ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation	WOMEN'S STUDIES WORLDWIDE: CARTOGRAPHIES OF TRANSNATIONAL ACADEMIC FEMINISM
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This dissertation retells the history of women's studies from a global perspective, challenging traditional U.S. and Eurocentric narratives about this emerging interdisciplinary field. Beginning with questions about why women's, gender, and sexuality studies has incited backlash across a range of cultural and geographic locations, this study draws on transnational feminist theory and higher education research to argue for a more broadly situated understanding of academic feminism. Chapter One describes the creation of a digital map featuring more than nine hundred women's studies degree programs and research centers in seventy countries. Using cartography software including ArcGIS and StoryMaps, this component offers a broader perspective on the field's distribution than has previously been documented in the scholarly literature, revealing new insights about how women's studies has grown and contracted as a result of shifting geopolitical trends. Chapter Two examines several examples of collaborative autobiographic writing to show how variously situated authors construct particular

narratives about this field. Drawing on the concept of political grammar, this section demonstrates how edited collections about the founding of women's studies and articles about cross-border collaborations use credentializing and contextualizing discourse in contrast with ideas of development and colleagueship. Chapter Three discusses three international institutes that grew from the University of Maryland's Curriculum Transformation Project using archival research and oral histories. Involving academic feminist scholars from China, South Korea, the Caribbean, South Africa, Israel, and Hungary, this case study of international exchange demonstrates the complexity of enacting women's studies across difference. The dissertation concludes with recommendations for how practitioners in the United States might better enact ethical collaborative relationships with colleagues and institutions situated in other national, cultural, and linguistic contexts. Rather than viewing U.S. women's studies as a blueprint than can be exported and applied elsewhere, this study concludes by arguing for mutual accountability, centering connections across the Global South, and sharing resources as strategies for building effective coalitions that will nurture the field moving forward.

WOMEN'S STUDIES WORLDWIDE:
CARTOGRAPHIES OF TRANSNATIONAL ACADEMIC FEMINISM

by

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Dedication

To Dr. Astrid Henry, who let me get mad and then helped me get curious about the backlash against women's studies.

And to my sisters, Alice Montague and Grace Montague, who inspire me every day, and for whom I imagine a world that honors the brilliance of women.

Acknowledgments

By necessity, writing a dissertation is largely a solitary endeavor. I am deeply fortunate, however, to have undertaken this project with the continuous support of a feminist community situated across time and space. This experience has reminded me that women's studies is about both personal and collective transformation—I am grateful to each of you for believing in me and helping to make this project possible. Moving forward, I aim to honor these contributions by continuing the work of academic feminism in classrooms, institutions, and the wider world.

Thank you first and foremost to Dr. Ashwini Tambe for advising this dissertation and providing many years of thoughtful, compassionate mentorship. I often hear myself repeating your guidance to my own students, which I trust because I leave every one of our conversations with more confidence in myself and the path forward. You have nurtured this dissertation from its very beginning, making my work the best it can be and modeling creative, impactful transnational feminist scholarship by example.

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and recenter the power of women's storytelling. Dr. Michelle Rowley has been there at every stage during my time at Maryland—leading orientation, guiding my archival work, serving as director of graduate study. I would not have made it here without each of you.

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Returning to Grinnell College has been tremendously fulfilling during the final phase of writing this dissertation, reminding me why I fell in love with women's studies

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My family has been a constant source of love and support throughout this journey, always asking how they could help and (almost) never when I was going to finish. During my many years of schooling, my sisters have been there every step of the way. Alice, your kindness is only matched by your bravery and persistence; it has been such a joy watching you take flight. Grace, our conversations always leave me laughing and thinking more deeply—thank you for answering all my questions about spatial data science and Gen Z cultural references. My dad, Jim Montague, taught me everything I know about asking tough questions and making even tougher edits. Your unrelenting care for other people helps keep me going when things get hard. Dr. Anne Pelissier Montague was the first feminist I ever met, and she is still the very best. I am so fortunate to have a mom who lives her values as a therapist, community member, and friend. To Katie, Erin, Kerry, Pam, and Andy—thank you for welcoming me into your lives and your family.

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Introduction

In the spring of 2022, the Wyoming Senate passed a budget that would have effectively eliminated women's and gender studies in that state (Long and Ross 2022).[1] This amendment was quickly omitted from the House version following public outcry as more level-headed members of the legislature realized that the sheer breadth of a ban preventing government funds from being used for any gender-related courses, programs, cocurricular, or extracurricular activities would be both unconstitutional and impossible to enforce.[2] Though academic feminism in Wyoming survived this particular attack, chillingly, it constituted the most successful legislative move against academic feminism in the United States to date. Efforts to undermine women's studies on an institutional level have been well-documented, but increasingly, the field must also contend with explicit government restrictions on academic freedom targeted specifically at feminist work in higher education.[3] This shift would be worrisome on its own, but it reflects a broader escalation of right-wing backlash against educational practices that challenge

[1] As documented in Chapter One of this dissertation, the state of Wyoming currently has two programs, both of which would have been dismantled had this legislation been enacted. The University of Wyoming, the state's flagship campus, offers a BA major and minor as well as a graduate minor in gender and women's studies in addition to undergraduate and graduate minors in queer studies. Casper College, a public two-year institution, offers a major within their associate degree program.

[2] Jacquelyn L. Bridgeman, a professor at UW's College of Law and Director of its School of Culture, Gender, and Social Justice, explained why the ban was impractical: "Gender studies touches almost every single class taught at the university…I teach employment law. Can I no longer teach sexual harassment or gender discrimination in class? I teach family law. Can I no longer teach same-sex marriage? Anything having to do with the study or discussion of gender—does that fall under the law?" (Long and Ross 2022).

[3] In their March 2022 statement on the situation in Wyoming, for example, the National Women's Studies Association also highlighted efforts to resist consolidating programs at SUNY Brockport as well as recent efforts to ban discussions of critical race theory and/or sexuality in K-12 schools, see National Women's Studies Association, "NWSA Statement on Threats to the Field in Higher Education" (2022), https://mailchi.mp/nwsa/nwsa-statement-on-threats-to-the-field-in-higher-education-and-beyond.

social inequality in the United States—for example, recent efforts to ban critical race theory or eliminate in-school discussions about gender identity and sexual orientation in the context of K-12 as well as tertiary educational institutions.[4]

Somewhat predictably, Republican supporters of the proposed Wyoming ban claimed that it was necessary because gender studies has a "progressive agenda" of "training activists." Criticism in this vein tends to frame the field as powerful and dangerous, but simultaneously worthless and irrelevant; somehow, women's and gender studies is "extremely biased" and without "academic legitimacy," but the state still must protect its citizens from the unnatural seductions of feminist theory.[5] As I will explore throughout my dissertation, this kind of contradictory logic characterizes anti-feminist and anti-gender studies initiatives across different cultural, geographic, and linguistic locations. Though frustratingly persistent, feminist scholars know that reactionary discourse comes with the territory as women gain political, institutional, and epistemological power—another instance of backlash (Faludi 1991).[6] University administrators and mainstream media responses, however, tend to lack this broader context, which leads to confusion and a slower, less effective response. Following the proposed ban in Wyoming, for instance, the *Casper Star Tribune* reported: "Attempts to

[4] Schwartz (2022) provides a geographical visualization and breakdown of K-12 policies on critical race theory across the U.S. states. This year, Florida enacted a policy restricting in-school discussions of sexual orientation and gender identity; similar legislation is currently being pursued in other states and on a federal level (Yurcaba and Valle 2022).

[5] Wyoming State Senator Cheri Steinetz, as quoted in Long and Ross (2022).

[6] More recently, Graff and Korolczuk (2022) have argued that ultraconservative movements that employ anti-feminist backlash are often motivated by anxieties about neoliberalism. Their focus on Poland lends particular insight to the post-Soviet regional context, which has been a site of growth and contraction for women's studies as discussed in Chapter One. Also with relevance to this topic is a recent symposium in *Signs* titled "Backlash and the Future of Feminism" (2020), particularly Michelle V. Rowley's essay, which articulates this cycle as conditional to modernity with a consistent goal of diminishment.

strip a university program of funding appear rare in recent history. University spokesperson Chad Baldwin said he couldn't think of a specific example that matches this particular situation" (Eavis and Harris 2022).

The proposed Wyoming budget may have been extreme, but unfortunately, there is nothing new about governments attempting to censor feminism using their control over funding for education. A global perspective on this issue shows that in fact many state entities have sought to undermine academic feminism as a way of reinforcing patriarchal systems of power and knowledge production. In 2019, for instance, Hungary outlawed gender studies entirely—riding a wave of far-right populism in Europe that has also sought to erase the field in places including Italy, Bulgaria, Estonia, and Poland (Apperly 2019). Apart from outright bans on teaching or researching gender, politicians have undertaken a range of strategies, such as blocking studies about students' experiences of discrimination or appointing hostile university administrators. These efforts routinely deploy the conservative dog-whistle of "gender ideology," stoking fears about the loss of traditional roles for men and women, if not complete societal collapse, that might follow any initiative (or even discussion) related to minority rights (Case 2019; Corrêa 2017). Tellingly, such discourse has begun to circulate with particular fervor in countries with authoritarian-leaning governments, such as Turkey and Brazil, as well as those with growing far-right factions like Colombia and France (Ayhan 2019; Campoy 2016; Özkazanç 2020). And of course, the real damage inflicted by these policies is often done whether or not they actually get enacted by emboldening other, more local anti-feminist projects. Within an institution, and even on an individual basis, lawmakers' inflammatory and often inaccurate rhetoric about the field has an impact on public perceptions and the

day-to-day work involved with doing women's studies. Those of us fortunate enough to pursue this field within relatively supportive institutional, political, or cultural contexts cannot afford to ignore the undermining of academic feminism elsewhere. Despite the apparent escalation of these attacks, they present opportunities for us to learn from each other's experiences and build networks of solidarity more capable of resisting the backlash. In addition to practicing allyship and providing our colleagues with support, examining historical instances of institutional proliferation or contraction can reveal potential strategies for building and sustaining coalitions in the present. This dissertation will discuss the challenges and possibilities engendered by cross-border work in women's, gender, and sexuality studies with an emphasis on the field's diversity, especially related to language, history, culture, nation, institution, and discipline. By acknowledging our unique standpoints and providing redress for the power disparities among us, women's studies practitioners can develop relationships more capable of sustaining academic feminism into the future.

In order for women's and gender studies to achieve its potential for social transformation, the field must conceptualize teaching and learning about feminism as an inherently transnational endeavor. Over the course of this interdisciplinary field's history, students and scholars alike have developed a stronger understanding about how complex dynamics related to identity and affiliation shape women's relationships across difference. Despite this emerging awareness that women's studies should seek to address the global diversity lived experience, however, feminism continues to struggle with U.S. and Eurocentrism both in and outside higher education. These challenges illustrate the structural asymmetries that have resulted from broader forces such as capitalism and

colonialism as well as persistent racism, ethnocentrism, and nationalism within the field of women's studies itself. This dissertation seeks to integrate these critiques by addressing how the interpersonal, institutional, and epistemological challenges faced by academic feminists are imbricated with other sociopolitical changes. Rather than singling out women's studies—either for defense or vilification—my aim is to highlight instances when practitioners sought to challenge power disparities in working with one another.

Theory and Terminology

Throughout its history, one of the ways in which women's studies has distinguished itself from other (inter)disciplinary fields has been through an emphasis on reflexivity. This characteristic derives in part from academic feminist insights about hegemonic forms of knowledge production and dissemination, which have typically sought to separate the object of study from its subject. Patricia Lina Leavy (2007; 2019) and cowriters have discussed this value of feminist research as a strategy for resisting positivism and objectivism, which assert a single correct version of "the truth" that conveniently privileges the perspectives of those who occupy positions of relative privilege or dominance within a given social context. By contrast, "feminist researchers explain how paying attention to the specific experiences and situated perspectives of human beings, both researchers and respondents alike, may actually become a *tool* for knowledge building and rich understanding" (Leavy 2007, 13, emphasis original). Such an approach is all the more important in the context of collaborative and cross-border projects, as Richa Nagar and Amanda Lock Swarr (2010) argue because it enables critical consideration of the links between a scholar's own positionality and the content of their

research, including topic selection, methods, and significance. The propensity of women's studies to look inward has itself been subjected to critique—usefully, in terms of challenging the assumption that reflexivity can in itself solve structural power asymmetries that manifest in research, and also problematically by repeating sexist stereotypes that cast women's theorizing as "self-indulgent, narcissistic, and tiresome" (Pillow 2003, p. 176). Nonetheless, women's studies scholars have continually centered conversations about their own positionalities and how these shape their research as a strategy to push the field forward toward greater rigor, impact, and inclusion, especially with respect to voices that have historically been marginalized within U.S. and Eurocentric academic traditions.

Though I aspire for this dissertation to convey a balanced perspective on the strengths and weakness of women's studies, my own investments in the field and hopes for its future are necessarily central to this research project. Rather than trying to minimize or shift focus away from my own relationship with women's studies for the sake of purported objectivity, I adopt a self-reflexive framework that theorizes from the standpoint of my own lived experience as a feminist student, researcher, and educator. Such reflexivity advances feminist approaches to knowledge production by interrogating traditional academic bifurcation between the subject and object of inquiry (Harding 2004). This approach increases transparency by addressing how my own standpoint as a white, cisgender woman from the United States shapes my perspective on the field and the ideas I am able to generate. As a result, my own perspective from several positions within the field of women's studies recur throughout this dissertation as a strategy to qualify my findings and as a starting point for theorization about the field.

As an example, the initial spark for this dissertation grew out of my experiences as an undergraduate majoring in Gender, Women's, and Sexuality Studies. As soon as I started taking classes in the field, I felt at home in a different way than I had ever experienced in school before that point. There was something powerful about the simultaneous personal, political, and intellectual challenge of GWSS courses that resonated with my desire both to be taken seriously and to make the world a better place. At the same time as I was falling in love with feminist theory, I began to notice a dissonance between my own largely positive experiences and widespread negative perceptions about the field within and outside academia. The more I talked about women's studies, the more pushback I received, sometimes out of "concern for my future" but frequently in ways that were tinged with misogyny.[7] Most people were curious if not supportive, but many were dismissive or outright hostile. Having supportive family and friends as well as a strong network of mentors and peers made it so I could generally choose to ignore the opposition, but it still bothered me—especially once I began teaching and observed that my students were facing similar challenges. Over time, this frustration and confusion grew into curiosity: Where does the backlash against women's and gender studies come from and how does it vary across locations? On the other hand, what factors have supported the field's growth and impact in different places? How can we cultivate resilient feminist teaching and learning communities?

[7] Sara Ahmed effectively makes this point about the silencing work of "career advice" in *Complaint!* (2021). Building on the insights of *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life* (2012), Ahmed notes how women scholars experience pressure to not emphasize critiques of sexism or other inequalities as part of their research. Because such topics challenge traditional, exclusionary practices of knowledge production and dissemination, fields like gender studies and critical race studies are often dismissed as "grievance studies," which reinforces labeling their practitioners as "complainers" (225).

The process of writing this dissertation has mirrored the emergence of its research questions—like transnational feminism itself, this study moves from individual and collective self-reflections to examine broader sociopolitical trends. *Women's Studies Worldwide* looks inward by taking academic feminism as its object of study but also outward for the purpose of understanding how gender intersects with institutions, epistemologies, and global politics. Working at multiple scales in this way requires a careful deployment of terminology, not least because of how concepts like "gender studies" can circulate across borders in ways that sometimes get misappropriated for anti-feminist purposes (Yamaguchi 2014). My use of the term "women's studies" in the title and throughout this dissertation is not a capitulation to conservative backlash against the concept of gender outlined in this introduction. Neither do I use "women's studies" to evoke biological essentialism, whereby only certain bodies assigned female can lay claim to the category of woman or engage in feminist work. Rather, I seek to highlight how since the 1970s, women's studies has emerged out of women's liberation movements around the globe that have sought to transform society by contesting the exclusion of people who travel under this sign from full participation in systems of governance, economics, and knowledge production.[8] Furthermore, "women's studies" builds on a tradition of feminist theorizing about the complexity of "woman" as a category, seeing this as a productive ongoing conversation rather than a difficulty that can be resolved or moved past solely by selecting different terminology to describe the field (Wiegman 2012). Debates about what to call degree programs, research centers, publications, and

[8] In *Living a Feminist Life* (2007), Ahmed states: "Feminism requires supporting women in a struggle to exist in this world. What do I mean by *women* here? I am referring to all those who travel under the sign *women.* No feminism worthy of its name would use the sexist idea 'women born women' to create the edges of feminist community (14).

other institutional formations related to this emerging interdiscipline have been controversial—reflecting complex, locally specific processes of collective self-reflection and redefinition also informed by national and global conversations about the meaning of identity categories and the purpose of feminist scholarship (Bhatt 2020). Since the 1990s in the United States, for example, the label "women's, gender, and sexuality studies" has largely supplanted "women's studies" in order to emphasize how its objects of study are both changeable and socially constructed. However, this naming trajectory has unfolded differently across geographical, linguistic, or cultural contexts, making it necessary for transnational descriptions of the field to cast a wider, more inclusive net.

Women's Studies Worldwide thus conceptualizes "gender studies" as well as "sexuality studies" and "queer studies" as related interdisciplinary formations that share a political and intellectual genealogy with "women's studies," but which also have their own specific meanings. These include a specific focus on LGBTQ+ identities and communities in addition to critical work on masculinity and intersectional perspectives on "women" as a social category. Without flattening these distinctions or the important critical interventions they represent, this dissertation uses "women's studies" also in reference to gender studies, sexuality studies, and feminist studies among other combinations of terms used to describe this emerging interdiscipline. The digital map, for instance, includes departments and degree programs that refer to themselves using varied combinations of "women" and "gender" as well as related terms in English and other languages. The gradual incorporation and mainstreaming of "gender" can also be observed across the three chapters of this dissertation, appearing much more frequently in the dataset of present-day programs, for instance, than in other sections that focus on the

field's growth during the 1990s and early 2000s. Throughout this study, I also employ the concept of "academic feminism" to describe initiatives related to women's studies, particularly those that fall adjacent to or outside the rubric of traditional degree programs or other more highly visible institutional formations. In addition to capturing a wider swath of projects and initiatives, this framing also seeks to connect women's studies with other efforts to transform higher education institutions in service of groups whose participation has historically been marginalized (Rich 1979). Indeed, the concept of "academic feminism" could describe a much broader range of work on behalf of women and other social justice projects in higher education. While aspiring to a more comprehensive account than has been offered in the scholarly literature thus far, my study specifically emphasizes women's studies degree programs, departments, and research institutes rather than feminist research or curricular change efforts within more traditional disciplines or other institutional sites. At the same time, these undertakings cannot easily be separated as practitioners have often strategically worked across such boundaries—as in the case of "women and development" projects grounded in the social sciences that have been instrumental to the field's institutionalization particularly outside the U.S.

Alongside a reflexive approach to understanding women's studies, this dissertation looks outward by engaging scholarship in the areas of higher education and transnational feminist theory. Putting these fields into dialogue reflects a question at the heart of this research project and, I would argue, women's studies itself. Transnational feminist theory seeks to critique ethnocentrism, neocolonialism, and other forms of inequality within social movements and political economy. Research about education focuses more on the practicalities of effecting change within existing structures. Though

these approaches are distinct, academic feminists know that carrying out the work of women's studies means constantly balancing the need to address systemic injustices with an imperative to make practical changes within the institutions where we carry out our work. In this review of the literature, I hope to illustrate the complementarity of transnational feminist theory and scholarship on international higher education by exploring how these bodies of literature have informed my dissertation. Thus, my research examines those institutions where the work of women's studies often takes place—colleges and universities. Whether in the form of departments, research centers, or degree programs, one of the most pressing challenges facing the higher education sector and society as a whole in recent decades has been the shifting landscape of globalization, including new flows of people, information, technologies, capital, and ideas (Appadurai 1990). In light of these shifts, scholars of higher education have sought to make sense of the complex relationship that universities have with multiple sociocultural and economic locations. With respect to higher education, Philip G. Altbach and Jane Knight (2011) define globalization as "the economic, political, societal, and other forces that are pushing twenty-first-century higher education toward greater international involvement" in the context of proliferating neoliberal policies and ideologies (109). Here, globalization describes widespread trends affecting all areas of politics, culture, and economics, acting as the overarching force that drives new institutional arrangements, often between universities in multiple countries. The term internationalization, by contrast, specifically explores how institutions respond to globalization, both independently and collectively.[9] In this framework,

[9] Philip G. Altbach and Jane Knight (2011) further describe how this distinction is conceptualized higher education: "We will outline specific programs, institutions, innovations, and practices in higher education

internationalization offers higher education scholars and institutions opportunities to respond to new conditions through active, creative strategies. Globalization as a whole often seems inevitable, neither a phenomenon produced in part by the university itself, nor offering much potential for critical intervention or change.[10]

In women's studies, and thus this dissertation, terms such as internationalization have been operationalized somewhat differently than in higher education, particularly given feminist theory's emphasis on transnationalism, a term and body of knowledge that I will discuss further below. Women's studies scholars tend to conceptualize "globalization" in roughly the same way as higher education researchers, but academic feminists use "internationalization" far less. When they do so, it is usually refers to another scholarly or political tradition such as critiques of capitalism and neoliberalism—for instance, Miranda Joseph, Alice Weinbaum, and Priti Ramamurthy (2005) have argued that "internationalization" can helpfully foreground the political economy of cross-border exchanges. Though this dissertation maintains transnational feminism as its primary theoretical framework, this convergence of terminology marks a useful site of congruence between women's studies and higher education. I hope to integrate these two perspectives by foregrounding how political and economic inequalities have co-constituted the field of women's studies throughout its history, including how different

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that academic institutions and systems, other organizations involved in the academic enterprise, and for that matter individuals create to cope with globalization and to reap the benefits from this new environment. While globalization is a largely unalterable element of contemporary society, there are many choices involving internationalization" (109).

[10] Recently, scholars have begun to explore how the internationalization of higher education has slowed in response to critiques of globalization from around the world and across the political spectrum. This shift has been compounded by problems arising from several high-profile internationalization projects, including instances where universities have been at the very least complicit with problems such as unethical labor practices, political repression, and xenophobia (Fischer 2019).

colleges and universities both respond to and enact processes of globalization. Furthermore, self-reflexive scholarship on field formation in women's studies has usefully described how universities' internationalization practices can reinscribe hierarchies associated with that system (Bouchard 2004; Ginsberg 2008; Wiegman 2005). The literature on international higher education underscores the ideological underpinnings and the material realities of how this sector has been transformed by globalization, which is critical information for women's studies scholars involved in institutionalization and/or cross-border exchanges. In addition to the theories of autobiographics discussed in Chapter Two, my analysis of cross-border women's studies projects is informed work in higher education such as Henry Giroux's book, *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education* (2005), which places the internationalization of colleges and universities into conversation with feminist, postcolonial, and critical race theories as well as social justice education.

Trends toward globalization and the internationalization of higher education affects U.S. women's studies in specific ways. The deepening institutionalization of academic feminism through university departments and programs during the 1990s coincided with a turn toward the internationalization of colleges and universities, particularly in the U.S. and Europe (De Wit 2013). However, the orientation of women's studies with respect to such efforts has differed from many other fields, taking a decidedly ambivalent stance toward the university in general and critiquing globalization in particular (Mohanty 2003). Academic feminism has both a recurring interest and suspicion about internationalization that can be seen in landmark women's studies texts such as *This Bridge Called My Back* (Moraga and Anzaldúa 1981), *Sisterhood is Global:*

The International Women's *Movement Anthology* (Morgan 1984), and *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Mohanty, Russo, and Torres 1991) have examined feminism across spatial and geopolitical boundaries, inciting coalitions among women who are positioned differently. In many individual and collective texts, transnational academic feminists have prioritized research that decenters U.S. and Eurocentric theories of patriarchy, arguing for the necessity of both locally situated and comparative knowledge projects. Many U.S. English-language women's studies periodicals regularly focus on issues beyond the United States; listed here by their first date of publication, these include *Feminist Studies* (1972), *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* (1975), *Women's Studies International Forum* (1978), *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* (2000), *Journal of International Women's Studies* (2000), and *Wagadu: A Journal of Transnational Women's and Gender Studies* (2004). To pursue cross-border growth and collaboration from a transnational feminist standpoint necessitates making clever, creative use of the resources and opportunities available. However, it also requires women's studies scholars to continually interrogate our own investments and complicity in the systems that shape our work. The principles of making and maintaining connections, practicing colleagueship, gathering and sharing resources, and engaging in self-transformation discussed in this chapter are all strategies for making strategic internationalization work through academic collaborations that align with the political and epistemological investments of transnational feminism.

In order to construct a multiscalar history of women's studies, this dissertation presents a discussion of specific universities while also painting a broad picture of academic feminism nationally, regionally, and globally. My goal is to explore how a

variety of internationalization efforts intersected with the turn toward transnationalism in women's studies. In particular, I draw on models for analysis used by scholars who have taken up the complex task of narrativizing women's studies as an intellectual, political, and institutional project. I see my approach to historiography as informed by Clare Hemmings' critique about metanarratives of progress, loss, and return in *Why Stories Matter* (2011), Kathy Davis' observations about mythology and imagined communities in *The Making of Our Bodies, Ourselves* (2007), and Kamala Visweswaran's focus on conjecture, ethics, and the blurring of genres in *Fictions of Feminist Ethnography* (1994). Taking these texts together, I am struck by the importance of balancing two competing mandates. On the one hand, it remains essential to seriously engage with what the field says about itself by centering the voices of those responsible for bringing it into being. These stories have not yet received sufficient historical or critical attention at least in part because of the very epistemological sexism that they sought to resist. This is especially significant because now, more than fifty years since women's studies first began to institutionalize, we have a limited timeframe in which to gather stories about the field's origins.[11] It is simultaneously important to maintain a critical perspective on these narratives because, consciously or not, individual and even collective recollections can never be separated from personal, professional, institutional, or political motivations for recounting them in particular ways. Academic feminists are well-versed in self-reflexive questioning about their scholarship, resulting in a tendency to theorize that can both be

[11] The first official classes in women's studies were offered at San Diego State University in the fall of 1970, building on the work of a committee established the previous year comprised of students, faculty, staff, and community members. Specific founding dates can be difficult to establish as women's studies programs often began with more informal volunteer-led courses in the tradition of consciousness-raising groups, however clear documentation exists that Cornell University, San Francisco State University, and several other institutions began offering classes by the 1971-1972 academic year, see Boxer (1998), Ginsberg (2008), and Howe (1977).

useful and challenging for a researcher. To understand these histories, it is thus essential to consider questions of audience, specifically convergences and divergences among the stories that women's studies scholars tell about themselves and others as well as stories intended for other actors in higher education or public consumption.

Finally, the utility of synthesizing literature on transnational feminism and international higher education can be observed in scholarship that explores how women's studies programs in other countries have shaped the trajectory of U.S. academic feminism. These texts are an important resource for illustrating the multidirectionality of transnational feminist thought, providing a counterexample to the perception that women's studies was created in the U.S. and Europe and then exported elsewhere. Relevant to this dissertation, Caren Kaplan and Inderpal Grewal (2002) argue that the turns toward transnationalism and interdisciplinarity in women's studies should be impacting feminist pedagogy via introductory women's studies classes in the United States—though they also express concern about how this turn may homogenize our understandings of diverse sexual orientations around the world. Other scholars have echoed this critique by examining how transnationalism can be used to erase ongoing problems in U.S. women's studies around race and other forms of difference (Desai, Bouchard and Detournay 2005). Finally, scholars have documented the impact of transnational feminism in contemporary women's studies, including site-specific histories and autobiographical writing that critically considers how internationalization plays out in the everyday work of academic feminism (Boyd and Sandell 2012; Clifton 2014; Ergun 2013; Klein 2016; Nair 2014; Parisi and Thorton 2013; White 2011). In addition to

the literature on higher education, understanding these texts requires consideration of transnational feminist theory.

As the field of women's studies has continued to evolve, this approach to scholarship has made a significant theoretical and political interventions into the field. However, it is important to note that women scholars and activists were pursuing relationships across borders long before the advent of institutionalized women's studies. Early feminist outreach efforts tended to replicate ideologies of "rescue and uplift, respectability and assimilation, civilization and orientalism—that traditionally were used to position Euro/American women at the summit of a hierarchy of female evolution and emancipation," though in practice, these relationships were always multidirectional and often subversive (DuBois and Oliviero 1). In *Transnational Feminist Itineraries*, Ashwini Tambe and Millie Thayer usefully categorize this period in terms of nineteenth century "porous national activism" and twentieth century "asymmetric internationalism" (2021, 20-22). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, feminist theorists struggled with how to address differences among women in terms of individual and collective identities but also in relation to systems of power. The approaches that Western feminists have historically used to describe how women vary by nation, geography, and culture—including global, international, and comparative feminisms—often repeated essentializing, patronizing, or neocolonial patterns that reflected existing inequalities in the relationships between countries (Tambe 2010). Thus, efforts to construct a solidarity based on essentialized notions of a "global sisterhood" (Morgan 1996) were supplanted by an emphasis on coalition, particularly between "Third World women" and U.S. women of color (Mohanty 2003).

This desire to account for geographic, cultural, and national diversity among women and build feminist networks has precipitated an outpouring of theory that examines site-specific phenomena in the context of complex global flows and vice versa. In addition to this juxtaposition of the global and the local, transnational feminist scholarship often emphasizes critiques of neoliberalism and globalization, deconstructing universalisms and binaries as well as resisting patriarchal nationalisms. Furthermore, researchers working in this tradition tend to emphasize the multidirectionality of exchanges, movement across borders, and connections across scales of analysis (Tambe 2010, Weinbaum et al. 2008). However, transnational feminism's characteristic breadth and focus on process has led some to express concerns about whether this shift has supplanted the depth of more traditional area studies scholarship (Fernandes 2013; Mirsepassi, Basu, and Weaver 2003). Scholars have also questioned whether transnationalism obscures how nationality continues to structure global power hierarchies, especially imperial dynamics in the past and present (Burton 2003; Kaplan and Pease 2003). Bearing the validity of these critiques in mind, transnational feminist thought nevertheless provides an apt theoretical framework for this dissertation because of its emphasis on multiscalar analysis and multidirectional exchanges. Furthermore, transnational feminist thought asks how "the nation" goes (un)marked in narratives about field formation—a process that can tell us as much about global dynamics as it can about identities and institutions. These insights have become central to feminist theory, but this critique has not yet been sufficiently applied to narratives about the institutionalization of academic feminism itself. My second chapter on the political grammar of women's

studies autobiographics thus examines how nationality often goes (un)marked in ways that coincide with Eurocentrism and U.S. hegemony.

This dissertation also draws on scholarship about instances of international exchange among feminists precipitated by state and non-governmental organizations as well as the United Nations. As I will discuss in Chapter One, some scholars have directly posited a causal relationship between events like the UN Women's Conferences and the worldwide growth of women's studies (Wotipka and Ramirez 2008), but research on these events can provide valuable context for parallel projects enacted by higher education institutions—such as the Curriculum Transformation Project, which is the focus of Chapter Three. Scholars including Sonia Alvarez (2000), Peggy Antrobus (2004), Manisha Desai (2005), and Nancy Naples (2013), for example, have described the varied outcomes of exchanges such as those brought about by the United Nations and the World Social Forum—highlighting the significance of these events in terms of how they both successfully brought women together and sometimes reinscribed global hierarchies structured around race, class, sexuality, ability, language, credential, and nation. Other scholars have documented the ways in which this phenomenon has played out through international exchanges related to public policy, the institutionalization of feminist movements, and government programs (Carney 2003; Chen 2014). In all of these works, transnational feminist theory offers important insights into how power shapes the flows of people, goods, and information in ways that structure women's lives—describing a vision of feminist scholarship and social movements capable of forging coalitions across geographical, sociopolitical, and cultural contexts.

Methods

When I first envisioned this dissertation, I would not have considered including a visual or digital element. I never considered myself particularly creative or technologically adept, and traditional conceptions of "writing" the dissertation seemed to imply that knowledge production should prioritize putting words on the page. However, in reading on the topic of transnational feminist thought for my major field exam, the benchmark for which I produced a pilot version of the *Women's Studies Worldwide* map, I observed that written text has several limits to its effectiveness in describing transnational projects. When reading a traditional book or article, it is difficult to simultaneously track the multiscalar forms of information that are necessary for conducting robust transnational analysis. I found it challenging to absorb case studies from a range of specific geographical locations while also tracing intersecting global phenomena such as neoliberalism and globalization. The idea of creating a digital map came from my desire to visually integrate the multifaceted networks described in the literature by making the information accurate and applicable to a range of user inquiries.

I brought this question to the staff at the Maryland Institute for Technology in the Humanities (MITH), where I gained exposure to some of the exciting ways that digital tools are supporting new forms of knowledge production and dissemination. Most relevant to this project, computer-aided analysis makes it possible to process larger, more complex datasets that include qualitative information across disparate scales and locations. As Matthew K. Gold and Lauren F. Klein argue in their introduction to *Debates in the Digital Humanities* (2016), the field's technical and analytic possibilities are compounded by its theoretical, disciplinary, and methodological breadth. In

comparison with other methods, digital mapping can more capaciously convey how women's studies programs worldwide are deeply intertwined—and have been since the field's inception. These tools support my dissertation's framing of women's studies as a transnational project by literally depicting its extension beyond borders. Though digital humanities is rapidly evolving alongside the power and accessibility of computing technologies, women's studies would be well-served by using such tools for feminist aims. For example, in her chapter from *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, "Why I Dig: Feminist Approaches to Text Analysis," Lisa Marie Rhody (2016) notes an important affinity in these two fields' resistance to pinning down their methodology: "The language of feminist analysis, which challenges traditional modes of knowledge production, is well aligned with the practice of defamiliarizing a textual corpa in order to ask 'new' questions at different scales" (paragraph 3). Though her own project examines how algorithms are produced for text-mining, Rhody highlights the importance of interrogating where our tools come from when conducting digital humanities research from a feminist standpoint. It is important to consider where technology actually supports and when it may even counteract the larger goal of a project, rather than just creating digital tools for their own sake. To this point, I've sought to implement three axioms for feminist data visualization outlined by the MIT Media Lab: "1. Invent new ways to represent uncertainty, outsides, missing data, and flawed methods […] 2. Invent new ways to reference the material economy behind the data [and] 3. Make dissent possible" (D'Ignazio 2015). As I will discuss in subsequent sections of this chapter, I seek to enact these principles in my own project through a transparent discussion of my data sources

and methods, attention to the power dynamics between various sites, and an emphasis on challenging hegemonic narratives about the internationalization of women's studies.

Alongside its many possibilities, one of the central challenges with digital humanities research is that such projects can never be fully finished in the same way as text-based studies. Technologies continue to evolve, and thus, new problems and possibilities keep emerging. Attending workshops and consulting with the staff at MITH encouraged me to envision *Women's Studies Worldwide* as an iterative endeavor rather than a discrete, bounded project to be completed within the confines of this dissertation. Developing a sustainability plan, in particular, has helped me frame the digital map as a long-term undertaking in which further technical training as well as access to software and other resources will be important considerations for its maintenance and growth (Barats, Schafer, and Flickers 2020). As seems common with digital humanities projects, concerns about sustainability emerge from necessity, often resulting from problems with software programs and changing institutional resources that not infrequently result in setbacks. For a digital map to work, keeping things the same is neither realistic nor sufficient. Thus, while it presently focuses on the history and present distribution of academic feminism, I am invested in *Women's Studies Worldwide* developing further to conceptualize the field's past and chart a path forward in the digital age.

