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Expulsion: Reasons, Rates, and Ramifications

Introduction

Women have always been held to different social standards than men. Although these variations in standards are not as prevalent today as they once were, they still are a part of our everyday lives. For instance, while it is a widely known that sorority life is filled with drinking and partying, during rush, current members of sororities may not talk about the partying and drinking that their sorority does. During rush, sorority members have to “pretend” that they do not drink, while during fraternity rush, drinking is a part of the process. Ever since the admission of women into Trinity College in 1896, women at Duke have always been held to different standards than men.¹

These variations between men and women are most prevalent during the years of The Woman's College, which was instituted in 1930 and disbanded in 1972.² During this period of Duke's history, women had to uphold different standards and follow different rules than the men. These dissimilarities were evident between The Woman's College Government, which had its own handbook of rules, and the Men's Student Government of Trinity. Although Duke was a co-ed university it was thought to be “the co-ed university with a two-mile hyphen between the co and the ed.”³ However, the separation of the men's and women's campuses was intentional because it was believed that both

¹ Woman's College Handbook, Women's student government association, 1939-1940.
In: Duke University Archives. Subject file: Woman's College Handbook, Box 1

² Ibid

³ Women's College Handbook, 1951-52

male and female students would excel more without the other sex's influence. Due to *The Woman's College Handbooks*, women were expected to fit some form of "model" of what a female Duke student should be, while the men only had to adhere to a handful of rules.

In contrast to the women on East campus, the men of Trinity College had no separate handbook of rules. The rules the men had to follow were natural and more dominant than the women's. The women had rules ranging from signing in and out of their dormitories to the clothes they were allowed to wear around campus and town. In the 1959-1960 *Woman's College Handbook*, it states that "each member of The Woman's College has principles in which she believes; most of us call the total of these principles our personal honor, which guides us as individuals in whatever we do".⁴ Not only is the behavior of the women indicative of the school, but also of the women themselves. Personal honor and responsibility play key roles in governing the female students of The Woman's College. However, the importance of personal honor is never mentioned in *The Duke University Freshman Handbook*.

With the institution of The Woman's College in 1930, many of the rules in *The Woman's College Handbook* were, in fact, established by the student members of the Woman's Student Government Association. The rules in the handbook were viewed as an extension of their rules from home. Since coming to college was probably many of the girls first time away from home, they had these set of rules to take the place of their parent's discipline. However, since the administration imposed fewer rules upon the men, they were able to judge their own behavior without the "constraining" rules of the university or their student government.

⁴ The Woman's College Handbook, 1959-1960.

Despite the Women's Feminist Movement in the 1960's-70's, there were still many rules that female students had to follow. Even after the addition of women on West campus, women still had "stricter" dorm rules (just had more of them) in comparison to the men. With the upholding of these "strict" rules, women were more inclined to break them. Although the consequence for breaking the rules might not have been as severe as expulsion or suspension, some form of ramification did follow.

In this paper, I will examine the changing rules and regulations over two different time periods (the 1930-1940's and the 1960-1970's) and the amount of opposition these rules and regulations incurred. In doing this, I will explore the suspension, expulsion and the judicial procedures that followed. I also will provide a thorough examination of the differences between the rules of the men in Trinity and the female students of The Woman's College.

I am interested in this topic because I want to learn more about how the rules were different for men and women in past generations at Duke. Today we live in a world where women can pretty much do anything they want and I just want to see how different women's lives used to be in comparison to today. Also, I am interested in the different "behavioral" problems that would get a female student into trouble and what the terms of expulsion and suspension were in comparison to today. Additionally, I have a personal connection to this topic because my Grandma, although she did not go to Duke, always talks about the different things she used to do to get around the rules in college and I thought it would just be fun to look at how female students at Duke broke the rules in similar ways or new innovative ones.

Methods

Having spent many hours in Archives, the bulk of my information for this paper comes from *The Woman's College Handbooks* and *The Duke University Freshman Handbooks*. There is a significant amount of information on specific rules that female Duke Students had to follow in *The Woman's College Handbook* and a different set of rules for the men in *The Duke University Freshman Handbook*. For example, the women's rules vary from what they were allowed to wear, to what time the lights had to be off in the dorms at night, to curfews. However, over the years, these rules became less "constrictive" and eventually *The Woman's College Handbook* was disbanded entirely with the dissolution of The Woman's College itself. Within these handbooks there are only a few specific rules that could result in suspension or expulsion if they are broken. From my research, most of the reasons for suspension or expulsion of a student during the designated times comes from inferences. For the most part, I used all my research to infer as to why a student was expelled or suspended because specific student judicial files are restricted.

In order to compare the rules of The Women's College to those of the men on West campus, I looked at these specific time periods in the *Freshman Handbooks*. These handbooks are one of the only places where rules for men can be found, whereas the women had rules they had to follow, imposed not only by *The Woman's College Handbooks*, but also by the *Social Standards Committee*. Nevertheless, the number of specific rules for the men pales in comparison to those of the women.

Additionally, in the University Policies and Reference Collection, I found significant information on the general procedures and policies of the late 1960's. These regulations range from alcohol and drug use to the honor code and even to the rules of holding a protest or demonstration on campus. In addition, I found information on opposition to rules in the Woman's College: Office of the Dean box under the Judicial Board: Recommended dorm hours for 1966-1969. This folder contains information about letters sent to the dean trying to change the dorm rules.

