the fairytale...had caught up with them. [Dean of Women] wasn't a title you were particularly proud of. It was sort of still the flat-shoed, shirtwaist type of person. Some women were seeking the title Dean of Students but most places where the change was happening and deans of women were becoming supplanted, the men were becoming the deans of students and maybe the women were becoming assistant deans of students, or maybe they were still called deans of women. So there were lots of things going nationally...from every direction things were in turmoil. [Oswald] quite rightly wanted this looked at. He did name a committee.... I'm not sure there were any women [on the committee], but out of that...came a recommendation which maybe was already in everybody's mind before that..." (Seward, 1977).

Seward, in the reorganization, became Dean of Student Affairs Planning—a "made up" position she acknowledged had no real authority or purpose. Dean Hall was "a man of energy...a man of limited education and social background," according to Seward. She did, however, concede that he was a "nice person and politically astute."

"It was a time when 'masculine' traits were needed," recalled Seward, describing the viewpoint of many university administrators faced with increasing unrest on campuses. The new "legalistic" approach to student affairs emphasized policing student behavior rather than using the counseling model that had been pioneered and deployed by deans of women.

Although disempowered within the student affairs structure, Seward remained at UK until 1970. In Seward's new role, she was no longer directly involved in CEW, and it was uncertain what the future of the CEW program—such as it was—might be. In a June 2, 1967, memorandum to UK Vice President A.D. Albright, Zyzniewski requested clarification of her position and the status of CEW at UK.

"In the Division of Student Affairs, 'my role' (to date) was reviewed with Mr. Johnson in February and it was decided that it is not directly related to the reorganization of departmental activities. Clarification of the project and 'my role' has been postponed primarily due to Mr. Johnson's accelerated tasks during President Oswald's illness and then, in April, my own personal situation," Zyzniewski wrote. The "personal situation" to which Zyzniewski referred was the unexpected death of her husband in April 1967. Eliding any other reference to her personal life, Zyzniewski then pressed Albright to meet with her while noting that this was at least her fourth attempt to schedule a meeting with him.

Citing inquiries driven by the success of the February 1967 seminar series, supportive public comments by Oswald, and a societal recognition of the "changing role of women," Zyzniewski requested from Albright clarification about the future of any formal CEW program to be established at UK. Noting that as the staff person most identified with programming for adult women students Zyzniewski found herself fielding inquiries without either a formal structure or assurance of her own role at the university beyond the expiration of her part-time contract on in June 1967, she wrote "working

without guidance affects the image of the university, planning, and frankly, is not entirely acceptable to me."

Zyzniewski enclosed with her memorandum to Albright a report on the February seminar series, notes on potential programming at UK, and an abstract on CEW programming at the University of Michigan.

Like Celia Zyzniewski, Michigan CEW founder Louise Cain was a "faculty wife." And like Elizabeth Class and Virginia Senders of the University of Minnesota, Cain worked in her university's extension division. But the development of CEW on the University of Michigan Ann Arbor campus followed a different trajectory than UK's initial efforts, quickly securing the executive sponsorship of Vice President for Academic Affairs Roger Heyns. With the support of Heyns, in 1964 Cain was successful in establishing CEW at the University of Michigan within the academic structure of the university, avoiding the classification under the highly gendered structure of student affairs. What really made CEW at Michigan work, however, was an early infusion of philanthropic money from alumnae. Cain involved alumnae in the process early, drawing data from surveys of University of Michigan graduates. Communications with alumnae paid off when, also in 1964, the University of Michigan Alumnae Council pledged a total of $45,000 over three years toward the support of the new Center—with the university matching the gift dollar for dollar.

At UK, however, Zyzniewski did not find her administrative audience to be as receptive as Heyns. Rather, when she received no answer from Albright, Zyzniewski soon redoubled her efforts to set up a meeting. A flurry of memos followed; in one

Zyzniewski proposed that since Albright was obviously "super-busy" she might drive him campus one morning so they could talk during the commute. Along with this communication, Zyzniewski emphasized that she had "no outline for work, or any other sensible thing."

While awaiting word from Albright on budgetary and organization issues, Zyzniewski continued her work as she understood it. Zyzniewski's employment was extended and in Fall 1967 she pushed forward with a report using data drawn from state government agencies, UK alumnae, local civic organizations, and regional industries. This report found that UK had the resources—and women in the Central Kentucky region had the interest—to support a formal CEW program. Zyzniewski took pains in this report to demonstrate linkages between growing manpower needs in Kentucky and proposed plans to assist women seeking continuing education for career advancement. In 1966 a College of Allied Health was established at UK to serve the state's growing need for professionals and paraprofessionals in fields such as physical therapy, speech therapy, and dietetics. Along with the existing registered nurse program at the UK College of Nursing, new Allied Health programs offered many opportunities for women to train as health care workers. UK's College of Medicine, founded in 1960, had produced few female graduates in its first decade of operation, but the presence of a university teaching hospital in the region, along with a new Veterans Administration hospital as well as multiple community hospitals, meant that the need for trained health care workers was great. Zyzniewski also highlighted Kentucky's need for teachers, social workers, and administrators to staff an expanding health and human services public

sector. Finally, she floated a few ideas for how UK might enter reciprocal arrangements with community stakeholders, by seeking grants from local UK alumnae associations, industry, and civic groups. Students, she proposed, could benefit not just from federal funds made available through the NDEA and 1965 Higher Education Act, but from approximately $1 million in community scholarship funds available in the Central Kentucky region.

With funds from the university still not forthcoming, Zyzniewski laid out a creative option for income generation in the form of non-credit "personal development" seminars focused on "executive wives of executive husbands." In a later memo to Albright, Zyzniewski again made the case for targeting "executive wives" as student-consumers. These women, she noted, existed in "high concentration in Lexington and environs" but had "no existing social vehicle for role identity." This demographic group had been well-represented at the February 1967 seminars, and many indicated a desire to engage with continuing education. Zyzniewski described these women as "seasoned" in the "management of family responsibility, pressures of contemporary life, maturity." She also portrayed them as interested in "what might have been" regarding their life trajectories. If these well-heeled women could be induced to participate in further personal development opportunities on a cash basis, the income generated would go a long way toward making CEW at UK self-sustaining.

Budgetary concerns were never far from Zyzniewski's mind. On November 2, 1967, she finally met with Albright. In her read-out from their meeting, she noted that "Support was given [by Albright] to develop a seminar on an experimental basis and of a

'pioneering spirit' rather than focus on re-designing available courses around a convenient schedule for this group." Zyzniewski attached an addendum to her notes, indicating that she had discussed with Albright the resources necessary to continue her work: specifically, she requested "space, title, budget allotment, [and] access to secretarial help." In pencil, Zyzniewski added some rough budget figures, including "salary $9,000" for her proposed pay as CEW director. She made the case for her requests by noting the budget allocations and success of peer and aspirant programs at the University of Minnesota, the University of Michigan, and Catherine Spalding College in Louisville, Kentucky.

With the budget still up in the air, 1967 did see the creation of an advisory planning council for CEW at UK. Albright offered to help Zyzniewski recruit council members and was able to secure the participation of faculty and administrators from across the university. On November 16, 1967, Zyzniewski sent a memo to the council members in advance of their first meeting, planned for December 1967. The advisory council was comprised of Howard W. Beers, director of the UK Center for Developmental Change; George W. Denemark, professor in the College of Education; Charles F. Elton, associate professor of psychology in the College of Arts & Sciences; Joseph Hamburd, Dean of the College of Allied Health; Albert J. Lott, professor of psychology; and Donald A. Ringe, professor of English in the College of Arts & Sciences. No women faculty or administrators were invited to join the council. In fact, aside from Seward—who by this point had turned the CEW project almost entirely over to Zyzniewski—and Zyzniewski herself, the effort to launch CEW at UK was at this point

devoid of women leaders. And so, it was to this group of men that Zyzniewski issued a charge on behalf of Albright, writing "as presented to you, your task is to probe, formalize, [and] implement function" to develop a plan for CEW at UK. The same document laid out a general direction for CEW at UK, proposing that it would "pioneer...innovative approaches to undergrad education." The preliminary plan called for more use of independent study courses, making facilities available to students outside of daytime hours, as well as allowing capable students to finish core requirements in humanities and social sciences through flexible study with "no dilution of academic standards or demand." Proposed innovations also included the use of flexible course sequences and allowing "special students" to use credit-by-examination to bypass material they had already mastered.

When the advisory council finally met in December 1967, Zyzniewski provided the volunteer council members with a brief sketch of CEW's trajectory at UK thus far. Her account included, as an explanation for the genesis of CEW efforts at UK, the contention that "rapid changes in career positions available to women, demands of ever complex life, Civil Rights Act of 1965, the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women in Kentucky were the impetus for a [UK] centennial year celebration." This could have been an attempt by Zyzniewski to retroactively link CEW at UK to larger state and national trends. While it is possible—even probable—that Seward was in some way influenced by the aforementioned events in the United States, Kentucky, and on campus, nowhere is there evidence to support that her actions or those of Zyzniewski were primarily compelled by these specific external factors. Rather, as mentioned

previously in this chapter, the impetus for CEW at UK seems to have first been derived from Seward's participation in the 1964 Catalyst conference—an event that pre-dated both the 1965 Civil Rights Act as well as the UK centennial. Furthermore, nowhere in the archives connected to the well-documented 1965 centennial celebration of the University of Kentucky—a large enough event to attract then-President of the United States Lyndon B. Johnson—can there be found any language affirming a renewed commitment by UK to the education of women in general, or adult women specifically. By 1967, however, landmark events such as the Civil Rights Act, the report of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women in Kentucky, and the UK centennial provided a handy backdrop for any and all progressive programs. Truthfully though, one thing that did happen in 1965 that provided substantive support for CEW at UK was the Higher Education Act of that year, which provided new access to educational funding for students regardless of age, sex, race, or marital status.

The advisory council had been asked to "probe, finalize, [and] implement function," but it appears from the minutes of that first meeting that the assembled faculty and administrators got no further than determining that they should create a special course focused broadly on social change in contemporary society. Rather than outlining any specific plan to assist women returning to college, the advisory council seems to have engaged in an extended debate that went deep into the woods on the subjects of course content and pedagogical approaches to education for adult students. While perhaps a worthy discussion, this did not fulfill the charge given by Albright and Zyzniewski to the council.

While members of the advisory council retreated to their classrooms, Zyzniewski sought another meeting with Albright. At the beginning of 1968, Zyzniewski seemed determined to nail Albright down on the topic of an administrative and budgetary structure for CEW at UK. On January 19, Zyzniewski requested a meeting with Albright in a memo referencing their "interrupted discussion of November 2, 1967." Receiving no reply, on January 25 Zyzniewski contacted Albright again. This time she wrote to inform him that she had drafted a formal proposal for the establishment of CEW at UK.

"Attached is a proposal for a Center for the Continuing Education of Women," wrote Zyzniewski. "This recommendation is made after careful consideration following the two meetings with the faculty advisory group, and a specific concern for the University's structure." On January 30, the proposal went to the UK Board of Trustees for consideration. However, no action followed. Zyzniewski continued to badger Albright, who in mid-spring asked her to get back with him at the start of May. Having done so with no reply, on July 26, 1968, Zyzniewski wrote again to Albright.

"Sometime in mid-Spring, our conversation was interrupted and you asked me to return about May 1st to 'take things from here.' I requested an appointment and to date have had no word. I am now requesting a review post-haste inasmuch as the program as it has been functioning is no longer viable." Zyzniewski went on to detail that despite "considerate gratuities" from other departments on campus, including Seward's sponsorship of postage costs from the Office of the Dean of Women budget, the CEW program had no budget, no full-time staff, and no structure—and thus did not exist in bureaucratic terms. At a May 1968 conference modeled on the successful seminars of

February 1967, Zyzniewski herself paid $42.75 for the speakers' lunches. Even though the conference had taken place at a UK venue—the Spindletop Club—without a budget, a cost center (i.e., account) number, and spending authority, Zyzniewski could not take care of even basic administrative expenses such as postage and meeting costs.

In 1968, UK was laying out tremendous amounts of money on projects such as new research facilities and the expansion of the medical center campus. Income was up, with state appropriations complemented by tuition revenue from record numbers of students. Like other institutions nationwide, the university was relatively flush with cash and in a period of tremendous growth fueled by the combination of federal research investments, newly available federal student aid, and high state appropriations. Zyzniewski may have had this in mind when she wrote to Albright, "I realize that in these developmental times this program may not be on a priority list...However, it has been 'a thing' and either needs to become 'something' having an integrity of its own or be dismissed from consideration."

Noting that plans for the program included a Summer 1968 orientation session for adult women students, Zyzniewski pledged to complete the planned orientation session but stated she would put a hold on further activity—including drafting a publicity article for the *Kentucky Alumnus* magazine, as well as writing a grant for federal funds—until such time as the university decided to invest in the unofficial-as-yet CEW program. Zyzniewski closed her memo to Albright with a paragraph worthy of being quoted in its entirety:

> "While it has been exciting, although moderately satisfying, to function with a minimum of identity, I don't mean for this to carry the connotation of an ultimatum. Nonetheless, the limbo to which you referred last November still plagues. I am sure you can appreciate that I need to make appropriate plans. Please advise."