In addition to the insights that can be gleaned from the emerging field of digital humanities, this chapter is significantly informed by feminist approaches to geography and specifically cartography—the study and practice of making maps. Humanities scholars often use the idea of mapping in a metaphorical sense, but cartography is its own field within the social sciences that focuses on conceptualizing and sharing information

about how humans see themselves and others in relation to the wider world. By taking up maps as their own unique form of data, scholars across a range of disciplines can engage with spatial analysis in ways that reveal the political nature of knowledge production and dissemination—both in the past and present. Anne McClintock's landmark book *Imperial Leather* (1995), for example, opens with an examination of how colonial maps functioned as apparatuses of racism, patriarchy, and capitalist control. This spatial analysis lays out the epistemological framework for the text, which describes the overlapping operation of "the male, *reproductive* order to patriarchal monogamy; the white *economic* order of mining capital; and the global, *political* order of empire" (4, emphasis original). The uses of mapping that McClintock describes should indeed make feminist scholars wary of the ways in which these technologies might reinscribe inequitable power dynamics between nations and cultures. As the other examples mentioned in this section also illustrate, however, cartography can be used to feminist ends by making processes of knowledge production explicit and inviting us to look at new kinds of data in innovative ways.

In my time working on *Women's Studies Worldwide,* I have encountered a diverse range of inspiring projects emerging at the intersection of digital humanities and the identity knowledge fields, many of which successfully enact Rhody's principles for feminist data visualization. Oregon State University's WGSS job map, which continues to be updated routinely, has particular relevance to my project—highlighting how the field's growth and distribution might be conceptualized using institutionally specific data that emerges parallel to degree programs and consortia (Fertig and Driskill 2022).[12]

[12] For more on the connections between the women's studies job market and degree programs, particularly in terms of graduate training, see the special issue of *Feminist Studies*, "Doctoral Degrees in W/G/S/F Studies: Taking Stock" (2018). Of particular relevance are the "Joint Statement by Chairs of PhD-Granting Departments in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies in the United States on the Employment of PhD

CenterNet has an online resource mapping institutions with digital humanities projects and research centers around the world.[13] More broadly, I have been inspired by work at Stanford University's Center for Spatial and Textual Analysis, specifically their "Oral History Text Analysis Project," which focuses on digitizing and data mining transcripts of interviews with women, "Visible Bodies" about twentieth-century African women writers, and "Women in Provenance" examining gender in Stanford's archaeology collections through objects and biographies.[14] Annita Lucchesi (2020), founder of the Sovereign Bodies Institute and a geographer of Cheyenne descent, creates innovative maps on Indigenous feminist issues including missing and murdered women, girls, and two-spirit people. Her work is particularly notable for its transnational and transhistorical approach as well as its emphasis on data sovereignty through restriction of public access to the full dataset.[15] There are many more digital humanities projects worthy of discussion, but these examples provide particularly compelling models for my dissertation because of their focus on providing geographical data focused on meeting

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Recipients" (273-80) and Allison Kimmich's "National Women's Studies Association: Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Placement Data 2018" (281-83).

[13] The CenterNet map and directory can be found here: https://dhcenternet.org/centers. In her discussion about decolonizing digital humanities in Africa, Aiyegbusi (2019) notes that such resources can be useful in dispelling the misperception that emerging scholarly fields are only located in the Global North. Without actively cultivating and including projects from the Global South, however, such lists can also reproduce disparities, particularly when they repeatedly map an uneven distribution of opportunities across locations.
[14] Stanford Center for Spatial and Textual Analysis, https://cesta.stanford.edu/research/projects.

[15] Data sovereignty has a unique meaning in the context of Indigenous research, in which scholars and community organizations are developing strategies to resist colonial exploitation and/or appropriation. See https://www.annitalucchesi.com/maps and https://www.sovereign-bodies.org/mmiw-database. This body of scholarship illuminates the dangers inherent in making information too available for public consumption, as it can readily be misinterpreted or harmfully deployed in ways counter to the project's original aims. This point has particular relevance in an era when women's studies scholars and programs are often subject to attack from right-wing politicians as well as harassment campaigns focused on "gender ideology." As an example, Joan Korenman's program list, which I use as a major source of data in Chapter One, has been misappropriated in order to create a map that correlates the number of women's studies programs in each country with rising obesity rates, playing on reactionary fears about feminism as well as fatphobia: https://akarlin.com/here-be-dragons-world-map-of-womens-studies-programs.

functional needs of understudied populations as well as innovative approaches to engaging with qualitative and mixed datasets. Taken together, they illustrate that there are innovative, compelling, and politically important digital humanities projects being created all the time.

Outside the digital sphere, my work for this chapter was also inspired by *The Women's Atlas* by Joni Seager (2018), which has visually represented feminist issues including family, civil rights, body politics, labor, development, and political participation through five editions since 1986. The section on "Education and Connectivity" in the most recent edition is particularly relevant to this dissertation, addressing gender disparities in primary, secondary, and tertiary education as well as literacy and access to technology. Throughout this section, Seager's maps also address intersections of race and income as a way of highlighting inequities that exist within as well as among nations. The map "Beyond Secondary" depicts the percentage of women among higher education students, ranging from 16 percent in Chad to 69 percent in Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, and Bermuda (150-51). This approach effectively conveys information about country-level differences in the ratio of women undergraduates, which is an important benchmark, but Seager's maps offer little explanation for these variations or discussion about their significance. Without additional context, they run the risk of insinuating to readers that numerical representation is the sole feminist concern in higher education, and thus, that equality has been achieved in the West while remaining elusive in the "developing" world. A subsequent graph shows the time gap between when several major universities were founded and the first year that women students were admitted, which though interesting, again locates feminist concerns

about higher education solely in the past. Though Seager briefly cites the "feminization" and global growth of higher education since the 1990s, *The Women's Atlas* describes the causes and effects of this phenomenon solely in terms of undergraduate enrollment.

In pointing to the limitations of "Beyond Secondary," my goal is not to criticize Seager's book, which indeed consolidates excellent maps on a wealth of topics related to women's social, political, and economic status. The fact of women's increased presence on college and university campuses around the world matters tremendously, but this observation needs to be a starting point for deeper consideration of the social, political, and epistemic implications of women becoming producers of knowledge. I argue that examining the internationalization of women's studies as an academic field can offer unique insight into this process as well as an opportunity to combine the strengths of digital humanities and digital cartography tools. Seager sums up this project in her introduction: "It is as a geographer that I have found a way to strike a balance between the demands of acknowledging both commonality and difference. At its best, data visualization—and especially mapping—can simultaneously illuminate both. Mapping is a powerful tool to reveal patterns, continuities, and contrasts. Having presented these patterns it is my hope that this atlas raises as many questions as it answers" (9). It is this property, the ability to convey the likenesses and distinctiveness of multiple locations in the same visual space, that makes digital cartography tools ideal for describing women's studies as a transnational project. In Chapter One, I will show how a more robust cartographic representation of academic feminism can be used to reveal broader insights about the global higher education sector.

Along with digital cartography, my methods for investigating the history and present contours of women's studies as a transnational interdiscipline have been led by the genres and forms that feminist scholars often use to represent this project—archives, oral history, and autobiographies. I find these humanities-oriented approaches personally and intellectually satisfying because of how they explicitly locate me as a student, scholar, and educator within this emerging interdiscipline. However, I also found it helpful to take a step back and examine women's studies from another, more social scientific perspective through my coursework in the Higher Education, Student Affairs, and International Education Policy program at UMD. Conversations with faculty and fellow students in these classes were instrumental for me in articulating the significance of women's studies to a more diverse audience that, while not specifically grounded in feminist politics, is deeply invested in questions of educational equity, transformative pedagogy, and higher education praxis. Though higher education institutions can be slow to change, they are also particularly well-situated to reveal the desires, anxieties, and controversies operating in our culture, including both expansions and contractions in the impact of feminist thought.

While higher education has its own history and practices, my thinking about women's studies has been informed by the range of ways scholars examine women's experiences within tertiary educational institutions. Topics with particular relevance to this dissertation include diversity work (Hart, Grogan, Litt, and Worthington 2008), unconscious bias and microaggressions (Steinpreis, Anders, and Ritzke 1999), gendered organizational theory (Acker 2012), labor and disciplinarity (Rossiter 1996; Park 1996), collaboration (Dickens and Sagaria 1997), student activism (Vaccaro 2009), women's

centers (Kunkel 2011), sexual violence (Cantalupo 2010), leadership and advancement (Laursen, Marchke, McCarl, and Rankin 2007; Taylor and Stein 2014), maternity leave (Armenti 2004), and contingent faculty (Sam and Kezar 2015).[16] These research topics also includes important intersectional considerations related to race, class, ability, and sexuality. Like women's studies, higher education is a relatively new and broadly situated field, encompassing research and practitioner training on everything from student affairs and human development to language acquisition and school counseling. Higher education research can involve many distinct methods, but I have found its critical approaches to institutional research and comparative case studies between nations particularly helpful.

While the higher education literature on women may provide a useful starting point for expanding the range of institutional factors under consideration, the aforementioned range of topics related to the experiences of U.S. women in higher education cannot be easily translated as a template when examining academic feminism elsewhere. Therefore, my use of institutional research will be aided by insights drawn from the subfield of international higher education, particularly comparative case studies—a method that is often used in international higher education research to juxtapose the college and university systems of two countries (Carney, Rappleye, and Silova 2012). This genre emphasizes comparable aspects and/or connections between the higher education sectors of two nations, which usefully provides qualitative information for interpretation and comparison (Levy 2008; Mugisha 2012). While more limited in

[16] Dr. KerryAnn O'Meara's course on Women in Higher Education was instrumental for me in developing an understanding of this scholarship. In the first week, for example, we discussed an archival document prepared by Carole A. Cook titled, "Personnel Practices Committee Report on Secretarial/Clerical Inequities," which was submitted to the University of Maryland's Chancellor Commission on Women's Affairs in 1983. The reflexivity of beginning with the history of our own institution also provided important background for my research into UMD's Curriculum Transformation Project, which I explore in Chapter Three, see Allan and Hallen (2011).

scale than digital cartography, this approach offers an opportunity to unpack overlaps and disjunctures between two disparate locations as well as the ways in which they are interconnected. As a result, comparative case studies are adept for connecting higher education phenomena that are unfolding across borders while also remaining grounded within particular institutional and national contexts. Some of the larger themes emphasized in this body of literature include globalization and internationalization, the political economy of knowledge production, education as development, and neoliberalization as well as global circulations of students, scholars, and ideas. Furthermore, comparative case studies in higher education are well-suited to unpacking regional nuances—a perspective which can usefully displace nations from being the sole unit of analysis while still attending to their significance.

Some issues, such as women's participation in sports, would be most relevant in the United States, where there is a particular history of advocacy for equal representation since Title IX as well as a significant culture of college athletics more generally.[17] Other countries have entirely different conditions shaped by local practices, policies, and social movements. In Turkey, for example, there is a significant history of controversy about whether women should be allowed to wear headscarves at school, with distinct policies for students, faculty, and staff that have evolved alongside shifting values around

[17] Since 1972, the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights has prohibited discrimination on the basis of sex within educational programs receiving federal funding. While the resulting expansion of athletic opportunities for women and girls has perhaps been the most visible effect of this legislation (Burke 2010), its impacts have been far-reaching with respect many aspects of education, including equal access to degree programs, career development, housing, extracurriculars, and safe learning environments. In recent years, there has been considerable back and forth under changing presidential administrations about how Title IX should be interpreted around prevention and redress for sexual harassment and gender-based violence on college campuses as well as the rights of transgender students (Melnick 2018). For more on advocacy from a youth and survivor-led perspective, see Know Your IX: https://www.knowyourix.org.

secularism (Rankin and Aytaç 2008; Uğur 2020). Other topics—such as representation and the experiences of women faculty—may emerge as having salience for multiple sites. Therefore, an examination of women's studies across locations should include a review of the literature on gender and higher education for each place. While there is a preponderance of scholarship about women's studies in English, it will be important to consider the ways in which Anglophone publications on international higher education may be focused on a specific audience; they may otherwise represent only a specific segment of the higher education community in that particular country. However, higher education research includes significant information on a range of locations, thus proving useful for understanding many of the issues shaping academic feminism and women's experiences of higher education.

As an example, when I began looking into South Korean women's studies using this comparative case study method, I was struck by the significance that scholars placed on envisioning "Asian women's studies." U.S. scholars are far less likely to identify their work as explicitly grounded in the United States or North America. This comparison helps to illustrate how U.S. academic feminism is hegemonic in ways that are actively noted and contested in other writing about women's studies; this comparison can also decenter the United States by drawing attention to other international power dynamics that impact the practice of women's studies. The emphasis on "Asian women's studies" within South Korean academic feminism could be interpreted within the context of struggles over regional leadership among Asian countries, including China and Japan. Evidence of this dynamic can be found in the Curriculum Transformation Project archive, which I discuss in Chapter Three, and specifically materials on the international summer

institute that included scholars from China and South Korea. At the same time, it is worth noting that the United States has been actively involved in South Korean politics for decades both within and outside the higher education sector. Therefore, it is important to consider how "naming debates" may have other resonances in the Anglophone literature emerging from South Korean women's studies than they would when Korean academic feminists are discussing these issues among themselves.

More could be unpacked from this specific example, but methodologically it shows how comparing higher education case studies from different locations can index a breadth of local, national, regional, and global issues. Despite the many benefits of this approach, comparative case studies are necessarily limited by their written mode of expression, which make it more difficult to track multiple issues across locations or scales of analysis. For example, if a text were to describe just one institution within a particular national context, that site may inadvertently come to stand in for all universities in that country when in fact the case study may have been chosen precisely because of its unique characteristics or elite status. Because text flows unidirectionally, readers can typically focus on one issue or location at a time, making it difficult to engage multiple sites of comparison simultaneously. Even if we understand that one case study does not stand in for the entirety, comparing dozens of countries and hundreds of institutions cannot readily be accomplished through traditional modes of reading and writing. Without necessarily resolving this problem, digital humanities techniques allow audiences a greater degree of autonomy and flexibility in exploring a large dataset, particularly one that includes a mix of textual, geographical, and chronological information. Users of *Women's Studies Worldwide* can thus craft their own stories about

academic feminism by bringing different time periods and locations into dialogue based on their own interests and investments—allowing for a fuller picture of the field as a transnational endeavor. The case studies published with this dissertation's digital map include descriptions of academic feminist history in three countries written so as to facilitate readers' understanding of their specificities. This approach draws attention to large-scale phenomena with relevance to multiple countries, including the advent of women's studies within twentieth century feminist movements, alongside site-specific variations such as the roles taken by governments and NGOs. Though transnational feminist theory could justifiably critique this project for continuing to rely on a category like "the nation" that has been so thoroughly deconstructed, it remains a useful methodological frame precisely because so much public policy, political economy, and historiography continues to be organized at the country level. At the same time, another benefit of digital humanities tools is their ability to let users explore other units of analysis without dismissing or fully relying upon any one tool. The option to use multiple scales or points of comparison can be helpful for answering specific questions, but the underlying organization of writing comparative case studies creates a path for readers to follow. Attending to the specificities of geographic, organizational, and cultural conditions through case studies can mediate some of the risks of making overly universalized claims when examining trends that unfold across borders.

Thus far, I have synthesized writing about Turkey, South Korea, and the United States that appears as book chapter in *A Companion to Women's and Gender Studies* (Montague and Tambe 2020). This piece prioritizes describing the field's history by decentering the United States while also attending to how this particular location has both

dominated existing narratives about the field and influenced field formation elsewhere. Using this comparative perspective illuminated a number of analytic categories that can be useful in describing the differences between women's studies programs related to national context, articulating why exactly U.S. women's studies cannot be conceptualized as a blueprint for academic feminism that can be easily transposed onto other locations. These categories include the distribution of under/graduate programs as well as the role of state feminisms and the types of discourse that scholars use in constructing narratives about the field in their countries. Returning to these same points when writing multiple case studies offers organization to an ongoing research process and offers qualitative data for readers to interpret.

Alongside the nation, institutions are another important unit of analysis for the textual and digital components of *Women's Studies Worldwide*. As I will discuss in Chapter Three, my own position as a graduate student at the University of Maryland offered me a unique level of access to the history of transnational academic feminism within this specific institution—something that I could not easily hope to replicate for other locations. Nonetheless, comparative case studies at the institutional level can still be extremely useful because each college or university has its own unique history and politics that have been instrumental to the development of women's studies on that particular campus but also nationally, regionally, and even globally. Local specificities may be even more salient for those countries in which relatively few programs exist because their characteristics cannot necessarily be generalized as reflective of national trends. For instance, as the only program in that country, the institutional history at University of Ghana's Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy would have a different

degree of significance. Though the University of Maryland, College Park has a comparatively larger department with a longer history, it is only one out of more than six hundred programs in the United States. Though individual factors vary across locations, it is useful to consider factors such as the disciplinary backgrounds of faculty members, partnerships within and outside the university, course offerings, research emphases, demographics, and organizational structures. Women's studies programs have often been brought about by committed collectivities of students, faculty, and staff in response to specific institutional problems and in collaboration with social movements. However, the field has undoubtedly changed character as women's studies has grown and institutionalized, with programs and consortia that shape one another in conversation with national and multinational organizations. Comparative case studies nonetheless offer a useful methodology for understanding broader social, political, and economic trends that illustrate the complexity of women's studies as a global endeavor. Furthermore, comparative case studies in higher education are well suited to unpacking regional issues—a perspective that can usefully displace nations from being the sole unit of analysis while attending to their ongoing significance. Therefore, the *Women's Studies Worldwide* map also presents some data through a regional lens, particularly when discussing multinational consortia as well as published works that describe women's studies in several countries loosely united by geography as well as overlapping cultural or linguistic traditions.

My analysis of the self-representational elements in scholarly writing about cross-border women's studies projects departs somewhat from traditional considerations of memoir, which are typically conceptualized as full-length monographs that

chronologically follow a single person's life. In this chapter, I widen this definition by drawing on feminist scholarship about women's knowledge production and literary cultures in order to argue that other kinds of self-representational texts—such as front matter, author sketches, and scholarly articles—can provide valuable first-person data about women's studies within a single country and as a transnational phenomenon. Leigh Gilmore's concept of "autobiographics" describes a reading practice that places "an emphasis on writing itself as constitutive of autobiographical identity, discursive contradictions in the representation of identity (rather than unity), the name as a potential site of experimentation rather than contractual sign of identity, and the effects of the gendered connection of word and body" (1994, 42). Autobiographics envision more than a straightforward representation of one person—instead, examining processes of self-narration allows us to construct and deconstruct both individual and collective subjectivities.[18] Thus, Gilmore's method of autobiographic analysis proves relevant not only to the study of women's self-representational writing but also to *how women are studied*. I argue that when applied to cross-border academic feminist exchanges, the framework of autobiographics foregrounds the significance of self-reflexivity, intersectionality, and the evidence of experience—all central to women's studies scholarship and praxis.

In the course of gathering texts about academic feminist projects from around the world for this dissertation, I became aware of some recurring themes in this body of literature, specifically that many texts were jointly written and/or included autobiographic

[18] This more expansive understanding of self-representational writing came into focus for me through Dr. Martha Nell Smith's class Writing Off the Self, Texts at Play. Our discussions about autobiographics as a distinctively feminist and queer mode of expression instigated my curiosity about how this genre functions in self-reflexive writing about the field of women's studies.

elements. Often, the author(s) speak about the work of international collaborations or movement across borders by drawing directly from their own life stories. These common elements were as not necessarily surprising given the self-reflexivity characteristic of women's studies scholarship; however, thinking through the lens of political grammar led me to inquire further about jointly written first person texts. In this analysis, I draw significantly on Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson's *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (2010), which outlines a "toolkit" of twenty-four items to consider about this literary form, including several with particular relevance to feminist analysis such as collective autobiographics, experience, paratexts, and space/place. Along with Gilmore, Smith and Watson's framework offers a more expansive way of thinking about the politics of life-writing by bringing new topics into the frame of literary analysis and broadening the insights that can be gleaned from autobiographic data.

Because of the different ways in which women's studies scholars have imagined and deployed the nation in their autobiographical writing, analyzing academic feminist autobiographies can provide useful insights about the imagined audiences of these texts as well as the nature of bilateral and multilateral relationships between countries. In order to peel back the layers of nation, language, institution, and culture fundamental to transnational narratives, this dissertation employs theories of feminist memoir, a significant number of which seek to address transnationalism and representations of difference. *Life/Lines: Theorizing Women's Autobiography* (Brodzki and Schenck 1989) and *Learning from Our Lives: Women, Research, and Autobiography in Education* (Neuman and Peterson 1997) offer a solid grounding in the politics of women's self-representational writing. This dissertation conceptualizes academic feminist

autobiography as genre of knowledge production that has been central both to documenting and enacting women's studies. Specific to the transnational dimension of this project, *De/Colonizing the Subject: Politics and Gender in Women's Autobiographical Practice* (Watson and Smith 1992), *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement* (Kaplan 1996), and *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Pratt 2007) situate these issues based on how feminist autobiographics circulate across borders within a larger sociopolitical and economic context shaped by global systems of power. My approach to these texts emphasizes how women's studies scholars have narrativized themselves and their intellectual projects through self-representational writing. Such individual and collective depictions are often connected with and yet resistant to the same forces that concern transnational feminist theory generally, including U.S. and Eurocentrism. While it is important to think critically about the underlying desires and motivations that may have brought about particular constructions of academic feminist autobiographics, I am committed to engaging the stories of women's studies scholars on their own terms. Taking feminist knowledge production seriously remains an ongoing project in academia, as does the concurrent need for U.S. scholars to consider stories written from or about other sites of knowledge production without assimilating these into our own metanarratives.

Chapter Three of my dissertation will examine the University of Maryland's Curriculum Transformation Project using a new archive that documents the important role that the CTP played in the internationalization of women's studies. Apart from recording this part of the field's history, the CTP archive usefully illustrates many of the connections between curricular internationalization and transnational modalities of

knowledge production. Beginning in 2015, I began the process of cataloging more than 500 items related to the Curriculum Transformation Project and facilitating their donation to UMD's University Archive.[19] I also conducted interviews with the main facilitator of this project, Dr. Deborah Rosenfelt, as well as with Dr. Wang Zheng and Dr. A. Lynn Bolles, who helped bring about partnerships with academic feminists from China and the Caribbean, respectively. As a case study of institutional change, this component of my dissertation offers a close-up view of how the internationalization of women's studies was shaped by circumstances affecting individual colleges and universities as well as specific regional and bilateral relationships between countries. My work on the Curriculum Transformation Project archive lends this dissertation insight into the role that institutions can play in supporting networks of academic feminists collaborating around the globe. In contrast to more traditional archiving projects, I began work by transitioning a body of contemporary documents from active, working files into an archive—a fixed, stable body of materials intended for long-term storage yet accessible to future scholars.[20] Though this was in many ways a practical endeavor, archiving is its own kind of theoretical work, constituting a research process rather than just generating data or preserving an object of study from which knowledge can be derived later on (Steedman 2002). As I will discuss in Chapter Two, thinking about transnational feminist

[19] Here, the CTP joins the archives of the National Women's Studies Association. Though it falls outside the scope of this dissertation, this other repository could be used for parallel research, for example tracing how U.S. women's studies scholars have conceptualized and utilized transnationalism over time.

[20] Dr. Michelle Rowley supported my work during this process, particularly when it came to interpreting the trove of information that I gathered through sorting and cataloging the Curriculum Transformation Project materials. During an independent study in Spring 2016, we discussed grounded theory and qualitative coding as methods for parsing this data, which led directly to my second-year interdisciplinary paper on the CTP. Dr. Rowley also contributed invaluable perspective based on her experience as a participant in the 2001 summer institute.

autobiographics has helped me to locate my own role as a student and scholar trying to write the history of women's studies from a different perspective. My archival work seeks to place the CTP within its broader intellectual and political context without losing sight of the specific people, places, and events that defined its impact.

There is a significant body of literature devoted to critically examining the histories and politics implicit in the production of archival materials as well as scholarship based on these fraught repositories of knowledge. Such debates have informed my own approach to archival research, but there are unique methodological questions raised by the process of creating a new archive, particularly one that documents an explicitly feminist project. In this case, the researcher also shares an institutional affiliation with the archive and its object. Oftentimes, scholars engaged in archival research seek to read against the underlying political motivations of a bureaucratic apparatus. In her study of sexuality in the British colonial archives on India, for example, Anjali Arondekar (2009) discusses how attending to the archive's "fiction effects" as well as its "truth effects" can allow scholars to reimagine marginalized subjectivities and experiences that were silenced by and/or excluded from hegemonic infrastructures of knowledge creation. Sara Ahmed's work comes up again here, specifically with respect to the "unhappy archives" of negative political figures—the feminist killjoy, unhappy queer, and melancholic migrant—who inspire this dissertation's concern with the politics of knowledge production (2010). In reference to an emerging feminist literary canon, Ahmed states: "Our feminist archive teaches us about unhappiness and what it can do. Feminism involves a sociality of unhappiness not only by generating talk about the collective nature of suffering that is concealed and reproduced…but also through passing

books around. To inherit unhappiness through the circulation of books is not necessarily to inherit the same thing" (79). In writing about my own archiving work, I am committed to highlighting the Curriculum Transformation Project's successes and challenges, but also holding space for the disaffection—with universities and other powerful institutions—that often engenders academic feminist work in the first place.

Though the Curriculum Transformation Project's activities concluded in 2010, prior to my own arrival at the University of Maryland, I entered the Women's Studies PhD program in 2014 interested in learning more about the CTP and its role in the internationalization of women's studies. Based on this, Dr. Deborah Rosenfelt invited me to take custody of materials related to the CTP upon her retirement. The resulting transfer into my care of twenty-four large file boxes, each with a volume of two cubic feet, began a long process of cataloging and data collection. During a research fellowship in the summer of 2016, I first took stock of the archive's contents, identifying the scope and types of materials included. Most of the roughly 500 items are paper files directly related to the Curriculum Transformation Project's activities, but there are also microcassettes, floppy discs, books, and posters as well as secondary literature on higher education, feminist theory, globalization, and curricular change. In this first stage of the archiving process, I created a preliminary catalog that sorted all the materials into seven categories of roughly equal sizes: i) funding; ii) participant syllabi; iii) participant information; iv) externally-oriented CTP materials; v) internal documents related to CTP experiences; vi) evaluations; and vii) miscellaneous. Based on this knowledge of what information the Curriculum Transformation Project archive actually contained, I was able to develop a set

of research questions that guided me through the more in-depth cataloging work as well as the interview, note-taking, coding, and writing processes.

Given the goal of preserving the CTP's materials for the long term, the assistance of former University Archivist Anne Turkos was instrumental to my progress. She provided me with a template that allowed my cataloging work to be integrated seamlessly with other materials stored in the University Archives. This system uses Microsoft Excel to document a container number and type, title, date type and label, natural expression date, beginning and ending date, material type, any restrictions, and a description for each included item. I also drew on the Society of American Archivists' manual, *Describing Archives: A Content Standard* (2013), for both logistical information and a theoretical background. While this work is necessarily rather tedious, archiving was instrumental for me in facilitating a thorough review of the CTP's materials, producing detailed notes for myself and a complete catalog that preserves the archive for posterity, making it significantly more accessible for future students, researchers, and administrators. The topic of my dissertation led me to focus primarily on the Curriculum Transformation Project's international institutes, but there is certainly much more that could be done with this archive. For example, scholars and administrators might draw on these materials in order to address other questions about institutional history, feminist pedagogy, curricular change, or the influence of multinational funding organizations.

Of course, any archival researcher comes across more interesting bits of information than can ever be fully described, but the purpose of archiving is to produce a body of useful knowledge that will necessarily exceed the archivists' own research project. Quick sorting based on material type, like funding documents and syllabi, as well

as archival data, such as dates and descriptions, are useful in any research project and necessary for making the materials accessible to others. However, I made use of several other analytic techniques in order to develop my understanding of the archive, including mind-mapping and qualitative coding, drawing on Earl Babbie's *The Practice of Social Research* (2013) and Kathy Charmaz's *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide* (2006). I used the word processing program Scrivener to take notes and apply searchable, color-coded tags to each of the archive's aforementioned categories. Major topics that I identified during the cataloging process included educating institutional stakeholders, coalition-building among curricular change agents, articulating the project's value and reporting back to funding sources, budgets and expenditures, internationalizing and engendering the curriculum, contributions and changes in women's studies, interdisciplinarity, graduate education in women's studies, faculty development and collaboration, CTP facilitators and participants, diversity among women, future aspirations for curricular change, activism, institutionalization and institutional specificities, technology, logistical concerns, and pedagogy.

Although the Curriculum Transformation Project Archive constitutes an incredible body of information in itself, there are inherent gaps and omissions that required filling in using oral histories. For example, Dr. Rosenfelt has provided me with invaluable background information about the campus and cultural climates in response to which the CTP sought to create effective interventions. Furthermore, because the CTP archive is comprised of Dr. Rosenfelt's files, it does not include much information on the time period prior to her arrival at UMD and her tenure as the CTP director. The fact the archive's materials were created and preserved by one individual necessarily means that

they mostly represent one person's perspective, which limits the researcher's ability to understand how others may have experienced the CTP in distinct ways. Logistically, because the CTP archive's contents were produced as part of an ongoing project, most documents were written by and for individuals with knowledge of the CTP's past and current activities—narrative reflections on the past are less common, which makes interviews all the more important in piecing together a cohesive story. Archives of this kind tend to tell us less about the afterlife of a project, both in terms of its conclusion and the kinds of lingering effects that may have persisted through personal and professional relationships into the present. Though the CTP archive provides a candid look at unexpected problems and challenges that arose in the course of its activities, particularly in the form of program evaluations and correspondence, many of its materials are externally oriented toward the Ford Foundation, the University of Maryland, and other funders. Due to the project's dependence on renewed institutional investment, a researcher should expect this to shape the story documented in the archive. Oral histories serve to clarify my narrative about the CTP as a cross-border women's studies project, but they also offer an opportunity to more fully understand the work that academic feminists do in enacting collaborations across nation and other forms of difference.

Dr. Rosenfelt and I met twice in the summer of 2016 for around ninety minutes per session, using my teaching assistantship office space in Woods Hall at the University of Maryland. In our first meeting, I focused on gaining insight into the personal and institutional factors that initially brought Dr. Rosenfelt to her role as director of the Curriculum Transformation Project as well as her reflections on the CTP looking back with additional perspective. Themes for this conversation included her experiences

seeking financial and logistical support for the Curriculum Transformation Project, collaborating with the Ford Foundation, her experiences at the early summer institutes, syllabus revision practices, finding and working with outside experts, and similar initiatives happening on other campuses in the United States. As my research began to focus on the international summer institutes, I geared most of our second conversation toward this latter phase of the CTP as well as the international graduate consortium. In particular, Dr. Rosenfelt and I discussed the epistemological and sociopolitical factors that shaped each of these exchanges, the unexpected challenges and benefits of working with scholars from other countries, and how CTP collaborators continued working together even after the program's conclusion.

My approach to these interviews was informed by feminist scholarship on oral history methodologies, especially Patricia Lina Leavy's emphasis on preserving subjugated knowledges, empowerment through collaboration, and attending to silences. Most relevant to this project are Leavy's comments on archiving oral histories and the political implications of this method: "Oral history is generally employed by feminists as a way of bridging the personal biography of women with the social context in which that biography is written. Oral history explicitly allows for the politicizing of individual experience and thus has a deep connection with the project of feminism" (2007, 155). By asking Dr. Rosenfelt to reflect and theorize about her own experiences in this way, I was better able to understand the Curriculum Transformation Project's background as well as its overall impact. Though feminist approaches to oral history are critical to my methodology for this dissertation, I also think it is important to note how the relationship between interviewer and interviewee is unique in this case compared with more typical

research projects. My status as archivist and "biographer" of the Curriculum Transformation Project does lend me a certain amount of authority over the narrative and thus how the CTP is remembered and understood in the future. However, I am a graduate student tasked with representing the past work of my own department, including mentors and faculty I do not know well but who may nevertheless have influence over my future career. Everyone I have spoken with about the CTP has supported the rigor of my analysis, but the power differential between us cannot be erased by even the most carefully constructed methodologies. My conceptualization of feminist approaches to research requires a transparent discussion of such dynamics—to this end, I have greatly appreciated Dr. Rosenfelt's willingness to engage directly with these concerns and willingly take on the role of interviewee in my historiography of a project where she was, in fact, the principal author. Though my knowledge of the Curriculum Transformation Project draws most significantly from Dr. Rosenfelt's records and recollections, I also conducted oral history interviews with two other CTP contributors—Dr. Wang Zheng and Dr. A Lynn Bolles. These additional interlocutors offer a more rounded picture of the CTP by incorporating perspectives from faculty who experienced the internationalization of women's studies from different cultural, institutional, and disciplinary standpoints.

Chapter Overview

Women's Studies Worldwide critiques the tendency toward U.S. and Eurocentrism in narratives about the field's history for the purpose of positing alternative ways of conceptualizing academic feminism. There is a substantial body of transnational work critiquing "missionary" or "imperial" feminist projects that unilaterally impose Western

goals for women's education and empowerment—often through exploitative power dynamics that reinscribe colonialism (Burton 1998; Eichner 2019). When applied to the global higher education sector, transnational feminist theory clearly articulates the importance of examining stratifications in how people, resources, and knowledges are produced, circulated, and consumed through process of global exchange. As a counternarrative to the "blueprint" model that envisions feminism as created in the West and then exported for replication elsewhere, *Women's Studies Worldwide* proposes an alternative, "non-diffusionist" model for the internationalization of women's studies, envisioning the field as a conscientious, engaged actor that simultaneously challenges, enacts, and compromises with broader processes of globalization. In so doing, this dissertation seeks to engage critiques of international feminist projects while investigating whether and how it might be possible for the field of women's studies to be a site where disruptive, transformational feminist politics might be enacted through unique practices of teaching, research, and administration. These questions are relevant to all feminist scholars who rely upon and enact transnational exchanges through our lives and work, but U.S. women's studies has a particular responsibility to examine these power dynamics given the political, cultural, and economic hegemony from which it benefits. *Women's Studies Worldwide* examines this possibility through three chapters that use several methods to describe the field across time and location.

Chapter One, "Where is Women's Studies? Digital Cartographies and Possibilities of Scale**,**" presents my digital map of women's studies programs, which represents my effort to visualize the field geographically as it exists at a multitude of countries and institutions. This chapter takes my dissertation's most comprehensive,

macro-level view of academic feminism, offering an innovative analytic tool in addition to collating data about women's studies around the world. Drawing on digital humanities scholarship and theories of feminist geography, I discuss the process of developing this map using two cartography software programs as well as my long-term goals for its expansion and sustainability. By combining maps with timelines, bibliographies, and case studies, it becomes possible to visualize a range of factors that have shaped the field's global growth over time. These understudied histories may prove relevant for contemporary scholars looking to build networks capable of navigating complex political and cultural climates. In building upon scholarship from digital humanities and feminist geography, this chapter proposes a new way of conducting and representing transnational feminist research. Chapter Two, "Political Grammars of Cross-Border Academic Feminism," then zooms in to examine several examples of writing about academic feminist collaboration, including edited collections that discuss the field's founding and scholarly articles about cross-border institution-building projects. These autobiographic narratives illustrate how women's studies has been constructed by circulations of people, resources, and ideas with varying outcomes—alternately reflecting, reinforcing, or challenging unequal relationships. Specifically, I use the concept of "political grammar" to show how academic feminists have described themselves in ways that reflect persistent inequalities including U.S. and Eurocentrism in women's studies. This analysis extends our understanding of cross-border collaborations among scholars, institutions, and nations, whereby their effectiveness is often shaped by the willingness of practitioners to confront and redress the power differentials between them, particularly when one side of a partnership benefits from relative privilege.