However, while researching this topic, I found a lot of information in The Woman's College records that was not included in the records of Trinity. For instance, I found a list of all the reasons why a female student did not return to Duke the following year, but Trinity had no such record that compared to this. Additionally, I noticed that *The Duke University Freshman Handbooks* significantly emphasize how a student can be academically successful while at Duke, while *The Woman's College Handbooks* do not emphasize academics.

This information was most likely left out due to the differing standards of men and women. The Woman's College probably had the list of all the withdrawals to alert the current students that extreme ramifications could result from their actions. However, this information might have been left out from Trinity because maybe the men were viewed as not needing as much guidance in their disciplinary action. Nevertheless, it could be that the Dean of Trinity did not think that this information was important and left it out of his final report. Additionally, *The Woman's College Handbooks* probably do not mention academics because during these time periods it was viewed that, although women were getting an education, they were probably just going to end up to be

“housewives”; though this opinion changed some in the late 1970’s. However, during these two time periods it seemed that the University placed greater importance on the male student’s education than the female student’s.

1930’s through the 1940’s—National and International Events

The first time period of my paper covers the 1930’s and 40’s, which for Duke, signified the start of The Woman’s College. However, nationally the 1930’s through the 1940’s was a period struck by major international affairs that left the entire world in a state of confusion; however, despite all these economic and governmental problems, women’s issues were still able to make strides. The women activist of this time period, inspired by the abolition movement, were known as the first wave feminist and mainly focused on women’s legal rights.⁵ Prior to this time period, women had just achieved the right to vote and they thought that more governmental changes needed to be made. This time period not only saw the economic toil of The Great Depression, but also the world’s involvement in World War II. The Great Depression, not only had a significant impact on the nation (and the world) economically, but it also helped instigate another feminist movement. This period saw the importance of family planning and spacing of children’s births because many families essentially could not afford to take care of children. During this time, the United States saw the increasing use of diaphragms and sometimes even illegal abortions.⁶ From this, women started to gain more reproductive independence and more control of when *they* wanted to have children. Additionally, this time period faced international conflicts due to World War II.

⁵Safra , Jacob E.. "Women’s Movement." *Encyclopedia Britannica: Micropedia*. 15th. 2005.

⁶ Freedman, Estelle B.. *No Turning Back: The History of Feminism and the Future of Women*. New York: Ballantine Books, 2002, 235.

During the war, women were forced to fill “male” positions in the workforce. Not only did this show that women could do a “man’s job,” but also that they were of economic importance to the country. With this new “revelation,” feminist began to push more for women’s equality. However, due to the major national and international struggles of this time period, women’s issues were again overshadowed by more immediate problems. Although this time period saw an increase in women’s employment, the first wave feminist did not make huge strides in their cause like they had done a decade earlier.⁷ Instead, once the men returned from the war, the women were forced back into their homes to assume their maternal and domestic “duties.” It was assumed that women would not want to waste their time or energy training for a higher paying job, when, in fact, they would just get pregnant and not return to the work force.⁸ The following decade would idealize the perfect domestic mother and wife and, in some ways, it reversed what the feminist movement had been trying to achieve. The period of the 1930’s and 1940’s did, however, see some changes in the role of a female and it would not be until the 1960’s and 70’s that more drastic changes would be implemented.

The Woman’s College Handbook and Social Standards Committee in the 1930’s and 1940’s—

Examination of *The Woman’s College Handbooks and Social Standards Committee* handouts showed the Universities emphasis of self-responsibility and personal pride for the women of The Woman’s College. During the 1930’s and 40’s, the Woman’s College had just been developed and along with it a handbook with many “strict” rules

⁷ Safra, Jacob E.

⁸ Freedman

and regulations. The women of the University were expected to conduct themselves with self-responsibility. For instance, in *The Woman's College Handbook* of 1943-1944, the topic of responsibility is mentioned in the first paragraph of the General Conduct Rules:

Students of The Woman's College are expected, as responsible, mature members of the College Community, to conduct themselves at all times so that their actions will not reflect unfavorably upon themselves or upon the University.⁹

Here, the University is trying to invoke the student's own personal honor believing that the girls would be less destructive, not only to themselves, but also to the University.

During this time period, going to college in itself was a radical thing for a women to do, and the school probably just did not want to send off the impression that the types of girls who received an upper education were unruly and hard to manage. Additionally, the first statement in the *Social Standards Committee* handout of the mid 1930's similarly states:

The purpose of the Social Standards Committee of 1937-1938 has been to create among the students a greater sense of responsibility toward upholding the social standards of Duke University, In other words, the Committee has tried to instill into the girls a feeling of personal pride in all that they do, so that they will not abide by the rules because they know they will be punished if they do not, but because they want to be good citizens and recognize good taste.¹⁰

Similar to *The Woman's College Handbook's* initial statement, the *Social Standards Committee* handout also talks about the importance of responsibility. Here this statement makes it seem that the female students followed the rules for themselves and not just

⁹ Woman's College Handbook, Women's student government association, 1943-1944.

In: Duke University Archives. Subject file: Woman's College Handbook, Box 1

¹⁰ Social Standards Committee Report, Social Standards Committee, 1937-1939.

In: Women's College Records—Office of the Dean, Box 39. Subject file: Social Standards Committee 1933-1966

because they would get into trouble. This is one way of controlling behavioral problems because if the girls initially do not break the rules, then there would be less to handle.