For good measure, on August 5, 1968, Zyzniewski resubmitted to Albright, for a third time, the proposal for a Center for Continuing Education of Women at UK. On August 6, 1968, Albright finally responded with a brief memo apologizing that "the continuance of our discussion of your program has been so laggard" and promising that pursuant to a discussion between Albright and President Oswald, Oswald planned to speak with Albert D. Kirwan, then dean of students, soon. Zyzniewski, said Albright, could expect to hear from Kirwan after that.

Rather than a response from Kirwan, Zyzniewski heard from President Oswald himself. On August 7, 1968, a letter from Oswald to Zyzniewski authorized the establishment of "a Center for Continuing Education of Women", with Zyzniewski as "chairman" [*sic*], "effective immediately." The Center was to be, per Oswald, was to be established under the auspices of the Dean of Undergraduate Studies "on an interim basis." The Dean of Undergraduate Studies role was then filled, also on an interim basis, by [Provost Lewis] Cochran, who per Oswald had promised Zyzniewski office space in Bowman Hall as well as administrative support. The same letter from Oswald authorized a budget of $1,500 for the new Center to cover "the miscellaneous expenses which you may encounter." Oswald went on to mention to Zyzniewski that "the university is contemplating setting up a university-wide position for coordinating all extension programs for the university with a Vice President for Extension. At that time, it is our

intention to transfer several of the programs such as the Council on Aging to this new office. At the time that is established, a review should be conducted as to whether or not the Center for Continuing Education of Women should be included in that area." Perhaps most significantly, Oswald's letter closed with the newly minted billing code for the new Center. As cost center 101-01-04911, the Center for the Continuing Education of Women became an official part of the University of Kentucky.

Soon after Oswald's memo officially established the UK Center for the Continuing Education of Women (UKCCEW), Zyzniewski reached out to Cochran requesting a time she could "apprise you of the activities to date and to elicit your reactions to future projects and to the general conduct of the center." Once again, she attached the proposal that had been circulating for more than a year. According to Zyzniewski's notes, she and Cochran met on September 23, 1968. Zyzniewski went to the meeting armed with data, plans, and justifications for future projects. She discussed the viability of UKCCEW with more than 500 qualifying women already enrolled at UK, emphasized the income-producing potential of the Center, and described UKCCEW as a "vehicle for PR and diplomacy...[with] state government and community." In turn, Cochran supplied Zyzniewski with a list of contacts across UK academic and administrative units and gave her clearance to pursue partnerships with state government, with the stipulation that should discussion cross into academic programs and curricula, "very early coordination with the appropriate academic department" must take place. Further, Cochran encouraged Zyzniewski to pursue with the appropriate university offices the possibility of creating special courses for adult

students, such as evening English courses with only six meetings per semester. The fact that these courses did not exist outside of narrow circumstances, such as teacher training programs, pointed out how pioneering UKCCEW was in its attempts to shape UK to the needs of adult students rather than only *vice versa*.

Although Cochran reserved for himself the responsibility of choosing and inviting members of an all-new advisory committee, he indicated that after he addressed the initial committee meeting, Zyzniewski would be charged with all duties as chair. Cochran's involvement in structuring the committee served as a public "blessing" by upper administration for UKCCEW. Cochran directed Zyzniewski to report to him any "significant" developments, refer issues from the committee to Cochran for consideration, and contact him if budget overruns looked likely. Otherwise, Cochran told Zyzniewski that "the center and its programs at this time can remain autonomous."

In Fall 1968 Zyzniewski, now UKCCEW Director, submitted a formal proposal for federal funding under Title I of the 1965 Higher Education Act. Zyzniewski and UK proposed to partner with Kentucky Educational Television to produce and distribute programming with the aim of increasing Kentucky women's awareness of options for continuing education and career development. KET would produce and distribute informational programming, which would be complemented by seminars and discussions hosted on UK's community college campuses. The project would "introduce the women of Kentucky to the concepts of continuing education, the reality of the multiple-role syndrome, social change, and the need for woman-power" in high-need occupations including nursing and social work. This proposal drew on "American

Women: Report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women" (United States, 1963). Although the grant application was not funded, it made clear that UKCCEW aimed to be a catalyst for enhancing the state workforce as well as the lives of individual women through continuing education.

Also during the Fall 1968 semester, Zyzniewski reached out directly via mail—on new UKCCEW letterhead—to all women students aged 25 and up enrolled in evening classes at UK. She also wrote to all women taking independent study courses while not enrolled as full-time students. These letters advised recipients that UKCCEW could "be of service to [adult women students] by cutting through whatever 'red tape' might be necessary to pursue full-time enrollment." UKCCEW offered current and prospective adult women students a "one stop shop" for academic advising, mentoring, and access to the hidden language of the university. Unable to reform the byzantine systems of the university, UKCCEW in 1968 focused on helping women navigate those systems with helpful insider knowledge.

In a January 11, 1969, report to Cochran, Zyzniewski reported that UKCCEW was actively engaged in facilitating course registration for adult women students at the undergraduate and graduate levels, conducting speaking engagements and outreach in the community, and working to win the goodwill of UK faculty and staff. While Zyzniewski reported that UKCCEW had a Fall 1968 enrollment of 844 women students—six percent of UK's overall enrollment — it is important to note that this was the total enrollment of women over 25 on the Lexington campus. While all these women were eligible for UKCCEW services, the actual number of women who directly sought and

received services was likely much smaller. Unfortunately, records do not quantify what percentage of eligible students took advantage of UKCCEW services at this time, or which services were most popular.

Mixed in with the reporting of activities was a request for Cochran's opinion as to how UKCCEW might go about "scrounging around" for further funding through foundation grants "to subsidize activities which would parallel other [CEW] centers [at other universities]" by expanding the staffing and capacity of UKCCEW. After the denial of federal funding for a joint project with Kentucky Educational Television, Zyzniewski was encouraged by UK administrators to consider submitting the same proposal to the Ford Foundation. The Ford Foundation at that point had a long track record of supporting higher education, including at public universities. There is no evidence, however, that Zyzniewski did submit a proposal to Ford. In addition to seeking funding, in 1969 Zyzniewski reported to Cochran that she was actively looking into curricular innovations, such as weekend and evening classes, short-term intensive courses, and College Level Examination Program (CLEP) credits. Furthermore, Zyzniewski received from Cochran approval to attend a workshop on adult education to be held at the University of Chicago in June 1969. Cochran also provided Zyzniewski with a list of further contacts at UK with whom to explore CLEP and curriculum updates.

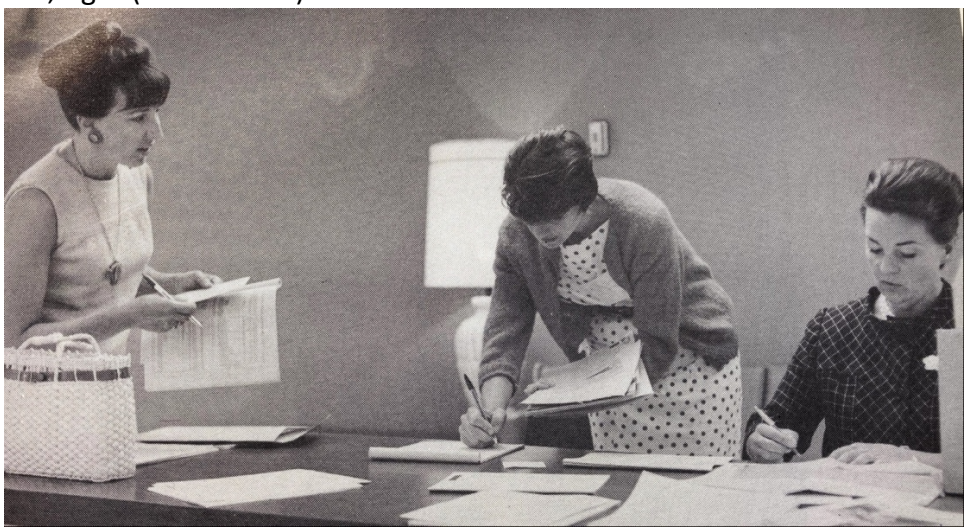
The Spring 1969 issue of *Kentucky Alumnus* magazine included the feature story "UK Meets the Challenge of Educating the Mature Woman" by Celia K. Zyzniewski. Defining the "mature" woman as born before 1940 (making her about 30 in 1969), Zyzniewski noted that this date was chosen "to distinguish the group from the co-ed and

from the [over age 60] Donovan Scholar." The adult woman, "no longer the oddity on the campus" or a "contemporary fad," was described as "highly motivated...excited because of the exposure to an intellectual environment, and introspective about her own achievements," wrote Zyzniewski. The differentiation from Donovan Scholars was significant. While the over-60 students engaged in learning through tuition-free courses mostly for personal enrichment, UKCCEW students were younger, obligated to pay full tuition prices, and primarily motivated by enhanced vocational possibilities.

Figure 4-6 CEW students register for classes, 1969 (UK Archives)

The typical UKCCEW student, according to Zyzniewski, was "married, in her late thirties, [and] has three children, one of whom is a preschooler. Completion of her college degree is at the half-way mark." Typically starting with a single course before committing to a full-time or half-time schedule "while being a college student, she still manages to meet her family responsibilities and is often involved in a church or community project."

Figure 4-7 CEW students Alma Richards, left, and Celia Talbert, center, consult with Celia Zyzniewski, right (UK Archives)



The adult woman student, wrote Zyzniewski, impressed her professors as "a catalyst in...class for her point of view [which differs] from the younger college student." Furthermore, "[h]er classmates consider her a fascinating source of information about [the] values of another generation." In other words, UKCCEW students were model women of the 1960s, as they managed to excel in class, please their professors, enrich the lives of younger students, and earn the credentials necessary to enter service-oriented professions like teaching and nursing—all while continuing to care for and support their husbands, children, and communities. The archive is silent on whether UKCCEW women were either pleased or exhausted by this situation.

4.1.5 Singletary Administration Begins

In August 1969, Otis A. Singletary became the eighth president of the University of Kentucky. After Oswald left UK in 1968 to assume a post as executive vice president of the University of California system, Kirwan served briefly as UK's interim president. It was from Kirwan that Singletary picked up the reins for what was to be a long tenure at

UK—lasting from 1969 to 1987. Singletary, a veteran of the Johnson White House and the American Council on Education, came to UK following a stint as Executive Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs in the University of Texas system. Officially assuming leadership of UK in August 1969, Singletary inherited a campus in transition. While UK had come to rely upon generous state appropriations throughout the 1960s, Singletary arrived just as the Kentucky legislature began to constrict the flow of taxpayer dollars to the state's universities. Furthermore, the relative peace of campus throughout the 1960s seemed to hang in the balance, as groups of students gathered to agitate for and against a variety of causes—including the war in Vietnam, civil rights, and women's liberation. Singletary had to work quickly to fully comprehend the challenges placed before him as the leader of Kentucky's largest institution of higher education.

Shortly after Singletary arrived on campus, Zyzniewski dispatched to his office a memo summarizing the history, purpose, and accomplishments of UKCCEW. At this point, Zyzniewski dated the origins of UKCCEW to 1966, when "the program with special emphasis on Continuing Education of Women was initiated in 1966 in the Office of the Dean of Women. The program developed because of a survey done at the request of Governor [Edward T.] Breathitt for his report to the National Commission on the Status of Women." As Zyzniewski had done when explaining the trajectory of UKCCEW to prior stakeholders, she skipped over much of the early preparatory work by Seward. Zyzniewski discussed the personal development seminars held to draw women to campus, then noted that the reorganization of UK Student Affairs in 1967 "resulted in

placing the program, because of its academic orientation, under the aegis of the Provost."

Figure 4-8 Otis A. Singletary (UK Archives)

Zyzniewski hit on an inherent tension in CEW at UK and elsewhere. Was CEW about self-discovery by women and provision of appropriate student services, or was it an academic concern focused on curriculum? UKCCEW acted like its purpose was the former, but the classification under the provost suggested that at least under Oswald the presumption by administration was that UKCCEW belonged under academic affairs rather than student affairs. Regardless, Zyzniewski's missive to Singletary depicted UKCCEW as an information clearinghouse, advising hub, and wayfinding agency making referrals to other UK offices (e.g., testing, admissions, advising, financial aid). Further, in a time before career services were fully developed at most universities, UKCCEW provided vocational counseling to aid women "in making decisions compatible with their interests, abilities, and obligations" *vis a vis* their future life plans.

Zyzniewski was also quick to point out to Singletary the practical success of UKCCEW. Follow-up with seminar attendees from 1967 and 1968 revealed that 40 percent of the women returned to school and/or employment within months of introduction to UKCCEW services. And, Zyzniewski noted, UKCCEW saved the university money.

"Because [UKCCEW] is a central office and given the fact that 75 percent of the students are attending on a part-time basis, budgetary savings are realized in bypassing faculty advising time and activities in the Registrar's office," Zyzniewski wrote to Singletary. Effectively, UKCCEW picked up work that would otherwise have fallen to faculty advisors and the registrar's office. By driving enrollments, supplementing academic advising, and bolstering retention, Zyzniewski communicated to Singletary, UKCCEW played a valuable role in the institution and merited further investment and support.