Chapter Three of this dissertation, "Curriculum Transformation and Collaborative Institutionalization," will then narrow the focus further to examine one institutionally-specific case study, the Curriculum Transformation Project at the University of Maryland, College Park. Based on my work archiving the CTP as well as oral history interviews with women's studies faculty who were involved with its international summer institutes, I discuss how the internationalization of women's studies played out on one specific campus but also through an international graduate consortium that was the first of its kind in this field. This chapter thus provides detailed insight into how factors including local and regional politics, institutional histories, and interpersonal relationships have all shaped the global trajectory of academic feminism. I emphasize insights from the Curriculum Transformation Project that may be useful for academic feminists seeking to build collaborations across borders today. Finally, the third chapter considers what role contemporary U.S. academic feminists and institutions might play in nurturing women's studies as a truly transnational endeavor. In sum, the three primary contributions of *Women's Studies Worldwide* are to generate a comprehensive digital map of the field, analyze autobiographical writing by its founders, and offer new insights about exchange and institutionalization using archives and oral histories. My work advances transnational feminist theories about the political economy of knowledge and adds to our collective understanding about how women's studies scholars respond to shifting sociopolitical landscapes. Learning about this history of academic feminism can prove useful for students, scholars, and administrators from a range of disciplines at a time when the higher education sector continues to negotiate the varied effects of globalization.

Chapter One

Where is Women's Studies? Digital Cartographies and Possibilities of Scale

Introduction

Since the early 1970s, women's studies has grown from a few scattered classes initiated by enterprising feminist students and professors to now encompass more than 900 programs, departments, and research centers around the world. The majority of these institutional sites are located in English-speaking countries in the Global North such as the United States, Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom. However, the field has expanded across many more sociopolitical, geographical, and linguistic contexts than has thus far been adequately addressed in conventional narratives about the field's history. Institutionalized opportunities to obtain undergraduate and advanced degrees in women's studies, as well as to collaborate and gain support for feminist research projects, are in fact available in more than seventy countries on six continents. This proliferation indicates that women's studies is undergoing a process of global growth, which in itself constitutes an institutional and intellectual phenomenon worthy of documentation. However, examining the internationalization of women's studies from a transnational feminist perspective requires this process to be contextualized within the broader politics of knowledge production as well as the many global hierarchies that structure how people, ideas, and resources circulate among locations.

In this new landscape, women's studies cannot be envisioned as a product of U.S. feminism that has since been replicated elsewhere in the world. This oversimplified model not only perpetuates the erasure of other academic feminist projects but in fact

reinscribes U.S. and Eurocentric ideas about education and history. In addition to displacing traditional metanarratives by emphasizing stories about women's studies programs beyond the United States, this dissertation examines the ways in which transnational academic feminism has also shaped U.S. women's studies. The goal of this redirection is to shift the geographical and epistemological margins of women's studies closer to its center while remaining critically attentive to the outsized influence that U.S. academic feminism has had on programs based elsewhere. Rather than viewing globalization solely as an outside force shaping the conditions under which women's studies can be carried out in our contemporary moment, we should instead consider how academic feminism illustrates, and in fact itself constitutes, many of the same processes through which the field has become institutionalized worldwide. Therefore, this dissertation pursues research questions that consider how the global proliferation of women's studies affects scholars, students, and administrators alike: How has this interdiscipline grown, temporally and geographically? How do academic feminists from different places build relationships? What does the field of women's studies have in common across locations and how does it vary? What relationships does U.S. women's studies have with programs based elsewhere, and what role should it take up in the future? Should domestic and/or international programmatic expansion be a goal for the field? How does conceptualizing academic feminism as a transnational project affect teaching, research, and administration in women's studies?

Women's Studies Worldwide extends this field's historiography to include a fuller picture of its formation and institutionalization through degree programs, research centers, and consortia. In this first chapter, I have sought to describe women's studies as a

collective, multiply sited entity in order to tell a distinct story about the past and present of academic feminism that broadens its genesis and significance beyond the Global North. In practice, adopting the scope required to make the whole of academic feminism an object of analysis has necessitated experimentation with several emerging technologies, including the digital cartography tools I will discuss in this chapter. My approach is inspired by recent work in women's studies, especially Leela Fernandes' landmark book, *Transnational Feminism in the United States: Knowledge, Ethics, and Power* (2013), which posits that although this epistemic "turn" in women's studies has productively critiqued area studies, postcolonialism, and globalization, the predominance of transnationalism has also generated new problems for the field. Notable among these has been an overemphasis on hyper-visible, border-crossing phenomena at the expense of detailed, site-specific analyses. The loss of locally situated research, she argues, conveniently erases the ways in which ostensibly new knowledge practices render invisible their own complicity with U.S. national interests, including economic power, neo-imperialism, and surveillance. While I share Fernandes' concern with how theoretical shifts can reproduce inequitable distribution of resources and power through global systems of knowledge production, I argue that part of the problem she identifies with transnationalism has to do with limitations inherent to textual forms of expression. In the traditional written formats of scholarly publication, it is difficult to simultaneously convey both the "global" and "local" through a linear argument that flows in one direction from left to right and top to bottom. Furthermore, a sole reliance on text makes

it challenging for a single author or even a collective to provide robust, multisided examinations of phenomena unfolding in different parts of the world all at once.[21]

In this chapter, I posit digital cartography as one possible tool that transnational feminism can use to balance its multiscalar objects of study. As with reflexivity, innovative methodologies do not necessarily "fix" underlying problems related to the ethical production of knowledge, but these new technologies do have a unique flexibility that allows complex information to be represented effectively across multiple sites and layers of analysis. Digital humanities has itself been critiqued for tending to reproduce rather than challenge hegemonic systems of power (Losh and Wernimont 2018). However, using new technologies to describe women's studies as a transnational phenomenon has the potential to help us think creatively about academic feminist labor and institution-building. The first step is to better understand extant information about women's studies around the globe and consolidate that information in a useable way. Women's studies is fortunate that a few individual scholars and institutions have taken up the work of documenting and connecting its many programs, although the existing options have major limits in terms of their sustainability, completeness, and utility for drawing conclusions about the field. Gathering and managing such information is far from a straightforward task for many of the reasons laid out in this chapter. My interest in developing a digital map of women's studies programs as a component of this dissertation has been driven by my own desire for such a resource as well as my

[21] *The Modern Girl Around the World* (2008), written by a research collective of the same name at the University of Washington, offers an important counterexample showing how feminist research can balance global and site-specific and analyses in text.

conviction that it would be useful for the field in envisioning and describing itself as a transnational endeavor.

This chapter should be read in tandem with the StoryMap and ArcGIS map I created for *Women's Studies Worldwide*; these can be accessed via any internet browser.[22] In the next sections, I will describe the process by which I conceptualized and carried out this mapping project as well as my future goals for its development and sustainability. This component of my dissertation has been greatly informed by scholarly literature related to feminist and postcolonial digital humanities along with specific computer-aided cartography projects, which I outline below. My approach also draws from theoretical, methodological, and administrative work in the field of higher education, particularly comparative case studies and efforts to document institutional change. This chapter will further discuss several projects that have inspired me to think in a creative, intentional way about how to represent knowledge, identity, and social movements. The primary contribution described in this chapter is a map showing that women's studies is a global phenomenon and has been since its inception in the 1970s.[23] Documenting the field's geographical breadth may seem straightforward on its face, but in working on the project, I have realized the exigence of gathering and sharing such foundational information. Regularly, I encounter colleagues who are surprised to learn that women's studies even exists outside of North America, Western Europe, and Australia. Students, furthermore, have expressed that this broader view challenges

[22] StoryMaps version: https://arcg.is/1vOvbj; ArcGIS version: https://ter.ps/WSWapp.

[23] As shown via the StoryMaps timeline, programs were established in the 1970s in Australia, the Netherlands, Spain, and the United States but also in Lebanon, Japan, Malaysia, and South Korea.

preconceptions about women's studies as inherently U.S. and Eurocentric.[24] Taken together, the *Women's Studies Worldwide* map and its associated materials—including a timeline, case studies, and bibliographies—complicate false assumptions that (academic) feminism was invented in the Global North and then imposed unilaterally on the rest of the world. Without erasing the legacies of U.S. and European (neo)colonialism—including through ostensibly feminist initiatives—this project offers an opportunity for the field to understand its history more widely and with greater accuracy.

Pilot Map: Carto

In order to create the digital map for *Women's Studies Worldwide*, I drew upon several sources in order to identify programs and piece together this visual, multilayered history. Among these, Joan Korenman at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County maintains the most comprehensive list, which includes research centers as well as degree programs both in the U.S. and abroad. Although Korenman's guide is robust and has been updated regularly, it has a number of limitations that have informed my approach to creating the new map. As a list of nearly nine hundred items organized alphabetically, the webpage is thorough but difficult to navigate. Though this compilation makes clear that hundreds of women's studies programs exist all over the world, it raises new questions about how to use and interpret such information. How and why has the proliferation of women's studies taken place? What similarities and differences exist and how might these change in the future? Korenman's guide was not designed to provide this kind of information, but its impressive scope offers a strong starting point for further

[24] Thank you to my Critical Race Feminisms class at Grinnell College in Fall 2022 for making this point.

investigation and conveys the potential for digital platforms to effectively share information about this field on a global scale.

At the beginning of this project, as I sought information about women's studies programs located outside of the United States, I was struck by the overall lack of available data apart from Korenman's website. My methodology for this chapter has been guided by the goal of consolidating and improving upon existing information so it can assist academic feminists in describing and carrying out our work. Therefore, my map-making process began by weighing what information should be included in order to meaningfully connect and compare women's studies programs based in different countries. I first synthesized my prior research about the field's history grounded in three specific national locations: Turkey, South Korea, and the United States. As mentioned in the Introduction, this material was compiled for a book chapter that Ashwini Tambe and I wrote for *A Companion to Women's and Gender Studies* (2022). It was important to us that this piece chart new territory in describing the field's history by decentering the United States while also attending to how this particular country has both dominated narratives about the field thus far and influenced its formation elsewhere. Having this critical, comparative perspective in mind, we offered analytic categories that proved useful for us in describing variations among women's studies programs across national contexts and, in particular, articulating why U.S. women's studies cannot be conceptualized as a blueprint for academic feminism easily mapped onto other locations. Retelling the history of U.S. women's studies alongside case studies about Turkey and South Korea conveys a more accurate and more transnational story about the institutionalization of academic feminism for the purpose of challenging typical U.S. and

Eurocentric narratives about the field. Inspired by the field of higher education, case studies allow the United States to be recast as one of many sites with important academic feminist histories—these can be usefully compared and contrasted in order to develop insights about the field as a global project with local specificities. For instance, this approach allowed Dr. Tambe and me to distill key features that distinguish women's studies programs in different countries, including under/graduate emphases, uses of the waves metaphor, and relationships with state feminism, which had not previously been discussed in comparative work on the institutionalization of women's studies.

With this idea about the kinds of data I wanted to focus on, I began to evaluate the various tools that digital humanities scholars have used to carry out cartographic projects. The Maryland Institute for Technology in the Humanities was particularly instrumental for me in this process. I learned about a range of geographic information systems and qualitative analysis programs through their incubator workshops and attended lectures that exposed me to exciting scholarship in this field, such as Roopika Risam's work to map the intellectual histories of postcolonial and African American Studies (2019). Most important, however, was the opportunity to engage with other students, faculty, and staff who offered guidance for my project. MITH's Purdom Lindblad graciously met with me several times to discuss my goals, develop a work plan, and troubleshoot. Her referral led me to meet with UMD's (now former) GIS and Spatial Data Librarian, Dr. Kelley O'Neal, who further encouraged me to explore more sophisticated mapping technologies. These conversations were instrumental for me in starting to think through my long-term aspirations for the map, raising new considerations about sustainability, open-source versus proprietary software, and potential future avenues for expanding the project—for

example, by using algorithms to gather additional data from university websites. While it was important for me to limit my aspirations to a manageable scale for the dissertation, I wanted to conceptualize this project fully so it can be sustained and continue to evolve.

Beginning in 2018, the first iteration of *Women's Studies Worldwide* was created using Carto, which is proprietary web-based software used for digital mapping and geospatial analysis. This program worked well for the first few years because I was able to access the platform using a free student account; however, it ultimately proved unsustainable when my educational license expired in 2021. Though transitioning the project to ArcGIS constituted a setback in terms of additional time and labor, I learned a great deal from this process. The initial advantage of starting out with Carto was that it offered a combination of analytic and narrative functions, allowing me to represent a large and complex dataset without having to learn a computer programming language. Indeed, Carto was developed specifically to provide a more accessible suite of spatial data analysis tools for municipalities as well as companies across industries such as healthcare, energy, and transportation. In an illustrative if somewhat morbid example, Carto's instructional webinars rely on a recurring example about train accidents—casting viewers in the role of an insurance firm doing cost/benefit analyses about building new track in particular counties based on the cost of past payouts. Like Carto's imagined corporate user, I began this project relatively knowledgeable about my subject matter but having little prior experience with computer-aided analysis. Despite these points of overlap, my use of Carto to build a digital map of women's studies deviates in important ways from the applications for which this program was designed. As I learned, bumping up against those points where technologies are less flexible than we desire is a recurring

theme in digital humanities research. This methodological issue proved prescient not only in the case of qualitative information, such as institutional and interpersonal relationships, but also with respect to quantitative data related to time and place.

My first step in creating the digital map was to create a dataset by country. Though the nation has been problematized as a unit of analysis, it remains methodologically useful in comparing different locations. This is particularly true for those factors that are significantly shaped at the national level, including state feminisms, higher education policy, and bilateral relationships between countries. Though perhaps to a lesser extent, narratives about field formation and social movements are often described in national terms as well, and therefore indexing material as such would likely be useful for the map's target audience. I started with the founding year of the first women's studies department and/or degree program in the sixty-two countries cited by Christine Min Wotipka and Francisco O. Ramirez in their "Women's Studies as a Global Innovation" (Figure 1). This book chapter considers the growth of academic feminist degree research centers and degree programs in light of the UN Conferences on Women in Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), and Beijing (1995).[25] Despite the value of its data, Wotipka and Ramirez's analysis is limited by several

[25] Though the UN Conferences on Women were highly influential to the development of transnational academic feminism during the 1990s and 2000s, these were far from the only international meetings that shaped this field's institutionalization. The Women's Worlds Congress is particularly worthy of further investigation because of its emphasis on program-building and promoting cross-border feminist scholarship. Marilyn P. Safir (2018), Chair of the first congress held at University of Haifa in 1981, for example, has written about that meeting's contributions to developing women's studies in Israel. These events, which will be added to a future version of the *Women's Studies Worldwide* digital map, were subsequently held at University of Groningen in the Netherlands (1984), Trinity College in Dublin, Ireland (1987), Hunter College in New York City, United States (1990), University of Costa Rica in San Jose (1993), University of Adelaide in Australia (1996), University of Tromsø in Norway (1999), Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda (2002), Ewha University in Seoul, South Korea (2005), Complutense University of Madrid in Spain (2008), University of Hyderabad in India (2014), and Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina in Florianópolis, Brazil (2017), see: https://mm2022.uem.mz/en/history.

factors, most notably that the authors do not fully explain how they identified when women's studies was established in each country. Furthermore, they include very little information about the development of academic feminism since the year 2000, which leaves almost half of its history unaccounted for given the relatively short history of this emerging field.

There are a few countries missing from Wotipka and Ramirez's data, some of which can be attributed to more recently established programs in new places. Their omission of Australia, however, seems like a significant error especially given the relatively greater quantity of information available about academic feminism in this location. As the *Women's Studies Worldwide* map has evolved, therefore, I elected to use Wotipka and Ramirez's book chapter as a starting point—for the updated ArcGIS version that I will discuss in the next section, I modified the founding year for each country when discrepancies arose with better substantiated sources such as program websites or histories of academic feminism within specific countries. Here and through the remainder of this chapter, I provide several screenshots of the *Women's Studies Worldwide* map through the stages of its development. Figures 1 and 2 show the pilot version in Carto. Figures 3, 4, and 5 depict the updated, more comprehensive version in ArcGIS.

Based on Wotipka and Ramirez's data about the years when women's studies was first established in sixty-two countries, I applied a time-slider tool within Carto in order to illustrate the field's growth chronologically. This capability could potentially be useful for a range of audiences and analytic applications by revealing how global or regional changes affected the field's trajectory across multiple countries. Furthermore, this type of

temporal visualization tool can be helpful in evaluating theories posited about why, when, and where women's studies programs are established.



Figure 1. Pilot map created using Carto. In this version of *Women's Studies Worldwide,* the countries colored in green are those that Wotipka and Ramirez included in their dataset of when women's studies programs were founded in each country. The blue dots show the locations of the UN Conferences on Women, and the red show locations of institutions involved with the Curriculum Transformation Project discussed in Chapter Three. The timeline along the bottom shows the number of countries that newly established women's studies programs in each year between 1970 and 2005.

Focusing the map's time-slider on a particular historical period can also be employed to assess the impact that major geopolitical events had on field formation in women's studies. For example, users can observe the proliferation of programs in Eastern Europe following the collapse of the USSR, which brought about rapid neoliberalization in the higher education systems of former Soviet states, events I will discuss further in the

latter part of this chapter (Figure 2). Despite their ease of use, Carto's data analysis tools presented a number of problems, for example, requiring highly specific time data—literally down to the second. The fact that there is not even the option to use a larger unit of time in Carto illustrates that digital humanities projects are not the type of application for which this software was developed. While functionally it worked for me to set the time for all countries to January 1 at 00:00:00 EST in different years, work-arounds are not possible in every instance where incommensurability arises between the software and dataset. For instance, latitude and longitude data in Carto also defaults to a high degree of resolution, but there is no easy way to define the precise location of institutions that are often distributed over multiple buildings or sites within a city, province, etc. These problems are magnified with qualitative data, which are more difficult for computers to recognize and process compared with quantitative information. As the MITH staff advised me when we discussed this issue, digital humanities scholars have had to find creative solutions when representing, for example, metrics of time that are non-linear, measured in larger units, or unknown. Academics are aware that the establishment of a new degree program—especially the first of its kind in a new location—hardly occurs at one discrete moment. The slow pace of institutional change means that founding a new field takes place over years if not decades, and thus paring it down to the millisecond cannot reflect the steady, deliberate work of institutionalization.

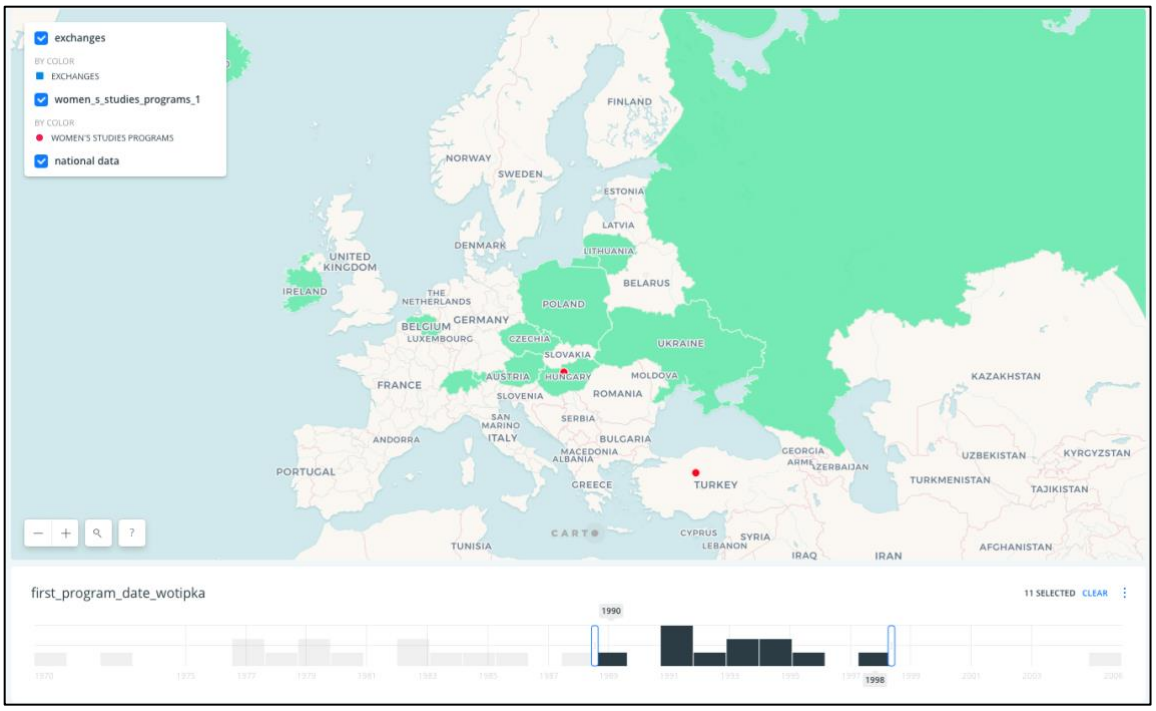


Figure 2. Carto map focusing on Europe (1990-1999). During this decade, countries that established women's studies programs included Czechia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and Ukraine. Though compelling, academic feminism has proved difficult to sustain in this region in part because of these programs' association with Western and specifically U.S. feminisms, as I will discuss later in this chapter.

The pilot version of *Women's Studies Worldwide* created using Wotipka and Ramirez's nation-level data effectively demonstrated the utility of digital cartography for understanding how the global growth of academic feminism has been shaped by large-scale geopolitical events such as the UN Conferences on Women and the dissolution of the USSR. While this scale of analysis has produced useful new insights, it has been clear since the beginning of this project that other types of information would also be necessary to effectively describe the internationalization of women's studies. Therefore, I began to compile an institutional dataset, first focusing on universities located in the subset of countries about which I had already completed some background research for the aforementioned book chapter and work on the Curriculum Transformation Project. The

pilot version of the map thus included data points representing each of the women's studies programs in South Korea and Turkey as well as those in Barbados, China, Hungary, Israel, Jamaica, Palestine, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uganda—for a total of 25 entries (Figure 1). Though I was not able to include all of the U.S. programs in the pilot stage, I did feature the University of Maryland, College Park because of its relevance to the CTP. For each of these entries, I included all the relevant information I could find online about the latitude and longitude, institution(s), country, region, program name, founding year, website, undergraduate and graduate degrees offered, research centers, partnerships, and bibliographic references. To compile this data, I started with Joan Korenman's website featuring women's and gender studies programs as well as research centers worldwide, cross-checking each of these against programs' self-reported information online. Throughout the process, I have updated, revised, and expanded the list as I came across broken links, missing information, and discrepancies. Oftentimes my work on the map has involved identifying and correcting errors present in Korenman's list, but *Women's Studies Worldwide* benefitted tremendously from this earlier groundwork to document the field globally. Rather than framing these updates as a "problem" with her data, this research process been an opportunity to discover new information and continue refining what we know about academic feminism. As I will discuss in the next chapter, multi-institutional projects, programs that have ended, and different ways of defining "women's studies" are all complex variables that need to be accounted for in order to fully represent the field digitally or by any other method.

ArcGIS and StoryMaps

Though it was frustrating to lose access to the Carto version of *Women's Studies Worldwide* in early 2021, this setback ultimately proved beneficial for the project as it precipitated a necessary shift to the software programs ArcGIS and StoryMaps, both of which are owned by Esri.[26] Over the last few years that I have been working on this map, ArcGIS has emerged as the dominant tool used for geospatial analysis and data visualization, particularly for educational applications. This industry-wide shift has had a number of benefits, including a more user-friendly accessible interface, widespread availability of institutional subscriptions, and enhanced training as well as support resources specific to this platform. At the same time, the ubiquity of ArcGIS has also narrowed the field of software programs available to students and researchers since, as a result, companies like Carto have scaled down their educational licensing or discontinued it altogether in favor of a corporate clientele. Even though other options still exist, including free open-source alternatives like QGIS, it became increasingly clear over the course of this project that the field of digital humanities has moved toward ArcGIS, particularly for cartography and geospatial analysis. The programs have limitations, as I will discuss in the next section, but transitioning to ArcGIS has ultimately set up *Women's Studies Worldwide* map for greater sustainability and ease of use, which were primary objectives from the beginning.

[26] In July 2019, Esri integrated its geographic information systems platform, ArcGIS, with StoryMaps, a program designed for creating narrative webpages. Esri was founded in 1969 as the Environmental Systems Research Institute with a focus on how new computer technologies could be used for cartography as well as land and resource management. As a privately held company, limited information is available about Esri's contracts or market share, but the company itself claims to have at least 350,000 organizational users and more than 7,000 university partnerships: https://www.esri.com/en-us/what-is-gis/history-of-gis; https://www.esri.com/en-us/about/media-relations/fact-sheet.

For the dissertation version of *Women's Studies Worldwide*, I continued to use Korenman's list as a starting point but revised and expanded this dataset in order to visually locate as many institutions as possible and create a robust snapshot of the field (Figure 3). Though women's studies is globally diverse, by far the largest number of degree programs in women's studies exist in the United States with 612 of the 959 sites identified between Korenman's list and my own research. Rather than manually plotting each of these colleges and university, I used the "Database of Accredited Postsecondary Institutions and Programs" published by the Department of Education. This dataset describes more than 7,000 colleges, universities, trade, and professional schools, with information including location, institution type, contact information, enrollment, accreditation, and degrees offered.[27] It was tedious to delete all the entries for institutions without women's studies programs, but this was still faster than the alternative of cataloging them myself, and thus it was useful to this data readily available. I anticipate benefits to having my own spreadsheet formatted in the same style used by the DoE in case I decide to add more or updated data from this source in the future. Furthermore, working with this larger higher education dataset has helped me learn more about how the United States government tracks, classifies, and publishes information about various schools. The DoE data also allows institutions to be broken down by state, which makes it possible compare and contrast academic feminist history in light of state-level policies, which could be a productive avenue for future research.

[27] United States Department of Education, "Database of Postsecondary Institutions and Programs," https://ope.ed.gov/dapip/#/home.

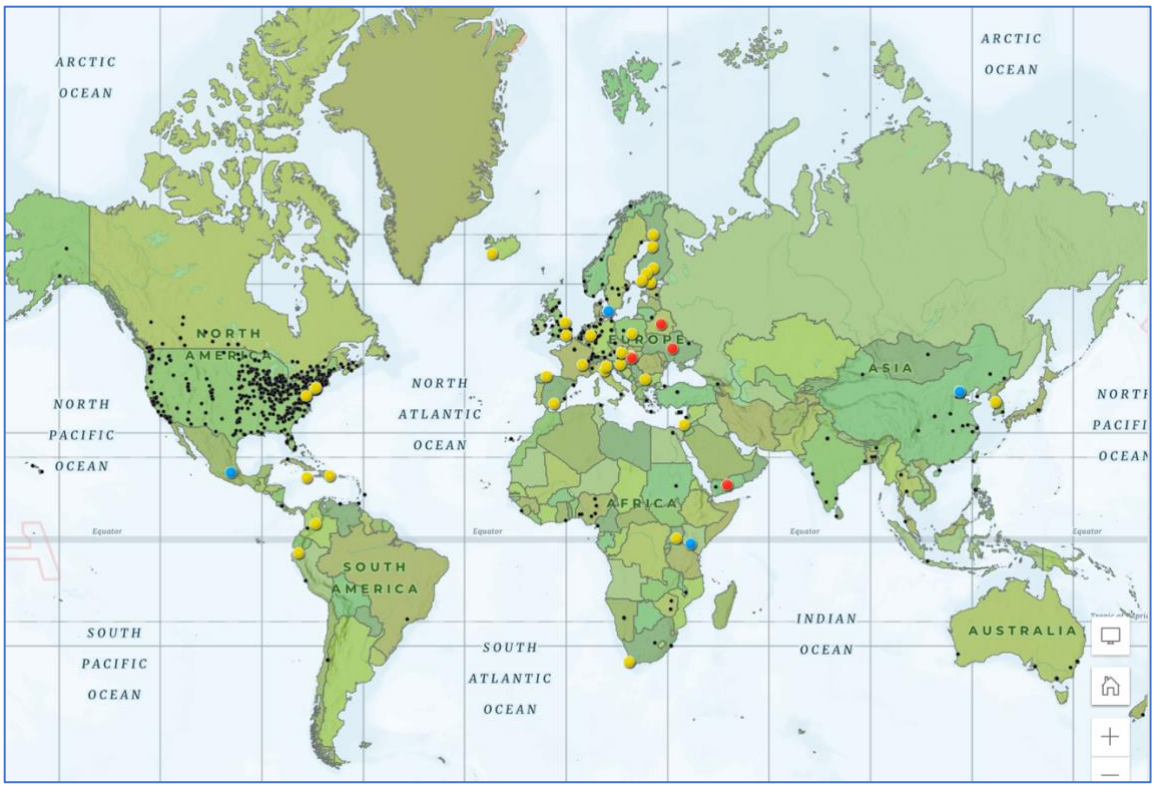


Figure 3. ArcGIS map showing programs and consortia. In this version, the black dots represent individual programs and research centers at different institutions including national, regional, and international examples of degree granting consortia housed at multiple institutions: HILMA in Finland, MATILDA in Europe, and GEMMA in Europe, North and South America, and the Caribbean. The blue dots show locations of the UN World Conferences on Women.

For the 347 programs located outside the United States (267 from Korenman's list and 80 from my own research), I manually entered each institution and its location (city, country, and latitude/longitude coordinates) into an Excel file based on information from Google Maps.[28] When available, I also noted information such as the program's name and its type (research as well as undergraduate or graduate degree programs) as well as

[28] The numbers stated in this section include both programs and research centers that are currently active as well as those that have been discontinued. I have retained records for this latter group but omitted those whose conclusions could be corroborated by other sources. Thus, some past programs are not featured, and some are shown that may not currently be in operation. My primary goal was to convey how the field of women's studies exists around the world today, particularly at the national level, but historical information is critical to understanding the trajectory of academic feminism. Clearer differentiation between in/active programs and those of unknown status would be worthwhile for a future version of this map.

the website URL, founding year, and any affiliations or consortia memberships. In comparison to the process of elimination method outlined above, there were pros and cons to entering the data by hand. Though slower and more prone to error, this process gave me a chance to review the location of every women's studies program outside the United States. These entries contain less institutional information than the ones for U.S. colleges and universities because there is no commensurate international version of the DoE database and manually gathering all of this additional information would not have been feasible for this project. However, particularly with the more complete U.S. dataset as a model, the map could integrate additional categories over time such that these sources work together. In the future, I will prioritize adding information about language of instruction as well as the years when individual programs were founded and/or discontinued, which would strengthen the map's analytic utility. The final component of this map are layers depicting cross-border exchanges and multi-sited projects such as degree-granting consortia housed at several institutions. The underlying purpose of gathering and representing all of this national and institutional data in a digital format is to richly describe transnational feminist thought, which often takes form in those moments of connection when academic feminists situated across the globe encounter one another through conflict or collaboration. The UN Conferences on Women are one important example, but other examples include the International Consortium for Graduate Study of Women and Gender, which grew out of the Curriculum Transformation Project discussed in Chapter Three.

One methodological discovery made in the process of creating *Women's Studies Worldwide* has been the difficulty of using digital cartography tools to express

chronological as well as qualitative and location data, all of which constitute significant information for tracing women's studies through different locations. Esri sought to address this issue by integrating ArcGIS and StoryMaps, which has been helpful in presenting the digital cartography component of this project alongside textual information such as case studies, bibliographies, and a timeline. However, it has not yet been possible to replicate the time-slider feature that existed in the pilot version. Carto also allowed pop-up windows for each country to display within the map itself, enabling users to navigate the data based on their specific interests, but this had its own limitations, such as not being able to alter the formatting. Though the map itself and explanatory material are thus more separated in the ArcGIS version, the case studies and bibliographies are searchable and much easier to read in StoryMaps than they were with the pilot version in Carto. Even though ArcGIS / StoryMaps has a number of advantages, these programs make it more challenging to display country-level data than was the case with Carto. There is a much higher degree of resolution and flexibility with how spatial relationships get displayed, but as a result, it is less straightforward to link temporal data with national boundaries in order to create a time-slider or similar feature that would show the growth of women's studies over the years. Figure 4 shows one workaround whereby countries are assigned dots of varying sizes based on founding year of their first program, but this layer does not offer the same ease of use that was possible with the earlier Carto version.

As I continue to develop my skills with the Esri suite of programs and work on the *Women's Studies Worldwide* map in the future, another option would be to create several different versions in five or ten-year increments using ArcGIS and then compare these side by side within StoryMaps. At present, Esri is rolling out new app-building

programs which could have two significant benefits: easier public access to the web map and additional plug-in analytic tools like the time-slider from Carto. In any case, working with both programs was instructive for me in better understanding the challenges associated with representing qualitative and cartographic data in the context of a digital map. Combining multiple kinds of information and displaying them concurrently has also facilitated my understanding of the commonalities and differences between academic feminist histories among countries, sparking broader regional considerations such as the situation in post-Soviet Eastern Europe, which I will discuss in the next section.

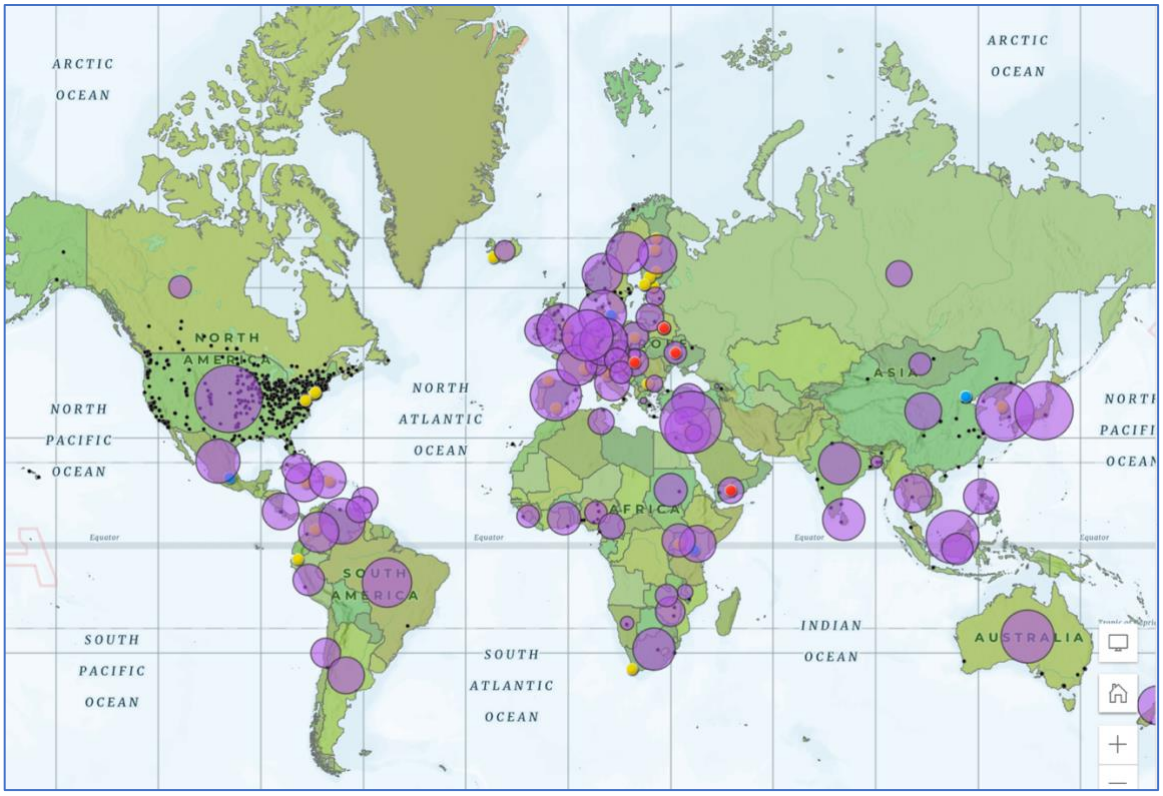


Figure 4. ArcGIS map showing the field's age by country. Showing an additional layer, the purple dots of different sizes represent the age of women's studies programs in each country, with larger dots indicating more years that have passed since the field was first established within that nation. This data is based on the data from Wotipka and Ramirez's book chapter with corrections and additions based on my own research. Displaying chronological changes has proved more complex in ArcGIS than it was in

Carto, but this feature demonstrates one way that temporal information can be conveyed in this program. The largest purple circles indicate an age over fifty years as in the United States, where women's studies was first established in 1970 at San Diego State University. The smallest purple circles indicate an age under twenty years as in Greece, where the first program was established in 2004 at the University of Crete.