Not only did the University instill a sense of pride in the female students so that they would act responsibly, they also gave them a list of rules to follow. The Woman's College also had numerous rules that "restricted" the female student's social behavior. For instance, the dorms closed at 10:30pm on the weekdays and 11:00pm on Saturday (Juniors and seniors could stay out until 11:30pm on Friday).¹¹ All the girls had to be back in their dorms before this allotted time and "permission to be out of the house after regular closing hours [would] be granted for special social affairs only." In fact, the girls had to pay a fee if they made the dorm stay open after closing hour.¹²

In addition to the dorm closing hours, the women also had strict quiet hours and light rules which they had to follow. During the week, the women had to be quiet in their dorms from 7:30-10:30pm and 11:00pm-11:00am; exceptions were only made on Saturday and Sunday. Additionally, all freshmen had to turn their lights out at 11:30pm each night, while the upperclassmen had to act at their own discretion.¹³ The Woman's College had more rules for the freshman because they most likely were trying to engrain in them good study habits and behavior. If the girls already knew how to act responsibly by their freshman year then they would have more academic success while at Duke and less of a chance to get into trouble.

Not only did the female students of the Woman's College have to obtain permission to break the dorm closing hours, they also had numerous other activities and social events, which they had to obtain permission to participate in or attend. For

¹¹ Woman's College Handbook, 1939-1940

¹² Woman's College Handbook, 1939-1940

¹³ Ibid

example, they had to obtain permission from their Dean of residence to attend off-campus dances or they had to gain authority from their Head of the House to drive out of town during the day. In addition to all the things that they had to be granted permission to do, the female students were also not allowed to sun bath in certain areas of the University and they were not allowed to go swimming unless authorized.¹⁴ The Woman's College even dictated what the female students could and could not wear. During this time period, the female students of Duke also had to adhere to the *Social Standards Committee*. For example, in the 1942-1943 *Social Standards Committee* handout, it lists numerous rules as to when the girls should wear socks and stockings; for instance, the female students had to wear "stockings with a date after 7:30pm in Rinaldi's and the Goody Shop."¹⁵

Men at Duke during the 1930's and 1940's and the differences between them and the female students at Duke—

Examination of *The Duke University Freshman Handbook* was used to compare the women of The Woman's College to the men of Trinity. Not only is there more emphasis of academics for the men, but also, overall the men had fewer rules than the women. Although the men, in actuality, were at the same college as the female students; however, their Duke experience was probably somewhat different. In the opening statement of *The Duke University Freshman Handbook of 1931-1932* (also known as *The Duke Handbook*), president Few addresses the new incoming class of Trinity by stating:

¹⁴ Woman's College Handbook, 1942-1943

¹⁵ Social Standards—Vol I, 1942-1943.

In: Woman's College Records—Office of the Dean, Box 39. Subject File: Social Standards Committee, 1933-1966, Folder 1 of 3.

It is a pleasure to speak a word of welcome to students new and old who will seek to avail themselves of the opportunities offered here at Duke University...while holding before our eyes high moral and educational ideals and dealing with stern intellectual stuff as the medium in which we work.¹⁶

This opening statement, although it is similar to the initial address in *The Woman's College Handbooks* due to the fact that it welcomes the new students, nonetheless, its overall content is drastically different. In this statement the president addresses the freshmen men as, in fact, students. However, in *The Woman's College Handbooks* and the *Social Standard Committee* handouts, the new female freshman are addressed as “members” of the new class; “first, we ask you to remember that you have to think of yourself, not simply as one young woman or as a member of one family, but as a member of a large group known as the campus.”¹⁷ The women at Duke were thought to be a part of a larger group, while the men were at college for their own individual success.

Additionally, in the opening statement of *The Woman's College Handbooks*, nothing about academics is mentioned, while in the opening statement of *The Duke University Freshman Handbook*, the main focus is that the male students should use the opportunities Duke offers to them so that they will have great academic success while at school and great success later on in life. The University wanted the men to be successful to prepare them for life and the work force, while the University appeared to be teaching the girls just how to conduct themselves and follow rules (nothing that has anything to do with academics). However, at the time, teaching females such things as how to run a

¹⁶The President's Welcome, Men's Association. In: *The Duke University Freshman Handbook, 1931-1932* 11 *Social Standards—Vol I, 1942-1943*.

household was considered preparing the girls for the outside world because during this time period it was very uncommon for women to be in the workforce.

Unlike the women, the men of Trinity had no set of “strict” rules, which they had to follow. Instead there is only a brief overview in *The Duke University Freshman Handbook* of what the men should bring with them to college and there are just general statements of how to be successful while at Duke. For example:

Study diligently each day and do not allow your assignments to accumulate so that you will have to “cram” at the last minute. Consult your house master, your dean, and your instructors at any time and cultivate their acquaintances, for they can be of real help to you.¹⁸

The way the rules are presented in the handbook for the men is in a less serious manner; for in *The Woman’s College Handbooks* the rules are more “strict” and orderly. For example, in the By-laws of *The Duke Handbook* the only behavioral statements are that “no student shall be guilty of incurring debts which he can not pay” and “Students are expected to conduct themselves as gentlemen at all times...”¹⁹ Instead of having formulated rules telling them how to act like gentlemen, the University just casually puts a general statement in the handbook. In contrast, The Woman’s College listed out numerous rules explaining to the female students how to act civil and lady-like.