4.2: Activism, 1970-1979

In March 1970, Zyzniewski left UK. Her departure coincided with the transfer of UKCCEW from the provost's office back to the Office of the Dean of Students. Singletary briefly considered handing UKCCEW back to Seward, who was not interested in the assignment.

"When Singletary arrived, he was looking around to see what I could do," Seward said. "I could take over the program for mature women, but I didn't have any interest...I had already created the program myself and had some other people run it" (Seward,

1977). In early 1970 Seward herself left UK, following her old boss Oswald to his new post at Pennsylvania State University.

4.2.1 Nancy Ray as UKCCEW Director

With no obvious candidate to take over UKCCEW, Dean of Students Jack Hall assigned Assistant Dean of Students Nancy T. Ray as temporary caretaker of the program. Ray, a veteran UK administrator, provided Hall with a quick and thorough assessment of the state of UKCCEW.

"In the short time that I have assumed responsibility for this program," wrote Ray to Hall in October 1970, "and in spite of a general lack of information about my existence, I receive at least two phone calls daily for information of assistance to women planning to attend the University...if we have such highly motivated students, we should attempt to provide some service and attention to them."

Ray proposed that for the 1970-1971 academic year UKCCEW should "continue the service orientation previously initiated," alongside broadened outreach efforts through the development of "a newsletter for those women who are now on campus to keep them informed and in contact with the center... [as well as] a brochure which would be available to the registrar and others to give women as they make tentative inquiries." Looking ahead to the 1971-1972 academic year, Ray suggested that "the center continue the services it once offered."

Ray continued in her letter to Hall "in order to do this a specific personnel assignment and specific location for this program needs to be established."

What had happened to the program that seemed, as late as 1969, to be thriving? It may have fallen victim to administrative shuffling as UK transitioned from the Oswald administration, through the interim Kirwan administration, then into the Singletary administration. Whether Zyzniewski's departure was precipitated by a dearth of budget for the yet-again reorganized and rehomed program, or vice versa, by Fall 1970 UKCCEW seemed to be back at square one, with no funding or full-time staff.

Ray recognized the importance of a dedicated space and place for adult women students at UK, a need that had been established early in the studies conducted by Zyzniewski. Beyond being accessible to prospective adult students—with decent parking and availability of staff — Ray envisioned a home for UKCCEW that would "enable women to bring their children to the university as they make their initial inquiries. Since childcare is an important consideration to young mothers hoping to continue their college education, the ability to bring the child with them at least while they examine the possibilities of college would be crucial to the program."

In the same memorandum, Ray laid out a multi-year plan for the re-invigoration of UKCCEW at UK, starting with a return to basics in 1971-1972—the continuance of advising services assisting students through the "academic maze," the creation of a package of communication tools to recruit adult women students, and working to "reinforce the women in their goals and to enable them to feel they are not neglecting other primary obligations at the same time they work for their college diploma. Implementation of this would be through a series of group seminars and sharing sessions." Ray also urged that "for purposes of establishing the center as a commitment

by the University," an advisory board be appointed directly by President Singletary, "made up primarily of faculty women of some experience." This intention to involve women faculty on the advisory board is notable, given the all-male makeup of the two previous boards.

By fiscal year 1973 or 1974, Ray suggested, UKCCEW—by then in its sixth or seventh year of existence—should be focused "not only on the continuation of the existing programs but...new area[s] of educational programs...offering programs comparable to the continuing education offered in some of our...professional schools: the need exists for seminars prior to entrance and during the academic year to develop confidence and certain skills."

Ray also advocated for the creation of childcare facilities at UK, not just as a regular service during the academic year but with provision of short-term, drop-in childcare during busy periods such as registration and pre-registration. If UK could create its own childcare enterprise, wrote Ray, it "could very well become an adjunct of the university and something which would provide some internal research." Ray's words were prescient, foreshadowing the eventual creation of the early childhood development lab in the UK College of Education.

"I do feel that if the university is to begin this program, that it must not be one which is lightly taken," wrote Ray to Hall. "The needs and expectations of these students are altogether as significant as those of the honor[s] program. I think that we can look at the data which Celia Zyzniewski earlier provided us and quickly see that. I think the program is one which serves the Commonwealth because many of these women are

already firmly established in the community and....intend to remain [in Kentucky]. We at the university, as well as the state itself, should benefit by the added revenue and revenue potential inherit [*sic*] in college graduates...I do not see this program as being...extraordinarily expensive...in view of the potential rewards incumbent."

Ray, who in the late 1960s had served as staff advisor to the UK chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was no stranger to advocating for institutional change. She did so carefully, though, guiding progressive student groups to work through the existing policy frameworks of the university. Ray's stabilizing voice was critical in 1970, as UK faced escalating student activism on campus. Protests against the war in Vietnam had been a regular feature of campus life since the late 1960s. In May 1970, furor over the deaths of students at Kent State University boiled over on UK's campus, culminating in the burning of the Air Force ROTC armory on May 5. In the aftermath of the fire a young woman named Sue Ann Salmon was arrested on a charge of arson—however, her name was cleared after her attorney, future Kentucky governor John Y. Brown, convinced the court that the supposed "Molotov cocktail" she was holding that night was in fact bottle of ginger ale (Mayer, 2011; Hawkins, 1970).

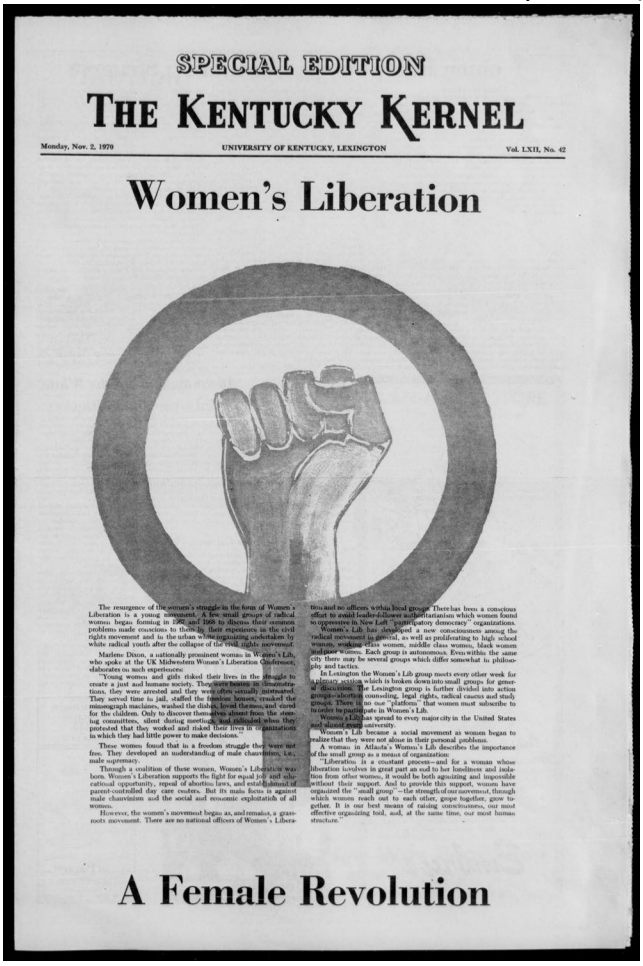
Salmon's arrest was emblematic of a tense and confused response by campus and local authorities to the student unrest. On May 6 and 7, demonstrators assembled outside the student center faced dispersion by National Guard troops armed with live ammunition and tear gas. Some of the Guards members who were called out to quash the demonstration were themselves college students. Many of the demonstrating UK students that week sought refuge on the campus of the nearby Lexington Theological

Seminary as well as across town at Transylvania University. Only a few days after the armory went up in flames, graduate student Mark Greenwell tried to speak with former Kentucky governor A.B. "Happy" Chandler about student concerns as Chandler left a meeting of the UK Board of Trustees. Chandler punched the "hippie" Greenwell in the face, a move that elicited approval from many quarters of the Kentucky and campus establishment (Mayer, 2011). Tensions on campus continued to run high throughout 1970. Ray and her colleagues in the Dean of Students office had their hands full.

The Kentucky *Kernel*, UK's independent student newspaper, chronicled the experiences of students during this turbulent era on campus. Daily issues of the *Kernel* provided students, faculty, and staff with a mix of campus event listings, national and local news, and opinion pieces by students with diverse viewpoints. On November 2, 1970, a special issue of the *Kernel* focused entirely on "Women's Liberation: A Female Revolution." According to the front page of the issue, women in Lexington began organizing a nascent women's liberation group as early as 1967. Members of the Lexington group, in line with national trends, articulated a desire to deliberately eschew the leader-driven, male-dominated politics of the "New Left." That meant that while the local women's liberationist movement had supporters, it lacked a defined structure or leadership. What we would now recognize as second wave feminism ostensibly threw open its doors all who wished to ally themselves with the movement—although in practice several groups were excluded from the mainstream of the movement, including lesbians and women of color.

The special issue of the *Kernel* featured wide-ranging content including opinion pieces on abortion access, critiques of advertising targeted toward women, calls for equal pay and shared housework, and even a profile of a local gas station with an all-woman staff. In a lengthy editorial, members of the campus women's liberation group made an impassioned plea for better childcare access for UK students and employees; they also highlighted a new cooperative childcare organization being developed among local parent social networks. Interspersed with poetry, reports on local women arrested for indecent exposure when they dared to go topless at a music festival, and a lengthy consciousness-raising piece on the nature of women's liberation, were ads for local "groovy" clothing boutiques and music venues that used a counter-cultural gloss to appeal to student consumers.

Figure 4-9 Cover of November 2, 1970, Kentucky *Kernel* (UK Archives)



SPECIAL EDITION

THE KENTUCKY KERNEL

Monday, Nov. 2, 1970 — UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY, LEXINGTON — Vol. LXII, No. 42

Women's Liberation

The resurgence of the women's struggle in the form of Women's Liberation is a young movement. A few small groups of radical women began forming in 1967 and 1968 to discuss their common problems made conscious to them by their experiences in the civil rights movement and in the urban white organizing undertaken by white radical youth after the collapse of the civil rights movement.

Marlene Dixon, a nationally prominent woman in Women's Lib, who spoke at the UK Midwestern Women's Liberation Conference, elaborates on such experiences:

"Young women and girls risked their lives in the struggle to create a just and humane society. They were beaten in demonstrations, they were arrested and they were often sexually mistreated. They served time in jail, staffed the freedom houses, crashed the mimeograph machines, washed the dishes, loved the men, and cared for the children. Only to discover themselves absent from the steering committees, silent during meetings, and ridiculed when they protested that they worked and risked their lives in organizations in which they had little power to make decisions."

These women found that in a freedom struggle they were not free. They developed an understanding of male chauvinism, i.e., male supremacy.

Through a coalition of these women, Women's Liberation was born. Women's Liberation supports the fight for equal job and educational opportunity, repeal of abortion laws, and establishment of parent-controlled day care centers. But its main focus is against male chauvinism and the social and economic exploitation of all women.

However, the women's movement begins as, and remains, a grass-roots movement. There are no national officers of Women's Liberation and no officers within local groups. There has been a conscious effort to avoid leader-follower authoritarianism which women found so oppressive in New Left "participatory democracy" organizations.

Women's Lib has developed a new consciousness among the radical movement in general, as well as proliferating its high school women, working class women, middle class women, black women and poor women. Each group is autonomous. Even within the same city there may be several groups which differ somewhat in philosophy and tactics.

In Lexington the Women's Lib group meets every other week for plenary session which is broken down into small groups for general discussion. The Lexington group is further divided into action groups—abortion counseling, legal rights, radical causes and study groups. There is no our "platform" that women must subscribe to in order to participate in Women's Lib.

Women's Lib has spread to every major city in the United States and almost every university.

Women's Lib became a social movement as women began to realize that they were not alone in their personal problems.

A woman in Atlanta's Women's Lib describes the importance of the small group as a means of organization:

"Liberation is a constant process—and for a woman whose liberation involves in great part an end to her loneliness and isolation from other women, it would be both agonizing and impossible without their support. And to provide this support, women have organized the "small group"—the strength of our movement, through which women reach out to each other, grope together, grow together. It is our best means of raising consciousness, our most effective organizing tool, and, at the same time, our most human structure."

A Female Revolution

While many *Kernel* opinion writers in the November 2, 1970, issue spoke stridently of the need for women's liberation, affordable childcare, and progressive sexual politics, the editors also made room for more conventional viewpoints. Notably, the Associated Women Students (AWS) organization—a mainstream group in which all UK women students were automatically enrolled, although not all chose to be active participants—contributed to the issue. Two self-identified women's liberationists, Sue Ann Salmon and Mary Lou Michaels, interviewed three student officers of AWS. The AWS students revealed that they were in the process of organizing what they called a "Playboy Forum," to hear the opinions of "several different men—faculty members and

student organization heads—who would sort of give the boys' or the men's viewpoint on certain aspects of women's life—women's careers, married life, and what they expect out of girls or what they like to see." Astoundingly, the "Playboy Forum" was part of the "Wonderful World of Women Week," which also included an address by Gloria Singletary, President Singletary's wife, as well as "a coffee for...house mothers." And yet, while the interviewed AWS members disavowed interest in women's liberation or feminism, they acknowledged the existence of sex discrimination, and espoused their beliefs that women deserved equal pay, equal opportunity in education and work, and general social equality with men. Indeed, the main point of difference between the AWS students and the liberationists seems to have been that the students active in AWS desired to thrive within the male-dominated society into which they had been born, while the liberationists sought to set the patriarchy aflame.