Findings and Applications

Because women's studies is often misunderstood as created and exclusively located in the Global North, the *Women's Studies Worldwide* map and its underlying dataset constitute an important intervention in terms of retelling a more accurate history of this interdisciplinary field. Though it is true that the United States was the site of the first institutionalized women's studies program and plays home to most of the colleges and universities that offer degrees in the field, a transnational perspective can help to destabilize U.S. and Eurocentric understandings of feminism within and beyond the academy. Furthermore, the *Women's Studies Worldwide* map offers its users an opportunity to think through issues with relevance to multiple sites in addition to bilateral relationships between different countries on a regional or global basis. Not only does this tool illustrate the field's past and present, but it can be used to develop new pathways of investigation to better conceptualize the history of women's studies and plan for sustaining it into the future. For example, one of my most interesting discoveries generated by creating the digital map was the preponderance of countries in Eastern Europe that first established women's and gender studies programs in the mid to late 1990s following the dissolution of the USSR in 1991 (Figure 2). Initially, I found it compelling that the field was able to grow so quickly in this region and wondered whether political instability might in some ways open up space for the emergence of new intellectual or institutional formations. However, rather than taking this at face value and

assuming that growth equaled progress for the field, the map generated a spark of interest about the history of women's studies in this part of the world that led me to start investigating the history of academic feminism in the post-Soviet states. The process of working on this dissertation's digital map made me more attentive to when programs ended and under what circumstances—events that are generally less well-documented in comparison to the establishment of new programs, which are often mentioned in scholarly articles and press releases or on university websites.

In gathering more data, I realized that women's studies has proved particularly difficult to sustain in Eastern Europe over the last two decades, with numerous programs closing particularly since the mid-2000s. This contraction of the field has occurred both on an institutional level with the dissolution of consolidation of individual programs but also nationally and within the sphere of Russian influence, which remains a potent force in regional politics. These shifts illustrate the multilayered impact of development projects led by the U.S. and Western European nations that have been highly controversial in Russia and other former Soviet states. Not infrequently, as I discuss in Chapter Two, such initiatives can spark backlash against academic feminism along with other sociopolitical, cultural, and intellectual movements that have developed an associated with the "First World." Of course, Russia has its own complex relationship with each of the former Soviet states as well as nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, not least through economic development and women's equality initiatives. As is true with the United States, these have been motivated at least in part by a desire to maintain or expand the country's role as a global power during and in the years since the

Cold War.[29] Each of the programs and universities I discuss here have their own unique histories that warrant further discussion, but the digital map illustrates a broader trend in this region during the time period in question, suggesting the need for transnational analysis. Building on academic feminist discussions of gender politics in the post-Soviet context, I argue that the rapid expansion and subsequent dismantling of women's studies in the former USSR can be partly attributed to the real and perceived role of U.S. actors, including academic feminists as well as states, universities, and nongovernmental organizations, in establishing the field in Eastern Europe.

As an example, the Russian government effectively shut down one of that country's few remaining gender studies programs, the Ivanovo Center for Gender Studies, in 2021 by designating it as a "foreign agent" subject to intentionally near-impossible restrictions under a 2012 law imposed by the Putin administration.[30] The enactment and unequal application of such policies are clearly motivated by a wider anti-feminist and anti-LGBTQ agenda grounded in reactionary, right-wing nationalist and authoritarian politics—but the underlying rhetoric about "traditional values" often plays on resistance to old stereotypes that figure the capitalist United States as a protector of

[29] Yulia Gradskova has published widely on this topic with a valuable transnational perspective on state socialism and gender politics in both the Second World (2021a) and Third World (2021b).

[30] Ella Rossman (2021) offers a fascinating account of these events in the context of Soviet and post-Soviet scholarship on women and gender in her article for the dissident news website *Meduza*. In addition to her discussion of recent political shifts in Russia, Rossman identifies a number of women's and gender studies programs in the country that had not previously arisen in my research, including the Gender Problems Lab at the Academy of Sciences Institute of Social and Economic Problems of Population and the Gender Studies Program at the European University at St. Petersburg, both of which are still operating. Rossman also documents other programs that have been discontinued under the "foreign agent" policy, such as the Samara Center for Gender Studies, the Center for Social Policy and Gender Studies in Saratov, and the Gender Studies Department at Novosibirsk State University. These sites will be added to the *Women's Studies Worldwide* map moving forward. For more on the history of academic feminism in Russia, see Zdravomyslova and Shnyrova (2001) as well as Garstenauer (2017).

women's rights in contrast with a "backwards" communist Russia.[31] Furthermore, the association of women's and gender studies with funders from the U.S. and Western Europe is not entirely unfounded, especially since the lack of state support for academic research in the USSR and the immediate post-Soviet years led many Russian and other Eastern European scholars, activists, and nonprofit organizations to look abroad for financing. The MacArthur Foundation, for example, made almost $1.92 million in grants to the Moscow Center for Gender Studies between 1993 and 2012 specifically related to human rights initiatives, however this program was also discontinued as a result of Russia's foreign agent law.[32] While it seems likely that these institutions would have been subjected to state sanctions regardless of their actual association with funders based in the United States, the trajectory of academic feminism in Russia and other former Soviet states offers a cautionary tale of how cross-border partnerships can inadvertently undermine their own aspirations in the long term.

My point here is not to blame Western nonprofits for their efforts to build relationships with academic feminists in the former Soviet Union, nor question Russian scholars' decision to pursue necessary funding from Western states and nongovernmental organizations. Given the ongoing financial and political tumult faced by this region during the 1990s, it seems unlikely that women's studies programs could have been established or maintained without foreign investment during this time period. There is no

[31] Thank you to Katharina Wiedlack for raising this point in her Fall 2022 lecture at Grinnell College and for sharing several of the references cited in this section.

[32] MacArthur Foundation, "Moscow Center for Gender Studies," https://www.macfound.org/grantee/moscow-center-for-gender-studies-13325/#:~:text=The%20Moscow%20Center%20for%20Gender,other%20laws%20of%20Russian%20Federation.

way for academic feminists to know in advance how their cross-border collaborations will be misinterpreted or misappropriated by hostile governments—but the *Women's Studies Worldwide* map illustrates how this field has always been bound up with a larger set of geopolitical dynamics related to sexuality, gender, and international relations. The fact that events similar to those in Russia have played out in other countries including Belarus, Hungary, Poland, and Ukraine should be cause for concern and raises another avenue for further investigation.[33] This line of inquiry has convinced me of the need to pay greater attention to the discontinuation of women's and gender studies programs alongside their establishment, which was initially my focus in generating temporal data for the digital map component of this dissertation. In order for the project to reach its full potential and effectively guide future cross-border work in the field, it will be necessary to look beyond the growth of women's studies to also consider instances of contraction. These may be more difficult to document, but they have just as much importance for understanding academic feminism in a global context.

Limitations and Future Goals

In addition to analyzing trends that have caused women's studies programs to end either on a regional, national, or institutional level, the digital map presented in this chapter can aid evaluation of which factors have supported the field's expansion. Returning to the hypothesis posited by Wotipka and Ramirez that the proliferation of

[33] The ENVILA Women's Institute in Minsk, Belarus was founded sometime in the mid-1990s and then discontinued in 2012. The European Humanities University relocated from Belarus to Lithuania in 2005 after it was forcibly closed by the government, prefiguring the situation with Central European University in Hungary. In both cases, government hostility and refusal to renew the accreditation of these institutions seemed politically motivated, justified in part by these universities' associations with foreign parties.

women's studies can be at least partially attributed to the UN Conferences on Women, for instance, there does appear to be a correlation between these international meetings and the establishment of degree programs and research centers in new places. My findings show that after eight countries first established women's studies in the 1970s, twenty-eight did so in the 1980s, followed by thirty-one in the 1990s. Institutionalization takes time, but because the UN Conferences elicited the participation of scholars, activists, and (non)governmental entities from around the world, it seems likely that these recurring opportunities to share space would have facilitated academic feminists sharing resources, ideas, and strategies for program-building. This line of inquiry would necessitate further corroboration with records from or recollections about these meetings; there are also smaller and more recent gatherings worthy of consideration both within and beyond academia. All all the evidence presented in this dissertation, however, demonstrates the impact of women's studies practitioners having the chance to learn from one another—gaining inspiration from other countries while thinking critically about how to enact academic feminism in their own contexts.

Along with learning more about these cross-border trends shaping the field, I have several aspirations for developing the *Women's Studies Worldwide* map focused on improving its utility and analytic potential. First, I hope to create a guided tour of *Women's Studies Worldwide* within StoryMaps in order to facilitate users' understandings of its central themes while still preserving their ability to explore the data independently. This relatively new feature coming out of the merger between StoryMaps and ArcGIS allows the map creator to lead viewers through an ordered series of geographical points with accompanying text, images, or other media—thus creating a

"narrative" to follow through the data. Though I have thus far been reluctant to impose any one linear story in telling the history of women's studies, there is no reason that this tool could not be used to compose a different academic feminist "recitation," following Claire Hemmings' use of this term in *Why Stories Matter* (2011). Experimenting with other ways of organizing the elements of this project, including the timeline, case studies, bibliographies, and spatial data, could generate a less U.S. and Eurocentric version of the field's history. As this chapter has shown, one important attribute of digital humanities tools is how they enable plural and flexible ways of looking at information and support the emergence of new insights.

While using different map layers in ArcGIS to display multi-sited consortia has been effective at this stage, in the long term, I am interested in exploring whether social network analysis could generate other ways of mapping academic feminism. Gephi, for example, is an open-source data visualization program whose tools have been used to model relationships between individual scholars through citation and affiliation.[34] While it would constitute a significant expansion of scope for *Women's Studies Worldwide*, this component could potentially open up many new types of transnational feminist exchange to analysis using digital humanities. It might become possible, for example, to consider individual factors such as linguistic proficiency, schooling and employment, partnerships outside academia, mentoring relationships, scholarly collaborations, conference

[34] Simon Raper's Gephi project (2012) on the history of philosophy provides one compelling example, particularly with commentary from Adam Hogan (2012). Though inspiring, it would not be feasible to apply this same technique to women's studies because these fields have very different origins and approaches to knowledge production. Raper's information comes from Wikipedia and benefits from a much longer disciplinary history, so a dataset about women's studies would have to be generated in other ways. This presents a challenge, but perhaps an opportunity to think otherwise about field formation and the politics of citation, including questions of where academic feminism originates as well as which individuals, institutions, and consortia get labeled as central or peripheral.

attendance, or citation practices—providing a richer picture of transnational feminist thought as enacted through physical movement across borders as well as new circulations made possible by emerging technologies. It would be imperative to develop some clear parameters around an undertaking like this and acknowledge its inherent limitations, but I am compelled by some of the digital humanities work on field formation that I have encountered thus far. I am also intrigued by the critical perspective that transnational feminist thought brings to this sort of work through its attention to gender as it has been shaped by geographies and political economies that structure the institutionalized production, circulation, and consumption of knowledge.

In the future, I hope to explore the use of other base maps, especially alternative ways of viewing the globe as well as those with animation capabilities. Both the pilot version in Carto and the ArcGIS version start with standard Mercator projections with specific data laid on top. This enables *Women's Studies Worldwide* to interface effectively with preexisting features, such as national and other political boundaries from Esri's Living Atlas. Standard base maps offer a powerful starting point, but these have limitations including their greater distortion of space at more extreme latitudes, which can reinscribe U.S. and Eurocentrism by making Global North countries appear larger (Hodgkinson 1991; Mason 2018). With training in the Pro version of ArcGIS, however, the map could incorporate a range of alternative 2D projections.[35] Furthermore, I would like to experiment with a new tool in ArcGIS that allows data to be projected on a more

[35] Esri, "Supported Map Projections," ArcGIS Pro, https://pro.arcgis.com/en/pro-app/latest/help/mapping/properties/list-of-supported-map-projections.htm; Esri, "New Map Projection Meets Cartographic Needs and Desires" Arcuser (2019), https://www.esri.com/about/newsroom/arcuser/equal-earth.

accurate circular globe rather than a flattened two-dimensional plane alongside other 3D modeling tools. Though compelling, StoryMaps that use this approach can be more difficult for users to navigate—in my user experience, such maps sometimes feel disorienting when moving quickly across larger distances, and they can have problems loading with a slower internet connection. In order to build a map that not only represents academic feminism transnationally but is also accessible and thus useful in different places, it will be important to think critically about relying on tools with heavier bandwidth requirements. Even though technological advancements can be exciting, disparities in the global digital infrastructure persist through their rapid development and commercialization.[36]

Because map-making is always political, one could argue that relying on Esri products for creating the *Women's Studies Worldwide* map restricts the user to seeing the world in ways that align with this particular company's vision and investments. Along with universities and corporations, Esri partners with national governments, militaries, and defense contractors, all of which suggest a non-neutral position with respect to geopolitical conflict.[37] This problem manifests perhaps most obviously with places like Palestine, which does appear automatically in the basic ArcGIS world countries layer, versus Taiwan, which is shown as part of China. There can often be workarounds and options for users to customize the representation of national boundaries by adding

[36] Scholars such as Aiyegbusi (2019) have described the importance of "minimal computing" for decolonizing digital humanities research. Relying on less resource-intensive and more accessible technologies can help include marginalized constituencies in places where, for instance, the power supply is unpredictable or internet access is very expensive relative to wages.

[37] Esri, "Defense," https://www.esri.com/en-us/industries/defense/overview; Esri, "GIS in the Defense and Intelligence Communities," Volume 1 (2005), https://www.esri.com/content/dam/esrisites/sitecore-archive/Files/Pdfs/library/brochures/pdfs/gis-in-defense.pdf.

additional feature layers, but digital mapping can nonetheless have real-world consequences depending on how stakeholders use the technology (Branch 2017). Such conflicts of interest are not sufficient reason to avoid using Esri software but acknowledging them illustrates the need to maintain a critical perspective when employing others' maps, datasets, and tools. It is also worth considering how Esri tools themselves depict "disputed territories" through ongoing map updates as well as representations of specific "bruised borders" like the South China Sea (Nelson 2021).[38]

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have sought to convey how digital cartography can be a useful tool for mapping academic feminist degree programs and research centers around the globe. The process of developing *Women's Studies Worldwide* has allowed me to explore digital humanities tools and develop an understanding of how they can be used to tell different stories about the production and circulation of feminist knowledge. In addition to documenting the geographical expansiveness of this emerging interdisciplinary field, digital cartography can aid in the discovery of new pathways for research that elucidate complex dynamics among nations. As a conclusion to this chapter, however, I return to a more local scale of analysis by featuring women's and gender studies programs in the U.S. state of Iowa, which is where I began my own journey into academic feminism (Figure 5). Alongside its autobiographic significance for me personally, this zoomed-in perspective shows how the digital map might be used to build women's studies networks within a smaller, bounded geographic area. As I returned to

[38] Esri, "Disputed Boundary Lines: Esri Vector Basemaps," updated April 29, 2021, https://arcg.is/1D8H8X.

the Midwest just a few months after anti-gender studies legislation was proposed in Wyoming, I began to think about how *Women's Studies Worldwide* could bring together practitioners at colleges and universities who may be affected by similar adverse policies on a state or local level. There could be opportunities, for example, for relatively well-resourced schools like Grinnell College to support academic feminism at other colleges and universities in Iowa, perhaps by offering joint classes or sharing resources. As the state has grown more conservative in recent years, it may also be prudent to collaborate with larger public institutions and develop alliances for the purpose of political advocacy. Though this mapping project began by taking a comprehensive view focusing on cross-border collaborative projects, transnational feminist theory shows the need to continually work across multiple sites and scales. The potential of digital cartography lies in its ability to represent both the local, regional, and global simultaneously, but we need more than datapoints and visualizations to fully conceptualize how women's studies works in practice. Therefore, the next chapter of this dissertation will turn to first-person accounts that illustrate the relational work of cross-border collaboration.

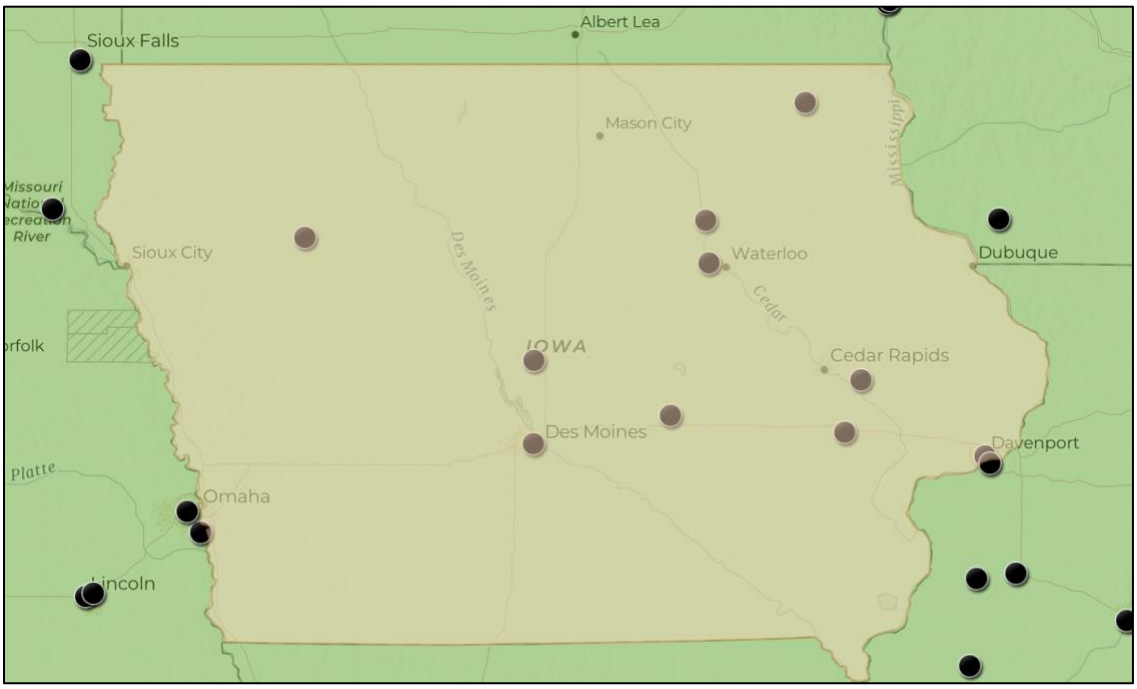


Figure 5. Women's and gender studies programs in Iowa. This screenshot from the ArcGIS map shows the relevant higher education institutions in this state, including Grinnell College, which is where I first encountered this field and subsequently earned by BA in Gender, Women's, and Sexuality Studies.

Chapter Two

Political Grammars of Cross-Border Academic Feminism

Introduction

As illustrated in Chapter One, the growth of women's studies has been a rapid but understudied and complex phenomenon. In pursuing a transnational feminist approach to this history, women's studies scholars must prioritize "theorizing multidirectional connections between locales" and examining "[t]he mobility of people, goods, and ideas" (Tambe 2010, 3). Methodologically, this requires balancing cross-border research about global processes with more in-depth, locally specific investigations (Fernandes 2013). Such an approach helps destabilize U.S. and Eurocentrism by exposing ongoing power disparities among nations, including past and present manifestations of colonialism. Understanding nuances in how academic feminists engage in transnational collaboration is particularly important in our present moment, in which women's studies scholars are critically reevaluating the role of cross-border exchanges in the history of feminist movements.[39] Therefore, this second chapter moves beyond the fact of women's studies' internationalization to consider the nature of these relationships and what can be learned from their different trajectories. The accounts discussed here are sourced from autobiographical texts that describe experiences of collaboration between academic feminists working across nations and institutions in the 1990s, which as discussed in

[39] Transnational feminism has been the focus of several recent National Women's Studies Association conferences including in 2019 and 2020. Academic feminists have sought greater inclusion of people and ideas from diverse national backgrounds while also critiquing past and present exclusionary practices. At the same time, women's studies scholars have traced the ways in which feminism has in fact always been transnational by more fully describing earlier cross-border exchanges, see Tambe and Thayer (2021).

Chapter One, constituted a critical period of internationalization and institutionalization for women's studies. I argue that self-representational narratives are particularly useful for understanding how feminism has unfolded within and outside higher education because they trace the personal and political simultaneously, featuring the authors' own experiences alongside shared stories of affecting change. The feminist predilection for self-representational writing is an outgrowth of its self-reflexivity, and the preponderance of autobiographics in primary sources about cross-border academic feminist exchange builds on this tradition.[40] Such examples can thus lend new insights about how women's studies practitioners locate themselves, literally in terms of geography, but also through their affiliations with other people, institutions, and nations.

In this chapter, I focus on examples of joint autobiographical writing, specifically texts that describe collaborations among academic feminists from more than one location. This genre's juxtaposition of multiple narrators offers an opportunity to observe trends in the field more broadly than would be possible using single-authored sources, particularly with respect to the politics of location and exchange. Both edited collections and jointly written essays enable readers to consider how academic feminists with different geographical and cultural standpoints have understood and represented themselves as intellectual subjects. The books and articles I examine describe processes of teaching, research, and institution-building, illustrating the range of rhetorical approaches taken by transnational women's studies projects. Memoirs grant access to the intra-subjective and

[40] As discussed in the Introduction, Leigh Gilmore's (1994) concept of "autobiographics" includes a wider set of writing and reading practices used to constitute a narrative subject. This framing stands contrasts with more traditional understandings of autobiography, which are self-authored and relatively comprehensive account of an individual person's life. This shift brings a more diverse set of texts within the purview of literary examination in addition to reframing the relationship between author and text.

interpersonal dynamics that shape conceptions, enactments, and narrativizations of feminist work. Thus, these comprise a rich repository of information that can offer guidance about how to challenge systems of inequality that continue to structure practices of producing and sharing knowledge. Furthermore, this chapter considers how scholars have employed self-representational writing in different ways based on their geographic locations as well as their social, political, and institutional contexts. Specifically, I discuss how academic feminist writers refer to their own and other countries as well as the larger dynamics that structure these relationships. My analysis seeks to further decenter the U.S. and Europe in narratives about the history of women's studies while also critiquing forces such as neoliberalism and neocolonialism that continue to structure asymmetrical power relations across borders. My goal in exploring multi-authored texts and autobiographics of collaboration is to identify the varied orientations and practices that feminist academics adopt while working together, allowing us to examine the dynamics that underlie how women's studies scholars understand their partnerships. I explore four recurring modalities of academic feminism that recur in this literature—credentializing, contextualizing, development, and colleagueship. These terms elaborate on Clare Hemmings' concept of "political grammar," which she uses to interrogate dominant metanarratives about feminist history (2011). Through the examples that follow, I will examine varied forms of writing about cross-border women's studies projects and describe how language can be used to support various rhetorical strategies. In turn, credentializing and contextualizing grammars involve authors citing other countries, either for the purpose of self-authentication or historicizing international dynamics. Development and colleagueship grammars alternately describe unilateral and mutually

transformative approaches to cross-border academic feminist collaborations, specifically institution-building projects shared by nations in the Global North and Global South.

I begin by comparing two edited collections—*Changing Lives: Life Stories of Asian Pioneers in Women's Studies* (1994) and *The Politics of Women's Studies: Testimony from 30 Founding Mothers* (1995)—texts that, despite their commonalities, illustrate two very different forms of contextualizing and credentializing political grammar. Next, I juxtapose two articles about cross-border academic feminist collaborations between universities in the Netherlands and Yemen (Willemsen and van Lenning 2002) followed by Canada and Indonesia (Sadli and Porter 1999).[41] Considering these texts as autobiographics involves critically examining their authorship and discourse, helping to elucidate distinctions between the political grammars of development and colleagueship. In thinking through how self-representational writing creates narratives about transnational feminist exchanges, this chapter seeks to document some of the ways that women's studies as a field has been complexly constructed by global systems of epistemic and political power. Though digital cartography can illustrate that such connections exist in academic feminism, what are these exchanges actually like? How do academic feminists conceptualize their work in relationship to their colleagues, institutions, and nations? Autobiographics have a unique potential to reveal how we position ourselves both in terms of individual identity and with respect to various

[41] The examples selected for analysis in this chapter all describe collaborations that were intentionally bounded in scope from their outset, either by the goal of producing an edited collection or the terms laid out by their funders. The Netherlands/Yemen and Canada/Indonesia collaborations, however, differ in the degree to which they achieved their stated purposes. While these outcomes are important, this dissertation seeks to move beyond a simple binary whereby institutional persistence constitutes success and the conclusion of a program marks its failure. As I will discuss, this reframing dovetails with the goal of thinking about the internationalization of women's studies beyond an impetus toward continual growth. In Chapter Three, I expand on this concept further with respect to the Curriculum Transformation Project and the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender.

social, political, and ideological collectivities. These questions are essential to writing a full, nuanced history of women's studies and raise important considerations for the field moving forward, particularly with respect to institutionalization, programmatic growth, and collaborations across difference.

In this dissertation, I have sought to foreground texts that broaden the picture of women's studies beyond the United States, Canada, Western Europe, and Australia. The purpose of focusing my research in this way was not to exclude potentially useful data from the Global North, which has indeed played a significant role in the growth and institutionalization of academic feminism. Rather, the goal of prioritizing a more diverse set of texts is to offer a new vantage point on narratives that exist about this field's history. The extant literature privileges stories and analyses drawn from the Global North to such an extent that many of my students, and even colleagues, are often surprised to learn that women's studies exists in other countries. This myopia certainly reflects the persistence of U.S. and Eurocentrism in academia, but it also indicates a lack of available information that could enable a fuller narrative about academic feminism as a transnational phenomenon. My process for choosing autobiographic texts for this chapter was shaped over the course of pursuing my doctorate in women's studies. While working on my second-year interdisciplinary paper and major field exam, I began to gather a list of articles related to women's studies in different countries including Ethiopia (White 2011), South Korea (Chang 1996; Kim 2008), Mexico (Chen 2014), Japan (Yamaguchi 2014), and Turkey (Arat 1996; Grünell and Voeten 1997; Ege 2002; Kandiyoti 2010). This process led me to several edited collections—most notably *The Politics of Women's Studies: Testimony from 30 Founding Mothers* (1994), edited by Florence Howe, and

Changing Lives: Life Stories of Asian Pioneers in Women's Studies (1995), edited by the Committee on Women's Studies in Asia—both of which are discussed in this chapter. Though all of these sources have been valuable, particularly for expanding the digital map discussed in Chapter One, I suspected there could be additional materials out there.[42]

Seeking to develop the most robust bibliography possible for this dissertation, I consulted with Judy Markowitz, University of Maryland's subject specialist for women's studies. Her assistance was instrumental for me in learning how to navigate scholarly databases such that I could sift through all the information about academic feminism in the U.S. and other "Western" countries, sites that are already overrepresented in narratives about the field's past and present. Carefully framing my search terms made it easier for information on women's studies in other places to rise to the surface. Variations in naming proved particularly significant here, as it was necessary to use several versions of each phrase in order to procure a relatively comprehensive list of findings across databases. With Markowitz's help, I developed a series of series of search terms and applied them in several combinations to use with the library's databases, including: 1) "women* studies" or "woman* studies" or "gender studies," 2) "department" or "program," 3) "universit*" or "college" or "higher education," and 4) "foreign countr*" or "international" or "global" or "transnational." The use of asterisks at the ends of some search terms produced results with various word endings so that relevant sources were not excluded because of a different verb tense, part of speech, or

[42] I have continued to come across publications about women's studies outside the Global North, most frequently in the course of building out the digital map discussed in Chapter One. These sources are being added to the StoryMaps version of *Women's Studies Worldwide* as well as my dataset, where they are indexed by region, nation, and/or institution depending on the scope of each text. Given the ways in which women's studies keeps evolving, ongoing maintenance and expansion of the list will be essential as this identity-knowledge field keeps evolving along with higher education as a whole.

singular / plural. In this way, I located a number of additional works discussing women's studies outside of the United States, many but not all of which included some autobiographical elements. Having reviewed about forty of the most relevant results, I identified English-language scholarship on women's studies in a range of countries, including Croatia, Czechia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, India, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Romania, Russia, South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, Uganda, United Kingdom, and Zimbabwe; there were also pieces that added to my existing bibliographies for South Korea and Japan as well as articles on the internationalization of U.S. women's studies programs.[43] In addition to supplementing the bibliographic component of my digital map, reviewing this body of literature makes clear that the U.S. and Eurocentrism of most narratives about women's studies cannot be solely attributed to a dearth of stories about the field's trajectory in other places. Furthermore, these texts demonstrate that broadening my lens on the field can offer a more robust picture of its social, political, and epistemological significance including the impact of NGOs, economic austerity and liberalization policies, varied protest cultures, restrictions on academic freedom, cross-

[43] For information on women's studies in Croatia, see Kašić (2016); Czech Republic, Nyklová (2017); Finland, Korvajäri and Vuori (2016); Germany, Hark (2016); India, Mazumdar (1994), Mitra, Bhatia, and Chatterjee (2013); Indonesia, Siscawati (2016). Ireland, Byrne (1992); Netherlands, Essed (1994) and Jansen (2019); Norway, Mortensen (2009); Portugal, Pereira (2016); Romania, Ghodsee (2011); Russia, Teminka and Zdravomyslova (2014); South Africa, Byrne (2017), Bonnin (1996), and Gouws (2012); Sweden, Fahlgren, Giritli-Nygren, and Landén (2015); Thailand, Tantiwiramanond (2007); Uganda, Decker (2002); United Kingdom, Kirkup and Whitelegg (2013) and Marchbank (2009); and Zimbabwe, Asuelime and Chikafa (2018). There were also pieces that added to my existing lists for South Korea, such Sun (2016), and Yoon (1979) as well as Japan, including Kuninobu (1984).

Through this process, I found a number of articles specifically about the internationalization of U.S. women's studies, including McCormick (1998), Moghadam (2001), Stromquist (2001), and Yee (1998). This list has continued to evolve, with my initial parameters supplemented by searches for variations on women's / gender / sexuality studies along with the names of specific countries. I have used the bibliographies supplied as part of these texts in order to find additional sources and expand the list further. These approaches have been supplemented by following news stories about women's and gender studies as well as tracing the scholarly work of academics who explore the field's history within specific contexts.

border regional partnerships, and postcolonial as well as post-socialist political transitions. Some of the themes raised in these articles are taken up in the literature on U.S. women's studies, most notably through intersectional analyses of race and class; however, authors writing from and about other places provide distinct perspectives informed by their particular geographic and cultural standpoints.

Taken together, these sources offer useful information about the past, present, and future of women's studies; when such autobiographics are compared and contrasted with one another, scholars can learn a great deal from the similarities and differences in how this identity-knowledge field has evolved across locations. Drawing on diverse examples offers one important avenue for formulating a transnational account of women's studies, but there are also insights to be gained from texts that foreground multiple sites, and specifically, the ways in which scholars from various places relate to one another through writing. For this chapter, I was particularly interested in edited collections as well as textual examples that describe collaborative projects because of what they reveal about the dynamics operating among individuals, institutions, and countries. In the section of this chapter on development and colleagueship grammars, therefore, I will discuss two articles that exemplify these modalities of exchange in their discussions of cross-border partnerships—Saparinah Sadli and Marilyn Porter focus on a project undertaken by Canada and Indonesia that took place from 1992 to 1996 whereas Tineke M. Willemsen and Alkeline van Lenning discusses a collaboration between the Netherlands and Yemen between 1996 and 1999. While my own skillset limits the findings presented here to English-language sources, and it is certainly possible that another set of search terms could have uncovered additional materials, I am confident that this chapter takes up a

more diverse series of texts than has thus far been addressed in the literature on field formation in women's studies.

Beginning with *The Politics of Women's Studies: Testimony from 30 Founding Mothers*, edited by Florence Howe, and *Changing Lives: Life Stories of Asian Pioneers in Women's Studies*, edited by the Committee on Women's Studies in Asia, I found it useful to juxtapose these two books because both are structured by short, autobiographical sketches written by leaders in the field about their own lives and work. *The Politics of Women's Studies* and *Changing Lives* each came out from the Feminist Press within a year of each other, and thus they speak from comparable chronological and editorial positions. I will discuss these two collections further in the next section but examining them for my major field exam prior to embarking on the dissertation helped me to develop the analytic framework used in this chapter and decide which other texts to include. Specifically, I became interested in how academic feminists understood themselves in relation to scholars based elsewhere. Therefore, my main criteria for inclusion in this chapter became texts that were collaborative, autobiographic, and focused on cross-border projects. This led me to select articles by Tineke M. Willemsen and Alkeline van Lenning as well as Saparinah Sadli and Marilyn Porter, which discuss projects undertaken by the Netherlands/Yemen and Canada/Indonesia, respectively.

Political Grammars

In her book, *Why Stories Matter: The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory* (2011), Clare Hemmings introduces a methodology for examining texts in order to interpret trends in women's studies scholarship and practice. Though her aim is to unpack

and problematize "metanarratives" that construct a past, present, and future for feminism based on "progress" or "loss" or "return," Hemmings also explores the ways in which citation might be practiced differently in order to open up space for more varied and nuanced feminist histories through recitation, deauthorization, and (dis)identification. "Political grammar" describes the combination of stories, themes, and techniques that together comprise the larger metanarratives by which feminism is (mis)remembered, deployed, and even co-opted; it is the "stitching together of all these levels as well as the broader political life of these stories" (227). Grammar is traditionally thought of in a prescriptivist sense, whereby writers must follow a set of rules in order to express themselves "correctly" and thus achieve intelligibility. By contrast, Hemmings descriptively emphasizes the functionality of language, seeking to explain how combinations of words and ideas work together in order to produce meanings that can vary by time and location. Furthermore, scholars attuned to the analytic potential of autobiographics may consider how grammar can reinforce or undermine constructions of subjectivity articulated through other modes of textual self-creation, enabling a more robust consideration of identity and affiliation.