In contrast to The Woman’s College, the men of Trinity had no curfew which they had to follow, and, in fact, had very few behavioral restrictions. For instance, the women of The Woman’s College had rules as to how much they could date and if they were thought to have been “overdating” they could be put on “house arrest” and made to

¹⁸ Advice to New Men, Men’s Association. In: *The Duke University Freshman Handbook*, 1947-1948.

¹⁹ By-Laws, Men’s Association. In: *The Duke University Freshman Handbook*, 1931-1932

keep to the dorm; however, the men of Trinity had no such rule.²⁰ In fact, it is mentioned to the men that “it is a good idea to date just enough and not too much... [and to] not neglect your work to date, because your grades and foundation that you set up your freshman year determine the amount of time you can play in your years as an upperclassman.”²¹ The rules in *The Duke Handbook* are presented in a less formal way and seem to be more suggestions as to how one should behave than actual rules.

Rights for expulsion and suspension for both female and male students—

During the 1930’s and 40’s, suspension or expulsion could result from the possession of alcohol, failure of classes, or breaking the honor code. For this time period, the main infraction that got a student expelled or suspended from school was disobeying the drinking rules. Although, it appears that, this rule was supposed to be equally applied to both the men and women, it, however, was not. In the by-laws of Trinity it states that “no drinking or possession of intoxicating liquors will be permitted within the city of Durham and University community.”²² However, the drinking regulation for the women of The Woman’s College is much more descriptive and it even uses the words suspension or expulsion:

The possession, transportation or use of alcoholic beverages on the campus or in any of the buildings of Duke University is forbidden...failure to observe this

²⁰ Woman’s College Handbook, 1942-1943.

²¹ The Duke University Freshman Handbook, 1942-1943

²² The Duke University Freshman Handbook, 1931-1932.

regulation or to exercise good taste, good judgment and self control at any time maybe grounds for suspension or expulsion.²³

It directly states that female students could be kicked out of school for breaking this rule, however, it does not mention suspension or expulsion for the men. The University was well aware that drinking was going on at fraternity parties, so they probably cut the male students some slack on this issue. The University was stricter on the female students because during this time period it was not considered proper for women to be out drinking and getting intoxicated.

Likewise, both female and male students could be expelled or asked to leave the University if they were failing. Both the men of Trinity and the women of The Woman's College had the same statement about expulsion due to failure:

A student of the freshman class entering college for the first time is not permitted to remain in the University in the second semester unless she/he passes as much as six semester-hours of the work of the first semester; any other student is not permitted to remain in the University the second semester unless she/he passes as much as nine semester-hours of work in the first semester.²⁴

This was the most popular reason for withdrawing from the University for both males and females of the 1930's and 40's. Ironically, the University held both male and female students to the same academic standards, yet they held them to differing behavioral and social standards.

When it came to describing the specific rules that could get a student into trouble, Trinity had a set of more succinct rules that specifically told the male students what not to

²³ Drinking Rule, 1943-1944. In: Woman's College Records—Office of the Dean, Box 29. Subject Files: Drinking Regulations:1942-1958.

²⁴ Woman's College Handbook, 1937-1938 and The Bulletin of Duke University, 1937-1938.

do. In *The Duke University Handbooks* the rules that would get a student of Trinity into trouble were issues that were most likely rather obvious to the men of the time and were just enforced for the safety of other students. For example, “the shooting of firearms and fireworks and vandalism of University property [was] prohibited.”²⁵ However, unlike *The Woman’s College Handbooks* of this time period, the men had an honor system which they had to abide by. The breaking of this honor system could result in expulsion or suspension; “any person convicted of violating the honor system [cheating, stealing and other offenses] shall, except, under exceptionally mitigating circumstances, suffer the extreme penalty of immediate suspension or expulsion from school.”²⁶

In contrast to the men, the rules for suspension or expulsion for the women of The Woman’s College were not as well-defined. This means that it was up to the deans and administration to deem things that they thought “inappropriate” for the female students of The Woman’s College. Since the rules were not well-defined, this means that a female student could be expelled for doing something she didn’t even know was against the rules.

Effects the Great Depression and WWII and had on the students and the different rules they had to follow—

The Great Depression and World War II had numerous effects on the student’s (especially the female’s) social activities. During the Great Depression, it was a great stress for parents to be sending their sons and daughters away to college. The loss of this child at home not only was a loss of income for the family, but also the parents had to pay

²⁵ The Duke University Freshman Handbook, 1931-1932.

²⁶ Ibid

for their child's education. During the 1932-1933 school year, President William Few addressed the new students of Trinity by saying:

Those who enter college this year come in from a troubled and confused world. I am assuming that the present distress of this country is...due to the break-down in the character and intelligence of the people themselves...for this improvement in the human quality of our civilization we must look to education.²⁷

President Few believed that educating the youth was the main way to bring the country out of its current situation. Perhaps, by educating the youth, they would know how to prevent situations like the Great Depression from occurring again and how to fix it. However, there is no mention of the Great Depression in the opening statement to the women in *The Woman's College Handbook* during this time period because women, as it was an accepted thought of the time period, were not going to be the future leaders of the country. Due to the fact that it was a radical thing for a woman to even go to college, a woman's education was viewed as "less important" or "less valuable" to the nation as a whole than that of their male counterparts.

Similarly, during World War II the handbooks of both Trinity and The Woman's College addressed the current situation. Again, the women were given numerous rules which they had to follow, while the men were given suggestions of what they should be doing because of the war. As a result of the war, Durham became more crowded, which was the cause of the following rules for the women: female students could not go into town unchaperoned on Saturday or Sunday nights, they could not walk between the campuses alone during the day, or they could not go alone off campus after dark.²⁸

²⁷ The Duke University Freshman Handbook, 1932-1933.