As an official student organization, AWS had a staff sponsor: Nancy Ray. Meanwhile, Ray continued as caretaker of the UKCCEW program. As a university program, UKCCEW clearly sat on the less radical side of the ideological divide that existed between women's liberationists and more conventional women students. And yet, by supporting the enrollment of married women, older women, and women with children, UKCCEW was in fact doing something very radical—but with the support of UK administrators.

"With tremendous personal energy, one secretary, and a modest budget, Celia Zyzniewski ran [UKCCEW] from its inception in 1966 until her departure in March [1970]," wrote *Kernel* staff. "In mid-September of [1970], Nancy Ray, assistant dean of

students, was asked to take on the program along with her duties as administrative advisor to numerous student organizations."

The *Kernel* praised UKCCEW for its service to adult women students and placed it in national context as part of a larger movement for women's continuing education. Turning specifically to the UK program, the authors quoted Ray on what UKCCEW required to serve current and future students. Her task, Ray told the *Kernel*, was "three-fold: to keep [UKCCEW] alive by continuing to offer counsel to returning women, to increase women's awareness of this service, and to secure a commitment from the university enabling [the center] to expand its services and improve their quality." At the top of Ray's list of needs for adult women students was childcare, which she called "the major concern of the woman returning to school." On the same page, the article "Women and Children Last: Day Care at UK?" positioned cooperative care arrangements as the ideal solution for women at UK, disavowing the image of cold state-run daycares often used as a scare tactic by socially conservative activists like Phyllis Schlafly.

In February 1971, Robert Zumwinkle, UK Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs, was weighing the possibility of forming a standing university committee encompassing the programs then known as Handicapped Student Affairs, International Student Affairs, Disadvantaged Student Programs, and UKCCEW. Such a committee "would be appointed by the president and comprised of top-level administrators," Zumwinkle wrote to Ray. Ray responded with what she considered to be the top concerns of UKCCEW: a budget for personnel and programming, a commitment to childcare resources in the form of

"either a daycare program, mutual babysitting...or true kindergarten nursery program..." and streamlined registration with priority scheduling for off-campus adult students. Ray further pondered the possibility of coordination with continuing education programs in the professional schools, with UKCCEW being "a significant component of an overall program" of adult education and skills improvement.

"Such coordination," wrote Ray, "would...improve the level of expertise currently practiced as well as minimizing the overhead cost of recruitment and publicity...." She returned to the topic of preparatory programs offered through media such as educational television. Ultimately, though, Ray focused on a topic that had plagued Zyzniewski before her: the lack of budget and administrative support for UKCCEW. "Given a crowded calendar and a number of responsibilities, I feel that the Continuing Education for Women program has been a stepchild of the Dean of Students Office and has not received even adequate attention to this time. It seems to be that simply making this a primary responsibility for one individual would contribute significantly to an improvement in the program" (Ray, 1970).

When first-year students arrived at UK in Fall 1971, they were greeted with a new student-authored handbook for women on campus. The Council for Women's Concerns, a committee of UK Student Government, collectively put together "Women in the Ivory Tower: a survival handbook for UK women." The booklet covered topics ranging from professorial sexism, sexual harassment, and gendered stereotypes in textbooks, to housemothers, student jobs, and campus safety. It provided frank advice on birth control and abortion access—with the latter complicated by the illegality of

abortion in Kentucky in 1971. “Women in the Ivory Tower” was also filled with data about UK’s demographics, including the fact that while 40 percent of UK undergraduate students were women, women only accounted for 4 percent of full professors. Women were also underrepresented within the Student Government Association, a committee of which produced the text.

The “Women in the Ivory Tower” publication also included information from student organizations. Women’s Liberation at UK had apparently solidified their organization enough to headquarter themselves at a new Women’s Center located just off campus on Kentucky Avenue. Perhaps having learned from their 1970 experience being interviewed for the *Kernel*, AWS leaders used their space in the booklet to pitch their organization using the language of liberation, with a lecture series covering “such topics as drugs, sex, Black women and civil rights, jobs, abortion, professional women, communal living, single adoption, and population control laws.” The annual AWS bridal fair, they added, was “for those of you who have those interests.”

The information in the “Women in the Ivory Tower” booklet was practical and specific, including a list of safe and unsafe places near campus—the negative reputation of Two Keys Tavern having been already well established by 1971—tips on self-defense, and a list of women graduate students, faculty, and staff offering allyship to other women on campus. Topped off with a list of places to shop for inexpensive clothes that would help students look groovy while sticking it to the man, the text offered new students a window on the conflicts of college life. At UK, the booklet seemed to say,

women students could find collegiality and opportunity, but also a gauntlet of threats to their mental and physical wellbeing.

The view of UK as a place of both opportunity and limitations for women was consistent with campus discourse throughout the early- to mid-1970s. In a September 1972 letter to the *Kernel*, graduate student Margaret Wendelsdorf decried what she viewed as the short shrift the newspaper had previously given to women's organization on campus. Wendesldorf enumerated feminist activities on campus including the "formation of consciousness-raising groups, abortion counseling and the free clinic, the WBKY radio program, the KETV series, "Women in the Ivory Tower" publication, the newly established women's collective, as well as [several] rapidly proliferating women's groups...."

Women at UK had good reason to organize in the 1970s. In addition to issues of underrepresentation and discrimination of the sort found across the nation at the time, female staff at UK specifically came together to take legal action against their employer for systematically preventing women from advancing to higher-paid positions. On February 13, 1973, as the complainants awaited a final report from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), the *Kernel* reported on the case, writing "the review of hiring practices came about as a result of a complaint filed by the Council on Women's Concerns (CSC) in October 1971, with the Affirmative Action Group of HEW." The final report was expected to combine data from a site visit to campus by HEW in Fall 1972 with "written material furnished by the University" on employment of women and URM faculty and staff. The final report was expected to recognize existing

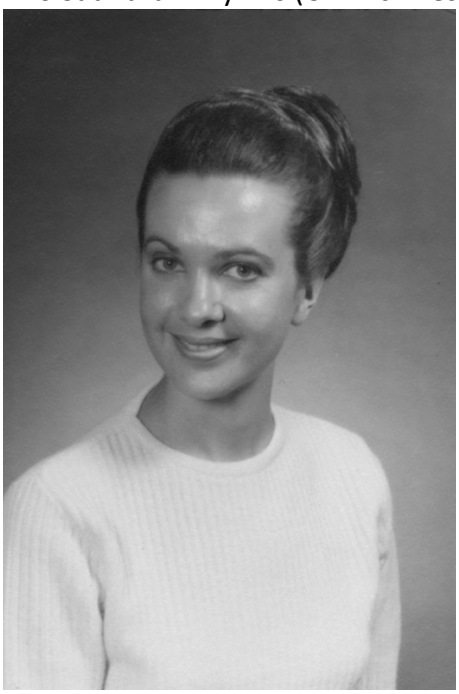
inequities in employment at UK, as well as detail "how to best go about correcting any hiring deficiencies which may exist" in the employment of women and minority groups. By the end of 1973, according to the *Kernel*, the percentage of women and URM employees had increased slightly—although White men continued to dominate all executive roles and most (81.8 percent) of the high-ranking staff roles at UK.

Also in 1973, UK administration had another headache to contend with when a former employee filed a sex discrimination complaint. Sandra McHale, a woman who had two years of experience as an assistant night manager at the UK student center, applied for promotion to night manager when the job became vacant. McHale was passed over for a man who had no previous relevant experience. McHale was given to understand that she was not considered for the position because a woman had never held the night manager job. With this information, McHale filed complaints with UK and with the Lexington-Fayette Urban County Human Rights Commission. Rather than addressing McHale's case on its merits, UK delayed the proceedings by claiming that the local Human Rights Commission had no jurisdiction in the matter. In 1975, UK continued to block the proceedings while denying the university had done anything discriminatory.

Meanwhile, in 1975, pursuant to updates to Title IX, UK launched an internal examination to suss out "any discriminatory policies or practices which may exist at the university" (Daley, 1975). Nancy Ray led the investigation, which focused specifically on new prohibitions against using marital status as a factor in admissions or hiring.

4.2.2 Saundra B. Lykins as UKCCEW Director

Figure 4-10 Saundra B. Lykins (UK Archives)



With Ray otherwise engaged, in 1971 Saundra Boehling Lykins took over management of UKCCEW. Lykins, who like Ray served as an assistant dean of students, could only tend to UKCCEW part-time while managing her other responsibilities. During her brief tenure at the helm of the program, Lykins tried to gather benchmarking information from CEW programs at other universities, including the University of Utah, University of North Carolina Greensboro, and Iowa State University. She also answered similar inquiries from other institutions. When an administrator from the University of Oklahoma wrote to Lykins requesting information on the "women's studies program" at UK, Lykins clarified the nature of the UKCCEW program, writing that the "University of Kentucky does not have women's studies program in terms of specific courses or curriculum designed for women only." Rather, said Lykins, UKCCEW was "a division of

the Office of the Dean of Students" with programming that "assists female students over 24 years old in beginning or resuming their education within the traditional structure of the University" (Lykins, 1972a).

Continuing with her project of information-gathering, Lykins devoted most of her time in 1972 to building a library of vocational materials for UKCCEW participants. She wrote to public and private organizations near and far to solicit occupational materials. Lykins also kept the basic machinery of UKCCEW turning, with advising opportunities and outreach to potential students.

In 1972, prospective UKCCEW student Barbara Markesbery (identified on her stationery as Mrs. William R. Markesbery) wrote to the "Dear Sirs" of UKCCEW that "Dr. Markesbery and I shall be returning to Lexington this year. He will be an associate professor at the Medical Center and I, happily, shall return to full time studies at UK." Noting that she had three children—ages six, seven, and eight—Markesbery told the "Sirs" that she held a 1958 bachelor's degree in nutrition from Iowa State University but hoped to enter the pre-architecture program at UK as an undergraduate. Lykins wrote back, inviting Markesbery to attend the UKCCEW session at the UK Summer Advising Conference, and identifying the mission of UKCCEW as "assisting the beyond average college age woman in the university...[with] counseling, consultation on procedure, help with difficult class scheduling, and general 'who to see for what' information" (Markesbery, 1972. Lykins, 1972b). Consistent with the convention initiated by Markesbery in her correspondence, Lykins addressed her letter to "Mrs. Willard [*sic*] Ray Markesbery," and signed herself "(Mrs. S.W.) Saundra B. Lykins.

4.2.3 Sharon Childs as UKCCEW Director

In Fall 1972, Lykins handed UKCCEW over to Sharon Childs, the first full-time director hired since Zyzniewski's departure. When Childs stepped into the directorship, she inherited a robust enrollment of eligible women. In Spring 1972, a total of 1,010 women age of 25 and up were enrolled at UK. Approximately 60 percent of these women were enrolled in graduate or professional programs, which left 40 percent (approximately 404 women) as undergraduate students. Popular majors among this group included elementary education, other education fields such as school counseling, nursing, English, and other liberal arts such as languages and history. Many of the liberal arts majors combined their subject-specific classes with secondary teaching certifications (University of Kentucky Registrar, 1972).

Figure 4-11 Sharon Childs (UK Archives)

Childs spent her first months on the job organizing meetings between herself and potential allies across UK. After working her way through meetings with colleagues in the Office of the Dean of Students, Childs wrote to every academic department chair

on campus to establish faculty liaisons for UKCCEW students. Most chairs replied, giving Childs names and phone numbers of specific faculty and staff members who could answer questions for prospective and current UKCCEW students. Childs also promoted UKCCEW programs aggressively through advertising in the *Kernel* and on WBKY radio, a station broadcasting from the UK campus to the local area.

Under the supervision of Childs, UKCCEW programming was progressive, inclusive, and community focused. The *Kernel* took notice of UKCCEW's slate of activities for Fall 1973, running a front-page feature on a planned series of learning opportunities. First up that semester, UKCCEW sponsored a three-day workshop organized around the theme of "College Challenges for the Modern Woman." Another workshop followed, focused on "Employment Trends." Finally, participants could sign up for a third workshop on "Cross Cultural Relations," which promised to address topics such as "the contemporary role of Black women" and "the problems of pluralism at the University of Kentucky." If women wanted more from UKCCEW, they could also sign up for a book series, which kicked off September 25, 1973, with a discussion of Kurt Vonnegut's *Breakfast of Champions* led by UK English professor David Butler. And if all that wasn't enough, adult women students were welcome to stop by the new University Women's Resource Room established by Childs in the basement of Alumni Gymnasium (*Kernel* Staff, 1973).