Focusing on Anglophone materials undoubtedly limits the ability of this chapter to make comprehensive claims about women's studies as a field. However, Hemmings herself points out that many texts appear in "Western" books or journals through processes of translation and other forms of collaborative or multiply sited production: "Feminist theory is certainly bound up in global power relations, particularly when we consider the various ways in which a presumed opposition between Western gender equality and non-Western patriarchal cultures is mobilized in temporal and spatial modes,

but it also occupies a position of reflexive non-innocence that can break open those relations" (2). Limiting the women's studies "canon" to English-language sources necessarily reproduces inequalities related to hegemonic systems of power, but it would be a vast oversimplification to assume that feminist perspectives from other linguistic and cultural backgrounds cannot be traced through this body of literature as well. Understanding how colleagues from various parts of the world navigate global systems of speech, writing, and institutionalization can help us to critique our own process in order to build and sustain connections across borders. The purpose of this epistemic shift is not to valorize or project authenticity onto scholars from outside the U.S., Canada, Western Europe, or Australia but rather to underscore the many ways women's studies practitioners use language to navigate transnational feminist theory and praxis.

Though my analysis makes use of Hemmings' concept of political grammar, the scope of texts discussed in this chapter have a different focus in terms of genre and geography. *Why Stories Matter* addresses both articles and smaller units of text in a range of scholarly women's studies journals published between 1998 and 2007, though Hemmings hypothesizes that similar themes and metanarratives also circulate through other kinds of feminist discourse, including textbooks, monographs, and memoirs. As the topic of this dissertation chapter began to coalesce around transnational academic feminist exchanges, I became interested in whether self-representational writing might provide insights into these joint writing and institution-building projects. Following the thread of autobiographics requires conceptualizing grammar as more than a set of rules—it is the framework through which we speak ourselves into being by taking up the roles of scholar and subject. By studying the narratives and grammatical structures produced

within discussions of academic feminist collaborations, we can better understand how systems of power are organized, reproduced, and perhaps challenged.

Whereas Hemmings uses "political grammar" to unpack feminist metanarratives of progress, loss, and return, I use this concept to analyze how autobiographical texts narrativize inequalities within joint women's studies projects. Despite this departure from its original deployment, *Why Stories Matter* makes the case that the framework of political grammar is particularly adept at revealing unspoken patterns operating just under the surface of feminist narratives about how social, political, and ideological movements have unfolded over time. In order to map this framework onto the autobiographic texts examined in this chapter, I began by examining references to different countries in the first two collections that I identified for this study—*The Politics of Women's Studies* and *Changing Lives*, which were written from the vantage points of U.S. and Asian women's studies, respectively. Despite their likenesses, which I will discuss in the next section, my examination of these two texts made apparent that their authors conceptualized themselves and their collaborators in distinct ways. It was clear that these projects could reveal useful insights into academic feminism across locations. In order to describe how these two collections reference and narrate their cross-border projects, I identified two kinds of grammars at work in these texts: those that *credentialize* and those that *contextualize*; both of these two modalities illuminate how scholars talk about other countries in their self-representational writing. Together, they implicate citation as a political practice and illustrate the power dynamics among

women's studies scholars located in different institutions and parts of the world.[44]

After discussing citation in *The Politics of Women's Studies* and *Changing Lives*, I posit two additional forms of political grammar that recur in the literature on international women's studies projects. In reviewing the aforementioned series of articles, I observed a distinction between texts that rely on the grammar of *development*, exemplified in this chapter by "Women's Studies Project in Yemen: Experiences from the Counterpart's Viewpoint" (Willemsen and van Lenning), and those that employ *colleagueship*, such as "Importing/Applying Western Feminism: A Women's Studies University Linkage Project" (Sadli and Porter). Categorizing academic feminist autobiographics in this way helps to elucidate some of the convergences and disjunctures among the texts I have identified. Although this chapter distinguishes credentializing, contextualizing, development, and colleagueship for the purpose of describing them thoroughly, these modalities of collaboration and exchange are not mutually exclusive. Multiple, even competing priorities can exist within the same project, and the same is certainly true for their textual representations. Nor would I argue that one kind of political grammar is necessarily superior because each can be used strategically depending on factors such as the intended audience. Rather, the purpose of this analytic framework is to understand how the field of women's studies has emerged and how it could be practiced in the future. I retrace political grammars in autobiographic accounts of cross-border academic feminist collaborations in order to tell this story from a transnational perspective.

[44] The politics of citation remains an important debate in academic feminism, gaining recent visibility, for example, through the Cite Black Women campaign founded by Christen A. Smith, see: www.citeblackwomencollective.org.

Credentializing and Contextualizing[45]

The Politics of Women's Studies and *Changing Lives* are both edited collections published by the Feminist Press that feature autobiographical essays by founders of the field. Despite their formal similarities and overlapping publication histories, however, the authors and editors of these two collections clearly conceptualize themselves and the field of women's studies differently, particularly with respect to nation. In different ways, their contributors use the grammars of credentializing and contextualizing when they cite other countries as part of their first-person narratives. When they employ *credentializing* grammar, the authors generally reference the fact of an international exchange, movement, or collaboration in order to mark their own prestige or expertise. By contrast, when authors use *contextualizing* grammar, they describe how historical and present relationships among nations structured their exchanges or collaborations. Credentializing is typically short and indexes the fact of an exchange or collaboration, whereas contextualizing involves more in-depth examinations of power. Though either can be rhetorically effective, credentializing and contextualizing grammars illustrate ongoing disparities among women's studies scholars.

Everywhere from author sketches, activity summaries, grant proposals, and websites, individual scholars and collective projects alike reference connections across national borders as a way of credentializing their work. This grammar appears constantly in all kinds of "narrative vitae" and, in my reading, illustrates two compelling insights about how the institutionalization of academic feminism unfolds. First, scholars often refer to other places as a way of marking their own credibility or authenticity. Typically

[45] A version of this section on credentializing and contextualizing grammars has been published in the fiftieth anniversary issue of *Women's Studies Quarterly* (Montague 2022).

occurring alongside markers that convey status within the global economy generally, and the higher education sector in particular, credentializing political grammar lends prestige or importance to the subject. Through these references, transnational exchanges become assimilated into the neoliberal university's systems of accounting for value and marketability. Second, the way certain nations, particularly the United States, go unmarked through credentializing grammar can tell us a great deal about how power operates globally. Taken together, the two examples discussed in this section—*Changing Lives: Life Stories of Asian Pioneers in Women's Studies* and *The Politics of Women's Studies: Testimony from 30 Founding Mothers*—illustrate how citation practices can alternately resist or reinscribe hegemonic discourses and political economies of higher education.

The juxtaposition of these two texts reveals important insights about the narrativization of transnational academic feminism because of their continuities as well as the grammatical and discursive differences between them. Both are landmark collections of autobiographical essays by founders of women's studies, each of which is prefaced by a brief sketch about the author. Early on in my review of texts on this subject, *Changing Lives* and *The Politics of Women's Studies* emerged as companion pieces because of the parallels in their structures and genealogies. Both were published within a few years of each other by the Feminist Press. Founded by Florence Howe in 1970 to bring books by women into wider circulation, the Feminist Press became an influential publisher in the burgeoning field of women's studies, putting out monographs and collections in a variety of genres as well as the scholarly journal *Women's Studies Quarterly*. Given their origin, Florence Howe unsurprisingly played an important role in

the production of each text—providing the "Foreword" to *Changing Lives* and editing *The Politics of Women's Studies* in addition to writing its opening autobiographical essay.[46] However, despite all of this shared DNA, including overlapping authorship, these collections are also distinct—particularly with respect to their employment of citational grammar to describe the connections forged by academic feminists across borders. Taken together, these examples of collective autobiographics illustrate how "the nation" functions in disparate ways for women's studies practitioners around the world.

Florence Howe describes the encounter that preceded the collection *Changing Lives: Life Stories of Asian Pioneers in Women's Studies* in her foreword. She recalls that the collaboration started in 1990 when an otherwise unidentified "small group of Philippine women" visited the Feminist Press. They told Howe about their plans for a book about "the story of women's studies in Asia," but she was initially reluctant to get involved in a formal capacity:

> "Oh no," I said, trying to keep the conversation light, "I'm very flattered, but you can't have an American imperialist publisher." "No, no," Lucia Pavia Ticzon replied, speaking for the group, "We've thought about it, and we've decided that you're *international*, not American." We went round this conversation several times, until I could no longer manage the joking tone in the midst of tears. They were in earnest about The Feminist Press as an international institution. "Why don't you publish it yourselves?" I took a deep breath. "Why not establish a publishing arm?—you do everything else." They explained that they had no time for publishing now, and no expertise. Perhaps in the future. But the offer held. I said I'd be delighted to *co-publish*, but I thought they ought to have an Asian publisher, and I suggested Kali for Women in India. (xiii - xiv, emphasis original)

Eventually, this shared publishing arrangement was indeed where *Changing Lives* ended up. The Committee on Women's Studies in Asia was formed to oversee the project, and the book was first published in 1994 under the title *Women's Studies, Women's Lives:*

[46] Howe's own chapter in *The Politics of Women's Studies,* "Learning from Teaching," offers fascinating insight into the history of second wave academic feminism in the United States.

Theory and Practice in South and Southeast Asia before it came out with the Feminist Press as *Changing Lives* in the following year. Because of its joint publication and uniquely broad range of contributors, this collection represents a significant accomplishment for transnational academic feminism—each essay offers a nuanced portrait of women's studies in the individual life of the author as well as academic feminism within each of their national contexts.

Despite its importance, however, Howe's description of the book's conception raises questions about the process by which it was created as well as the dynamics among its various stakeholders. The narrative presented in her foreword suggests a development logic whereby Howe felt compelled to help these colleagues because they lacked access to the institutional resources required for mainstream academic publishing. However, this framing narrows consideration of the long-standing colonial relationship between the United States and the Philippines to a passing joke—a rhetorical gesture intended to "keep the conversation light." Left unspoken are the material and epistemic hierarchies, past and present, that structured this request in the first place. This elision limits Howe's discussion of her Filipina collaborators to a credentializing gesture that internationalizes the Feminist Press and U.S. women's studies more generally. In Howe's recounting of her exchange with Ticzon, "imperial" gets subsumed by "international," and as a result, the tears of these Filipina academic feminists are noticed but not addressed. We as readers seem meant to sympathize with their plight but not ask any further about those emotions or the complex power dynamics that produced them. Autobiographics that are limited to credentializing grammar tell us that an exchange happened, but not much else. Informed audiences may deduce some of the histories underlying such relationships, but

on its own, credentializing does not substantively critique or effectively intervene into hegemonic dynamics of knowledge production and dissemination.[47]

The credentializing grammar that dominates Howe's narrative about the origins of *Changing Lives* diverges from the autobiographic narratives by Asian academic feminists contained in its thirteen individual chapters. Each essay in this collection is worthy of further consideration, particularly for scholars interested in the women's movements or educational politics of their respective countries. Here I focus on the chapter by Aurora Javate De Dios as an exemplar, which stands in contrast with Howe's omission of the historical relationship between the United States and the Philippines.[48] In recounting her own life as well as the Filipina feminist movement within and outside higher education, De Dios writes extensively about the effects of U.S. and Spanish imperialism. She explores how the Philippines' independence movement and protests against militarism served as important incubators for feminist activism throughout the twentieth century (35-37). While critiquing martial law and patriarchal violence within Filipino society, De Dios highlights how U.S. development aid as well as World Bank and International Monetary Fund policies in fact reinforced these problems, propping up the Marcos regime in the name of economic progress and industrialization.

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[47] Florence Howe's foreword is followed by the book's introduction, cowritten by Malavika Karlekar (who also contributes a chapter on India) as well as Barbara Lazarus (another member of the Committee on Women's Studies in Asia and then a provost at Carnegie Mellon University). Other contributors to this volume are listed here in order and with their home countries as specified in the table of contents—Aline K. Wong (Singapore), Aurora Javate De Dios (Philippines), Cho Hyoung (Korea), Fanny M. Cheung (Hong Kong), Fareeha Zafar (Pakistan), Konta Intan Damanik (Indonesia), Li Xiojiang (China), Liang Jun (China), Noemi Alindogan-Medina (Philippines), Nora Lan-hung Chiang (Huang) (Taiwan), Thanh-Dam Troung (Vietnam), and Yasuki Muramatsu (Japan).

[48] Aurora Javate De Dios is now Professor of International Relations, Migration, and Gender Studies as well as Senior Project Director of the Women and Gender Institute at Miriam College in Quezon City.

Since the 1970s, feminist groups like MAKIBAKA and GABRIELA have organized in resistance to the commodification of Filipina women that takes place around U.S. military bases, while working abroad, and via sex tourism perpetrated by men both from wealthier Asian nations and the Global North (39). In addition to leading scholarly research on these subjects, academic feminists in the Philippines have emphasized how the use of local languages in their work helps to enact the potential of women's studies as a popular education project, "narrowing the great cultural divide between the English-speaking elite and the masses" while also contesting misperceptions of women's studies as inherently "too western" (42, 47). Reading De Dios's account of the many global forces that have structured her own experiences as well as the shared history of Filipina women's studies, I was struck by the dissonance in how this autobiographic essay and Howe's foreword describe the relationship between the United States and the Philippines. Though each scholar positions their national identification by referring to other countries, De Dios offers historical context and explicitly critiques the power dynamic between these two nations. She further offers recommendations for how to build the field of women's studies in ways that work to dismantle long-standing global hierarchies. For example, De Dios's emphasis on conducting women's studies in a plurality of local and indigenous languages requires a concurrent decentering of English on a global scale as well as Spanish within contexts marked by that country's colonial legacy. Her contextualization of transnational academic feminism demands that women's studies scholars from other, more privileged countries address our complicity with systems of linguistic hegemony, global finance, labor exploitation, and neocolonialism. Credentializing can offer only a narrow window into the nature of cross-border

exchanges, but contextualization is necessary for autobiographic accounts to articulate insights about the politics of location that illuminate a path forward.

From our present vantage point, having benefited from an additional twenty-five years of theorizing about transnational feminist collaborations inside and beyond the academy, it feels a bit easy to critique Howe's foreword to *Changing Lives* for neglecting to address the politics that structured this book's publication. However, interpreting this text as a predecessor to Howe's edited volume, *The Politics of Women's Studies: Testimony from 30 Founding Mothers*, helps to reveal how the elision of nation has been a structural problem in U.S. women's studies rather than a shortcoming of any one individual scholar or publisher. Though it came out only five years later, *The Politics of Women's Studies* makes no mention of *Changing Lives*, nor does it explicitly contextualize the collection's subjects or contents in terms of where they originate. Whereas each author in *Changing Lives* gets labeled by their home country, the authors' nationalities in *The Politics of Women's Studies* go unmarked precisely because they are presumed to be from the United States, a universalization that misrepresents the field as a whole.[49] As a publisher, Howe would likely have considered this text's intended audience as based in the U.S. as well and thus framed it accordingly. Despite the impacts of globalization and the internationalization of higher education, it seems that the United

[49] In the table of contents for *The Politics of Women's Studies*, each author's institutional affiliation is included after their name, but there is no mention of national identities as in *Changing Lives*. In addition to Florence Howe, the contributors are listed here in order: Nancy Hoffman, Sheila Tobias, Jean Walton, Nancy Topping Bazin, Barbara W. Gerber, Annis Pratt, Josephine Donovan, Inez Martinez, Mimi Reisel Gladstein, Kathryn Kish Sklar, Gloria Bowles, Margaret Strobel, Mary Anne Ferguson, Electa Arenal, Barbara Smith, Nellie Y. McKay, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Marilyn Boxer, Elizabeth Lopovsky Kennedy, Tucker Pamella Farley, Annette Kolodny, Myra Dinnerstein, Sue-Ellen Jacobs, Yolanda T. Moses, Johnnetta B. Cole, Nana Glazer, Nancy Porter, and Miriam K. Chamberlin. Of these, one was affiliated with a non-U.S. institution (Kolodny at the University of British Colombia), and one based at a nonprofit organization rather than a college or university (Chamberlin at the Ford Foundation).

States continued to see itself unproblematically as the center of academic feminism at least through the 1990s. Neither these edited collections nor the articles I discuss later in this chapter are representative samples of women's studies scholarship as a whole—indeed multiple forms of political grammar are present within each of these texts and focusing on different examples could certainly generate different findings. However, I argue that analyzing the stories that this field tells about itself can generate valuable insights about how academic feminism has been practiced in the past and present.

In her preface to *The Politics of Women's Studies*, Howe cites the "initiating moment that inspired this volume" as occurring in 1995 when at lunch with an unnamed "founding mother," Howe realized that time was running short to collect stories about the field's inception and institutionalization (xi-xii). Her reflection on the importance of gathering, preserving, and sharing autobiographics by women's studies founders resonates deeply with my own scholarly investments and goals for this dissertation, particularly at our present historical juncture a half-century since the field was first established. As Florence Howe's own passing in 2020 demonstrates, the window of opportunity to gather such first-person narratives about the field's founding has already begun to close. That said, maternal and sororal metaphors offer a limited set of metanarratives about feminism that can hinder our understanding of its diverse actors and influences.[50] This collection's subtitle, for example, *Testimony from 30 Founding Mothers*, suggests that women's studies began with the academic feminists whose

[50] The metaphor of mothers and daughters in feminism has been richly described in Astrid Henry's *Not My Mother's Sister* (2004), which emphasizes the problems that result from overreliance on generational distinctions. Familial discourse has also been analyzed through critiques of "global sisterhood" with particular relevance to feminist relations across borders as noted by Judy Tzu-Chun Wu (2010).

personal and professional stories are contained therein, obscuring the ways in which women's studies had been a more widely situated project even at that time.

In not mentioning the Committee on Women's Studies in Asia in her description of how this latter Feminist Press book originated, Howe minimizes an important part of the genealogy for this text—and the field as a whole. Thus, the credentializing political grammar employed in Howe's preface to *Changing Lives* is symptomatic of the power imbalance underlying the relationship with her Filipina colleagues as well as between the United States and the Philippines more generally. Despite locating the idea for *The Politics of Women's Studies* immediately after *Changing Lives* was published, Howe does not reference this earlier collection within the latter. She did mention the Feminist Press collection on Asia during two keynote talks during the 1990s but both of these were addressed to academic audiences located in or focusing on locations outside the United States.[51] Because *The Politics of Women's Studies* centers entirely on the U.S. without acknowledging its own standpoint, this text misses an opportunity to theorize the field in a more complete, transnational way.[52] Comparing this collection with *Changing Lives* thus constitutes an opportunity for the field to reflect on how we might renarrativize women's studies to center rather than obscure the field's transnational history as well as

[51] Florence Howe talked about *Changing Lives* during a 1994 speech at the Centre for Women's Development Studies (CWDS) in New Delhi (published by *WSQ* in 1997) as well as a 1998 address to the Latin American Studies Association (published by *WSQ* in 1999). The first of these references is more extensive, drawing on several of the autobiographic accounts from *Changing Lives*, including Malavika Karlekar's chapter on India. Howe's 1994 talk was that year's annual J.P. Naik Memorial Lecture, which she gave at the invitation of CWDS founder Vina Mazumdar. Interestingly, the *WSQ* article identifies Naik as the "father of women's studies in India" based on his support for gender-inclusive education, including the establishment of CWDS in the mid-1970s. See Mazumdar (1994) as well as her memoir (2010).

[52] Though this chapter critiques Florence Howe's use of political grammar in *The Politics of Women's Studies* and *Changing Lives*, her work with the Feminist Press was instrumental in curating and promoting transnational academic feminist scholarship. Of particular significance are the multivolume collections *Women Writing in India* (Tharu and Lalita 1991, 1993) and *Women Writing Africa* (Daymond and Driver 2003; Addy and Diaw 2003; Lihamba and Moyo 2007; Sadiqi and Nowaira 2008).

connections across borders in the present and future.

One notable discussion of cross-border projects in *The Politics of Women's Studies* occurs in Mariam K. Chamberlin's essay, "There Were Godmothers, Too," which addresses her work at the Ford Foundation. As major funder of academic feminist collaborations, especially between the 1970s and 1990s, Ford supported women's studies programs and research endeavors as a strategy for addressing sexism within higher education as well as carrying out international development. Chamberlain notes that her "jurisdiction at the Ford Foundation was largely confined to the United States. We were active to a lesser extent in Canada and Western Europe, but programs elsewhere in the world—the developing countries and Eastern Europe—were the province of the International Division of the foundation, which did not have women's studies on its radar" (362). This initial compartmentalization of gender and international issues began to break down by the 1990s, when Ford sought to build links between women's studies and area studies as a way of simultaneously "engendering" and "internationalizing" curricula at U.S. colleges and universities—as Dr. Debby Rosenfelt called it. Demonstrating the influential role of such nongovernmental funding agencies, Ford's shifting priorities during this time period also shaped the University of Maryland's Curriculum Transformation Project, which I expand upon in the next chapter.

As Chamberlain describes, Ford's agenda for supporting academic feminism abroad was to "develop" other nations by promoting post-secondary education and employment for women, especially in Asia and the former Soviet Union. These investments have been instrumental in expanding women's access to higher education—a feminist goal as longstanding and universal as any other. Though key to the growth and

institutionalization of women's studies, the political grammar of development often used by the financial backers of such endeavors frequently relies on a unidirectional conception of how feminism moves across borders, one in which power and knowledge remain primarily located in the Global North. While the grammar of development can be strategically useful in order to secure material and logistical resources from governments and NGOs, this modality has the shortcoming of relying on oversimplified progress narratives. As I will discuss in the next section, transnational feminist thinkers have effectively demonstrated how development logics, which are imbricated with colonialism and capitalism, can make it difficult for collaborative women's studies projects that rely on this grammar to maintain their aspirations.[53]

Though each author represented in these collections is unique, and their essays reflect a range of personal, political, and epistemic orientations, the commonalities in how they approach citation grammar illustrate themes that run throughout U.S. women's studies and can be usefully compared with work by academic feminists from Asia. Overall, the references to other countries in *The Politics of Women's Studies* are far less robust, appearing primarily in the opening autobiographical sketches about each scholar rather than within the essays themselves. The U.S. academic feminists who describe their lives and work in this book mostly employ citations of other countries as a credentializing gesture—bringing up Fulbright grants, travel for research and fieldwork, consulting, and academic expertise in postcolonial or area studies. There are a few instances where scholars touch on family migration, identity formation, or activist projects, but on the whole, these autobiographic narratives about U.S. women's studies exhibit far less depth

[53] Transnational feminist theory has included critiques of development within activism, academia, civil society, and government, see Saunders (2002).

and self-reflexivity than those crafted by the academic feminist contributors to *Changing Lives.* This example of credentializing grammar shows how U.S. women's studies has felt less compelled to consider the ways in which national identifications and global forces have shaped its research agenda, institutionalization, and sense of self. Academic feminists in Asia have not had the same luxury, and though it is important not to valorize their work solely on this basis, this difference reminds us that women's studies scholars must consider the politics of location in remembering and renarrativizing the field.

Howe's erasure of the Committee on Women's Studies in Asia from the epistemological genealogy constructed in her preface is symptomatic of the power imbalance among academic feminists from countries with overlapping colonial histories. Though it can be difficult to critically revisit these stories, observing disparities in how women's studies has been constructed through autobiographics can offer contemporary scholars the opportunity to refine our sense of where we should be looking for information that holistically describes academic feminism. Furthermore, even relatively superficial citations of other countries in the scholarly literature can convey a great deal of valuable descriptive information. The digital map in Chapter One, for instance, could not have been made without a preponderance of credentializing political grammar—brief or even relatively superficial mentions of other countries helpfully document cross-border collaborations that warrant further investigation. On its own, however, the fact of an exchange tells us very little about the *quality* of relationships that women's studies scholars construct across borders. The simple mention of another country can stand in for almost anything, ranging from the culture in which a person was born and raised to the institutions where they were educated, countries in which they lived, long-standing

activist relationships, or places they just visited. Such varied experiences have complex effects on individual as well as collective politics, ideas, and understandings of the world. Therefore, while *credentializing* and *contextualizing* political grammars both comprise important data for understanding the field as a whole, narratives about the institutionalization of women's studies worldwide must look deeper than mere references to other countries. Delving into specific examples of cross-border academic feminist projects lends important insight about the character of such endeavors, which has implications for their sustainability and long-term effectiveness. In the next section, I will demonstrate how collaborative autobiographics written by academic feminists use political grammars of *development* and *colleagueship* to narrativize different approaches to transnational collaborations in women's studies.

Development and Colleagueship

In my reading of texts that describe cross-border women's studies collaborations, a recurring theme has been the narrativization of such projects as a form of development. Even though this term has been thoroughly deconstructed by academic feminists and education scholars—not to mention activists—it remains a pervasive theme and grammatical mode used in stories about international women's studies projects. *Development* grammar generally assumes that feminist knowledge and resources exist primarily in the West but can be exported elsewhere through top-down, unidirectional initiatives in conjunction with governments or NGOs. This section will focus specifically on how this form of political grammar is used in "Women's Studies Project in Yemen: Experiences from the Counterpart's Viewpoint" by Tineke M. Willemsen and Alkeline

van Lenning. This one article offers an autobiographic account that illustrates a systemic trend in the way that academic feminist projects are practiced and recounted through self-representational writing. My use of the term "development" builds on critical theory and praxis that has questioned its discourses and logics as well as specific practices enacted by NGOs, supranational agencies, and governments alike. Buoyed by the UN World Conferences on Women, held in Mexico City (1975), Copenhagen (1980), Nairobi (1985), and Beijing (1995), feminists have debated a range of approaches such as integrating women and girls into mainstream economic systems, creating gender-specific initiatives, and engaging the diversity of women's experiences with respect to factors including race, ability, religion, and sexuality.[54] With the escalating crises of climate change and neoliberalism, development scholars and practitioners have increasingly focused on problems such as the feminization of poverty, economics of care, and indigenous sovereignty. Among feminist organizations, DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) has been particularly significant for its horizontal organization of partnerships among women from across the Global South as well as its emphasis on the links between gender justice and justice in development (Sen and Grown 1987; Tambe and Trotz 2017). Women's studies scholars have further investigated the institutionalization and professionalization of development work as well

[54] In their chapter, Aguinaga and colleagues (2013) lay out history that progresses over time from "women in development" (WID), to "women and development" (WAD), and finally "gender and development" (GAD). This sequence of phases recurs in the literature on this subject, and though useful for tracing the history of feminist critiques, it also raises several concerns. Not only does this metanarrative reinforce the assumption that "gender" should replace "women" as the proper object of study and intervention, but it echoes the oft-cited "waves metaphor" with all of its concomitant limitations. Furthermore, the WID/WAD/GAD framework tends to narrow the point of origin for feminist development critiques such that the UN World Conferences on Women overshadow other significant genealogies. Interestingly, these meetings were identified as a starting point for the internationalization of women's studies, as discussed in the previous chapter of this dissertation (Wotipka and Ramirez 2008).

as the colonial histories of gender and sexual identities (Rowley 2011). Others have interrogated the ways that NGOs can end up reinscribing inequities among the communities of women they started out intending to help, as articulated by Richa Nagar and the Sangtin Collective in their collaboratively authored book *Playing with Fire* (2006). Taken together, this body of work speaks to the political and epistemic significance of how "development" has been conceptualized and enacted by states, scholars, and nongovernmental organizations alike. Feminist critiques have been particularly important for their attention to the ways in which development projects are not simply neutral or benevolent—rather, these endeavors can both reflect and entrench inequitable power dynamics among individuals, institutions, and nations.

Alongside these critical examinations of development as a primarily economic endeavor, scholars have also explored the role of education as mechanism for social and political progress, including its significance for pro-democracy, participatory governance, human rights, and liberation movements (Keating 2004; McCowan 2003; Tomaševski 2006). With respect to women and girls, in particular, educational development initiatives have tended to focus on access to and retention within traditional schooling institutions at the primary and secondary levels as well as literacy and vocational training (Nussbaum 2000; Walter and Manicom 1996). At colleges and universities, much attention and resources have been devoted to equalizing the gender balance of students and faculty, particularly within STEM fields and other disciplines deemed significant to economic development and related priorities (Hill, Corbett, and St. Rose 2010; Corbett and Hill 2015). Indeed, cross-border academic feminist collaborations have been significantly shaped by these aspirations as a way of "engendering" development. While each of these

aims are certainly worthwhile, they do not necessarily engage critical feminist questions about the gendered dimension of how knowledge is produced and circulated on a global scale—a key concern for women's studies. At the same time, however, academic feminists have drawn significantly on discourses of development as well as the resources it engenders in order to elicit and sustain financial as well as logistical support from governments, educational institutions, and NGOs alike. This was especially true during the 1990s, the era from which the cases presented here are primarily drawn, during which globalization was a primary concern both within and outside the academy.

The autobiographic texts discussed in this chapter illustrate that the results of internationalization and institutionalization are far from monolithic. However, women's studies scholars from "developed" countries such as the United States must consider how this form of political grammar structures rhetoric, practices, and institutions on either side of an exchange rather than conceptualizing it as something that happens elsewhere. At the same time, collaborators must acknowledge how development discourse places particular pressures on scholars from the Global South to align themselves and their work with its language and ideologies at the same time as these may reproduce the very inequities that transnational feminism seeks to disrupt. This section extends the line of critical analysis in feminist work on development by examining how internationalization and institutionalization projects have unfolded in ways that can either reinforce or subvert both past and present hierarchies. Thus, examining the political grammar of development offers an opportunity for women's studies to engage in self-reflection about its own formation and existence as a transnational endeavor in conversation with critiques about development as a hegemonic political, economic, and epistemic paradigm. This modality

for describing cross-border collaboration situates "excellence" in academic feminism as located exclusively at Western universities; expertise in teaching, institutionalization, research, and resources are all presumed to be located in "First World" countries. In turn, these can benevolently be shared with "other" institutions and feminists located "elsewhere," but only through a unidirectional, diffusionist, and neoliberal framework.[55] Autobiographics that rely on the grammar of development sometimes demonstrate a self-awareness about the histories and present systems of power that have contributed to disparities among institutions. However, this modality often struggles to enact meaningful interventions because development discourse locates the problem as external to the field of women's studies itself. This political grammar therefore continually renders invisible both existing power hierarchies and potential sites for subversion within cross-border relationships. Furthermore, the grammar of development in academic feminist autobiographics often aligns with the broader logics of academic capitalism: in order for women's studies to compete and survive the mounting precarity of neoliberalization, academic feminists must continually conquer new territory by building international relationships that enhance their individual and institutional value.

The role of development agencies in propagating this discourse within cross-border academic feminist projects cannot be overstated. It may be unsurprising that fantasies of development suffuse all kinds of international exchanges, especially those where white feminists from Western countries offer aid to women in the "Third World."

[55] In her review of *The Making of Our Bodies, Ourselves: How Feminism Travels Across Borders* by Kathy Davis, Ashwini Tambe employs the phrase "spatialization-as-success logic" to describe the limitations of this epistemic framework. Tambe's term usefully elucidates how focusing on the mere *fact* of growth or expansion does not necessarily translate into an understanding of *how and why* feminist endeavors cross borders in particular ways, such as through "the contemporary global dominance of English publishing and US cultural power" (2008, 649).

However, the outsized role that supranational organizations, NGOs, and state agencies play in shaping political grammars of transnational academic feminism became increasingly clear as my research progressed. Funding agencies have literally made transnational academic feminist work possible by sponsoring everything from airfare to grants as well as supporting logistics for translation and other practicalities of international exchange. In addition to the Dutch government-funded endeavor described in this section, the impact of external financing can be seen in the third chapter of this dissertation, which discusses how the Curriculum Transformation Project (CTP) was supported by grants from the Ford Foundation that specifically targeted cross-border academic feminist collaborations. The goals of internationalizing women's studies as well as engendering area studies were a key impetus for the CTP international institutes, and these aims are reflected in its archive in the form of grant applications, progress reports, and program activities. At the same time, transnational academic feminist initiatives like the CTP summer institutes also offered an opportunity for women's studies practitioners to speak back and challenge development logics. Taken together, the autobiographic sources discussed here demonstrate that funders often end up being a major audience for descriptions of cross-border collaborations. Scholars are encouraged and often required to account for their work in ways that will encourage continued investment, but development agencies sometimes insert themselves directly into scholarly relationships. Even when women's studies practitioners are aware of this dynamic and try to resist it, they often find that the language and its effects have exceeded their control.

One particularly striking example of development grammar in autobiographics of transnational academic feminism appears in an article by Dutch scholars Tineke M.

Willemsen and Alkeline van Lenning titled, "Women's Studies Project in Yemen: Experiences from the Counterpart's Viewpoint" (2002). In this piece, the two authors describe a three-year initiative that took place in the late 1990s through which the Netherlands Minister for Development Cooperation, in conjunction with Tilburg University, helped to found the Empirical Research and Women's Studies Center (ERWSC) at Sana'a University. Citing Yemen's "low human development" as a primary reason for their intervention, ERWSC focused on implementing master's and diploma programs as well as a library (515). Long term, the "best" students would continue on to pursue PhDs in the Netherlands and eventually return to Sana'a University as faculty who could then take over and sustain the program themselves (516). However, the Center quickly came under fire from both within and outside Sana'a University on the basis of being "Western" and "anti-Islamic," and within three years of ERWSC's implementation, it was shuttered before granting any degrees.[56] While Willemsen and van Lenning focus on significant issues with the project's design, including a lack of attention to the local context, their primary critique addresses how the initiative failed to meaningfully include

[56] Though my focus in this chapter is on the political grammar of development as well as the dynamics among women's studies scholars from different countries, the specific events that led to the closure of the ERWSC and the nature of Willemsen and van Lenning's account may be instructive. Local and national pushback against the Dutch-Yemeni project escalated considerably after an international conference was held at ERWSC where a male speaker made controversial statements about the Koran—this resulted in threats against him as well as the Center's director, Dr. Raufa Hassan al-Sharki. The story was taken up in the media as well as in sermons at mosques across the country, which focused on feminism as inherently anti-Islamic and thus incompatible with Yemeni cultural values.

Despite the authors' argument that their Yemeni counterparts in fact took the project's "Islamic embeddedness for granted," they nonetheless frame this debate in terms that disparage the society they ostensibly intended to help (520). Their frustration is understandable, particularly given their experiences of bureaucratic stonewalling and fear of violence against their colleagues, but Willemsen and van Lenning reject any criticism from the local community out of hand, instead characterizing these events as evidence of the "effectiveness of an oral culture" (521). While literacy rates, access to formal schooling, and religious morays are certainly important considerations for cross-border educational collaborations, this framing illustrates a key issue with the political grammar of development—its objects are rendered essentially inferior rather than understood within the context of shifting global and local power dynamics.

its Dutch university partners in the processes of planning, implementation, and assessment such that government funding was not renewed. This point is undoubtedly important and could certainly prove instructive for other Western universities who might consider taking on this sort of cross-border collaboration—whether funded by a development agency or foreign university partner. However, this piece is narrated solely from the perspective of two academic feminists from the Netherlands, and though they write jointly, the voices of their Yemeni counterparts are conspicuously absent. The imbalance of perspectives represented in this autobiographic account reflects the unidirectional and even extractive nature of women's studies internationalization projects that rely on the discourse of development.

The logic of development in this case extended beyond the direct impact of the ERWSC. The problem with development grammar is not necessarily the participation of government agencies or NGOs per se but rather the linear progress narratives such organizations require in order to deem cross-border collaborations deserving of continued material and logistical support. In order to make their work intelligible to these institutions, academic feminists get subsumed into the role of development agents, resulting in a profound epistemic and political shift that can be observed in the political grammar used to describe their efforts. The project discussed in this section, like Dutch interventions into the Yemeni educational system more generally, are intended to help rectify "low human development" as well as women's illiteracy and inequality on the whole—all of which are common goals for development in Yemen and other parts of the "Third World." For Willemsen and van Lenning, the project was also meant to further the institutionalization of women's studies in Yemen by training Master's and PhD students

who could then continue the program as faculty once Dutch support ended at some indefinite point in the future. In this developmentalist construction of their partnership, the role of the Dutch university was to "provide the international standards for teaching and research in order to ensure quality," implying that the Yemeni women's studies scholars could not achieve these ends on their own, or at least not in ways that would fulfill the Dutch development agency's goal of assimilating Yemeni academic feminists into the global (read: U.S. and Eurocentric) system of higher education (516). This strong impetus toward external rather than internal accountability seems to have led the project to emphasize "empirical" social science research almost exclusively, perhaps at the expense of a truly interdisciplinary and culturally situated institutionalization program.