²⁸ Woman's College Handbook, 1943-1944

Although these rules were, in fact, for the girl's own protection because there were more out-of-towners in the area, they seem to make the girls appear as if they are unaware of their own safety. However, during this time period, it might not have been inherent for females to know how to protect themselves against assault or rape and the University was most likely just trying to protect its students. In contrast to *The Woman's College Handbook*, *The Duke Handbook* of the 1943-1944 school year mentions what they think the male students should be doing during this time, not what they *have* to do:

Your class is the first ever to enter Duke University during the time that our Nation is at war—that in itself gives you something to live up to. Make the most of your stay here at Duke by taking advantage of the many opportunities that Duke has to offer and you will live a fuller and more fruitful life.²⁹

For the men, being in college during the war, meant that they were removed from all the horrors associated with a war. This statement implies that the men should be grateful that they have not been drafted and instead, they should take full advantage of the opportunities that have been given to them.

Are the rules of the Woman's College really for conformity or academic success? —

The institution of the various rules for the female students of The Woman's College can be viewed either of two ways: first that the rules were implemented to make the girls conform or second, that they were implemented for the girl's own academic success. It can be inferred that many of the rules imposed on the women by *The Woman's College Handbooks* and the *Social Standards Committee* could be seen as trying to make the female students of Duke University conform to some sort of "mold." In a way, this

²⁹ The Duke University Freshman Handbook, 1943-1944.

was the case. The majority of the rules imposed by these two books dealt with how the female students appeared to the surrounding town and outsiders. For example, the *Social Standards Committee* listed numerous rules which the girls had to adhere to or a penalty would be imposed for an infraction. These rules ranged from not allowing “socks... [to be] worn in down-town restaurants at any time” to not allowing Duke girls to “sit on the wall surrounding the campus.”³⁰ These rules were imposed because the University wanted its female students to “appear” to be a certain way. During this time period, it was considered a pretty radical thing for a woman to go to college, so in a way, the University was compensating for this overall radical ideal by instituting many strict and conservative rules. Since these college girls were exceptions to the national standard, more rules were placed upon them. As it is common throughout history, whenever the dominant culture (in this case only males going to college) is changed, more rules are placed upon those who are the exceptions to the rules (the female college students).

On the other hand, the “strict” rules of The Woman’s College can be viewed as helping the girls achieve academic success. During this period, women had just begun to be admitted to Universities in larger numbers and they wanted to prove that they were just as smart as the men. By implementing so many rules, the female students would learn good study habits that would help them prove their worth in the academic world. In fact, there were fewer classes failed by the women of The Woman’s College than the men of Trinity. In the fall of 1935, out of 2,435 classes taken by the 524 freshmen of Trinity, 228 classes were failed meaning that there was a 9.36% of failed classes among the

³⁰ Social Standards Committee—Vol I, 1942-1943

freshmen men.³¹ However, during this same year the female students of The Woman's College only had a .14% failure rate.³²

Although all the different rules and regulation seemed to be “constricting” and “overbearing” they were, in fact, most likely due to the second reason and instituted for the women's overall success. Whether they helped the overall acceptance of women going to college or the female student's success while at college, they were there for the female student's own benefit.

1960-1970's— Nationally a time of change

The 1960's through 1970's was not only nationally and internationally a period of strife, but it was also a time when women's issues began to be noticed. The women activists of this time period, known as second wave feminists, brought the topics of social and economic equality to the forefront of women's issues.³³ Women were now demanding that they be given the same opportunity as men in every aspect of their lives. With the popularization of birth control and access to abortions, women were hoping to shatter their domestic and maternal image. Due to the Vietnam War, the 1960's and 70's also spurred the development of the trademark hippie. The females who took part in this cultural movement believed in “free love,” which was an attempt to try to level the sexual playing field of males and females. Males have always been known to have multiple sexual partners, but it was never socially acceptable for females to act the same way; the female hippies sought to shatter this double standard.³⁴ Also this time period saw the

³¹ Report of the President and Reports of other Officers, 1935-1936 In: Bulletin of Duke University, Vol 9.

³² Ibid

³³ Safra, Jacob E.. "Feminism." Encyclopedia Britannica: Macropedia-Knowledge in Depth. 15th ed. 2005.

³⁴ Ibid

publication of Betty Friedan's, *The Feminine Mystique*, which also helped spur this new Feminist Movement.³⁵

Not only did the Feminist Movement of this time period broach many cultural issues, it also sought to instigate a change within the government. For example, in 1972 women sought to pass the Equal Rights amendment, which states that "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex;" however, it was never ratified.³⁶ Also this same year saw the implementation of Title IX, which gave equal funding and opportunity to women's sports. In addition, during this time period the government saw the controversial Roe vs. Wade case, which ultimately legalized abortion in all fifty states.³⁷

As women were gaining more access to education and jobs, one would think that women would be able to receive the same opportunities as men; however, this was not the case. Although some women now had an equal educational background as men, they still were not seen as important assets to companies and the work force. Women still were being paid less than men and were in more service careers such as nursing or teaching. The inequality in pay was due to a number of reasons: first it was thought that women would just get pregnant and leave their job, so the company should not invest their time or money in a temporary worker. Also it was thought that women *wanted* to enter these lower investment jobs because they did not want to waste their time training for something that they were only going to quite once they started their families.³⁸ Although

³⁵ Safra, Jacob E.. "Women's Movement." Encyclopedia Britannica: Micropedia. 15th. 2005.