Figure 4-12 Alumni Gym, undated photo (UK Archives)

In September 1973, UK reported 1,300 women over the age of 25 enrolled on the Lexington campus—more than ever. Speaking to the *Kernel*, Childs attributed the increase at least in part to the growing women's movement.

"I would think Women's Lib has influenced many women who had the desire to return to school," Childs told the *Kernel*. "It increased their confidence, made them realize their potential and become more independent."

As to why women made the choice to return to school when they did, Childs observed "It's usually when that last child goes to first grade. She feels she needs something in addition to the home, to keep her mind employed. Thoughts of a second career often bring them back to school." Childs also noted that many UKCCEW students

were inspired by the older Donovan Scholars, many of whom were spending their retirement years earning new credentials (*Kernel* Staff, 1973).

Also in 1973, for the first time UKCCEW was able to offer financial support to some students through a scholarship funded by the University Women's Club. Although limited in scope, the scholarship program was important because it was not restricted to women with low household incomes. While Pell grants and subsidized loans were tremendously helpful to low-income single women, they did little to help those women who whose husbands preferred not to fund their wives' educational pursuits. As Childs pointed out, financial aid was "very hard for a woman with a working husband to get, no matter how much he makes." In situations such as this, even modest scholarships provided such women with the means to gain further training—and the economic independence that came with it (*Kernel* Staff, 1973).

In addition to workshops and funding, UKCCEW offered its students advice and advocacy. With UK's maze of policies and procedures seemingly enlarging by the day, Childs continued the work of previous UKCCEW directors by advocating for students, removing barriers to their success when possible. This was appreciated by women attempting to balance school with work and family, especially when it came to course registration. As student Polly Boss said, "they can't work miracles, but if they can make a phone call about your schedule, it might help" (*Kernel* Staff, 1973).

At about this time, UKCCEW was transferred administratively from the Dean of Students to UK Extension. Because UK Extension already had a substantial presence in community education, the partnership provided a boost to the non-credit short courses

that made up a significant part of UKCCEW programming in the 1970s. The typical design of the courses had students gathering once a week—often on weekends—for a period of four to six weeks. For some students, these classes served as "taste tests" to see if they were hungry for more in-depth academic work. For others, the short courses themselves were the main dish. The curriculum certainly had enough variety to suit most appetites. For example, in Spring 1974, UKCCEW advertised the following courses: "Discovering a 'New' You: Vocational Testing and Guidance," "The Russian Language and Culture for Travelers," "Refreshing Research Techniques," "Contemporary World Issues," "Child Development: 6 Years Old and Younger," and "Parental Roles Today: Getting Along with Teenagers." In Fall 1975, the course roster included classes in literature, religion, women in U.S. history, creative writing, single parenting, and a course for couples in "marital communication skills." "Discovering a 'New' You," a course focused on vocational testing and guidance, appeared semester after semester during the mid-1970s and offered women considering further education or a career change the opportunity to complete self-assessments under the guidance of an expert; Louise Dutt of the UK Counseling and Testing Center taught the class several times. Other instructors for UKCCEW courses included UK faculty, local and regional artists, and community members like practicing psychologist Harriet Rose. A few fortunate students had the chance to study creative writing with the novelist George Ella Lyon, while others brought their spouses along for classes on household budgeting.

The short-term, non-credit courses—similar in structure and purpose to the earliest efforts of Senders and Cless at the University of Minnesota—were well-

positioned to attract to UK many adult students who might not otherwise feel they belonged in the classroom. Each course offered a low-commitment way for adult women to dip their toes in the water of college. The model was financially sustainable, with students paying $20 per course (sometimes more if the class involved special materials like art supplies). Instructors were paid between $200 to $300 for most courses, which left the university able to recoup revenue on most course offerings. Although the short courses did not carry academic credit, students did receive Continuing Education Units (CEUs) awarded on a UK transcript. Ostensibly, they could use these transcripts to demonstrate their continued learning to potential employers or academic programs. At the very least, students had proof that they belonged in the classroom.

The short-course model employed by UKCCEW—which saw instructors paid but no credit awarded to students—was the inverse of the model used to teach the earliest women's studies courses at UK. For example, in 1973 Kathryn O'Malley and Debbie Fredericks co-taught the course "A&S 300: Women in Philosophy, Religion and Art" for the UK College of Arts & Sciences. The A&S 300 series was created in the previous decade to enable professors to teach one-off seminars on special interest topics. Because these classes were intended to be small and seldom repeated, A&S 300 was not configured as part of a normal teaching load. The fact that by the 1970s A&S 300 was often the designation assigned to cultural studies courses, including African American studies and women's studies, provided UK with no motivation to pay faculty to teach these courses. Because A&S 300 courses existed outside the normal course structure,

faculty could not count them in their course load. For example, an instructor who normally taught six courses a year but opted to take on an A&S 300 course thus committed themselves to teaching seven courses a year for the same pay—essentially teaching A&S 300 for free. If, however, the same instructor taught an abbreviated version of the course for UKCCEW, they could pocket a tidy sum in exchange for their work. In this way, the UKCCEW short courses became the first paid women's studies teaching opportunities at UK.

Also in the 1970s, UKCCEW moved toward a more intersectional understanding of their purpose and curriculum. In 1975 Dr. Cecil Wright, a UK professor who was also active in local civil rights activism, taught for UKCCEW the course "The Black Woman and the White Woman: Understanding Each Other." Billed as a "bicultural interaction among women with a focus on problem solving, individual growth, understanding, and role orientation in changing society," the six-week course promised to help participants engage in structured, productive dialogue.

Seeking participants for UKCCEW's short courses, Childs reached out to diverse groups within the Lexington community. In a city that still experienced a great degree of cultural and structural segregation—the physical wall separating the Black and White sides of a nearby public housing complex came down in 1975—UKCCEW at this time made a purposeful effort to reach URM women. Women's clubs and religious institutions—most of which were highly segregated at the time—were prime recruiting targets for Childs. She wrote letters to the president of nearly every charitable or professional group for women in Lexington, and the leaders of religious congregations.

With each letter Childs enclosed class lists and brochures that she requested leaders distribute to their members. The strategy seemed to work, as the class rosters filled with women whose home addresses covered nearly every part of Lexington, as well as many from the greater metropolitan area outside Fayette County.

UKCCEW aimed to serve a broad group of women between the ages of 25 and 65 and, as discussed above, in the 1970s made strides in crossing class and race barriers. The heterogeneity of UKCCEW participants was enriching, offering women the chance to connect with others of different backgrounds. Occasionally, though, the diverse range of ages, life experiences, and needs among participants came to the fore in course evaluations. For example, the "Discovering a 'New' You" course, offered multiple times throughout the 1970s and nearly always taught by Dutt, aimed to help women discover their existing skills, aptitudes, and desires to determine a path for future study or employment. While evaluations for the course were generally positive, the few mixed results that it generated revealed that some students perceived a gap between their interests and those of fellow participants. One student, for example, wrote that she liked the "optimistic approach to [the] job market for women [and the] acceptance and empathy for women and their situations." A student from the same session, however, thought that the class degenerated into a group marriage therapy session. She asked, "I wonder how many [of my classmates] had to get married and why they did. Some...seemed to want marriage counselors rather than learning skills. I think the class should have been divided into...age groups and single or married [groups]."

Notwithstanding the difficulties of serving students with many and varying needs, and even as UKCCEW emphasized non-credit courses through UK Extension as a key part of the program's mission in this decade, under Childs the program continued to fulfill many of the core tenets of its original mission. At their headquarters in the basement of Alumni Gym, UKCCEW offered drop-in academic advising for all women over 25. The partnership with UK Counseling and Testing continued, with Dutt joining the drop-in sessions to provide vocational guidance. Meanwhile, without removing some of the lighter personal enrichment courses from the schedule, Childs introduced to the short course roster a mathematics course designed for adult women interested in taking the Graduate Record Exam (GRE) in preparation for further education. The course was popular, as was the new "assertiveness training" offered by UKCCEW (Mitchell, 1976).

By Fall 1976, UKCCEW was able to offer two scholarships to supplement federal student aid, with new funding from the Bluegrass Junior Women's Club complementing the extant UK Women's Club scholarship. These acts of philanthropic benevolence by local clubs fell within the tradition of women-led philanthropy for women's education as described by Walton (2005). Aligned with another tradition of women's benevolence—applied philanthropy (e.g., social work)—UKCCEW at this time also began to offer programming focused on the non-academic needs of women in unexpected or precarious life circumstances. In November 1976, UKCCEW partnered with female law faculty to conduct an off-campus workshop on the "legal rights and responsibilities of women" (Mitchell, 1976). Also in Fall 1976, a workshop for divorced women offered

advice on legal rights, parenting, budgeting, and time management—along with an opportunity to connect with peers (*Kernel* Staff, 1976)

UKCCEW was not the only group at UK focused on women's issues in the late 1970s. Around the same time, UK was home to a chapter of the American Association of University Women (AAUW), a Women's Law Caucus, and an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) Alliance. The Council for Women's Concerns emerged as a semi-autonomous outgrowth of the UK Student Government Association. Meanwhile, a women's studies committee formed within the framework of undergraduate studies at UK. Although UK did not yet offer a major, minor, or certificate in women's studies, "each semester about four to eight women's studies courses [were] offered through departments such as history, sociology, and home economics" (*Kernel* Staff, 1976). Because these courses were offered by specific academic departments across various colleges, rather than through the A&S 300 designation, presumably the faculty were paid. By the late 1970s some enterprising undergraduate students were even able to assemble their own *ersatz* women's studies degrees through the Topical Studies major designation. Because internships could be part of these self-designed majors, women's studies students had many options to include community engagement and experiential education in their academic programs.

While what could be called feminist initiatives flourished at UK in the 1970s, traditional social views continued to pervade the culture. For example, the same issue of the *Kernel* that chronicled the plethora of women's organizations at UK in Fall 1976 also featured a cover story on Patricia and Priscilla Barnstable. Identical twins, the

Barnstables were UK cheerleaders and sometimes-television stars. While the Barnstables came by their fame at UK through family connections—their father Dale Barnstable having had an illustrious college basketball career as a Wildcat—they owed any national recognition they received to Bob Hope. Hope spotted Tricia and Cyb, as the women preferred to be called, in a beauty pageant and recruited them to join him on a tour to entertain American troops in Vietnam. After graduating from UK, the women began modeling careers in New York City. Eventually cast as the "Doublemint Twins" in a series of Wrigley's chewing gum advertisements, they parlayed their fame into roles on the short-lived science fiction television series *Quark*. In 1976—after securing the Wrigley's Gum contract, but before their sci-fi debut—Tricia and Cyb Barnstable sought to capitalize on their fame by launching a "campus charm school" at UK. The multi-week program focused on fashion, hairstyles, make-up, and manners concluded with a keynote presentation by the Barnstables. A large audience must have been anticipated for the event, as it was held in the 8,500-seat Memorial Coliseum. Perhaps the most interesting detail about the Barnstable charm school program, however, was that in explaining their project to the *Kernel*, both sisters focused less on the charm school curriculum and more on their identities as career-minded women. Although both women presented their success as accidental ("We didn't plan it. It just sort of happened," said Cyb of moving to New York City and signing with a modeling agency—two things that do, in fact, take a great deal of intentional planning), they were open about their intentions to remain career-focused. "We still want to remain active in a career outside of marriage," Tricia said (Yelton, 1976). And, while their careers may have

looked very different from those of the UKCCEW women, the Barnstable twins did commit themselves to a lifetime of philanthropic work. In 2003, the women returned to UK's campus to take part in the announcement that money raised through their annual Kentucky Derby Party would fund the establishment of the Barnstable-Brown Center for Diabetes Research at UK.

As the 1970s drew to a close, UKCCEW took a more activist posture than ever. Still led by Childs, UKCCEW in Spring 1977 put on a reception and orientation for new adult women students. Programming staples like math review and "Discovering a 'New' You" continued to be popular (Kernel Staff, 1977). Alongside their more traditional fare of orientations, advising, and vocational counseling, however, UKCCEW also offered faculty-led discussions of popular books including *Passages* (Sheehey, 1976) and *Roots* (Haley, 1976), as well as a decidedly non-academic excursion into women's autobiography through the book *Past Forgetting: My Love Affair with Dwight D. Eisenhower* (Summersby, 1977). Even if these book discussions did not directly correlate with academic curriculum, they offered UKCCEW women an opportunity to meet, build community, and find solidarity with peers. The discussion of *Passages*, one of the first books to focus broad public attention on the experience of menopause, was robust enough to spur UKCCEW to offer a six-week course focused on the text in 1978 alongside a course on assertiveness, the "New You" course, and the ever-popular math review. In Summer 1979, UKCCEW revisited their workshop for divorced women, adapting it to serve all "women alone," through divorce, separation, or widowhood. The curriculum for this workshop was practical, with lessons including how to service

household appliances, conduct basic car maintenance, manage finances, and deal with real estate agents. Presumably the workshop did not explicitly target long-time single women because they were expected to already have the skills to live on their own. However, in describing the program to the *Kernel*, Childs issued a broad welcome to prospective participants:

"Although this office was originated specifically to aid women who are 25 and older and returning to school, we help all adults who come to us with any kind of adjustment problems," Childs said (Polk, 1976).