Tilburg University, Willemsen and van Lenning's home institution, agreed to take part and cosponsor the initiative because "developmental aid projects in the field of academic teaching and curriculum development are part of our university's mission" (517). Given this stated premise, another striking facet of Willemsen and van Lenning's article is their recurring, albeit indirect, criticisms of the women's studies students, faculty, and staff at Sana'a University. These remarks, presented as asides with little analysis or context, exemplify the development mode of political grammar—they express awareness of the larger histories and power dynamics affecting their foreign university partners but fail to critique these structures or use this information to guide their autobiographic narrativization. For example, Willemsen and van Lenning recount:

> Apparently, as was made clear to us afterwards, the Yemeni colleagues feared becoming research objects for anthropological or similar research projects that only benefit the foreign researchers; they wanted to learn how to do such research and incorporate it in their teaching themselves. Therefore, they preferred a counterpart without knowledge of Arabic or experience in the region, but with a strong empirical orientation. That this implied that some of the teaching would be

> in English was not at all considered a drawback, because the Yemeni side attached very much importance to teaching their students English, in order to give them access to the international literature on Women's Studies. (517)

In Willemsen and van Lenning's account of their cross-border academic feminist project, the authors recognize that their Yemeni counterparts had distinct goals and needed to navigate a different set of circumstances within the larger political systems both of their own institution and the nation of Yemen. However, in noting that these restrictions were only "made clear to us afterwards," Willemsen and van Lenning seem to imply—as they do throughout the article—that the endeavor could have been carried out better if they had been given greater, unilateral authority. In this instance of development grammar, the role of Western women's studies practitioners becomes aligned with their (non)governmental backers and, when problems or discrepancies arise, even against the colleagues they had originally purported seeking to assist. Furthermore, development grammar neglects the role that Western academic feminists themselves play in maintaining, perpetuating, and actually expanding the systems of power that structure decisions related to curriculum, resources, and language of instruction.

Despite the autobiographic mode of expression, development grammar lacks self-reflexivity—Willemsen and van Lenning's claim, for example, that "we felt just as much 'colonized' by the forced use of English in all our communications as the Yemeni colleagues, thereby escaping at least some of the uneasy feelings so often encountered by Western participants in development projects" rings hollow in light of the Netherlands' long imperial history—academic, linguistic, and otherwise—as well as the profound effects of colonialism and other forms of foreign intervention in Yemen (518).[57] It is

[57] In the 1800s, control over the territory that comprises present-day Yemen was divided up between the Ottoman and British empires. Several different political structures emerged in the early part of the

certainly true that scholars from Western Europe have been negatively affected by the global hegemony of English both within and beyond the academy, and the authors seem to be reaching for a kind of kinship or identification with their Yemeni colleagues in this moment. However, here and in misstatements such as there being "hardly any relation with postcolonialism [in Sana'a]" Willemsen and van Lenning erase the power dynamic that existed in their project (523).[58] Effectively, they perpetuate what Ashwini Tambe has called a "spatialization-as-success" model that narrowly conceptualizes the geographic expansion of feminist projects as inherently positive (2008, 649). The reasons why academic feminists in Yemen would be mistrustful of their ostensible mentors remains unexcavated and apparently unspoken in their collaborative relationship with women's studies scholars and practitioners from the Netherlands. Despite raising the question, these authors fail to discuss why English fluency has become perceived as the only or even the preferred way of accessing "the international literature on Women's Studies." A site of potential solidarity thus fails to coalesce because of insufficient attention to historical context and a failure to consider how English hegemony would be experienced differently by scholars situated in these two distinct contexts.

In my reading, the lack of a "shared language" between the partners in this initiative was both a literal and metaphoric problem: the Dutch authors had great

twentieth century before the nation was unified in 1990, but profound divides persist between the northern and southern regions. For a historical perspective, see Carapico (1998). Since a popular uprising against longtime president Ali Abdullah Saleh during the Arab Spring protests, Yemen has been consumed by civil war and humanitarian crises (Schmitz and Burrowes 2018).

[58] Here the authors are apparently referring to the fact that the city of Sana'a, which is located in the northern part of the country, was never administered by the British—in contrast with southern Yemen including the strategic port city of Aden. The present-day Yemeni capital was often subject to Ottoman control throughout its history, however, and the country's political struggles since unification have been significantly shaped by the legacies of multiple imperial dynamics alongside internal conflicts.

difficulty engaging with the needs and concerns of their Yemeni colleagues on respectful terms. Though there were a number of factors to which Willemsen and van Lenning attribute the failure of ERWC's long-term institutionalization, including university politics, a shifting religious landscape in Yemen, and a lack of commitment from the country's Dutch embassy, I would argue that the initiative was significantly hampered by the Dutch partners' inability or unwillingness to transform their own approach in light of this partnership. Willemsen and van Lenning apply development grammar in discussing the Center's students as well as Sana'a University and the broader society where it is situated. While recognizing that the prestige and advantages of English-language fluency would be an important factor shaping the program's desirability and status, the authors present this context only in ironic juxtaposition with some students' "undisguised contempt" for the West. In describing local opposition to the Center among the "illiterate majority who had never been to school, let alone to a university," Willemsen and van Lenning attribute this problem primarily to the rise of religious fundamentalism in Yemen (521). They argue that the "society as a whole has become increasingly conservative regarding gender, as a consequence (albeit an unexpected and unplanned one) of the development process" (526). Their refusal of accountability for the project's flaws and their signaling of external forces beyond their control comprise other key features of development political grammar—even though it seems clear that this framework failed to enact their collaboration long term, much less bring about the kind of self-sustaining program initially planned. Again, the Dutch academic feminists in this example situate themselves as separate from and actually opposed to the population they had originally sought to improve, using "empirical" research on gender in order to carry

out the work of "human development."

Though the Dutch-Yemeni ERWSC endeavor faced tremendous obstacles that would likely have precluded its long-term persistence in any case, the development logic that pervaded its planning, execution, and narrativization through Willemsen and van Lenning's autobiographic account hindered the ways in which its stakeholders were able to respond to problems as they arose. Though I am skeptical that some of these issues could not have been better forecast by more meaningfully considering Sana'a University's cultural, historical, and political location, the development grammar that dominates this example of transnational academic feminism also seems to have limited the authors' conception of possible paths forward. Ultimately, Willemsen and van Lenning limit their recommendations to possibly expanding sex-segregated women's studies educational spaces in order to limit the purview of critical male administrators. Their only other suggestion was bringing Yemeni students to pursue PhDs in the Netherlands. While perhaps strategically effective in the short term, these potential solutions step away from meaningful engagement with the particularities of doing academic feminism in Yemen. As a result, when financial and logistical support began to erode, responsibility fell back on to the Yemeni scholars and the Dutch university remained the same—though apparently even more suspicious of collaboration than before. The authors' concerns about language and local politics were undoubtedly significant, but the grammar of development that pervades their autobiographic account limits the extent to which women's studies scholars are able to self-reflect, think critically about global systems of power, and enact creative solutions to the challenges of academic feminist internationalization.

With this critique in mind, what term might describe a more egalitarian way of forging a transnational connection? One alternative evident in some accounts of cross-border academic feminist exchanges is what I term the political grammar of *colleagueship*. There is a meaningful distinction between autobiographics that rely on development discourse and those that emphasize this other modality for describing transnational collaboration. Colleagueship emphasizes shared investment and openness to transformation for all parties involved. It notes that the impact of academic exchanges on their stakeholders varies greatly depending on where they are located in relation to past and present systems of power. The grammar of colleagueship not only recognizes the global hierarchies that shape such relationships but actively seeks to resist, dismantle, subvert, or decolonize them. In contrast with development, it acknowledges and seeks to challenge unequal hierarchies between collaborators in order to forge mutually beneficial relationships. Though the ability of scholars to achieve these goals are of course mediated by universities and other institutions to which collaborative projects must remain "accountable," academic feminists have discovered a variety of creative approaches to enacting colleagueship and giving voice to this grammatical mode through autobiographics.

Etymologically, the word "colleague" is derived from the Latin *collega*, meaning "partner in office." This concept originated in the practice of appointing two people to jointly discharge a civil or ecclesiastical task, thus providing both with companionship as well as bestowing mutual responsibility.[59] In the political grammar of transnational

[59] Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. "colleague," https://www-oed-com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/view/Entry/36258?rskey=SFoFnH&result=2&isAdvanced=false.

academic feminism, colleagueship describes a dynamic wherein individuals or institutions enter into an alliance for the purpose of planning and enacting a shared endeavor across borders in the spirit of mutual responsibility. In autobiographics that emphasize colleagueship, women's studies scholars and practitioners seek to enact a true "meeting of the minds" in which all stakeholders have their needs spoken and addressed. After acknowledging the unevenness of the ground on which they meet, colleagueship devotes time, resources, and effort to crafting practices that engender more just and equitable forms of engagement. Autobiographic texts that employ the grammar of colleagueship further emphasize *how* cross-border women's studies projects contribute to the exchange of ideas and resources but also political and epistemological values. Other stakeholders' unique needs are respected and shared endeavors are formed through coalition by jointly addressing mutual concerns without flattening the unique positions and investments on either side. Because "developed" and "developing" universities each approach these encounters with a desire to learn from one another, projects that articulate a grammar of colleagueship seem to bring about more widespread, lasting changes at institutions, particularly in pedagogy and curricula.

The political grammar of colleagueship that I discuss in this section draws upon other work in transnational feminist theory that describes efforts to build meaningful, equitable, and mutually beneficial relationships across difference. Such questions have been central in women's studies for decades, but the urgency of forming cross-border alliances that are sensitive to the politics of knowledge production has only increased with the internationalization of higher education and the entrenchment of academic capitalism. In their collection, *Dissident Friendships: Feminism, Imperialism, and*

Transnational Solidarity (2016), Elora Halim Chowdhury and Liz Philipose explore how, in feminist settings, a "transnational analytic of care" can be enacted amidst complex histories, practices, and interpersonal relationships (4). They state: "Friendship is to know someone, and to know them in particular. We can have friendly feelings and desires, but friendship itself is intimate, personal, caring, in particular, attached, and connected. To get friendship, we would have to unravel our assumptions and clear the colonial and racial debris from our perceptual apparatus to see intimately and to become personal. In friendship is a sense of belonging" (2). Chowdhury and Philipose's definition of friendship aligns closely with how I imagine the political grammar of colleagueship, even though it does not speak specifically to the field of women's studies. Indeed, they trace friendship as a theme through academic work as well as in literature, ethnography, and social movements in a variety of geographic settings. Friendship and colleagueship are alike in their emphasis on mutually supportive relationships that make an intentional effort to dismantle asymmetrical power dynamics in both the past and present. Richa Nagar's book *Hungry Translations* (2019) is also instructive on this point about power. Building on her work with the Sangtin Collective in *Playing with Fire* (2006) and *Muddying the Waters* (2015), Nagar explores whether and how scholars from the Global North can ethically engage in knowledge production for and about other parts of the world. Patricia Hill Collins, drawing on Black feminist critiques about epistemic hierarchies and theorizing from the positionality of an "outsider within," articulates the value of claiming a dual consciousness about how power operates within academic institutions. Throughout her writing, Collins emphasizes the role that those with an "outside" (and an elsewhere) consciousness can play in generating new knowledge within

and about institutions. In particular, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (1990) and *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice* (1998) usefully emphasize the epistemic contributions of theorizing that falls outside hegemonic, U.S. and Eurocentric parameters set by academia. Hill's emphasis on scholars' co-imbrication and connectedness with the systems of power that structure mainstream production and dissemination of knowledge offers an opportunity to reconfigure the values and assumptions underlying feminist scholarship and activism. I use the term colleagueship building on the work of these academic feminist thinkers, specifically to signal academic feminist exchanges that unfold in unequal contexts within higher education institutions.

We may be fortunate enough to sometimes find that friendships develop out of colleague relationships, and vice versa, but these roles are also distinct in ways that warrant attention, particularly when considering how women's studies gets enacted and described through autobiographics. Colleagueship as a form of political grammar in academic feminism foregrounds collaborative institutional projects rather than interpersonal relationships among individuals. The various modifiers that Chowdhury, Philipose, and their contributors attach to "friendship" helpfully describe the tensions and vulnerabilities inherent in building connections and accountability across difference. Following the editors' discussion of "*dissident* friendship" in their introduction, Nguyen et al. use the term "*epistemic* friendship" to describe their work of creating a syllabus for teaching about the Israeli occupation of Palestine as part of a graduate women's studies course. To fulfill this complex and potentially controversial assignment, the authors considered their individual and collective positions within the academy—an

autobiographic gesture that emphasizes transnational feminism as a context-specific and "*transformative process* of 'becoming'" (20, emphasis original). As Nguyen and her cowriters observe, these bring about meaningful affective connections: "The value of epistemic friendships is that they provide a space where transnational feminists do not come just to vent, but where they can accomplish academic and pedagogical goals through the academic labor that takes place in a collective" (25). In comparison to other modes of political grammar that recur in transnational autobiographics about women's studies, epistemic friendship and colleagueship both describe recurring practices that are unfolding in the present. Citation and development, by contrast, tend to focus on the past and future, respectively—credentializing and contextualizing refer to exchanges that have already happened whereas development focuses on realizing future potential. As these examples of friendship from Chowdhury and Philipose illuminate, colleagueship is defined by a distinct orientation toward dismantling hierarchies in all their temporal complexity—grounded in the past but open to future transformation.

For those of us on the outside of such colleague relationships looking in, autobiographics provide a point of access to learn about their processes of exchange and practices of mutual understanding. As the following example makes clear, the very act of collaborative autobiographical writing can help feminist scholars to better understand one another through the work of reflecting on and revealing parts of themselves. In "Importing/Applying Western Feminism: A Women's Studies University Linkage Project," Saparinah Sadli from Universitas Indonesia and Marilyn Porter from Memorial University in Canada jointly narrate their experiences of forging institutionalization beyond geographic borders. Following a chance meeting, Sadli and Porter obtained

funding from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) to support a partnership in service of the Kajian Wanita (women's studies) program at Universitas Indonesia, based in the capital of Jakarta.[60] In their proposal, the collaborators laid out a four-year plan for "promoting women's social and economic equality in Indonesia and ensuring their full participation in the National development" by supporting and strengthening the Universitas Indonesia master's program (445). After being exposed to "theories and concepts developed in Women's Studies (with sources coming mainly from the west)" and learning to "analyse existing women's issues with a feminist perspective," alumni would return to conduct teaching and research at "Women's Studies Centres" (PSWs) based at smaller universities throughout the country, which were founded to gather data and implement programs on behalf of the Ministry for the Role of Women (445). Though Sadli and Porter made some use of development rhetoric in their request for funding from CIDA, on the whole, the political grammar of this article is markedly different than that employed by Willemsen and van Lenning. Most significantly, its goals build from ongoing academic feminist work in each country, which are integrated within their higher education systems; this stands in sharp contrast to the Yemen/Netherlands example, where the host university and local community were resistant to its aims. Perhaps a shorter duration or more egalitarian structure for this joint project could have improved its chances for success in conjunction with a different rhetorical framing.

Sadli and Porter's piece stands out among the autobiographic texts reviewed for this chapter because of its coauthorship, self-reflexivity, and emphasis on addressing each

[60] Universitas Indonesia began offering a master's degree in women's studies starting in 1990 and it continues today according to the institution's website. The program is not included in Joan Korenman's list, but I have added it to the digital map discussed in Chapter One, see: "Informasi Program Studi Kajian Gender," Universitas Indonesia, https://sksg.ui.ac.id/kajian-gender/#.

institution's positionality. Taken together, these elements exemplify a political grammar of colleagueship that both defines this specific autobiographic work and conveys important insights about the practice of transnational academic feminism more generally. From the beginning, this article asserts the equality of its interlocutors by critiquing its own reliance on an English-language medium of expression, which they note privileges the Canadian author's perspective and obscures certain nuances of how women's studies actually gets enacted through the diverse range of Indonesian languages. Rather than undermining Sadli and Porter's collaboration, however, this self-critique enacts colleagueship by opening up space to decide jointly on a shared mission that addresses the needs of all parties while also maintaining a critical orientation toward the histories, ideologies, and institutions that structure their exchange. These coauthors make a valuable point about the importance of considering different political cultures in deciding how to represent a shared project outside the university, noting the need to balance a "western" desire for evenhanded discussion of its successes and failures with a more "subtle and multi-layered" Indonesian approach (442).

In this autobiographic text, Sadli and Porter enact the political grammar of colleagueship by centering a "truly Indonesian" women's studies as their shared goal (442).[61] Rather than an essentializing gesture, though, the pursuit of a locally determined academic feminism speaks to the fact that both partners in this case were not only aware of the (neo)colonial conditions that set the stage for their meeting, but they sought ways of disrupting these systems from the beginning. Sadli and Porter recall:

[61] For historical perspective, Indonesia was largely governed by the Dutch East India Company between the early 1600s and its dissolution in 1800, at which point the Netherlands formally established it as a colony. This persisted until 1949, when Indonesia won its independence following an armed resistance struggle after World War II (Taylor 2003; Vickers 2013).

> …a core commitment of the project…was to resist the imposition of western feminism onto Kajian Wanita and instead treat the ideas and skills provided by the project as a resource, which could be moulded by Kajian Wanita staff and students into a kind of feminism that better reflected their ideas, priorities, problems, and cultural context. How to do this became the touchstone test of the project. Could we escape the intellectual "colonising" so endemic in western-funded projects? (442)

Drawing a clear contrast with development models of cross-border academic feminist collaboration, Sadli and Porter narrativize their exchange by casting the Indonesian partner as the endeavor's protagonist and its grammatical subject. Not only does this construction emphasize the specific needs of the "developing" university, but it also asks how women's studies might be fundamentally changed in the process of its literal and figurative translation into Indonesian. Because the Canadian partner's voice is already overemphasized in rendering of their partnership, both by the article's English-language mode of expression and by the global hegemony of English, making Kajian Wanita the subject of this exchange helps balance the representation of all parties in this joint autobiographic rendering of their work. Even with this attention to redressing the (neo)colonial context that structures their partnership, rather than providing a blueprint of best practices, Sadli and Porter conclude their mission statement by clarifying their vision of transnational academic feminist colleagueship as an ongoing, unfinished process. They reflect that "[h]ow to do this became the touchstone test of the project" (442).

Self-reflexivity can play an important role in generating questions that allow us to conceptualize institutions and ideologies in new and perhaps transgressive ways. Indeed, Sadli and Porter's effort to rethink the linguistic power dynamics that structured their collaboration had specific, practical benefits. As they confronted the colonial histories of Dutch and English within the Indonesian higher education system, Kajian Wanita forged

a path for Indonesian women's studies to navigate state feminisms, development agencies, universities, and popular perceptions—all of which hold relevance for academic feminists working in different parts of the world. Porter, along with Memorial University, gained important international connections as well as a partnership with the main development agency in Canada. Sadli and her colleagues had particular success in creating a library that combined women's studies texts with an emphasis on translation and building their collection of materials in local languages. Over four years, faculty and staff at Kajian Wanita determined which foreign sources would be most beneficial for their students and contextualized feminist works in Dutch and English to "make the concepts relevant within the Indonesian context, and [thus] more acceptable to the general public" (447). This strategy helped challenge perceptions of women's studies as foreign or even neocolonial by ensuring that knowledge produced elsewhere would "gradually become supplementary to the main collection, which will present a definitive picture of the situation of women in Indonesia, together with the increasing number of research reports and analyses made by Indonesian feminist scholars" (448). This kind of critical transnational approach to producing and sharing knowledge in women's studies was supported by the decentralized approach of Kajian Wanita, in which Universitas Indonesia collected materials and offered training but the teaching and research work of women's studies was distributed throughout the country. Though a project's persistence cannot necessarily be equated with success, it seems telling that women's studies has persisted at Universitas Indonesia and even taken on new forms at Universitas Indonesia.[62] In this case, practices of colleagueship made the collaboration more

[62] Though published in 1999, Sadli and Porter's article describes a four-year collaboration undertaken between 1992 and 1996. In the final year of their grant period, the academic publication *Jurnal Perempuan*

institutionally viable in addition to better addressing the complex histories and present power dynamics underlying an educational partnership between Canada and Indonesia.

Every exchange and autobiography is unique, but in each case the grammars used to describe them are laden with power. Development discourse may have a strategic role to play in internationalizing women's studies, but the mode of colleagueship asks us for something more in how we practice and recall the work in this field. Executing a shared task of transnational academic feminist exchange requires all parties to address the histories and power structures that brought them together in the first place, then embed effective and equitable strategies for redress within the project from its inception. As Sadli and Porter conclude: "The main lesson we learned, although we are still not sure what it means, is that such an equal partnership does not mean 'exactly the same,' but means equally respecting each other's differences and taking into account each other's needs in achieving the objectives of both our Women's Studies Programmes" (449). As I will discuss in the next chapter, this framing can allow cross-border collaborations to serve diversely sited scholars and institutions without flattening their specific goals.

Conclusion

The examples discussed in this chapter indicate that the goal of creating equitable partnerships has been a shared aspiration for cross-border academic feminist projects

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put out its first issue. Based at Universitas Indonesia, this periodical focuses on "the theory and practice of feminism in Indonesian society's social, political, and economic contexts" and now comes out three times per year with works primarily in Bahasa Indonesia, the national language. Sadli and Porter do not mention *Jurnal Perempuan*, which was still very new at the time of their writing, but the advent of this publication clearly advances one of the stated priorities for their collaboration—advancing scholarship about women in Indonesia, written by Indonesian academic feminists, and published in Indonesian. Along with recent issues on topics such as environmental justice, sexual violence, and children's rights, *Jurnal Perempuan* emphasizes collaboration, political advocacy, and public outreach: www.indonesianfeministjournal.org.

from a range of time periods and locations. Achieving equity in practice, though, is always easier said than done. Examining how such cross-border endeavors are described by their practitioners can nonetheless provide valuable insights about how to forge collaborations that are effective, sustainable, and mutually enriching. Indeed, what scholars say about their own work matters because, by their very nature, autobiographic texts reveal how individuals conceptualize themselves and others in relation to existing academic formations and hierarchies in higher education. Collaborative writing from the 1990s and 2000s, in particular, illustrates both scholars' lived experiences and theorizing about their cross-border relationships during a major period of international growth for the field. The resulting projects, like the narratives used to describe them, depend on a range of external factors—they cannot be easily assessed in terms of success or failure. The purpose of analyzing political grammar is not to rank autobiographic representations of women's studies by authenticity but to recognize how complexly we are embedded within languages, institutions, and nations. Categorizing collaborative academic feminist endeavors based on their political grammar can thus be useful for practitioners to consider as the field continues its trajectory of international and institutional growth.

The political grammar of colleagueship, exemplified by Sadli and Porter's article on Kajian Wanita in Indonesia, demonstrates several important characteristics of what collaborative self-representational writing about women's studies can look like. In the context of transnational academic feminism, colleagueship requires intentional efforts to acknowledge and dismantle systemic inequalities that structure the parties' exchange through practices such as joint authorship as well as equitable material and epistemic investment in pursuit of mutual transformation. The grammar of development, which

appears more prominently in Willemsen and van Lenning's article about their work in Yemen, relies on a unidirectional conception of how academic feminism moves across borders in which power and resources remain primarily located in the Global North. Apart from limiting the long-term effectiveness of programs grounded in such a dynamic, this kind of political grammar undermines academic feminists' ability to build trusting cross-border relationships. Whereas *The Politics of Women's Studies* relies on credentializing grammar that obscures its own grounding in the United States, the contextualizing grammar of *Changing Lives* helps elucidate the way colonial histories shape feminisms in the present. Taken together, these texts demonstrate the significance of political grammar to how cross-border academic feminist endeavors are practiced and recalled. My aim in analyzing these various grammars is not to definitively declare that some specific collaborations were sufficient in enacting transnational academic feminism while others were not—ideals of equity and solidarity have always been aspirational. Contemporary women's studies practitioners can use this opportunity to reflect on how we jointly carry out and describe our work as the field continues on its trajectory of international and institutional growth. Short-lived experiments, as with the Yemeni case, also allow us a chance to unpack how internal and external factors coalesce in making some cross-border projects difficulty if not impossible to sustain. However, building on the field's unique capacity for autobiographic inquiry and self-reflection, this chapter argues that we can learn from the past in order to chart a path forward in which academic feminism can survive, and perhaps even thrive, despite the challenges facing social movements, the higher education sector, and society as a whole.

Chapter Three

Curriculum Transformation and Collaborative Institutionalization

Introduction

In the first two chapters of this dissertation, I have documented the global growth of women's studies using digital cartography and analyzed the political grammars used in autobiographics about cross-border academic feminist collaborations that have shaped this field's history. Here in Chapter Three, I take up an institutionally specific example of three international exchanges in women's studies facilitated by the University of Maryland's Curriculum Transformation Project (CTP). This initiative ran from 1989 until 2010 with the goal of diversifying teaching and learning in the state of Maryland's higher education system. Though the CTP unfolded in various forms throughout its tenure, this chapter specifically examines three summer institutes held in College Park during the early 2000s that sought to build cross-border relationships among academic feminists. Although this chapter is situated third in the dissertation, it was in fact my work creating an archive of CTP materials in 2016 and 2017 that instigated my curiosity about the topic of cross-border academic feminist collaborations. This chapter brings one part of my research journey full circle, revisiting my archiving work through the lens of what I have learned throughout the process of writing this dissertation. When I first became interested in the Curriculum Transformation Project, I wanted to understand what made it possible for women's studies programs to emerge in different parts of the world and how academic feminists were able to collaborate across identities and investments. My underlying assumption was that the presence of more women's studies programs would have a positive impact because the field could promote its own characteristic self-

reflexivity and feminist ethics within the higher education sector and in society more broadly. While I still fundamentally agree with this premise, I have also come to understand how the trajectory of academic feminism has itself been shaped by wider social, political, and economic forces that are sometimes antithetical to its goals. This is particularly true with respect to the internationalization of higher education, which requires significant institutional investment of labor and material resources.

There are numerous examples throughout this dissertation of how women's studies has shaped and itself been shaped by processes of colonialism, globalization, and neoliberalization. At the same time, academic feminists have found creative, strategic ways of using shifting economic and political circumstances to further their own pedagogical and epistemological goals. One of my interviewees, Dr. Wang Zheng, offered a perfect example; she recounted using the Chinese Communist Party's agenda for "female education" in order to promote her own priority of building international partnerships that would advance women's studies in China. With a laugh, she said: "I wanted to turn their agenda into my agenda." This chapter grapples with the question of what it means that women's studies practitioners can have such different goals than the institutions that support their work. To explore this tension, I have supplemented my archival work on the CTP by conducting oral history interviews with three of its facilitators. In the process, I have realized that there is much to be gained from delving into such complexities because useful lessons can be learned from instances when academic feminists have had to be strategic, even crafty, in order to make things happen. Following Clare Hemmings' insights about feminist metanarratives, discussed at length in the previous chapter, my hope is that this study of the Curriculum Transformation

Project will offer a useful "recitation" of the field's history, a process of "intervention into dominant feminist narratives with the aim of making them less amenable to global spatial and temporal hierarchization" (165). In telling the story of the Curriculum Transformation Project, and the field of women's studies, through a transnational lens, this chapter offers critical reflections on its past and strategic, even optimistic possibilities for its future.

In this chapter, I will explore how the international proliferation of women's studies played out through summer institutes held at the University of Maryland as part of the Curriculum Transformation Project between 2000 and 2002. Rather than providing an exhaustive account of the CTP, which took on a variety of forms and initiatives during its twenty years on the College Park campus, my goal is to provide an institutionally specific case study of transnational academic feminist exchange. This chapter builds on my digital documentation of women's studies' international growth and my analysis of the political grammars used in autobiographics of academic feminist collaboration. I discuss my work archiving the Curriculum Transformation Project as well as oral history interviews conducted with longtime CTP director Dr. Deborah Rosenfelt as well as Dr. Wang Zheng, who led the Chinese delegation to the international institute in 2000 and Dr. A. Lynn Bolles, who played a major role in the South Africa and Caribbean meeting.[63]

[63] Dr. Wang Zheng is currently Professor of Women's and Gender Studies and History as well as a member of the Institute for Research on Women and Gender at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Dr. A. Lynn Bolles retired from the University of Maryland in the spring of 2015. She started at UMD around the same time as the Curriculum Transformation Project began in earnest, making her a particularly beneficial interlocutor for this study. Dr. Bolles' scholarship focuses on gender and labor relations in the Anglophone Caribbean. Our interview included discussion of her recent piece on the history and practice of feminist anthropology written with Mary H. Moran (2021).

Origins of the Curriculum Transformation Project

The Curriculum Transformation Project at the University of Maryland, College Park was founded in 1989 at a time when U.S. colleges and universities were moving to address the question of how to remake the pedagogical spaces and practices of knowledge production in higher education so as to become fully open to women.[64] Initially housed within the Office of the President, the CTP's activities under its first director were primarily concerned with women's equitable representation in UMD's undergraduate curriculum. Over the next two decades, the geographical and institutional scope of the CTP continued to expand, addressing the integration of international studies and gender studies into the work of scholars based in the United States and, eventually, bringing together feminist academics from more than seven countries for transnational dialogues around theory, pedagogy, and praxis. However, the biography of the CTP is not a simple story of U.S. feminism's outward expansion and incorporation of academic feminisms situated elsewhere—instead, this chapter describes how the Curriculum Transformation Project exemplifies an internationalization process whereby U.S. women's studies has both shaped, and itself been shaped, by collaborative engagements among academic feminists from around the world. Creative scholarly alliances have

[64] UMD played a pivotal role in the history of women's access to higher education in the United States. Dr. Bernice R. Sandler, known as the "Godmother of Title IX," earned her doctorate in Counseling and Personnel Services from the University of Maryland's College of Education in the late 1960s. However, her application for a full-time position was denied because male faculty members believed she "came on too strong for a woman" and was "just a housewife who went back to school" (Seelye 2019). This experience inspired Sandler's work on Title IX, which officially banned discrimination on the basis of sex at U.S. colleges and universities starting in 1972. Her work included filing complaints against more than 250 institutions, including the University of Maryland. Because the earliest materials related to the Curriculum Transformation Project date to 1987, fifteen years after the implementation of Title IX, this archive does not provide direct evidence linking the CTP to this legislation or the sex discrimination allegations leveled against UMD. Nonetheless, these events were a clear impetus for the Curriculum Transformation Project, particularly considering Dr. Sandler's focus on improving campus climate.

allowed the field to operate across cultural, institutional, and geographical boundaries, and yet the internationalization of women's studies simultaneously destabilizes and reinscribes hierarchies in higher education. In order to conceptualize how transnational academic feminism can be enacted with a more radical bent, it is imperative for women's studies scholars to understand the specific conditions that have precipitated many internationally oriented women's studies projects since the 1990s, attending to their limitations as well as the many transformational possibilities they have inspired.

In 1989, the Curriculum Transformation Project moved to the Department of Women's Studies from the Office of the President, Dr. William Kirwan, where it had been directed by Dr. Betty Schmitz. Dr. Deborah Rosenfelt was newly hired in part to oversee this effort and would continue to serve as CTP director until 2010. Over the next decade, the CTP took on an increasingly visible role on campus and as part of a broader, nationwide curriculum transformation effort, offering summer institutes that emphasized pedagogy, interdisciplinary dialogue, and syllabus revision for hundreds of faculty members.[65] A three-year statewide initiative to internationalize teaching and learning within the state higher education system proved particularly impactful, but participants and facilitators alike saw a need to go beyond traditional methods for diversifying curricula such as adding different readings or bringing in guest speakers. Dr. Rosenfelt described a growing awareness during this period that more in-depth, sustained collaborations would be necessary to cocreate women's studies as a transnational interdisciplinary field. Starting in 1995, the Curriculum Transformation Project began to

[65] There are a number of edited collections describing this endeavor around the United States, including Fiol-Matta and Chamberlain (1994), Butler and Walter (1991), Schuster and Van Dyne (1985), and Triplette (1981). The National Center for Curriculum Transformation Resources on Women was active from 1992-2001—its archive is based at Towson University (Coulter, Hedges, and Vanfossen 1996).

pursue this agenda in earnest after garnering its first Ford Foundation grant in collaboration with two other campus units working on related issues, including the Consortium for Race, Gender, and Ethnicity. The CTP component was meant to foster a reciprocal "internationalization" of women's studies and an "engendering" of area studies and international studies throughout the University of Maryland system and beyond (Lay, Monk, and Rosenfelt 2002). This financial support facilitated additional summer institutes focused on issues such as the globalizing economy, environmental degradation, the rise of conservative nationalist and fundamentalist politics, and global women's activisms. Though funding from Ford proved instrumental, as with any grant program, there were tensions between the goals of the funders and those of the facilitators.

Leading up to the 1996 institute, the Curriculum Transformation Project developed a more global focus in response to the Ford Foundation's programmatic emphasis on women's education in "developing" countries. From the funder's perspective, women's studies was seen as an agent for strengthening and expanding educational opportunities for women and girls. Ford felt that this endeavor was particularly critical for fostering women's representation in colleges and universities as well as in faculty and administrative positions, particularly considering the rapid expansion of higher education in many countries in the latter half of the twentieth century (Schofer and Meyer 2005). While beneficial in terms of procuring resources to support the building of cross-border relationships, the CTP also had to contend with the influence of an institutional partner that had its own unique goals and desired outcomes distinct from and sometimes in contradiction with transnational feminist approaches to knowledge production. While the Ford Foundation unsurprisingly relies primarily on

development grammar in its mission, the CTP endeavors to enact ideas of colleagueship. This larger tension in the field of women's studies can be traced in the CTP archive, most notably in its correspondences with Ford, as discussed later in this chapter.

In the 1990s, both the nonprofit and higher education sectors sought to navigate shifts brought about by globalization, bringing a new level of geopolitical engagement and cultural reach to their work. This widespread institutional emphasis on addressing contexts outside the United States incentivized the Curriculum Transformation Project to involve a geographically and nationally diverse array of participants. At the same time as it sought to accommodate the new priorities of its major supporters, the CTP developed a critical orientation toward the politics, methods, and epistemologies of these funding institutions. While the CTP did incorporate the Ford Foundation's desired emphases by drawing on materials from area studies, its purpose in highlighting specific sites was oriented toward a multi-scalar understanding of how knowledge is produced rather than purporting to know any one place more "accurately" by incorporating gender as an added research variable. Similarly, though the Curriculum Transformation Project made use of "internationalization" as a term to describe its work, the archive also indicates its critical orientation to dominant discourses in higher education by explicitly marking the United States and continually emphasizing the power relations that define all national entities. In particular, the CTP's three international summer institutes, hosted at UMD with participants from China and South Korea in 2000, South Africa and the Caribbean in 2001, and Israel and Hungary in 2002, raised important questions about regional hegemonies, relationships between academic and state feminisms, decolonizing women's studies through collaborations across the Global South, and the differences between

translating structures and content across national and cultural locations. For this chapter, I interviewed several key contributors to the Curriculum Transformation Project: Dr. Rosenfelt, its longtime director and principal facilitator, Dr. Wang Zheng, who organized the Chinese delegation to UMD in 2000, and Dr. A. Lynn Bolles, who facilitated the participation of scholars from the University of the West Indies in 2001.