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Freedman, 164

in the 1960's and 70's, women were allowed more opportunities in their lives, they still could not escape their "maternal" image and could not break free from that stereotype.

The Woman's College Handbook in the 1960's through 70's

The Woman's College Handbooks of the 1960's and 70's, like the time period of the 1930's and 40's, emphasized the importance of self responsibility. Similarly, the handbooks did not stress the importance of female student's academics and they listed numerous rules for the women to follow. In the 1960, *The Woman's College Handbook*, the female students of Duke University were expected to live up to a "Code of Campus Living." The first paragraph of this code states that:

Each member of The Woman's College has principles in which she believes; most of us call the total of these principles our *personal honor*, which guides us as individuals, subconsciously perhaps, in whatever we do. As mature students we accept *self-responsibility* for seeing that our actions are in accordance with Duke standards of conduct, which have been formulated for the welfare of the entire community.³⁹

The Woman's College Handbook for the 60's and 70's, as well as the 1930's-40's, tried to invoke a sense of responsibility in the female students. As stated by this quote and even emphasized by the use of italics, the women had to act self-responsibly as to uphold their personal honor. These women were not only upholding their own reputations, but also, and most importantly, that of the University's. Also since self-responsibility was such an integral component of this handbook, if a female student saw another female

³⁹ Woman's College Handbook, Woman's Student Government Association, 1960-1961. In: Duke University Archives. Subject Files: Woman's College Handbook, Box 2.

student breaking a rule, it was her duty to report this. Similar to the 1930's and 1940's handbooks, the female students of The Woman's College were addressed as "members" instead as students. The use of the term "member" places the emphasis off academics and instead places it on the importance of a community. Still during this time period, the University did not address females as "students," which the University had been calling the men from Duke's inception.

Although women were considered to have fewer regulations during the 60's and 70's compared to earlier times, the female students at Duke still had to follow "stricter" rules in comparison with the national culture and the male students of Trinity College. The University still had total jurisdiction over a student's position at the school and according to *The Woman's College Handbook*, "The University...reserves the right, and matriculation by the student is a concession of this right, to as the withdrawal of any student whose conduct at any time is not satisfactory to the University, even though no specific charge be made against the student."⁴⁰ This means that the University could expel a student just because they thought their behavior to be "inappropriate;" however, the university never defines this term of behavior and a student could be expelled or asked to leave for doing something they did not know was against the rules. Again, similar to the 1930's and 1940's, the rules and regulations for the women were more ambivalent compared to the succinct set of rules the men had. The University probably did not give specific rules and regulations to their female students so that they could act as a more paternal figure.

During this period of Duke's history, women were still expected to get the permission of their dean to get married and it was up to the dean to decide if that student

⁴⁰ Woman's College Handbook, 1964-1965.

should be allowed to continue her education after her marriage. However, there is no rule in *The Duke University Handbook* that mentions that male students, if they were to get married, might not be allowed to come back to Duke and continue their education. A reason for this difference is that during this time period it was customary for men not to get married until they had their lives settled and a job, so that they could support a family. On the other hand, the University had this rule in place for its female students because, during this time period, women were still considered to become “housewives” once they got married and that their focus would not be on their school work, but instead on their husbands.

In the 1960’s, women at Duke could still only go to the men’s dorms on west campus during designated visiting hours and they could only visit men in the social rooms. Additionally, all picnics and cabin parties held by a Duke female student had to be registered with the Dean of Undergraduate women.⁴¹

Not only did the women of Duke have regulations on their social behavior during this time period, they also had dormitory hour regulations, which additionally “restricted” their social behavior. In *The Woman’s College Handbook* of the mid 60’s, it was noted that the female students had to sign in and out of their dorms. The dorms were open from 6:30am-12am Monday through Friday and on Saturday they stayed open until 1am. This means that the female students had to get special permission to be out of the dorm late or run the risk of being caught. Also the dorms had specified times for when male students could come and visit and their presence in the dorm had to be announced over the microphone.⁴²

⁴¹ Woman’s College Handbook, 1965-1966.

⁴² Woman’s College Handbook, 1965-1966.

Men at Duke during the 1960's and 70's and the differences between them and the female students at Duke—

During the 1960's and 70's, unlike *The Woman's College Handbooks* for The Woman's College, *The Duke University Freshman Handbooks* did not emphasize self-responsibility, but it did stress the importance of academic success for men. Additionally, *The Duke University Handbook* illustrates the differences between the rules for the female students and those for the men. The 1968 *Bulletin of Duke University*, which was only information about the rules and regulations of Trinity College and the School of Engineering, contains a general conduct statement at the beginning, which is not that dissimilar from the introductory statement in *The Woman's College Handbooks*. However, in the male student's introductory statement there is only one sentence that describes a male student's behavior, the rest just lay out the procedures for what happens if one does break the rules. This one sentence states that "Trinity College and the School of Engineering expect of their students full cooperation in developing and maintaining high standards of conduct and scholarship."⁴³ Unlike *The Woman's College Handbook*, *The Bulletin of Duke University* does not emphasize the importance of self-responsibility nearly as much as it was emphasized for the female students. However, this introductory statement actually refers to its students as "students" and not "members," like in *The Woman's College Handbooks*. By addressing the males as actual students, the University is emphasizing the importance of academics, while they do no such thing for their female students.