The phrase "all adults," repeated a few times in the article, is mirrored in a few other promotions for UKCCEW activities in the latter years of the 1970s. But did this inclusive language signal a broadening or a dilution of UKCCEW's mission?

The start of the 1979-1980 academic year brought changes for UKCCEW. The university's eternal reshuffling of space pushed UKCCEW out of the space in Alumni Gym, which meant losing behind the basement space Childs had fashioned into a social and academic refuge for adult women students. By August 1979, UKCCEW was yet again administratively reorganized, this time as a division of the UK Human Relations Center and relocated into downsized space on the second floor of Bradley Hall, a former dormitory with bedrooms repurposed as offices.

Why did UKCCEW, which had been operating with such apparent momentum for so many years, apparently begin to lose administrative power at this stage? It is possible that the program was a victim of its own success. Mirroring national trends, UK's enrollments were closer than ever to demonstrating gender parity. By Fall 1979, women

accounted for 47 percent of UK undergraduate students, 53 percent of graduate students, and 28 percent of professional students. While enrollment by men had remained steady, skyrocketing numbers of women fueled most of UK's enrollment growth in the 1970s. The population of part-time students soared during this period, also driven by large numbers of women. Just from 1978 to 1979, women's part-time enrollment at UK rose by more than 10 percent. As women achieved greater parity with men on campus, UK administrators likely shifted their emphasis to aiding other minoritized populations. African American students were significantly underrepresented at UK, making up only 3.3 percent of undergraduate students, 2.5 percent of graduate students, and 2.6 percent of professional students, at a time when 7.2 percent of Kentuckians identified as Black. Meanwhile, with more women earning wages while more men found themselves laid off and in need of retraining due to the national contraction of the manufacturing sector, some of the topics covered by UKCCEW—interactions with faculty, academic course planning, vocational interests, budgeting, and even parenting—increasingly seemed to apply to both men and women returning to college as adult students.

4.2 Absorption, 1980 - 1988

The 1980-1981 academic year began with promise for UKCCEW. In July 1980, the program moved from Bradley Hall to Frazee Hall—an upgrade, as Frazee was in a high-traffic area adjacent to the student center, the university administration building, and newer academic facilities like Patterson Office Tower and White Hall Classroom Building

(*Green Bean* Staff, 1980). The move represented an improvement over the tucked-away Bradley Hall location on the north edge of the academic campus. Demographically, UK in Fall 1980 was a target-rich environment for UKCCEW. Approximately 6,300 UK students—fully a quarter of the Lexington campus enrollment for the semester—were aged 25 or older. Sixty percent of these adult students were women. All signs were a go for another year of UKCCEW programming. But in October 1980, UKCCEW experienced a major disruption when UK administratively merged the program with Project Ahead (PA), another initiative serving adult women students.

4.3.1 Project Ahead, 1977-1979

Before the merger of UKCCEW and PA, the two programs operated on parallel tracks, both serving adult women students seeking continuing education for vocational advancement. While UKCCEW could date its origins to Seward's work in 1964, Project Ahead launched in 1977 under the direction of Patricia A. Durchholz. A mother of seven, Durchholz herself was a returning adult student who came to UK in Summer 1977 after earning her doctorate from the University of Cincinnati. At UK, Durchholz took up a dual role as a project leader in the UK Office of Experiential Education and as an adjunct professor in the College of Education

Figure 4-13 Patricia A. Durchholz (UK Archives)

Upon her arrival at UK, Durchholz undertook a review of the status of "displaced homemakers" in Kentucky. These previously married women, who had been out of the workforce until widowhood or divorce forced them to return to wage-earning, were a source of national interest in the late 1970s. With divorce rates rising throughout the decade, the U.S. DOL was concerned that these women find their way back into the workforce. Leaning into UK's land-grant service mission, the university developed and ran the DOL-funded "Kentucky Displaced Homemakers Program" through the UK community college campuses. Durchholz had a scholarly interest in how issues of agency, self-perception, and confidence impacted the ability of "displaced" women to find employment; she channeled her research questions and hypotheses into a grant successful grant submission to the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) for what would become Project Ahead.

Project Ahead shared some goals with UKCCEW but differed in its methods. Both programs sought to offer advising and assistance to adult women students seeking continuing education and vocational advancement. However, while UKCCEW focused on advising and community-building, with the primary goal of academic success for students, PA was an internship program with a peripheral goal of generating data on how structured work experiences could impact women's agency as jobseekers. The research design submitted in the FIPSE grant proposal "called for each individual to be interviewed for 20-30 minutes and then tested with Loevinger's Sentence Completion Test, a measure of ego development, both before and after their participation in [Project Ahead]. The purpose of the interview and...test [was] to examine the impact of Project Ahead on individual development, or more specifically, on self-concept, role management and career development" (Hofer, 1978).

Both UKCCEW and PA fit well in the higher education *milieu* of the period, which placed an emphasis on serving previously neglected groups of students including displaced homemakers, single parents, older women, rural women, and URM women (National Advisory Council on Women's Education Programs, 1977). Within the local context, however, PA had some distinct political advantages, as with $120,00 in external funding from FIPSE the program brought welcome revenue to UK. PA also offered UK administrators the opportunity to collaborate closely with stakeholders from major corporate interests including national companies IBM and Jerrico, publicly highlighting UK's regional economic impact.

With FIPSE funding secured for a period of two years, in September 1977 Durchholz officially became director of Project Ahead within the UK Office of Experiential Education. Shortly thereafter, in October 1977, Durchholz and the small PA staff moved into Ligon House. A former residence, the two-story bungalow on UK's central campus gave PA prime real estate on Limestone Street, adjacent to the UK College of Law and just a few hundred yards from campus landmark Memorial Hall. Ligon House was also on a major bus route, and even had room to park a few cars in its driveway. With their own facility, PA had plenty of room for offices as well as space for formal and informal gatherings.

Figure 4-14 Ligon House, circa 2019 (UK Archives)

In February of 1978, PA reported that the program had 30 participants, although only four women had been placed in internships for the semester because, as Durchholz said, "we got there too late" in contacting employers (Mattingly, 1978). Like UKCCEW,

PA assisted women in identifying their vocational interests and aptitudes through a series of assessments and counseling exercises. PA explicitly encouraged participants to think beyond traditional women's careers in teaching, nursing, and secretarial work. The program also assisted women with work readiness. Although some women received academic credit for their PA internships, the focus of the program was squarely on workforce development and graduate employability rather than academic success. Developing job interview skills in participants quickly became a top priority of Durchholz and PA.

"We're having to help them overcome their shyness which is often misinterpreted by employers as disinterest," said Durchholz (Mattingly, 1978).

Perhaps some of the "shyness" observed in the PA students was due to their relative youth. While Durchholz had anticipated that PA would primarily serve thirty-something "displaced housewives" who found themselves alone with no marketable skills, as well as older empty-nesters, half of the initial PA participants were between 25 and 30. Other participants included a few women under the age of 25, as well as many between 30 and 65. Every single one of the participants had been previously employed, and more than half of the women were married with children at home (Mattingly, 1978).

"They are carrying the burden of being mothers, working to help support a family, keeping house, and being students," said Durchholz. Many of the women, she added, experienced "strong feelings of guilt" for "neglecting their children" as they sought careers (Mattingly, 1978).

To aid PA participants in balancing career development with family life, Durchholz and her staff organized a series of seminars throughout the Spring 1978 semester. The funding from FIPSE enabled PA to attract outside speakers, and to host a multi-day seminar on women's life planning. Just as Seward and Zyzniewski's earlier work on UKCCEW had emphasized the necessity of women preparing for multiple life stages, the PA curriculum pushed women to plan and push toward the completion of long-term life and career goals.

There is evidence that Durchholz knew her project overlapped with the aims of UKCCEW. On March 1, 1978, UKCCEW director Sharon Childs attended a meeting of the PA advisory group. PA also collaborated with other campus offices. For example, in October 1978, PA and the UK Office for Minority Student Affairs co-hosted visiting speaker Howard Bond, an African American male executive who used his experience at Ford and General Electric as a jumping-off point to engage students in discussion of careers in corporate management. Neither was PA the only source of internships for students at UK. The UK Office of Experiential Education, led by director Robert Sexton and assistant director Amy Suite, worked with men and women students to facilitate internships for academic credit (Rogers, 1978). In Fall 1978, the Office of Experiential Education advertised to students a variety of internship opportunities focused on "women's issues," at sites including local non-profits Alternatives for Women, Planned Parenthood, the Women's Equity Action League, and even UKCCEW. Meanwhile, PA placed interns at some of the same sites—specifically Alternatives for Women and Planned Parenthood—plus corporate and private employers including Jerrico, IBM, and

Ashland Oil, local law firms, ad firms, and manufacturers, as well as government offices and public-sector agencies (Hofer, 1978).

Per the terms of the grant awarded to UK and Durchholz, FIPSE funding for PA was scheduled to end on June 30, 1979. Prior to that date, however, Durchholz worked to ensure the continuity of the program. In February 1979, PA invited all adult women students at UK to attend a reception at Ligon House. Beginning March 1979, PA offered weekly drop-in sessions where any interested students could access career advising and build social connections with other women. By Spring 1979, plans were underway for PA to become a permanent program of the UK Office of Experiential Education. But without external funding, PA could not afford its own professional staff. It was decided that Suite, Assistant Director of the Office of Experiential Education, would also become Director of PA.

On May 29, 1979, Suite wrote to the PA advisory board—composed of representatives from prominent regional employers—to inform board members that she would take over the project as of July 1 and that she hoped to "pick up the momentum begun by Pat Durchholz and staff." Suite asked advisory board members to continue their involvement with PA and assured them that PA would retain its headquarters in Ligon House. Suite herself, though, would split her time between Ligon House and the Office of Experiential Education. She gave contact information for herself in both locations. On May 30, Suite wrote to all PA interns past and present to advise them that, although the FIPSE grant was ending, PA would continue "as a permanent part of the Office for Experiential Education."

When the fiscal year ended on June 30, Durchholz moved on to other projects at UK. Cheryl Hawkins and Gene Essig, administrative staff who had been employed by PA under the grant, also found other employment. Suite was left in charge of a much quieter Ligon House, where she herself only worked half the time. On October 2, 1979, Suite wrote to several UK faculty and staff to remind them that PA still existed was available to assist students. Suite also wanted her UK colleagues to know that the weekly gatherings at Ligon House—now branded as the "Women's Place"—offered "an informal atmosphere for meeting other women, exchanging ideas over a cup of coffee or lunch." Suite offered the use of Ligon House for other campus groups to conduct presentations and meetings and shared her dedication to "working to create stronger links among existing services for women on campus and in the community."

With her time split between PA and UK Experiential Education, Suite needed to recruit new staff to assist with the administration of PA. In Fall 1979, Pamela Mathis-Yon joined the PA team as a graduate assistant. In an undated letter that appears to be from Fall 1979, Mathis-Yon wrote to all new and returning adult women students at UK urging them to check out the offerings of PA for the academic year.

"Project Ahead was established to provide internships for academic credit and career services for women students over twenty-five," wrote Mathis-Yon. "We serve as a resource center and provide a place to make informal contacts." She went on to note the full slate of workshops, reading groups, guest speakers, and social gatherings planned for PA students during the 1979-1980 academic year.

On November 10, 1979, PA sponsored a daylong workshop with local group Alternatives for Women. Mathis-Yon described as an opportunity to "explore women's needs: learning from experience and setting goals, appraising obstacles and limits to women's choices, and acquainting women with area programs and services to help in personal decision-making." The same week, PA hosted a workshop on "Aging: Women's Reactions," as part of their "Women's Voices series." The programming sponsored by PA, as Mathis-Yon described it, was extremely like that undertaken by Sharon Childs and UKCCEW throughout recent years.

4.3.2 Dee Ellen Davis as Director of Combined UKCCEW and Project Ahead

In July 1980, Amy Suite left UK for a job in the private sector, and Dee Ellen Davis took over as director of PA. Davis came to UK after receiving her Master of Social Work degree from West Virginia University in 1978; her move to Lexington was precipitated by her husband's medical residency at UK's teaching hospital. Shortly after Davis arrived at UK, PA and UKCCEW merged.

With PA and UKCCEW operating on similar models, and serving overlapping groups of students, merging the programs must have been attractive to UK administrators as a cost-savings measure. By combining the programs, the university decreased necessary expenses for salary, supplies, and events. Consolidating both programs into the Ligon House freed up UKCCEW's space on central campus for other uses; however, it may have also meant that PA subsumed some of UKCCEW's identity. The optics of the situation were that UKCCEW lost its staff and office space, while PA continued to occupy Ligon House with Davis as director.

At the October 23, 1980, meeting of the PA advisory board, Davis reported that "Project Ahead has been combined with the office of Continuing Education for Women. The population served is identical, with CEW serving adult women as they make the transition into college and Project Ahead serving them as they near graduation and prepare to enter the job market…. Because of Project Ahead's successful beginnings it is now a permanent program at the University of Kentucky."