Archiving and Oral Histories

Beginning in the spring of 2015, I began to facilitate the transition of the Curriculum Transformation Project's materials from an active body of files used by CTP director, Dr. Deborah Rosenfelt, to long-term preservation and storage in the archives at the University of Maryland, College Park. This rich set of documents offers information about how the Curriculum Transformation Project grew from a single campus initiative focused on promoting diversity and inclusive pedagogy into a major facilitator of women's studies internationalization with significant contemporary effects. Based on my interest in the Curriculum Transformation Project, Dr. Rosenfelt invited me to take custody of all materials related to the CTP upon her retirement in the spring of 2015. The resulting transfer of two dozen large file boxes into my care began a long process of cataloging and archiving, from which much of my data is drawn. I had to first take stock of the archive's contents, identifying the range and type of materials included. In this first review, I created a preliminary catalog that sorted all the materials into seven categories of roughly equal sizes: funding, participant syllabi, participant information, externally-oriented CTP materials, internal documents related to CTP experiences, evaluations, and miscellaneous. Based on this knowledge of what information the Curriculum Transformation Project archive actually contained, I was able to develop a set of research

questions that guided me through the more in-depth archiving work as well as interviewing, note-taking, coding, and writing.

In order to parse this trove of data, I made use of several analytic techniques, including mind-mapping through a freeware web application program as well as qualitative coding. I drew in particular on Earl Babbie's *The Practice of Social Research* (2013) and Kathy Charmaz's *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* (2006) as well as Dr. Michelle Rowley's invaluable guidance on how to apply these methods to the CTP archive. Major themes that arose from the cataloging process included educating institutional stakeholders, coalition-building among curricular change agents, articulating the project's value and reporting back to funding sources, budgets and expenditures, internationalizing and engendering the curriculum, contributions and changes in women's studies, interdisciplinarity, graduate education, faculty development and collaboration, CTP facilitators and participants, diversity and differences among women, future aspirations for curricular change, activism, institutionalization and institutional specificities, technology, logistical concerns, and pedagogy. Thus, the question became how to pare down this list in accordance with the scholarly literature based on its relevance to contemporary issues as well as my own interests, knowledge, and goals for this dissertation. While I am confident that my conclusions reflect both the archive and the lived experiences it describes, I also acknowledge that another narrative could have been constructed based on the same information by focusing on other activities or contexts.

Having a conceptual organization for the contents of the CTP archive, I began the process of interviewing Dr. Rosenfelt in a more formal way based on research questions

developed through my initial review of the archive. We kept in contact throughout this process so that I could provide logistical updates and ask clarifying questions about the material as I encountered it. However, a more sustained conversation about the history and theoretical basis of the Curriculum Transformation Project became important once the main cataloging work was complete in order to garner additional context, verify my findings, and fill in missing information. We met twice in the summer of 2016 for around ninety minutes per session using my teaching assistantship office space in Woods Hall at the University of Maryland. During our first meeting, I focused on gaining insight into the personal and institutional factors that initially brought Dr. Rosenfelt to her role as director of the Curriculum Transformation Project as well as her reflections on the CTP looking back with an added decade of perspective. Themes for this conversation included financial and logistical support for the Curriculum Transformation Project, collaborating with the Ford Foundation, experiences at the early summer institutes, syllabus revision practices, finding and working with outside experts, and similar initiatives happening on other campuses in the United States. Once it became more apparent that my focus would be on the CTP's international work, I geared our second conversation toward the 2000-2002 summer institutes and the resulting graduate consortium. In particular, Dr. Rosenfelt and I discussed the epistemological and sociopolitical specificities that shaped each of these exchanges, the unexpected challenges and benefits of working with scholars from multiple national and cultural locations, and how the CTP collaborators continued working together after the program's conclusion.

In March of 2020, I was able to conduct an additional oral history interview with Dr. Wang Zheng, who facilitated the participation of the Chinese delegation to the CTP

summer institute held in 2000. We spoke via Skype for a little more than two hours, touching on U.S. / China relations amidst the emerging coronavirus pandemic and Chinese feminist history as well as her experiences with the Curriculum Transformation Project. In July 2021, I spoke with Dr. A. Lynn Bolles over Skype for about seventy-five minutes, focusing on the South Africa and Caribbean CTP institute as well as collaborations with academic feminists at the University of the West Indies and anthropological work in the Anglophone Caribbean. Unfortunately, the COVID pandemic made it difficult to reach other scholars for interviews in 2020 and 2021. Finding interlocutors for the Hungary / Israel institute proved particularly challenging as CEU had become embroiled in its move from Budapest to Vienna at this time and the primary Israeli facilitators proved unreachable, having retired or passed away. Nonetheless, the first-person recollections presented here offer a number of useful insights about the challenges and successes associated with the CTP international institutes as well as their present-day relevance for work in women's studies. My findings from the oral history interviews with Dr. Rosenfelt, Dr. Zheng, and Dr. Bolles are integrated throughout this chapter, offering insights and anecdotes that illustrate important themes for transnational academic feminist collaboration. This case study highlights the interrelatedness of individual and institutional narratives, particularly within the context of research on academic feminism. While the present study does not constitute a "biography," either of its interlocutors or the Curriculum Transformation Project as a whole, the reflections that Dr. Rosenfelt, Dr. Zheng, and Dr. Bolles offered about their experiences provide valuable evidence for understanding the history of women's studies at the University of Maryland and around the world. In drawing from

multiple, distinct standpoints to construct a history of the CTP, I foreground its significance to current transnational feminist theory and praxis.

Considering the role of oral history in forming my analysis, it is important to note how the relationship between the interviewer and interviewees differs in this case from more typical research relationships. My role as archivist and biographer of the Curriculum Transformation Project does lend me a certain amount of authority over the narrative and thus how the CTP is remembered and understood in the future. However, I am also a graduate student tasked with representing and evaluating the past work of my own department, including both mentors with whom I have shared a close, collaborative relationship and faculty I do not know well but who nevertheless may hold influence over my future career. A hallmark of feminist approaches to the production of knowledge is self-reflexive discussions of such power dynamics within a range of research methods. It is, therefore, important to mark my own vested interest in this topic as well as the complex institutional relationships that have structured this study of the CTP. Even though selecting a "meta" object of study presented distinct challenges, researching my own department and institution has allowed me greater access and depth of insight than would be possible by looking a different institutional case, enabling a more robust, locally specific analysis. In the service of transparency and in order to further diversify records of the CTP, I plan to contribute the recordings of my oral history interviews to the University's archives upon the completion of this dissertation. The willingness of Dr. Rosenfelt, Dr. Zheng, and Dr. Bolles to have their recollections preserved in this way, and perhaps employed by future scholars, testifies to the central role of feminist methods in my own research and in the Curriculum Transformation Project itself.

International Institutes

In 1999, the CTP and its partners secured a second multi-year Ford Foundation grant focused on fostering connections among women's studies scholars across borders. The emergence of graduate programs in the field during this time period generated questions of how to train interdisciplinary scholars capable of addressing transnational feminist issues and global relations of power. A central aim of the Curriculum Transformation Project, especially in the second half of its tenure, was to implement and institutionalize exchange opportunities for faculty and graduate students, including conferences, three summer institutes, and the founding of an international graduate consortium in women's studies. Each of these components shared a transnational feminist vision, but they had contextual, logistical, and interpersonal specificities that contributed to their different outcomes. When taken together, an analysis of the three international summer institutes may serve to illustrate some of the complexities involved with envisioning transnational feminist pedagogies and enacting the field's institutionalization. The CTP serves as an exemplar of strategic internationalization conducted through the lens of transnational academic feminism, specifically in its emphasis on building and maintaining relationships, practicing colleagueship, gathering and sharing resources, and engaging in self-transformation.

Though the international phase of the Curriculum Transformation Project began in response to a Ford Foundation initiative, its enactment of transnational academic feminist principles was an active choice and not a foregone conclusion. Particularly when viewed through the lens of political grammars of credentializing, development, colleagueship that I formulated in the previous chapter, the rhetoric that Ford used to

describe its goals for internationalization stands in sharp contrast with language used by the CTP. In their call for international project proposals, Ford stated: "Foundation staff have concluded that more remains to be accomplished to realize the wider dissemination of women's studies, particularly in the developing world; the further internationalization of the content of women's studies courses in the U.S.; and the enhancement of area or international studies scholars' capacities to bring a gender perspective to their teaching and research." Tellingly, this call for proposals locates the need for feminist teaching, research, and institution-building in the "developing world," though Ford still gives itself credit for identifying the issue. The political grammar of development implies that the aims of women's studies have already been accomplished in the U.S. and Europe, though their classes could benefit from greater internationalization. In Ford's call for proposals, expertise and knowledge are generally situated in the "developed world" with the expectation that these will be unilaterally transmitted outward. Successful projects are those in which U.S. women's studies scholars "disseminate" academic feminism around the world. To the extent that U.S. higher education is itself transformed by this process, it should be to acquire a "gender perspective" and assimilate knowledge about other places into the existing knowledge economy. The goal is to "enhance," not to transform.

This tension between Ford's and the Curriculum Transformation Project's visions for cross-border academic feminist collaboration can also be traced through negotiations over its programming. A letter from Dr. Janice Petrovich, who was Ford's Director of Education, Knowledge, and Religion at the time, highlights how the foundation conceptualized international women's issues differently than the CTP. Writing on behalf of Dr. Mahnaz Ispahani Bartos, who Petrovich identifies as a program officer specifically

interested in research on Muslim women, the letter asks: "We are interested in knowing more about your plans to address the issues of religious fundamentalism. Could you please forward a brief description of your project plans as they relate to these interests?"[66] Though it sidesteps saying so directly, Dr. Petrovich's letter makes clear that Ford expects the Curriculum Transformation Project to "address" Islamic fundamentalism specifically. While certainly a valid topic for academic feminist inquiry, scholars such as Jasbir Puar (2007) and Lila Abu-Lughod (2015) have noted that professions of concern for Muslim women's oppression have long been deployed as a strategy to shore up American exceptionalism, validating U.S. intervention projects in the Middle East. Combined with the imagined divide between the "developed" and "developing" worlds articulated in Ford's call for proposals, their vision of cross-border feminist exchange seems to suggest that U.S. women's studies can work to counter Islamic fundamentalism abroad without interrogating its own complicity in the very systems of power that enable inequality and outright violence. Dr. Rosenfelt's response addresses Ford's inquiry by strategically balancing the foundation's concerns with transnational feminist critiques of the premise underlying its request:

> Even your brief note evokes one of the conceptually interesting problems in addressing your colleague's concerns: not all "women in Muslim societies" are fundamentalist, and not all concerns about women and religious fundamentalism necessarily involve Muslim women. Nor can the experience of Muslim women be reduced to their religious affiliation—though at the same time, it seems crucial to consider the complex ways in which identity and experience can be structured by religious belief and practice. Somehow in the West our codes have conflated "Islam" with "religious fundamentalism" and Muslim women with a very exoticized and static veil…

[66] According to her LinkedIn profile, Dr. Petrovich worked at the Ford Foundation between 1994 and 2008. More recently, she has focused on Puerto Rico's recovery from Hurricane Maria and is currently an independent philanthropy consultant. A native of Dhaka, now in Bangladesh, Dr. Ispahani Bartos worked in foreign policy for many years before becoming a jewelry dealer (Fabrikant 2014).

> One of the issues that came up [during past CTP workshops]…was the complex responses (by no means monolithic) of both Catholic and Islamic contexts in the reproductive rights/reproductive health domain. With teams of researchers around the world, including Brazil, Egypt, Mexico, Nigeria, Malaysia, and the U.S., they had fascinating things to tell us about the differences in the very ways in which "reproductive rights" are constructed in different cultural contexts. I would welcome the opportunity to talk further about this set of issues with you or with Dr. Ispahani. (Perhaps she would be interested in being one of our speakers?) We are learning as we go!

While leaving space for further dialogue, this response astutely critiques Ford's framing of religious fundamentalism by delinking the implicit association between Islam and women's oppression. Not only does Dr. Rosenfelt highlight the multiplicity of identities, practices, and politics that operate within the category of "Muslim women," but she draws important connections among the ways that religious fundamentalisms operate within multiple national, cultural, and religious groups. This transnational feminist approach serves to push back on Ford singling out Islam while nonetheless emphasizing the value of international collaborations in fostering equity and change in multiple contexts. Rather than U.S. women's studies seeking to solve problems situated elsewhere, the Curriculum Transformation Project sought to challenge both the rhetoric and practices of global inequality while also making strategic use of internationalization funding made available by partners such as the Ford Foundation. Such a discursive shift shows how the CTP repeatedly challenged the political grammar of development to make space for greater colleagueship in working across borders.

This dissertation asks after the nature of relationships among diverse academic feminists from within and outside the United States rather than relying on a "spatialization-as-success logic" that might interpret such internationalization as uncomplicatedly positive (Tambe 2008). The archive provides a rich source of data from

which to examine how multidirectional exchanges shape feminist practices of teaching and learning. In this section, I will outline key theoretical and logistical issues brought to light by the Curriculum Transformation Project's three international summer institutes. While there are certainly additional themes worthy of investigation, the CTP archive usefully illustrates a number of unique cultural, historical, and epistemological issues relevant to its partners based on their unique national contexts as well as broadly applicable questions related to transnational feminist pedagogy. The China and South Korea institute in 2000, for example, raised concerns about how to collaborate across language barriers and navigate intraregional dynamics, in this case within East Asia. In 2001, the South Africa and Caribbean institute brought up other issues, including how to center participants' priorities and undo colonialism within women's studies. Finally, the Israel and Hungary institute in 2002 offered lessons about how to make constructive use of shared pedagogical practices and bridge disparate understandings of race. Though the University of Maryland was my entry point for narrativizing these cross-border academic feminist exchanges, it is also important to note that each of the countries and institutions that collaborated on the CTP international summer institutes have their own unique academic feminist histories that were already in progress prior to their involvement with U.S. women's studies. In order to acknowledge both the Curriculum Transformation Project's and my own basis in the United States while also decentering this location in the historiography of women's studies, I continually return to a discussion of how internationalization affected all CTP stakeholders: How did involvement with the CTP shape women's studies in countries that took part in its international institutes? How were the CTP and U.S. women's studies themselves transformed by these encounters? Such

questions are essential to understanding the history of academic feminism as a transnational endeavor. The following sections describe how the CTP sought to enact best practices for U.S. institutions engaged in cross-border collaborations: facilitating relationships across the Global South, practicing colleagueship through transparent discussion of all parties' goals for the exchange, sharing material and technological resources, and perhaps most importantly, engaging in continuous self-reflection and self-transformation.

As its primary funder, the Ford Foundation's political grammar undoubtedly had an impact on framing the Curriculum Transformation Project's international summer institutes. However, cross-border feminist collaborations are capable of making strategic use of the resources provided by institutions, even those with whom they navigate ambivalent relationships. In its successful proposal, submitted in response to the aforementioned call, CTP carefully distinguished its goals from those articulated by Ford:

> Our hope is to challenge and expand notions of what constitutes women's activism, to develop understanding of the historical and contemporary issues that engage women in specific locations, and to test and revise concepts in feminist theory against the experience and scholarship of groups of women outside the "West." In addition, we expect to exchange ideas and knowledge about the "shape" of Women's Studies in different locales, to explore the differences and commonalities in institutional experiences, and focus on the form and content of emerging graduate programs in Women's Studies. In addition, we have been told that our experience in program-building and institutional change in higher education will be of use to faculty visiting from some, though not all, locales where such processes are just beginning.

Bearing in mind the various forms of political grammar outlined in Chapter Two, the vision of cross-border collaboration offered here differs substantially from the internationalization agenda outlined by Ford. Though similar enough to fulfill the foundation's expectations, the Curriculum Transformation Project conceptualizes itself

first and foremost as making changes within U.S. women's studies—using ideas originating in the "West" but with the explicit expectation that its work would bring about change at home as well as abroad. Modeling itself after *encuentros*, the CTP establishes women's studies as a shared project with diversely situated but equal stakeholders whose relationships would be institutionalized through the international graduate consortium discussed later in this chapter.[67] Only then does this proposal raise the possibility of bringing about changes within other higher education systems, but even then, it offers experience rather than dictating a plan of action and acknowledges that some its partners will not need this kind of assistance. The Ford Foundation clearly recognized that the Curriculum Transformation Project would be capable of advancing its goals, but this did not mean that the CTP did so uncritically. In fact, the difference in approach encapsulated by these two excerpts resonated throughout the CTP's international institutes and prefigured the principles of transnational academic feminist collaboration described throughout this dissertation.

China and South Korea: 2000

The first summer institute of the Curriculum Transformation Project's international phase took place in 2000 and involved participants from China and South Korea, who shared several weeks of deep and sustained dialogue about feminist theory

[67] The 2001 CTP proposal referred to *encuentros* as inspiring its approach to transnational feminist collaboration. This concept comes from eight meetings that occurred in Latin America during the 1980s and 1990s, bringing together academics, activists, policymakers, and non-governmental organizations from around the region. Scholars have described the ways in which *encuentros* were important for establishing feminist networks capable of addressing political and cultural issues specific to Latin America—contrasting these meetings with the larger, internationally oriented UN Conferences on Women. The *encuentros* model is particularly relevant to the Curriculum Transformation Project because of its emphasis on building relationships among feminists from across the Global South based on overlapping affinities and shared political projects, see Alvarez (2000).

and praxis in East Asia in collaboration with facilitators and consultants from the U.S. Applications were elicited through contacts that UMD women's studies faculty had made with institutions abroad through earlier collaborations on scholarship and program-building—Dr. Claire Moses had previously done consulting in China and institute codirector Dr. Seung-kyung Kim drew on her feminist networks in South Korea. Archival materials indicate that the institute was productive in many ways, resulting in new translations of feminist theory and collaborations between academics from several institutions, who for instance, went on to produce the first Chinese-language women's studies textbook. Though undoubtedly impactful for the students and scholars who acquired access to such materials for the first time as a result of the CTP, this product of transnational exchange raises significant questions about language, institutionalization, and the relationships between academia, activism, and the state. Women's studies had been active in South Korea for decades by the time the Curriculum Transformation Project began its international institutes at the beginning of the new millennium, and there was a well-established tradition of collaboration between feminist scholars and the South Korean Ministry of Gender Equity. Despite the fact that China had implemented its first women's studies program in 1987, only twelve years after South Korea did so in 1975, the field did not have the same degree of visibility or impact there (Wotipka and Ramirez 2008).[68] Though the summer institute was geographically unified from a U.S. perspective under the regional framing of "Asian women's studies," the particular

[68] A comparative history of women's studies in these two locations falls beyond the scope of this chapter, however, there is much more English-language scholarship on academic feminism in South Korea than currently exists for China. Edited by Gail Hershatter, Emily Honig, Susan Mann, and Lisa Rofel, *Guide to Women's Studies in China* (1998) constitutes an important exception, addressing the field's history in the PRC, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. In her own chapter from this volume, Dr. Zheng outlines several factors that arose during our interview, including the Women's Federation of the Chinese Communist Party as well as the UN Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995.

political and economic histories of these two countries meant that the Chinese and South Korean institute participants actually had as many differences as similarities in their approach to and desires for this shared experience.

In her correspondence about this first international CTP exchange, Dr. Rosenfelt recounted the unexpected complexities of working with Chinese academic feminists:

> Our Summer 2000 visitors—ten feminist scholars, teachers, and journalists from a range of both academic and Party institutions—had much to say about the absence of and need for a culturally-sophisticated women's studies there. They felt themselves somewhat awkwardly located among competing discourses in China. On the one hand, they were—and were perceived as—carrying on a Maoist tradition of caring about "the Woman Question"—a question defined mostly in terms of equality in the workplace. And in these days when many progressive Chinese intellectuals have interrogated that very tradition, they suffered the risk of contempt for having "been there, done that."
>
> On the other hand, they were also perceived by Party loyalists as associated with degenerate and foreign Western feminism, which supposedly encouraged the demise of families and sponsored various deviant sexual practices. They felt that the practice of a kind of discursive cultural analysis familiar in the west but not in China would help unpack this dilemma and relocate both women and women's studies in a different and more progressive light. Simultaneously, they were critical of western feminist theory for its ahistoricity, for its seeming disregard of the precise historical circumstances that construct such dilemmas.

The number of Chinese participants and range of their professional backgrounds was unexpectedly widened late in the planning stages of the first international summer institute as a result of additional recruitment and funding made available by the Chinese Fulbright Commission. Though beneficial in widening scale and scope of this exchange, the expansion proved concerning to the South Korean delegation, who then insisted upon including more of their own participants to balance the numbers by national origin. Records of this negotiation are not present in the archive, but my interviews with Dr. Rosenfelt indicated that the South Korean participants were concerned, at least in part, about losing face by having their leadership role in the field overshadowed at the very

moment of transnational recognition. By the early 2000s, South Korean women's studies had taken up the mantle of representing "Asian" women's studies to a global network of feminist scholars, legitimized by its relatively long institutional history, familiarity with Western feminist theory and methods, close relationships with the South Korean government, and established alliances with the United States. For example, Ewha Womans University had been home to the Korean Women's Institute (KWI) since 1977, when it first began offering undergraduate courses in women's studies, followed by a master's degree program in 1982. Ewha subsequently established the Korean Association of Women's Studies and the peer-reviewed journal *Women's Studies Review* in 1984 and then founded the Asian Center for Women's Studies in 1995.[69]

By contrast, the Chinese participants had more ground to cover and perhaps more to gain from the skills, status, and knowledge acquired through the summer institute, which was likely a significant contributor to the Fulbright Commission's decision to fund more participants. Despite the validity of this rationale, adjusting the summer institute's composition led to unexpected logistical challenges on top of the relational concerns raised by the South Korean delegation. The archive offers documentation of problems such as delayed reimbursement for travel due to the relatively late addition of more attendees, but by far the most significant issue that arose was the lack of a common language shared by all the participants and facilitators. The CTP discovered that in

[69] For more on KWI, see: http://cms.ewha.ac.kr/user/kwieng. Ewha Womans University is the accurate spelling of this institution's name. Though no longer conventional, using "womans" without an apostrophe was an accepted possessive plural at the time of its 1886 founding by Mary F. Scranton, a Methodist Episcopal missionary from the United States—another important cross-border linkage in the history of transnational feminism, see: https://www.ewha.ac.kr/ewhaen/intro/history02-1.do. The institution continues to use this name in its English-language materials, with current faculty and students expressing a sense that "Ewha Womans University" conveys a sense of women's uniqueness. Its name in Korean is 이화여자대학교, see: https://www.ewha.ac.kr/ewhaen/intro/school-name.do.

practice, multilingual collaborations pose unique problems. Considerable labor proved necessary in order to include the non-English speaking members of the Chinese delegation in the institute's activities by translating large quantities of scholarly material—readings that needed to be accessed in advance as well as discussions that took place in real time. Linguistic barriers also limited the ability of participants from different countries to socialize, build relationships, and collaborate.

In some respects, expanding the demographic base of participants by including Chinese feminists from a wider range of institutions and linguistic proficiencies was very much in line with the Curriculum Transformation Project's aims for transnational feminist teaching and learning. By transcending conventional boundaries of faculty development initiatives, this first international summer institute was perhaps able to have a more direct effect on feminist politics in the attendees' home countries. Removing English proficiency as a prerequisite for participation helped to decenter the global hegemony of English, which is often especially pernicious in the context of multinational educational exchanges. Despite these benefits, however, and partly because of the challenges experienced, the CTP did not elect to include non-academics or non-English speaking participants in subsequent international summer institutes. This narrowed focus necessarily limited the project's future geographical reach and, perhaps, its overall impact. In so doing, however, the Curriculum Transformation Project was able to create future summer institute experiences that were both more functional from a logistical perspective and successful in fostering rigorous, collaborative intellectual experiences for the participants. In addition to issues around language, the 2000 summer institute also demonstrated the complex effects of U.S. institutions on intraregional relationships,

identities, and hierarchies. Shifting the proportion of participants from each country raised unexpected controversies about which scholars and institutions can represent "Asian women's studies" with validity, creating tensions among participants that were difficult to address and resolve in only a few short weeks. Though it remains critical to decenter the U.S. from analyses of bilateral relations between other countries, we must attend to the ways in which the status and authority afforded to U.S. educational institutions on the global stage can impact transnational feminist knowledge projects and exchanges between nations.

In March of 2020, just as the COVID-19 pandemic was beginning to take hold in the United States, Dr. Wang Zheng kindly agreed to meet with me for an interview via Skype. We talked for almost two hours, touching on the history of women's studies in China and transnational feminism as well as the Curriculum Transformation Project. Returning to the topic of the China / South Korea summer institute for this dissertation, I sought to integrate oral history from another facilitator's perspective on the experience in order to address its broader significance for transnational academic feminism. Though the CTP was a long-standing campus initiative at UMD, it came into focus from the Chinese perspective through a tour of U.S. and Canadian women's studies programs that Dr. Zheng organized for the President of China Women's University (CWU) and an affiliated party secretary.[70] Drawing on its own grant from the Ford Foundation, CWU leadership

[70] CWU, which was called China Women's College at this time, is the "first and only state-owned women's university" affiliated with the All China Women's Federation and the CCP government, see their English-language website: http://www.cwu.edu.cn/english/aboutcwu/index.htm. The initiative to expand this institution corresponded with the "opening up" of the Chinese economy during the 1980s and 1990s, which introduced foreign investment as well as the privatization of many industries. In our interview, Dr. Zheng discussed how these shifts led the Chinese government to seek ways of making state institutions competitive in "feminine education" and other competitive areas of global expansion.

sought to understand how "female education" was practiced in the United States in order to enhance their institution's credibility as it shifted from a training school to full-fledged university that sought to be competitive within the globalizing higher education landscape. Dr. Zheng recognized this trip as an opportunity to build connections with academic feminists in the United States and thus advance her own goal of promoting women's studies in China. Over the course of the trip, the CWU President slowly came around to this idea, even though the party secretary became increasingly suspicious of women's studies as being an endeavor to "train a bunch of feminists." This exchange illustrates the tension between different stakeholders' goals for cross-border collaboration, but it also holds significance for the larger question of how women's studies moves across linguistic borders through processes of (mis)translation. Chow, Zhang, and Weng (2004) note that "When research on women's issues was taking off in the early 1980s, the term 'women's studies' was introduced to China from the West in three versions of Chinese translation: *Funuxue* (women's studies), *funu yanjiu* (women's research or research on women), and *nuxingxue* (literally, female studies)" (166). Though distinct from the "naming debates" that have unfolded in the U.S. and other primarily Anglophone countries, this example shows how the language used to describe academic feminism can impact how the field is perceived in different contexts.[71]

Though it is not included in Joan Korenman's list of international women's studies programs, CWU's website indicates that it houses women's studies within its School of Social and Gender Development, offering a Bachelor of Arts degree as well as research support. English-language sources are sparse, but Korenman's site also lists women's studies research centers at Peking University and Tianjin Normal University. For a historical overview of the field in China, including the situation of academic feminism within sociology, see Chow, Zhang, and Wang (2004). This article is particularly useful because the authors draw extensively from Chinese-language sources and discuss issues related to translation. They further provide context for Dr. Zheng's institution-building efforts, which we discussed in our interview, as well as work by Dr. Fangqui Du at Tianjin Normal University.

[71] For another example of this phenomenon, see Yamaguchi (2014). This piece traces how the term *jendā*

Though Dr. Zheng had worried that a women's studies program at CWU would never happen, the university's leadership changed not long after when the party secretary retired. The new administration was more open to this emerging field, and Dr. Zheng began to work with young faculty members in China, seeking to create opportunities for them to receive further training in women's studies abroad. During their tour stop in Maryland, Dr. Zheng had met with Dr. Claire Moses and the two discussed her goals for advancing women's studies in China as its own field of study. With both universities receiving Ford Foundation grants for international collaboration around the same time, UMD made sense as a foreign host for the Chinese scholars, particularly given its experience hosting faculty development institutes on academic feminist topics. Dr. Zheng particularly wanted junior faculty to participate, prioritizing those who were enthusiastic about developing new courses and those who were situated at influential universities. In our interview, she emphasized the importance of building relationships with individuals who would use the experience to push for more back at their home institutions, ideally creating models for other faculty to emulate. As Dr. Zheng put it, "transformation is infiltration," highlighting the need for strategic approaches to transnational work.

In reflecting on her experience of the institute, and in particular the relationship between the Chinese and South Korean scholars, Dr. Zheng recalled a sense of affinity that helped them navigate differences with their colleagues from the United States. Both coming from East Asian countries strongly influenced by Confucianism, there was a cultural and historical overlap that made it easier for these participants to connect. Dr.

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furī ("gender free") was imported to Japan during the early 2000s, sparking reactionary anxieties about social change and Westernization. Academic feminists working with the Japanese government sought to supplant existing terms such as *danjo byōdō* (gender equality) because they believed that using a term derived from U.S. feminist theory would lend more credibility and contemporary relevance to their work.

Zheng described it as a feeling of "not having to explain as much" to understand each other. When I asked her to give an example, she remembered one day at the institute when they talked about Adrienne Rich's classic essay, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence" (1980), which perplexed some of the scholars from China as well as South Korea. Dr. Zheng recalled with amusement how Dr. Pilwa Chang from Ewha Womans University quipped that Western feminists actually had a "compulsory *sexuality*," which became a recurring joke during the institute. This anecdote itself was humorous, but as Dr. Zheng put it, "in the laughter we knew we had the same understanding," indicating a deeper connection generated through the shared experience of doing women's studies in a new epistemic context. These academic feminists were engaging with a new cultural and epistemic milieu, which in the U.S. in the early 2000s was being significantly reshaped by work in sexuality studies and queer theory. Recounting this story also led Dr. Zheng to reflect on her own journey of coming to better understand the United States through cross-border exchanges and collaborations, which was necessary in order to "translate" gender studies for practical use in the specific linguistic, historical, and cultural context of China.[72] In the years following their summer institute, the Chinese and South Korean participants maintained their relationships through shared publishing and editorial projects, especially in Asian women's studies, as well as visits in both directions for trainings and workshops. Dr. Rosenfelt and Dr. Claire Moses were also invited to Chinese institutions for short-term teaching exchanges.

As our conversation drew to its conclusion, I expressed dismay at the extent to

[72] For example, see her coedited work with Ko (2007). Dr. Zheng's work as a translator can be seen in her English-language version of *From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society* with Hamilton (1992). Also relevant to this history of state-sponsored women's studies is Dr. Zheng's recent monograph, *Finding Women in the State: A Socialist Feminist Revolution in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1964* (2017).

which Dr. Zheng had to struggle with state bureaucracy as part of her efforts to establish women's studies in China. Coming from a U.S. perspective, I did not necessarily expect politicians or administrators to endorse academic feminism, but I assumed that these stakeholders could be persuaded to support at least some projects—particularly if there was an overlap with state or institutional goals. Dr. Zheng was describing a very different political and epistemological process that relied more on building long-term alliances rather than persuading those in power to her position. In turn, she expressed surprise at my expectation that government and/or university officials would have been supportive, noting: "If they don't beat you down, you are already lucky." This framing of her recollections was not what I had expected to hear, but Dr. Zheng's interview reminded me to appreciate the many successes of transnational academic feminist collaboration. Even in the face of stringent opposition, women's studies scholars have creatively built and maintained cross-border networks that advance an academic feminist agenda. Examining these practices of strategic internationalization can provide us with insight about how politically engaged identity knowledge fields survive can navigate complex, shifting socioeconomic and political circumstances. In particular, the archival and oral history evidence about this institute highlights the importance of the CTP's emphasis on relationship-building and practicing colleagueship, which opened up space for these epistemological and cultural frameworks to come together.

Dr. Wang Zheng's oral history about Chinese women's studies as well as her experiences with the Curriculum Transformation Project helps to show the connection between one campus initiative at UMD and larger historical forces, including economic liberalization and contemporary Communist politics in China. Her account both

corroborates and extends upon Dr. Rosenfelt's oral history of the CTP in ways that illustrate the importance of considering multiple perspectives when constructing an account of women's studies as a transnational phenomenon. In addition to their evidentiary value for this dissertation, I hope that Dr. Rosenfelt, Dr. Zheng, and Dr. Bolles' accounts will further the collection and preservation of stories from leading academic feminists. As discussed in Chapter Two, autobiographic narratives that incorporate multiple perspectives are particularly adept at capturing the nuances of cross-border exchanges and articulating the political grammar of colleagueship.

South Africa and Caribbean: 2001

In the summer of 2001, the Curriculum Transformation Project institute participants were comprised of scholars from the Caribbean and South Africa. UMD Women's Studies faculty member Dr. A. Lynn Bolles facilitated contacts for the CTP drawing on her longstanding anthropological work in the Caribbean, and connections in South Africa were initiated by then-doctoral student Barbara Boswell and Dr. Lindsay Clowes from UWC. Participants, including Dr. Michelle Rowley, came from the University of the West Indies (UWI) and the University of the Western Cape (UWC)—tertiary educational institutions with unique and overlapping histories that made for particularly compelling conversations during this meeting.[73] In July of 2021, Dr. Bolles

[73] University of the West Indies was founded in Mona, Jamaica in 1948 as a medical school affiliated with the University of London. In the 1960s, an era in which multiple Caribbean nations were pursuing independence from Britain, UWI established itself as an autonomous university while also opening satellite campuses in St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados. UWI expanded further in 2008 with its Open Campus offering online and distance education, followed by a location Antigua and Barbuda starting in 2019. University of the West Indies is unique for its regional focus, which contrasts with national, state-level, or local institutions more typical in higher education. See the University's "About" page at https://www.uwi.edu/about.php as well as Jeremy Taylor (1994).

generously took part in an hour-long interview over Skype to discuss the political, institutional, and pedagogical contexts that gave rise to this particular collaboration, focusing specifically on the Institute for Gender and Development Studies (IGDS) at UWI. As Joycelyn Massia, Elsa Leo-Rhynie, and Barbara Bailey recount in their book *The UWI Gender Journey* (2016), IGDS was established in 1993, growing out of the Women and Development Unit founded in 1982 as well as other research and policy initiatives focused on Caribbean women that began in earnest during the 1970s.[74] The oral history interview with Dr. Bolles was instrumental for me in understanding the ongoing academic feminist work a UWI, which helped make the 2001 summer meeting especially effective in terms of building relationships and identifying points of convergence among the participants' interests as well as the logistics of creating a mutually enriching environment for collaboration. Dr. Bolles' reflections on the 2001 CTP meeting emphasized how important it is to understand where your collaborators are coming from, which is enabled by long-standing, trusting relationships among colleagues. With respect to the significant themes in transnational academic feminism raised by this specific institute—decolonizing women's studies and prioritizing

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University of the Western Cape was founded in 1959 shortly before South Africa become a republic through a referendum restricted to white voters. The institution was originally intended to serve "Coloured" students within the apartheid system, but through the 1970s and 1980s it became more independent and formally aligned with pro-democracy movements. UWC became racially integrated in 1994 and continues to prioritize the "fight against oppression, discrimination and disadvantage in modern day South Africa" as well as "helping the historically marginalised populations participate fully in the South African Society. See Anderson (2022) for a more extensive overview of UWC that addresses the country's political history as well as the University's website at https://www.uwc.ac.za/about/mission-vision-and-history/history. UWC began offering postgraduate degrees in women's and gender studies in 1995 and became a department in 2009, https://www.uwc.ac.za/study/all-areas-of-study/departments/department-of-women-and-gender-studies/overview.