⁴³ Bulletin of Duke University: Trinity College/The School of Engineering Information and Regulations, 1968. In: Duke University—Undergraduate Judicial Board, Box 1 of 2. Subject File: Judicial Procedures pre-1969

Similar to the women's rules, the men had to register all social events with the Office of the Dean of Men. Additionally, the men had limits on when and where female students could come and visit them. If a female was with a male, they were expected to stay in the lounge areas, common rooms, or chapter rooms. Unlike the women, the men were allowed to have women in their dorm rooms during open houses. These were registered hours voted on by the living group. However, *The Duke University Bulletin* states that "any room in which a woman is visiting must have the entry way completely open."⁴⁴ Even during this radical time period, it was still thought that men and women only had relationships that were primarily sexual and not social and that the presence of the opposite gender in the bedroom would lead to sex. Men and women were still not thought of as being able to be "just friends." Additionally, unlike the women, the men did not have any hour restrictions on when they had to be in their dorms and did not have to sign in and out of them like their female counterparts.

Opposition to The Woman's College Handbook

Although the 1960's and 70's was nationally a period of change, the University still had many of the same rules that they had in the 1930's and 40's. With the changing times, the University did not automatically change some of the rules to fit the female student's new needs, and the rules were, ultimately, met with opposition. With the Vietnam War and the Feminist movement, the women at Duke used this national influence to change these "outdated" rules. Of the many regulations that were implemented in The Woman's College, one of the first regulations requested to be changed were those of the closing hours of the female dorm rooms. On January 6, 1967, a

⁴⁴ Ibid

letter from Dean Margaret Ball, which was sent to a student proposing a change to the East Campus dorm hours, states that:

The Staff would be very glad to meet with the members of the Judicial Board to talk about various points which you may wish to make in connection with your recent recommendation. This would be a discussion rather than a decision meeting, but we would be glad to talk to you not only about the three o'clock proposal for the weekend but also the extent to which the new regulations should apply to freshman.⁴⁵

Clearly from this letter, the students of The Woman's College were ready for the implementation of change. The University not only used suggestions from the students as to how they should change the rules, but they also used the influence of other Universities such as the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.⁴⁶ A questionnaire was distributed amongst the female students to help the university decide how they should extend the dormitory hours. This survey asked the female student body if they felt limited by their curfew and asked for suggestions on how the university should modify the rules.

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Finally, two years later, after many different proposals, a final decision was made. On January 29, 1969, a letter was sent out to the parents' of the women at The Woman's College. In this letter sent out by the Dean of Undergraduate women, Dean Wilson first points out that Duke was being influenced by national and international culture by stating, "Modifications of college social regulations seem to be perennial. With the

⁴⁵ Letter, Margaret Ball to Paula Phillips, January 6, 1967, In: Woman's College—Office of the Dean, Box 34. Subject Files: Judicial Board: Recommended dorm hours 1966-1969

⁴⁶ Woman's College Judicial Board Request for Self-Regulating Hours for Sophomores, Juniors, and Seniors, November, 1968. In: Woman's College—Office of the Dean, Box 34. Subject Files: Judicial Board: Recommended dorm hours 1966-1969

⁴⁷ Questionnaire: Change in Women's Hours, 1968 In: Woman's College—Office of the Dean, Box 34. Subject Files: Judicial Board: Recommended dorm hours 1966-1969.

changes of the times—and there have been remarkable changes in the last five years—it has been concluded that at Duke, as in many other institutions, appropriate changes in the regulations are in order.”⁴⁸ Dean Wilson states the new and modified rules in this letter, which include the following:

Since...it is far more desirable for students to return to their dormitories after curfew than to spend the night almost anywhere, the Staff has agreed to the self-regulation of hours for all students except freshmen. This means that such a student wishing to remain out after 2:00 a.m. may indicate in advance on the appropriate form her expected hour of return.⁴⁹

The student’s opposition to the old rules of *The Woman’s College Handbook* worked; changes were actually made. Although the women on East still did not have complete control over their dorm hours (they still had to indicate when they would return), it was a step in the right direction.

Rights for expulsion and suspension—1960’s and 70’s

The women of The Woman’s College and the men of Trinity differ in the rules that they could be suspended or expelled for breaking. Similar to the 1930’s and 40’s, the men of Trinity had a succinct set of rules that would get them expelled or suspended; however, this was not the case for the female students of The Woman’s College.

Although the women had numerous rules which they had to adhere to, there were very few rules that specifically stated what could get them expelled or suspended. For

⁴⁸ Letter to the Parents of Resident Woman’s College Students from Mary Wilson, January 29, 1969. In: Woman’s College—Office of the Dean, Box 34. Subject Files: Judicial Board: Recommended dorm hours 1966-1969

⁴⁹ Ibid

example, the 1966 Judicial Code, implemented by the Men's Student Government, states that "any breach of the generally accepted rules of gentlemanly conduct, honor, or decency...will be subject to the appropriate disciplinary action, which may include expulsion."⁵⁰ This Judicial Code reports and ranks the rules based on their seriousness. For example, expulsion might follow if a student plagiarizes, violates the women's living quarters, or is charged with assault. Less serious violations, which the maximum penalty would only result in suspension, included such things as drunkenness involving disorderly conduct, violation of West Campus, East Campus or Hanes house visiting hours, or the violation of the freshman car rule. If a student was caught in a woman's dorm after hours, suspension could follow. The University defined expulsion as "immediate dismissal from and denial of re-admittance to Duke University" and suspension as "dismissal from Duke University with the right to be readmitted when the Administration permits."⁵¹ Of course, there are other, less severe consequences for a violation of a rule than expulsion or suspension; however, these are not the focus of my paper.