With her social work training, Davis was a good choice to lead the combined PA/UKCCEW program with its focus on personal development and network-building. The new dual combined program had a strong start. In Fall 1980, Davis communicated to the advisory board that an average of 35 women per month contacted PA/UKCCEW about returning to school, while about 16 women a month expressed interest in internships. In Fall 1980, 31 interviewed for internships; ten of the internship applicants were accepted. Possibly because of the merger with UKCCEW, older students also began to take notice of the internship opportunities. The new PA/UKCCEW helped many women in their 40s and 50s gain their first professional roles as new college graduates.

Davis was instrumental in launching the "Food for Thought" lunchtime workshop series, a series of informal brown-bag sessions covering topics of interest to adult women students. Themes for the programs ranged from academic to personal, including discussions of marriage, finances, study tips, and career possibilities. Speakers were drawn from UK faculty and staff as well as a long list of local non-profits and women's organizations—many of which also provided internship opportunities.

In notes to the advisory board for Spring 1981, Davis stated that "the fact that the Project Ahead Office has become visible in its permanent location within University Extension has seemed to help increase the number of interns this semester." Sixteen students took up internships through the program that semester, with 14 of those internships being paid.

"More working women are also learning they can create an internship with their supervisors' assistance within a position they already hold," wrote Davis in the same report. "This is particularly beneficial for the part-time student who is juggling multiple responsibilities while trying to earn enough credits to graduate."

Internship sites for PA/UKCCEW students in Spring 1981 included the Lexington-Fayette County Health Department, Language Translation Services, the UK Personnel Office, the UK Placement Office, Ashland Oil, the UK Community Education Program, KET, The Nest, Wilderness Road Girl Scout Council, and Lexcinenda. Even Project Ahead had an intern, who along with a full-time administrative assistant rounded out the staff led by Davis. The faculty members who served as academic supervisors for internships were not additionally compensated for this work. Volunteer members of the PA/UKCCEW advisory board were expected to connect with their business associates to promote internships. In meeting minutes, it appears that board members also expressed interest in topics of affirmative action, sexual harassment, career counseling, and "appropriate dress for professional women."

4.3.3 External Influences: Coal Camps, Budget Cuts, and Desegregation

In March 1981, PA/UKCCEW took an active role in the university-wide observation of Women's History Month. To mark the occasion, UK hosted a full roster of events including speakers, a film festival, and a panel of faculty, staff, and students focusing on women's issues at UK. One event, a forum on "Being a Woman in the Coal Camps," featured Appalachian scholar and activist Sally Ward Maggard. Dee Ellen Davis, who had an active interest in issues facing women coal workers, served as forum chair (*Kernel* Staff, 1981).

Also in March 1981, Davis spoke to the *Kernel* about the importance of celebrating women's history and accomplishments. Cheryl Hillen, chair of the Women's Concerns Committee within UK Student Government, cited PA/UKCCEW as a partner in improving opportunities for women on campus (Damron, 1981).

While the *Kernel* placed their summary of local women's groups activities on the front page of the March 12, 1981, the top headlines of the same issue spoke to two other significant issues facing UK: budget cuts and desegregation. On March 11, 1981, Kentucky Governor John Y. Brown met with the Kentucky Council on Higher Education (CHE, the precursor to the Kentucky Council on Post-Secondary Education). The assembled Council, which represented all of Kentucky's public universities, received bad news from Brown: Kentucky's budget for public higher education for the 1981-1982 academic year would be slashed a total of $20.2 million—5.5 percent of the previous year's allocation for higher education. The cut, Brown said, came in response to a projected state revenue deficit of $185 million for the next fiscal year. Brown asked CHE

leaders to decide amongst themselves how to allocate the cuts across Kentucky schools, while keeping tuition increases “to a minimum.” Further, Brown assured CHE leaders that the cuts were something “you can live with” through greater efficiencies, review, and reorganization of university operating structures. In other words, Brown asked CHE and Kentucky universities to do more with less (Steiden, 1981).

The budget cuts for 1981-1982 came on the heels of the previous year’s budget cuts, which eliminated $30.2 million from the state’s higher education budget. $11.2 million of that amount came directly out of UK’s operating budget. Brown urged UK and other institutions to “concentrate on our strengths” by offering practical courses.

“We live in a world that revolves around production and business,” said Brown. In this world, Brown continued, students “need less Aristotle and Socrates” and more practical education (Steiden, 1981).

Brown also urged Kentucky universities to reduce the number of administrators on campus.

“Thirty percent of your employees are faculty, and 70 percent administrators,” Brown said. “You may say that’s in line with the national average, but I don’t care. I want to do better.”

“Better,” according to Brown, meant a leaner, more efficient organizational structure across Kentucky higher education. CHE pushed back on his narrative, with member Ed Prichard calling the tax cuts that led to the budget crisis “irresponsible” and maintaining that universities were “nearing their limits” to absorbing budget cuts

through greater efficiencies. UK President Otis Singletary went further in his criticism, calling Brown's views an "oversimplification" of the realities of higher education.

"Our university is at the bottom of every funding category for state universities around us," Singletary said. "If this keeps on, we will have nothing left recognizable as a state university" (Steiden, 1981).

While it is difficult to trace a direct line between the shrinking state appropriations for UK and the consolidation of PA and UKCCEW, the merger of the programs aligned with Brown's mandate to reduce the number of administrators and non-instructional services on campus.

Also on March 11, 1981, CHE approved by unanimous vote a new plan for desegregation of Kentucky universities. Although URM students had been enrolled at Kentucky's PWIs since the mid-1960s, and some White students enrolled at KSU, the 1981 plan called for universities to take an intentional approach to encouraging diversity among students, faculty, and staff. The action was mandated by the U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, which in January 1981 found that Kentucky had "failed to eliminate the vestiges of desegregation in its public higher education system." The council also adopted a resolution to study the possible merger of KSU and UK—a move opposed by alumni and supporters of KSU (Sparrow, 1981).

4.3.4 Diversity and Community Engagement

Under Childs's leadership during the 1970s, UKCCEW took an active role in encouraging campus integration by reaching out to Black adult women students and creating structured opportunities for Black and White women to engage in dialogue at

seminars and book discussions. In 1980, under the leadership of Davis, PA/UKCCEW took another step toward supporting UK's diversity goals by conducting targeted outreach to Black adult women students. In November 1980, PA/UKCCEW wrote to all enrolled Black adult women students to announce the creation of a Black adult women's student group. The project was student-led, spearheaded by four Black adult women undergraduate students: Diane Collins, Dorothy Coleman, Mary Twitty, and Cherille Bartholomew. Interested women were invited to gather on November 18, from 5 to 7 p.m., in 4 Frazee Hall, for an introduction to "campus resources that are available to you, how to apply for and get financial aid, where to find free tutoring, and many more topics...we feel will be highly beneficial to you as an adult returning student" (Collins et al., 1980).

Black adult women students were offered the same information available to all students through PA/UKCCEW, but Davis and the student leaders involved must have recognized that an organization for Black adult women students could offer participants much more than instructions and phone numbers. With African American students still a minority at UK as approximately three percent of total enrollment, Black adult women students were an extreme minority. Even within the URM community on campus, Black women were minoritized as a "special interest" group (*Communicator* Staff, n.d.). Additionally, Black women in 1981 continued to have a quite different experience of the world—including the world of paid work—than their White counterparts. Social support and solidarity, critical for all groups, could potentially make the difference for these women when it came to achieving academic and career success.

The student-led nature of the effort to reach out to Black adult women students was critical, as social networks were the best way to reach these minoritized students. Nonetheless, it was slow going to recruit participants to the new Black adult women students support group. In 1982, PA/UKCCEW advertised a holiday open house for Black adult women students. The contact for the event was Cheryl Johnson, a graduate student in communications. Unfortunately, despite the advertising, the event was a bust. Davis noted the failure, writing on a flyer: "No one showed up for this open house. Would recommend more person[al] contact, verbal invitations next time."

By October 1981, PA/UKCCEW had developed enough contacts throughout the community that, instead of searching for internship opportunities for students, Davis was searching for enough students to fill the available internship opportunities. To advertise the many opportunities available through PA/UKCCEW, Davis, reached out to the UK women's studies committee to advertise positions available at local women's organizations including Alternatives for Women, Big Sisters, the Florence Crittenden Home, Girl Scouts, the Kentucky Commission on Women, the Kentucky Women Writers Conference, and the YWCA spousal abuse center.

The local reputation of PA/UKCCEW grew further when Davis was quoted in a 1981 *Newsweek* article about the career ambitions of returning women students. Following publication of the *Newsweek* feature, Davis spoke with Lexington television stations about the success of PA/UKCCEW in placing students in internships not just with women's organizations, but with a wide variety of employers including Ashland Oil,

Jerrico, Marriott Hotels, Kentucky Educational Television, local and state government, and the Fayette County Bureau of Corrections.

Around this time, PA/UKCCEW lost its home at Ligon House and returned to the old location of UKCCEW in Frazee Hall (McClellan, 1982). Nonetheless, outreach by Davis and staff continued. In 1982, *Kentucky Alumnus* magazine ran a feature on continuing education and extension programs across UK, including PA/UKCCEW. In this article, Davis articulated the need for resources tailored to adult women students.

Figure 4-15 Frazee Hall (UK Archives)

"We try to provide services to respond to the special needs of adult students," said Davis, "because their concerns are different from those of traditional 18-year-olds in the dorms" (McClellan, 1982).

The *Kentucky Alumnus* article continued that "although they value the opportunity to expand their education, Davis says women are primarily returning to school for economic reasons and increased job satisfaction...[a] Friday lunchtime discussion group...provides an opportunity for 'women to meet other women' and exchange ideas about subjects of special concern to them. Davis says this helps establish 'a peer support network on campus." Davis also shared that PA/UKCCEW used a "buddy

system" to provide students with peer support during complicated procedures like registration and drop/add. Davis also clarified that, although merged into one organization serving a single demographic of adult women students, PA and UKCCEW retained distinct missions, as UKCCEW helped women get back into school, while PA "prepare[d] women for the transition out of school into the job market" (McClellan, 1982).

Throughout 1982, Davis was able to maintain strong community support for PA/UKCCEW, through extremely hands-on engagement with the advisory board. Board members in 1982 represented IBM, the Kentucky Commission on Women, UK offices including Human Resources Development and Corporate and Foundation Relations, American Can Company, First Security National Bank, Language Translation Services, Jerrico, GTE, and local and county government. Board members requested that their names and companies be added to PA/UKCCEW's stationery, demonstrating a strong identification with and support for the program. Conducting copious correspondence with the board, Davis propelled PA/UKCCEW through the early 1980s by making and maintaining strong community and employer contacts. While board members promoted PA/UKCCEW in the community, they could do so because Davis provided them with the necessary information, structure, and tools.

A turning point for PA/UKCCEW came in Fall 1983, when Davis scaled back her management of the advisory board (Davis, 1983). Davis had always planned to take maternity leave after the birth of her daughter, but when the baby arrived prematurely in September and required extensive medical care, Davis was obligated to prioritize her

caregiving responsibilities. Just like so many of the adult women served by PA/UKCCEW, Davis worked to balance family and career. In the end, the needs of a medically fragile newborn had to take precedence for Davis and her family. Although Davis remained in her position at UK, she was unable to return to her work with the same aggressiveness that had characterized the first years of her tenure. In 1983, Davis left UK entirely as she and her husband moved their family to Indiana where he had a job opportunity. Around the same time, UK's Council on Aging moved into the vacant Ligon House.

4.3.5 Betty Gabehart, the Last UKCCEW Director

The directorship of PA/UKCCEW sat vacant until 1985, when Betty Gabehart was hired by UK to lead the program. Gabehart, a former Freedom Rider and Yale Divinity School graduate, brought an activist mindset to the role (Gabehart, 2012; Gabehart, 1999). Under Gabehart's leadership, PA/UKCCEW continued the work of assisting adult women students in achieving academic and career success. The program also picked up a new component: the Kentucky Women Writers Conference (KWWC). KWWC began in 1979 as an outgrowth of a UK event celebrating women writers. Until 1985, the program operated out of the Office of Undergraduate Studies. In 1985, the transfer of KWWC to PA/UKCCEW precipitated the hiring of Gabehart.

Also under Gabehart, PA/UKCCEW broadened its mission to welcome all students—not just adult women—to its seminars like "Food for Thought." In 1987, PA/UKCCEW joined with the UK Woman's Club to sponsor an open house for all adult students, regardless of gender (*Kernel* Staff, 1986). The program also conducted outreach to the local LGTBQ+ community. In 1987, a UK Gay and Lesbian Student

Organization (GLSO) newsletter listed PA/UKCCEW and Gabehart as helpful resources, alongside the UK Feminist Alliance and the UK women's studies program (Pride Community Services Organization, 1987). Also by 1987, PA/UKCCEW was, according to directory information, a program of UK Academic Support Services and open to all adult students. Services provided, according to the 1987-1988 UK Bulletin, included daycare lists, a monthly newsletter, workshops, and internship placement.