Many of the violations brought to the judicial board's attention in the judicial case files of Trinity College of the mid 1960's, were violations of East campus curfew or violations of open house rules. For example, the judicial board was considering expelling a male student for conduct that was "unbecoming" of a Duke student meaning that he violated the open house regulations. Suspension was also considered for another male

⁵⁰ The Judicial Code, Men's Student Government Association of Duke University, 1966. In: Duke University—Undergraduate Judicial Board, Box 1 of 2. Subject Files: Judicial Procedures pre-1969.

⁵¹ Ibid

student for violating West campus visiting regulations. The Judicial Board made a comment on this one student's case file, which states:

The Board feels that while ___did technically violate the regulations governing the presence of women in fraternity living areas, his actions were motivated solely by his commendable concern for the comfort of the girls involved. As the girls had come home from spring vacation with ___ and arrived at Duke at an extremely inconvenient time (3 a.m.) we believe___ had no practical alternative.⁵²

This shows that even with the changing times of the 1960's and 70's, the University still thought it inappropriate for males to be in female rooms or vice versa. This case file also shows how the administration cut the men some slack. Although there were no specific female case files available to me, I am sure the University would not be so negligent with their disciplinary actions.

However, one of the only rules that both male and female students could be expelled from Duke was the possession, transportation, or use of alcohol (although this was more enforced for female students). In addition, students could be expelled for obvious reasons such as possession of a firearm or illegal drugs.⁵³ On the other hand, similar to the 1930's and 40's, female students could be expelled from school if they got married and did not tell their dean. Interestingly, the female students of The Woman's College were allowed to participate in demonstrations that could lead to an arrest. The only thing that female students had to do was to get permission for a special leave card,

⁵² Violation of west campus visiting regulations, April 12th, 1967. In: Duke University—Undergraduate Judicial Board, Box 1 of 2. Subject Files: Case Files

⁵³ General Policies and Regulations, 1969 In: University Policies and Reference Collection, Box 2. Subject Files: General Policies and Regulations—1969.

just in case they were imprisoned, so the university would know where they were.⁵⁴

Nonetheless, a female student could be expelled if she eloped and did not report her marriage to the school.⁵⁵

Like the 1930's and 40's, the rights for suspension and expulsion of female students of The Woman's College were not well-defined, which left a lot of the power in the hands of the Dean or the Administration. A female student could be expelled for not living up to the Duke Community "standards;" something which was not clearly defined. However, the men knew the rules that would result in suspension or expulsion. This difference in the clarification of rules for the men and women student's of Duke, helps to emphasize the varying standards that male and female students had to obey.

Merging of The Woman's College and Trinity College

In 1972, The Woman's College merged with Trinity College and took that name. Although it seemed that the women on Duke would follow the same rules as the men, this was not the case. Even with the merger of these two schools, there was still a very small female presence on West Campus. Only a few dorms were designated for females and the female dorms still had restrictions such as signing in and out of the dorms and male visiting hours. According to one of our speakers, Patti Riesser, who graduated in 1977, she thought that the dorm rules "provided an emotional safety from guys she did not want to pursue her" and she believed that she "studied better without males around."⁵⁶ To a large portion of the female student body at Duke, their rules were not seen as being

⁵⁴ General Policies and Regulations, 1969 In: University Policies and Reference Collection, Box 2. Subject Files: Civil Rights--1970

⁵⁵ Woman's College Handbook, 1960-1961

⁵⁶ Riesser, Patti. Duke University Class of 1977. Personal Communication. 20 Feb. 2007.

“restrictive” or “limiting,” it was just the way it was and they did not know any differently.

Conclusion

During both the time periods of the 1930’s to 1940’s and the 1960’s to 70’s, The Woman’s College had different rules and regulations than their male counterparts at Trinity. Throughout this paper I used quotations around the words strict or restricted in reference to the rules of The Woman’s College because to the women of the time periods the rules that were implemented probably were normal to them. Even though through the eyes of today the rules and regulations for these two time periods appear to be strict, they were what every woman of the University expected. This paper stresses the importance of equality between men and women; however, equality is not possible for certain aspects of men and women’s lives. Due to the inherent differences between men and women, different rules were implemented to satisfy each sex’s own unique characteristics. For example, even though the men and women of Duke had different rules for which they could be expelled by, the expulsion rate for each sex was, nevertheless, the same. The University recognized the different needs between the sexes and, ultimately, came up with a set of rules that equalized men and women in terms of expulsion and suspension rates.

Additionally, although the differing rules were thought to have a divisive effect between the women of The Woman’s College and the men of Trinity, they actually did not. The University intentionally separated the campuses for the male and female

student's own academic success. With the men not involved in the women's organizations, there were more opportunities for women to fulfill leadership positions.

Even today where both men and women, in theory, are held to the same rules, some rules apply more to the females than males and vice versa. For example, the majority of students who are expelled due to violence and drugs are male, while the majority of students expelled or asked to leave due to mental illness are female. Although today the University tries to implement the same rules for the men and women, men and women are genetically, physically, and mentally different and must be held to different standards.