In 1988, more than 2,000 women over the age of 25 were enrolled in degree programs at UK (University of Kentucky, 1988). This number, although substantial, represented a decline in adult women as a percentage of the student body since the early 1970s. Perhaps it was this decline in the percentage of adult women on campus, or simply a consequence of further budget shrinkage, that led UK to in 1988 announce that the budget for the next fiscal year would eliminate most funding for PA/UKCCEW. The *Kernel*, which had for many years published extensive praise for PA/UKCCEW, published a single letter to the editor on the subject—from a man who had benefited from the academic advising provided by PA/UKCCEW to all adult students, He argued that funding should remain because the program was "not just for women." The best defense the student could muster of an organization founded to promote the education of women was that it also served men (Bratcher, 1988).

The dénouement of PA/UKCCEW at UK is difficult to trace. Gabehart continued as director of KWWC until 1994, when the program moved to the women's studies program and English professor Jan Oaks took over. In Fall 1994, Gabehart spoke to the *Kernel* about "Women in Transition," a non-credit course for adult women students,

which sounded a great deal like PA/UKCCEW programming, although those groups were not mentioned in promotions for the course. Throughout the 1990s, PA/UKCCEW continued to be listed in the university bulletin as a department of Adult Student Services; however, no other mention of either PA or UKCCEW appeared in other publications. When Gabehart retired from UK in 2000, she was listed as a Student Affairs Officer II employed in Central Advising Services. Then, after Gabehart's departure, mentions of PA/UKCCEW vanished altogether from the UK Bulletin or any other archived campus documents.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUSION

5.1 CEW at UK, from Past to Present

When Doris Seward and Celia Zyzniewski launched CEW at UK, they did so with the apparent intention of emulating a model that was already successful at the University of Minnesota. Seward networked with key figures in the national CEW movement at the 1964 Catalyst conference, including "Minnesota Plan" leaders Virginia Senders and Vera Schletzer. Zyzniewski collected contacts and information from CEW programs across the U.S., soliciting program collateral from institutions similar in size and mission UK. Her research resulted in a file full of material from the University of Minnesota, University of Michigan, and other flagship and land-grant public institutions. Clearly, the founders of UKCCEW aspired to emulate CEW efforts at other large, public universities, rather than nearby programs like the CEW initiative at the small Catherine Spalding College in Louisville, Ky. Subsequent UKCCEW administrators like Saundra B. Lykins also conducted outreach to other CEW programs to gather information and ideas. However, without either the Carnegie Corporation funding that provided a jump-start to CEW in Minnesota, or local philanthropic funds as alumnae provided to the University of Michigan, CEW at UK struggled to find its footing. It was four years from the inception of the project by Seward until in 1968 UK administrators recognized UKCCEW as a center and granted the project a budget line and office space.

From 1968 to 1988, UKCCEW experienced many challenges due to personnel and leadership changes, administrative restructuring, budget restrictions, and shifting

allocations of space on campus. Like many adult women students, UKCCEW was often forced to structure and re-structure its goals based on available time and resources. Like the students served by UKCCEW, the program often found itself stretched thin, with an unclear identity. Nevertheless, just like the women who returned to the classroom seeking degree completion and new career options, UKCCEW persisted. In fact, UKCCEW persisted even beyond being defunded and dismantled in the late 1980s.

Elements of UKCCEW are present across UK today. After PA subsumed UKCCEW, former director Sharon Childs remained at UK—first in the office of Commuter Student Services, where she served another group of marginalized students, then in Career Services, where she helped students connect their academic programs with vocational goals. Betty Gabehart remained at UK until her retirement in 2000; she led the KWWC for years before serving adult students through Academic Support Services. Many present-day initiatives at UK, whether their leaders know it or not, owe a great deal to the pioneering efforts of UKCCEW administrators to enable students outside the mainstream of the university's demographics to nonetheless be successful as UK students. Some of the spiritual successors of UKCCEW include the Veterans Center, the Off-Campus Student Association, the Robinson Scholars First-Generation program, the MLK Center, the LGBTQ+ Center, the Center for Graduate and Professional Diversity Initiatives, and the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute. The Osher Institute, incidentally, is headquartered in Ligon House. Each of these offices provides specialized counseling and services focused on specific audiences, to enable their targeted groups to thrive within the mainstream of UK academic and social life. UK is not unique; most American

universities have similar programs firmly integrated into the ecosystem of academic support services.

5.2 Comparison to Trajectory of Other CEW Programs

The "Minnesota Plan," as UM's CEW program was called, was initially funded by the Carnegie Corporation with the express intent to create a template for other institutions' CEW programs. CEW at UK, on the other hand, launched with no budget, one part-time staff employee, and no dedicated facilities. At multiple times throughout its history, UK's CEW program experienced leadership changes, funding deficits, and geographic dislocations. Due to this constant flux, CEW at UK never became entrenched as part of the university structure, and its programs were eventually disbanded or absorbed into other areas of the institution.

While the CEW program at the University of Minnesota benefitted from private philanthropy funds and steady administrative support, CEW at UK began with a desire to serve adult women students but little in the way of resources. Despite early verbal support from UK President John Oswald, publicly leveraged for public relations value on multiple occasions, CEW at UK never received the financial and administrative support necessary to make the program an entrenched part of the institutional infrastructure.

In the 21st century, the University of Minnesota's CEW program lives on as an active Women's Center. At the University of Michigan, CEW continues in the form of the Center for the Education of Women. Why were Minnesota and Michigan both positioned to have CEW programs that outlasted UKCCEW? In both cases private

philanthropy—whether driven by a large foundation grant or smaller gifts from local alumnae donors—gave the recipient programs a degree of fiscal autonomy that allowed CEW leaders the opportunity to focus on programming rather than fighting for funding. Although early UK CEW administrators like Seward and Zyzniewski sought to emulate the examples of Minnesota and Michigan, they were disadvantaged specifically by a lack of philanthropic funding. In fact, Board meeting minutes of the 1960s indicate very little in the way of major philanthropic gifts to UK in the 1960s. It appears that UK was extremely reliant on state appropriations and federal student aid dollars during this time—a contributing factor as to why, in the 1970s and 1980s, a nationwide trend of cuts to public higher education budgets hit UK harder than schools like Minnesota and Michigan. When state appropriation cuts hit UK hard in the 1980s, the university lacked a strong tradition of philanthropic giving to ensure the continuance of programs like CEW.

5.3 Current UK Student Data

For the 2019 fiscal year, UK reported a total enrollment of 29,986 students, comprised of 22,227 undergraduates and 7,759 graduate or professional students. Among undergraduates, only 7 percent were age 25 or older. 91 percent of 2019 UK undergraduate students attended full-time, and 57 percent were women. While graduate student ages for the same year are not readily available, 77 percent of graduate and professional students attending UK in 2019 were full-time students. While most UK students learned primarily on-campus in 2019, the data around distance

education is interesting for the last year before the Covid-19 pandemic upset learning structures. Although only 13 percent of UK undergraduates were enrolled in only distance education during FY 2019, 80 percent of students in the same cohort were enrolled at least one distance education course. Only 7 percent of UK undergraduates were not enrolled in any distance education in 2019. At the same time, 43 percent of graduate students were not enrolled in any distance education. However, 28 percent of graduate students were exclusively enrolled through distance education—more than twice the proportion of undergraduates similarly enrolled. Another 30 percent of graduate students were enrolled in at least one distance education course. Taken together, this data means that before any pandemic-associated changes in course modality, 93 percent of UK undergraduates and 58 percent of graduate students were engaged in some type of distance learning. The popularity of distance learning modalities with undergraduate students raises the possibility that even among a cohort of young, full-time students, distance learning is an attractive option for some. Graduate students, who skew older and are more likely to have families and work obligations, appear to be more likely to enroll as part-time and/or distance education students. It's difficult to pick correlation apart from causation in this instance, as the greater availability of distance learning programs at UK for graduate students than undergraduates doubtless impacts the proportion of students choosing distance education programs (National Center for Education Statistics, 2022). One possible interpretation, however, is that the flexibility offered by distance and hybrid course options is attractive to a wide variety of students. This flexibility is even more essential

to adult students with caregiving responsibilities, a sector that in Kentucky has primarily been served by regional universities and community colleges but represents a potential growth opportunity for other institutions. As all institutions continue to face enrollment struggles caused by a shrinking pool of traditional college students, it may behoove flagship and land-grant universities—and even four-year liberal arts colleges— to look toward adult learners as potential enrollees.

It is also difficult to determine cause-and-effect for student success data for part-time and full-time undergraduates in FY 2019. Although full-time first-year undergraduate students at UK had a much greater retention rate from Fall 2019 to Fall 2020 than their part-time peers (86 percent versus 25 percent), it is impossible to eliminate the impact of the pandemic. A longitudinal look reveals that retention rates for full-time undergraduate students from previous cohorts at UK do tend to track higher than for part-time students. Again, however, it is impossible to eliminate the risk of error related to the funding and lifestyle considerations that enable full-time study.

UK's 2019 numbers are consistent with historical data, as not only did women make up the majority (57 percent) of undergraduates that year, but in 2019 a review of the Fall 2014 first-time student cohort found that 69 percent of women graduated within six years compared to 62 percent of men (National Center for Education Statistics, 2022). With high enrollments of women, the majority of whom are successful in degree completion within six years, there seems to presently be little need for interventions specific to traditional-age, full-time undergraduate women students at UK. Nonetheless, the same data demonstrate the minority status of part-time

undergraduates and undergraduates over the age of 25 at UK. Before the pandemic, a sensible course of action might have been to focus extra student services on these student cohorts—particularly where they intersect—without regard to gender. I suggest, however, that the employment and education situation has changed for American women in important ways since January 2020, necessitating student services interventions specific to adult women students over the age of 25.

5.4 Post-Pandemic Possibilities

The impact of the Covid-19 pandemic has been uneven. While American men have been more likely to die of Covid-19 due at least in part to behavioral, social, and contextual causes (Danielsen et al., 2022), in 2022 American women are more likely to be living with "long Covid," a potentially disabling condition (Bai et al., 2021). American women are also more likely than their same-age male peers to have lost employment during the pandemic, with the difference more pronounced among URM populations. In addition to the greater presence of women in service-sector jobs—a category that suffered early in the pandemic—women in America are more likely than their male peers to carry family caregiving responsibilities (Department of Labor, 2022). These caregiving responsibilities, often for children and older relatives, but also for disabled or dependent adults, existed before the pandemic pushed the plight of parents without childcare, elder isolation, and needs of disabled children and adults into the spotlight. The moment was short-lived, however, and no real policy solutions came of the brief national spate of attention to caregiving.

It is not within the scope of this study to solve the national caregiving crisis, as members of the Generation X and Millennial cohorts are squeezed between the needs of elders and children. However, the women of these generations—now in their thirties and forties, many facing pandemic-related career upheaval—are an important potential market for higher education. Courting these women as students makes sense, as many institutions that geared up for the Millennial demographic boom are now working overtime to recruit members of the smaller Generation Z cohort.

What lessons can current higher education administrators glean from the trajectory of CEW at UK that will enable institutions to best serve new learners including adult women students? We can begin by offering these students specialized advising services and formal career mentorship. Flexible standards for credit transfer, competency-based credits, and flexible course modalities would all greatly improve the ability of adult learners to complete degrees. Schools can also implement non-credit courses, short-term special courses, and badge or certificate options inspired by the workshops that were key components of CEW programming. These credentials would be akin to the "soft skills" certifications UK already offers for undergraduates but focused on the specific needs of adult women students. Finally, to ensure the continuity of programming, administrators must ensure that such programs—even if they begin with "soft" grant money—eventually have permanent budget lines drawn from "hard" administrative funds. For a public institution like UK, it is therefore helpful if administrators explicitly tie the goals of any program to labor and economic imperatives favored by the Kentucky legislature—acknowledging that the priorities of legislators and

university leaders are moving targets, and nimble evaluation and messaging are key to ensuring the sustainability of any university program. But how to fund these programs? With universities nationwide employing cadres of grant writers, major gift officers, and corporate and foundation outreach professionals, higher education is better positioned than ever to create meaningful partnerships with philanthropic and corporate groups to enhance student success and workforce development. These partnerships may go beyond funding, toward creating a better shared future for our national, state, and local communities.

Universities need students. Women in early middle age need new career options. It seems like a perfect match, but it will require schools to adjust how they serve adult students—especially those who have caregiving and/or work responsibilities, are interested in part-time enrollment, and open to distance learning. Schools must also understand that these students, although they are not necessarily seeking the same social experience as traditional-age undergraduates, do have a real need for connection with mentors and peers. This could be accomplished through programs like PA/UKCCEW, designed to bring together academic advising, student support, career mentorship, and social connections for women returning to college.

As the land-grant institution of the Commonwealth, it is within the remit and the mission of UK to lead on this issue by reviving—in spirit if not in name—continuing education for women. The university must, if it is to serve its constituency through the social and economic changes that are disproportionately altering the educational, career, and life prospects of women in Kentucky and across the U.S., embrace the goals

of the pioneers of CEW. By recognizing and responding to the needs of adult women students—especially those with caregiving and work obligations—the university can strengthen enrollment and retention numbers while fulfilling its mission to open doors of opportunity for the people of Kentucky.

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