[74] For current information on IGDS, see their website: https://sta.uwi.edu/igds. Today, IGDS offers an undergraduate major and minor as well as a graduate-level diploma, MSc, MPhil, and PhD all in Gender and Development. IGDS also publishes *The Caribbean Review of Gender Studies*, which builds on its research emphases including masculinity, science and technology, education, public policy, and sexuality.

participant-determined concerns—the two universities' parallel social and educational missions are particularly salient. While it is critically important not to conflate the cultural, historical, or political specificities of racial identity formation in South Africa and the Caribbean, the home institutions of participants in this summer institute shared a commonality in their commitment to educating students under and in response to anti-Black racism. In the Caribbean, as in the United States, the legacy of slavery is perhaps most salient in defining the historical parameters of such an educational project, whereas the even more recent trauma of apartheid resonated particularly strongly for participants from South Africa. However, the Caribbean and South Africa share parallel, yet distinct, colonial histories shaped by both British and Dutch imperialism. Taken together, these similarities and differences illustrate important linkages between the geographic and cultural sites involved in this particular educational exchange, but also the complexity of transnational research at the intersection of pedagogy and identity.

Despite these meaningful distinctions, the academic feminists from UWI and UWC were unified by a joint mission of building educational institutions capable of challenging the history and ongoing violence of racism and colonialism. Dr. Bolles noted, for example, that there was a sense of mutual trust that grew from the legacy of Caribbean support for the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa.[75] Thus, the participants' joint intellectual and political interests, shared identification with the Global South and, according to the archive, their "indefinable getting-along-ness" contributed to the success of this transnational feminist educational exchange. Along with their intellectual and political commonalities, the participants in this institute bonded over a

[75] For a broader historical account of this relationship, see Williams (2015).

performance by members of the Jamaican theater collective Sistren organized by Dr. Bolles, which proved to be a touchstone that the Caribbean and South African scholars returned to throughout their time in the United States.[76] Though the University of Maryland, as home of the Curriculum Transformation Project, was a significant institutional actor in this exchange, its role became one of a facilitator more so than a leader in this exchange. Generating space for meaningful, collaborative relationships outside the traditional binary of metropole/periphery was one of the CTP's primary contributions to transnational academic feminism during this era. Historically, and in the present, unilateral academic exchanges often reproduce an unequal dynamic between two countries. By contrast, the inclusion of three participating nations or institutions in the CTP summer institutes seemed to shift the balance of power by centering the relationships between academic feminists from across the Global South. Instead of focusing on what "developing countries" could learn from the United States, and how UMD could extract value from its partnerships with UWC and UWI, the Curriculum Transformation Project made a space for South African and Caribbean women's studies scholars to learn *from one another*. Indeed, the archive documents how the participants themselves played a central role in guiding the CTP toward this important principle for transnational academic feminist work. There were also moments for the U.S. facilitators to learn and adapt theoretically as well as practically—both of which are important in facilitating cross-cultural exchanges. Dr. Bolles recalled, for instance, how the institute improved once they began offering a hot lunch rather than the cold sandwiches typical of academic meetings in the United States. Understanding of the collaborators' cultural

[76] For more on Sistren, including their political and artistic contributions, see Green (2004).

norms and a willingness to change in this case allowed the CTP to convey hospitality to its guests from South Africa and the Caribbean.

In a report submitted to CTP after the institute's conclusion, participants from the University of the West Indies offered reflections on their experience alongside other constructive suggestions and recommendations for future cross-border meetings. In this document, the UWI participants lauded the institute's successes and offered ideas for adapting the concept of curriculum transformation to other national, cultural, and geographical sites. Though their description of the CTP institute was overwhelmingly positive, the report's authors offered a word of caution about transnational academic feminist exchanges and suggested strategies for ameliorating some of the risks inherent in cross-border collaboration. Central to their theorization of this endeavor was a commitment to ensuring that, "the internationalizing of Women's Studies not go the way of globalization, whereby internationalization could easily become the 'Americanization' of Women's Studies." Having directly observed the homogenizing impact of globalization throughout the 1990s, participants in the UWI / UWC summer institute were aware of the possibility that international partnerships could lead to further entrenchment of existing inequalities among nations as well as within the field of women's studies. Dr. Bolles stated that because everyone knew that the CTP was meant at least in part to "internationalize" UMD faculty, there arose understandable questions about whether the South African and Caribbean participants were seen as colleagues or "guinea pigs." The presence of three actors during CTP summer institutes, however, seems to have created a setting in which more complex relational dynamics could unfold, perhaps with a strengthened capacity to disrupt existing systemic power imbalances

within and outside the academy. Furthermore, the UWI participants' letter emphasized the value of their connections with scholars from UWC as well as UMD. As a result of the institute, participants expressed a desire for continued "expansion of North-South, and equally importantly, South-South relationships that will evolve together into a partnership based on equality and shared interests." This focus on transnational collaborations as a multi-sited endeavor effectively decentered the United States, thus opening up space for deeper relationships to be built among academic feminists from the Caribbean and South Africa. By making the University of Maryland a *facilitator* of this relationship, rather than one of its primary interlocutors, the CTP more effectively supported the generation of important insights about issues defined by the participants themselves, most notably around race, economic development, masculinity, and pedagogy. As a component of the CTP archive, this document offers useful information about enacting colleagueship through transnational academic feminist exchange.

As a jointly written, autobiographic document describing the Curriculum Transformation Project from the perspective of institute participants, the University of the West Indies report comprises a powerful example of several themes discussed in the second chapter of this dissertation. In particular, the UWI writers convey the importance of colleagueship, which is the most impactful form of political grammar used to describe transnational academic feminist collaborations—a mode defined by shared concern with the project's impact on all parties involved as well as mutual investment in affecting change within their home institutions. Commenting on the structure of the 2001 summer institute, the UWI participants offered the following suggestion:

> The sessions on *local and global feminisms*, if placed earlier on the programme, could have provided greater benefit to all participants and created the backdrop to

> the discussion on *internationalizing women's studies* where institutional realities and power differentials between the local and global dimensions are sharply defined. This could encourage and facilitate genuine and honest discussions and show clearly where we all stand in terms of internationalizing women's studies and redressing the imbalances in society. These kinds of exchanges facilitate what we all agreed should be conversations within and among partners. At the core of such relationships is the recognition of reciprocity and equality between and among our respective institutions. (emphasis original)

Though the relationships formed with colleagues from South Africa and the United States were both valued by participants from the West Indies, the authors of this report sought additional opportunities to analyze the premise of their transnational exchange as well as its political and epistemic implications. Centering the variations in academic feminism across locations from the very beginning of the institute, they argued, would allow for greater reflexivity about disparities among the CTP's various individual and institutional stakeholders. Attention to the ways in which cross-border collaborations affect partners in particular ways, often replicating existing hierarchies, is essential for transnational academic feminism to operate in the mode of colleagueship. Such dynamics can be named, understood, and actively challenged only when they are made visible and central to the work of collaborating around culture, geography, and other forms of difference. The UWI participants' report reflects the way that colleagueship must represent the perspectives of all stakeholders in continually refining the nature of exchanges. Rather than seeking to do transnational academic feminism "correctly" and paper over any disagreements, this example demonstrates the value of including feedback and even dissent as part of the historical record. By including this example of participants "speaking back" to facilitators, the Curriculum Transformation Project archive carries colleagueship forward, allowing for a richer narrativization of this important moment in the history of internationalizing academic feminism.

This document provides unique data for evaluating the CTP's impact and thinking through its effects on women's studies as a global formation. On top of providing useful qualitative information about how participants experienced these international summer institutes and processed the knowledge they obtained, the voices of feminist academics documented here raise important questions: How can we prevent internationalization from going the way of globalization? In what ways can U.S. women's studies to contribute to the field's development elsewhere without reinscribing Americanization? What might a transnational future for women's studies look like in practice? These issues remain contentious in the field today, which is why the Curriculum Transformation Project's international summer institutes can serve as a useful lens through which to view ongoing debates in the field. Importantly in this case, it was the participants themselves who brought such questions to the forefront. The documentation of this dynamic in the archive illustrates a second major lesson brought out by this particular exchange—prioritizing participant-defined topics. This institute's unique success in facilitating both deep interpersonal relationships and sustained scholarly collaborations attests to the importance of this finding, indicating its theoretical and practical relevance. In particular, these Caribbean and South African academic feminists focused on common concerns related to issues of race, gender, colonialism, anti-imperialism, and building local knowledges. The archival record of Dr. Rosenfelt's correspondence describes these scholars as "deeply committed to recovering and analyzing the complex intersections of gender with race, class, and ethnicity in a society where political change has been especially dramatic and visible, but where social and cultural change has not always followed suit. They found African American thought (Crenshaw, Dill, Collins) on

intersectionality especially fruitful as a potential theoretical model." This discussion of intersectionality also offers an interesting counterpoint to narratives about the field of women's studies that have often cast transnational feminism and intersectional feminism as mutually opposed or competitively jockeying for position in a field with limited space for "diversity." While it is essential for U.S. academic feminists to reflect critically on how a focus on internationalization has been used to avoid difficult conversations about the urgent work of anti-racism, scholars such as Jennifer C. Nash have illustrated the utility of conceptualizing transnationalism and intersectionality as interconnected formations.[77] In our interview, Dr. Bolles endorsed a "travelling intersectionality," which stresses a shared understanding of how oppression works and the necessity of adapting terminology as it moves across varied cultural, linguistic, and national contexts.[78] At the same time, Dr. Bolles emphasized the way that intersectionality requires local and historical nuance, meaning something very different in places where ethnicity or color might be more salient axes of privilege and oppression than "race" as this category has typically been conceptualized in the United States.

Despite their reservations about the risk of "Americanization," the work of U.S. scholars proved immensely valuable for this CTP cohort, specifically because it supported their conceptualization of priorities and concerns relevant to their own national and cultural locations. Undoubtedly, the focus on race in U.S. feminist scholarship on

[77] Jennifer C. Nash makes this point with respect to employment and field formation in her chapter, "Beyond Antagonism: Rethinking Intersectionality, Transnationalism, and the Women's Studies Academic Job Market" in Tambe and Thayer (2021), 37-51. See also her book *Black Feminism Reimagined: After Intersectionality* (2019).

[78] The idea of intersectionality as "travelling" evokes a classic essay by María Lugones (1987). More recently, scholars have taken up these terms to describe how identities intersect with higher education, see Anderson (2014) as well as Seo and Kubota (2022).

intersectionality was central to its resonance with the Caribbean and South African scholars, but it also highlights the importance of distinguishing between internationalization, globalization, and Americanization. The role of intersectionality as a "fruitful…potential theoretical model" for Caribbean and South African academic feminists demonstrates the unique value of transnationalism as a framework for women's studies. In this case, it seems apparent that intersectionality served as a method for centering race specifically as well as other complex compositions of identitarian and political affiliation.[79] It provided a shared lens through which to think critically about the processes by which knowledge is produced and circulated worldwide, interrogate the power of institutions, critique gendered nationalisms, and meaningfully address the site where this concept originated. Indeed, the joint emphasis on decolonizing women's studies and foregrounding concerns around racial formation in this summer institute was a success named by both the participants and facilitators. This dynamic was supported by the work of Dr. Bolles and other UMD faculty who built and sustained cross-border relationships—essential work for developing trust and mutual understanding in the long-term. Together, these strengths helped to create the conditions under which intersectionality could emerge as a useful, shared theoretical construct and pave the way for meaningful transnational feminist exchange. Subsequent collaborations between the

[79] This dissertation focuses specifically on the CTP's international institutes as well as the graduate consortium, however it is worth noting that intersectionality played a significant role in the Curriculum Transformation Project's work both prior to and following the activities discussed in this chapter. These included joint proposals submitted to the Ford Foundation along with UMD's Center for Race, Gender, and Ethnicity as well as the African American Studies program, which explicitly addressed intersections of race, class, and gender (1999, 2001). Also significant were faculty development institutes for scholars within the Maryland's state university system, including "The Social Construction of Gender, Race, Sexuality, and National Identity" (1993), "Gender, Race, Ethnicity, Sexuality" (1994), "Thinking about Race" (1998), "Race, Democracy, and Diversity" (1998), "Intersections: Gender, Race, and the Dimensions of Difference from Research to the Classroom" (1999), and "What Do You Mean, Post-Racial?" (2009).

South African and Caribbean participants as well as Dr. Bolles' ongoing relationship with IDGS and UWI also provides evidence for the success of this endeavor.

Israel and Hungary: 2002

In comparison to the previous international institutes, there is less archival material on the 2002 summer meeting in College Park, which included scholars from Israel and Hungary. As a result, my evidence and conclusions in this section draw more heavily on the oral history interviews with Dr. Rosenfelt, who used her own past collaborations in Eastern Europe as well as prior consulting work in Israel to implement connections with participating institutions. By this time, the international institute phase of the Curriculum Transformation Project, which had been supported by the Ford Foundation, was drawing to a close. As a result, less documentation was necessary during this part of the grant period than it had been early on when additional partners were being sought and renewal applications were in progress. There seems to have been a concurrent shift from print to digital records around this time, with emails and online forms replacing the letters and paper surveys that leave clearer archival traces. Furthermore, CTP's focus was beginning to shift toward collaborative institutionalization via the graduate consortium, which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. During such a period of transition, the lessons previously learned about transnational feminist pedagogy and collaboration proved significant. In this case, it proved particularly important to understand the stakeholders' unique institutional histories. The Israel and Hungary summer institute demonstrated how translating concepts and teaching practices across cultural contexts can constitute alternatives to the logic of "spatialization-as-

success" (Tambe 2008). This aspect of the 2002 institute was particularly impactful, but participants also faced challenges of misunderstanding specifically with respect to race.

The academic feminists who participated in this collaboration were based at Bar-Ilan University near Tel Aviv, Israel and Central European University in Budapest, Hungary. As with China, South Korea, the Caribbean, and South Africa, a full account of the feminist and educational histories of these locations falls beyond the scope of this chapter. However, it is worth remarking on a few distinguishing characteristics of these partner institutions that proved particularly salient to the logistical and theoretical findings raised by this cross-border educational exchange. Bar-Ilan University, one of the largest post-secondary educational institutions in Israel, was founded in 1955 through a collaboration between Jewish people in the United States.[80] Though a public institution, Bar-Ilan maintains a strong Jewish identity grounded in a combination of secular and religious education.[81] Central European University is an English-language institution

[80] The idea for Bar-Ilan University arose in the United States as part of the Mizrachi movement, which is connected with the World Zionist Organization. Modeled after Yeshiva University in New York, Bar-Ilan University is named for Meir Bar-Ilan (Berlin), a leader of religious Zionism and former president of the U.S. Mizrachi. The early government of Israel was initially reluctant to support another religious tertiary educational institution in addition to Hebrew University in Jerusalem, but the idea received considerable support from Jewish people in the United States (Weinberg 2007). The bilateral relationship between the U.S. and Israel remains important to this university, particularly with respect to fundraising, development, and public relations, see American Friends of Bar-Ilan University: https://afbiu.org. Activism and political speech have long been controversial at Bar-Ilan, particularly following the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by one of the university's law students in 1995. On campus, debates continue about academic freedom as well as the role of Zionist organizations and events featuring speakers who have criticized Israeli human rights abuses against Palestinians (Kalman 2011).

[81] Today, Bar-Ilan's Gender Studies Program offers practical and research-focused master's degrees as well as a PhD program: https://gender.biu.ac.il/en/node/943. Also relevant to women's studies, its Faculty of Law houses the Ruth and Emanuel Rackman Center, which "promotes the status of women in matters of family law and seeks to end gender discrimination and inequality in Israel." In addition to their legal clinic and counseling services, the Rackman Center advocates for women's rights within Judaism, including through domestic violence protections and in rabbinical courts, which have jurisdiction over marriage and divorce for Israeli Jews, see: https://rackmancenter.com/en/home. With respect to international education, Bar-Ilan often recruits students from other countries for English-medium undergraduate and graduate degrees as well as short-term exchanges and study abroad programs: https://biuinternational.com.

founded in 1991 just after the fall of the Soviet Union. Jointly accredited by academic organizations in Europe and the United States, CEU has a specific focus on the social sciences and was intended to bring American-style higher education to the former Soviet bloc.[82] Foundational and ongoing ties with the United States through educational institutions and religious communities are thus important to both universities. These connections were often evident in how participants experienced the 2002 CTP summer institute as well as the challenges made evident in carrying out its work. In comparison to the earlier summer institutes, each of which involved at least one university where women's studies had been institutionalized for more than a decade, the field was a newer undertaking for the Israeli and Hungarian collaborators particularly with respect to the establishment of graduate degree programs. This dynamic would have been different if the 2002 institute had unfolded as it was first envisioned to also include faculty participants from Birzeit University, which established its Women's Studies Institute in 1994.[83] Unfortunately, travel restrictions imposed by the Israeli government prevented

[82] Central European University, https://www.ceu.edu/about. Gender Studies at CEU offers several master's degree options, including through GEMMA, as well as a PhD program: https://gender.ceu.edu/history-department-3. In 2017, the Hungarian parliament passed a law regulating foreign university campuses that was "widely seen as a targeted attack by Hungary's increasingly illiberal government on CEU and its founder and honorary board chairman, the liberal financier George Soros" (Redden 2018). The following year, the Hungarian government cut funding and eliminated accreditation for Gender Studies master's and PhD programs at CEU and Eötvös Loránd University, a public institution also in Budapest. Critics have linked this move with the wider agenda of social conservatism pushed by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, which includes a range of anti-feminist and anti-LGBTQ policies. For more on this history, see Laczó (2020). CEU began operations in Vienna, Austria starting in 2019.

[83] One of the first academic research centers focused on gender in the Middle East and North Africa, the Women's Studies Institute also pioneered degree programs in this region with a master's degree in gender and development as well as an undergraduate minor, see: http://iws.birzeit.edu. Located in Ramallah in the West Bank, Birzeit University serves a primarily Palestinian, Arabic-speaking student body. Established as a school for girls in 1924, became a college in 1942, and then a university in the 1970s. Birzeit's operations have been significantly hampered by the Israeli occupation of Palestine over the years. As a result of "security" measures, administrators have been deported or forced into exile, the military briefly assumed power over personnel decisions, and the university was closed for more than four years during the First Intifada, see: "Challenge and Excellence," https://www.birzeit.edu/en/about/history/challenge-excellence.

Palestinian academic feminists from visiting the United States. Dr. Rosenfelt expressed disappointment about this development, noting that the institute's theme of "Theories and Practices of Difference and Commonality" would have been well-served by a more diverse cohort. However, the sheer scale of political and practical difficulties involved in bringing Palestinian scholars to the United States made this impossible. These logistical issues compounded Dr. Rosenfelt's concern that any real or perceived intervention into the Israeli-Palestinian conflict might put the Curriculum Transformation Project at risk with its backers at the Ford Foundation or at UMD. In our interview, Dr. Rosenfelt thus expressed some relief about the eventual decision to limit this summer institute to Israeli and Hungarian participants, despite deviating somewhat from the initial goals of this cross-border exchange. Over the intervening two decades, restrictions placed on Palestinian scholars and institutions as part of the Israeli occupation have garnered increased attention and generated considerable opposition both within and outside the field of women's studies.[84] While the 2002 CTP summer institute preceded widespread academic boycotts of Israel, the impossibility of collaborating with academic feminists in

[84] Since 2004, Palestinian and allied organizations have called for boycotts, divestment, and sanctions against Israel in protest against occupation, second-class citizenship, and displacement. In recent years, universities and academic organizations have increasingly limited their engagement with Israel, particularly institutions with ties to the military and security forces. Notably, BDS emphasizes disengagement with the government and universities rather than individual scholars, maintaining the importance of academic freedom: "Campaign Area: Academic Boycott," Palestinian BDS National Committee, https://bdsmovement.net/academic-boycott#tab1. The American Studies Association offers a helpful explainer on the academic boycott of Israel, which it voted to support in 2013: "What Does the Boycott Mean?" https://www.theasa.net/what-does-boycott-mean.

A majority of attendees at a plenary session on Palestine at the 2014 National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) conference in voted in support of BDS: "NWSA Statement Solidarity," National Women's Studies Association," January 19, 2015, https://www.nwsa.org/news/483386/NWSA-Statement-Solidarity.htm. NWSA affirmed this position in a 2021 statement: "NWSA: Palestinian Solidarity is a Feminist Issue," National Women's Studies Association, https://mailchi.mp/nwsa/nwsa-palestinian-solidarity-is-a-feminist-issue. Many departments and research centers in the U.S. and around the world have also voiced their support for Palestinian liberation as a feminist issue: "Gender Studies Departments in Solidarity with Palestinian Feminist Collective," http://genderstudiespalestinesolidarity.weebly.com.

Palestine illustrates one example of why such calls have gained traction.

The inclusion of Palestinian scholars could well have led to important insights and collaborations, but even among a group of women generally unified by Jewish identity, conversations around race and ethnic identity proved challenging. Building upon themes that emerged during other institutes, Dr. Rosenfelt recalled asking after issues of culture, religion, and political status during these sessions, hoping that participants would discuss whether "…definitions and understandings of race generated by U.S. feminists of color [could be] useful in analyzing ethnic differences in central and eastern Europe and in Israel."[85] However, the 2002 cohort struggled to take up these questions in the same way the South African and Caribbean scholars had engaged with intersectionality. Dr. Rosenfelt indicated that for both Israeli and Hungarian academic feminists, mentions of racial politics seemed to invoke anti-Semitism and recollections of the Holocaust. The violent ways in which ideas of racial and ethnic labels have been used against Jewish communities made this concept taboo and thus difficult to consider even from an intellectual or cross-cultural perspective (Turda 2015; Guckenheimer 2016). It also seems likely that growing international tensions around the complicity of Israeli universities in the oppression of Palestinians, who are frequently cast as ethnicized others, contributed to these attendees' reluctance to take up race as an analytic category (Abdulhadi 2019). Among the Hungarian participants, discussions about race may have evoked discomfort about the oppression of Roma communities, who have been subjected to forced assimilation and cultural repression as well as ongoing political, economic, and social

[85] For a more in-depth discussion of the diverse racial and national histories within Judaism, see Shohat (1997). Many scholars and activists have written about the overlaps between struggles against anti-Black racism in the United States and against the oppression of Palestinians, including Naber (2017).

marginalization (Majtényi 2016). Particularly in comparison to the other institutes when these conversations proved more fruitful, the 2002 participants' reluctance to engage with issues of race shows how translating categories of social difference can be sharply impacted by historical present-day forces well beyond the reach of any one particular transnational exchange.

Despite these challenges, Dr. Rosenfelt noted that some of the most successful attributes of this particular institute included the Israeli and Hungarian participants' shared interest in critical theory. Like the U.S. facilitators, both groups were already comfortable with seminar-style classes derived from European educational traditions, which made for productive intellectual conversations. However, it is difficult to disentangle to what extent this commonality reflects similar academic cultures among these three countries versus the specific affiliations that Bar-Ilan University and Central European University share with institutions in the United States. The complex multilateral relationships among Israel, Hungary, and the United States further highlight the limitations of a "spatialization-as-success" model for conceptualizing academic feminist internationalization (Tambe 2008). Looking only at the present case study, it might seem deceptively simple to interpret U.S. higher education as straightforwardly transferrable to these other national contexts. However, such a narrow framework runs the risk of misinterpreting apparent connections between these three institutions as indicative of a more general likeness between their home countries. It is undoubtedly useful to consider which pedagogical approaches translate most effectively across cultural, geographic, and linguistic borders, but we must carefully consider the historical and institutional legacies that determine how such exchanges play out. Doing so might

allow women's studies practitioners to better enact the principles of transnational feminism—including a more expansive perspective on what kinds of encounters are meaningful rather than focusing on expansion for its own sake. At the same time, cross-border exchanges open up different potential risks for each of the stakeholders involved, and collaborations inherently entail some degree of complicity with one another's conflicts and controversies—whether political, institutional, epistemic, or interpersonal. Contending with the wide swath of nations and universities involved in a multi-sited endeavor such as the Curriculum Transformation Project requires nuanced attention to the specificities of each location as well as how they change over time.

In keeping with the CTP's approach to strategic internationalization through a transnational academic feminist framework, the goal of the 2002 institute was not to teach Israeli and Hungarian scholars about race. Attempting to do so would likely have alienated these participants by erasing the still-present histories and traumas that have informed, in this case, Jewish feminist theorizing about identity and social categories within Hungary and Israel. At the same time, interventions around race have rightly become central to the way that U.S. women's studies narrativizes its own history, generating many of the field's most important political and epistemological contributions. Rather than viewing this point of tension as an impasse, however, the Curriculum Transformation Project enacted transnational feminism by critically investigating its significance for U.S. women's studies. Instead of trying to fix a problem situated elsewhere, the CTP asked how difficulties in translating the concept of race could be used to sharpen our analyses of how this category functions globally and in the United States.

International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender

In 2003, participants from the Curriculum Transformation Project's past summer institutes returned to the United States for a three-day conference, which elaborated on topics such as women's leadership, feminist critiques of development, and the differences among women's studies programs across locations. Sessions during this event raised questions about the institutional, cultural, linguistic, and intellectual specificities of academic feminism as well as sharing resources, technological tools for distance collaboration, joint research agendas, and the possibility of international student exchanges. Along with new collaborators from Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, "Educating for the Future: Crossing Boundaries, Building Coalitions in Graduate Women's Studies Around the World" laid the groundwork for the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender (ICGSWG) with the goal of institutionalizing transnational partnerships in graduate training.[86] In the final CTP report to the Ford Foundation, the Consortium described itself as such:

> Our objectives were to expand the number and geographic locations of women's studies programs participating in our ongoing project to create transnational linkages among women's studies graduate programs and to create forums in which participants in various international institutes could come together for wider exchange about feminist issues, research priorities, women's studies pedagogies, and institutional development. The overarching goal is to enhance the transnational study of women and gender at the graduate level, making it a collaborative endeavor across borders, regions, disciplines and cultures.

The concept of a graduate consortium emerged directly out of the Curriculum

[86] Along with the University of Maryland, College Park and Makerere University, other founding members of the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender included institutions involved with past CTP summer institutes: from 2000, Peking University (China) and Ewha Womans University (South Korea); from 2001, University of the Western Cape (South Africa) and University of the West Indies (headquartered in Jamaica), and from 2002, Central European University (Hungary) and Bar-Ilan University (Israel). For a discussion of Ugandan universities with a focus on gender, see Baine (2012).

Transformation Project's past summer institutes as strategy for institutionalizing the cross-border relationships formed through CTP exchanges so that they could be sustained and expanded into the future. Specifically, the Consortium coalesced around the goal of building transnationalism into graduate degree programs in women's studies, which grew significantly during the 1990s and 2000s.[87] This included the University of Maryland's PhD program in Women's Studies, which admitted its first cohort in 1999. The goal of centering multiple international partnerships was an innovative component of how the Consortium sought to institutionalize graduate programs in this field.[88] Their approach

[87] A complete account of graduate degree programs in this field would exceed the topic of this dissertation, however their emergence in the 1990s has been especially well documented in "Disciplining Feminism? The Future of Women's Studies," special issue of *Feminist Studies* (1998). Particularly relevant articles for this chapter include Beverly Guy-Sheftall, "Engaging Difference: Racial and Global Perspectives in Graduate Women's Studies Education" and Shirley Yee, "Establishing an International Doctoral Program in Women's Studies at the University of Washington."

[88] Though it seems to have been the first, the International Consortium for Graduate Studies of Women and Gender has been followed by several other transnational academic feminist projects focused on building cooperative degree programs and facilitating student exchanges. Started in 2006 with funding from the European Union, GEMMA offers an Erasmus Mundus Master's Degree in Women's and Gender Studies. Based at University of Grenada in Spain, other founding institutions include University of Bologna in Italy, Central European University (CEU) in Hungary (now Austria), University of Hull in England, University of Lodz in Poland, University of Oviedo in Spain, and University of Utrecht in the Netherlands. Another affiliate is Associazione Orlando in Italy, which is an independent institute, see Friedman (2018).

With its renewal in 2012, GEMMA partnered with institutions in the Western Hemisphere, including Universidad de Buenos Aires in Argentina, Universidade Estadual de Campinas in Brazil, Universidad de Chile, Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, and Florida International University as well as Rutgers University in the United States. Starting in 2017, Columbia University, New York University, and University of Redlands in the United States joined along with Cátedra Unesco de Cultura y Educación para la Paz and Universidad Técnica Particular de Loja in Ecuador, Universidad de la Habana in Cuba, and the Centre for Women's Studies Zagreb in Croatia. NYU departed the consortium 2019, but new institutions joined including Goldsmiths, University of London, and University of Iceland. GEMMA also has affiliates outside higher education institutions, including in government and private industry, see: "Welcome to GEMMA," Universidad de Grenada, https://masteres.ugr.es/gemma; Suárez and Almarza (nd).

In her *Feminist Studies* article on graduate training in Europe, Susan Stanford Friedman discusses the advent of several transnational women's and gender studies initiatives growing out of the GEMMA initiative (2018). Between 2013 and 2015, the EDGES Joint European Doctorate in Women's and Gender Studies program coordinated seven universities to produce a comprehensive report on the logistics of such an endeavor, including admissions, curriculum, funding, accreditation, and employment for graduates. In 2016, the consortium received EU funding for the new GRACE program, offering fifteen doctoral fellowships. See: "GRACE—Gender & Cultures of Equality and Europe," http://graceproject.eu.

differs from an area studies model, in which students typically enter graduate training with lived experience of another location and/or seek such specialization through a disciplinary unit at their home university. It also stands in contrast with the contemporary research landscape, especially for graduate students, where international topics are generally discouraged as impractical or unnecessarily extending time to degree unless additional funding can be acquired through prestigious outside grants.[89] By joining in partnership with other universities based in several countries, however, the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender aspired for transnationalism to play a foundational role in training academic feminists within the United States and around the world. Thus, equitable exchanges and mutually enriching collaborations

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As far as these programs' applicability to graduate education in the United States, Susan Stanford Friedman raises several important distinctions, including the rarity of undergraduate women's and gender studies programs in Europe as well as different funding and curricular structures for MA/PhD research. European universities have a long history of cross-border collaboration and standardization, particularly via Erasmus programs and the Bologna Process, however the 2017 Brexit vote has since complicated participation for institutions in the United Kingdom. By contrast, the U.S. educational system has been much more decentralized, though Friedman offers several paths that women's studies graduate programs in this country could pursue based on the work done in Europe—most notably a "mobility year" of foreign study built into the curriculum and greater emphasis on non-academic employment.

Other notable transnational academic feminist degree programs include the MATILDA European Master's Degree in Women's and Gender History, based at Université Lumiére Lyon 2 in France in partnership with CEU, University of Vienna in Austria, Sofia University in Bulgaria, Università degli Studi di Padova in Italy, and Ruhr-Universität Bochum in Germany. See: "MATILDA Program," Central European University Department of Gender Studies, https://gender.ceu.edu/matilda-program. Susan Stanford Friedman further notes the GENDERGRADUATES consortium, based at Universiteit Utrecht from 2005 through 2010, which produced thirty-nine PhDs in women's and gender studies. See "Final Activity Report Summary—GENDERGRADUATES (Women's Studies)," European Commission, November 23, 2011, https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/8336/reporting.

[89] Though graduate education has undergone a process of internationalization along with colleges and universities more generally, this has not necessarily translated into greater opportunities for cross-border research or exchange. Increased emphasis has been placed on recruitment of international graduate students, but the movement of scholars continues to flow predominantly from South to North. Universities in North America have often prioritized "how to internationalize graduate education at home" rather than investing in multilateral, ongoing partnerships or a "two-way street where domestic students and faculty equally adjust and learn from international students" (Nerad 2010). For a comparative discussion of doctoral training across geographical contexts, see also Nerad and Heggelund (2008).

across national, cultural, and linguistic borders could become central to the production and dissemination of knowledge in women's studies and allied fields.

The Curriculum Transformation Project archive includes a range of materials on the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender, including the 2003 conference program, pamphlets, event posters, printouts of online learning modules, and correspondence among the consortium's members. Furthermore, the archive features applications for funding from backers such as the Ford Foundation and UMD, which are particularly useful texts for autobiographic analysis because they feature the consortium describing itself. As discussed in the second chapter of this dissertation, the political grammar of colleagueship articulates cross-border relationships that are collaborative, mutually beneficial, and responsive to the unique needs of each stakeholder. In comparison with a credentializing or development approach, colleagueship necessitates that transnational collaborations both recognize and seek to redress structural disparities of power and resources. This approach was conveyed by the questions that the consortium used to prompt discussion of its goals during the 2003 conference: "[H]ow does women's studies differ institutionally and intellectually in different locations? What are some of the institutional barriers and openings for its development? What are the crucial research issues in different locales? In what directions does it need to grow transnationally?" Rather than conceptualizing academic feminism as something created in the U.S. and Europe and then exported or applied to other countries, the consortium understood women's studies as a shared transnational endeavor with equally important local distinctions. Building on the experience and knowledge gained through past summer institutes, the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and

Gender recognized that this field had been created simultaneously in multiple locations while also having distinct trajectories shaped by national, regional, and international concerns. The consortium's emphasis was on building women's studies as a field—not developing its stakeholders located in the Global South—an essential distinction for building respectful partnerships across difference.

The centrality of colleagueship as a value of the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender was further articulated in the Curriculum Transformation Project's final report to the Ford Foundation, which had provided support for the 2003 conference as well as the earlier summer institutes. Though the University of Maryland was this grant's primary recipient, CTP foregrounded the diverse priorities of its collaborators in describing their shared project:

> …the consortium was set up to [be] genuinely egalitarian and collaborative, meeting the needs of all participating institutions. The needs and wishes already expressed by participants in the prior grant include cooperative research ventures and cooperative quests for funding; visiting consultancies and faculty exchanges, both short-term and long-term; grants and fellowships to support research efforts by graduate students at participating institutions; and on-line seminars and courses for credit.

While leveraging resources available in the United States, the Curriculum Transformation Project did not conceptualize internationalizing the University of Maryland's curriculum as its primary goal in establishing the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender. These relationships would serve UMD students by centering transnationalism within the women's studies doctoral program, along with the university's teaching and research agendas more broadly, but the Consortium's larger purpose was to advance academic feminism around the world. Most significant to this aspiration was the principle of building equitable relationships among its constituency,

particularly in terms of the Consortium's priorities, opportunities, and resources.

Despite the significance of its founding, the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender proved difficult to sustain for a number of reasons with continued relevance to enacting academic feminism beyond borders. Nonetheless, there were several important activities undertaken by this collective, particularly with respect to online teaching and learning, women's health, and theorizing transnational feminism. In 2004, the consortium held a symposium on web-based pedagogies and jointly taught several courses. These endeavors built on planning sessions held at the 2003 conference, which included a workshop on "technological resources for teaching and curricular development across national boundaries." Ten modules were developed around the framework of "student-centered, web-based, and field-based learning," which consortium faculty were able to integrate within graduate and undergraduate classes at their home institutions.[90] Later that year, there was an intensive, two-week training institute for faculty and graduate students from across the consortium "to receive training in electronic and distance-learning technologies and to share ideas for the content of courses." Dr. Rosenfelt also noted that several ICGSWG members came together during the Women's Worlds Congress held in Seoul in 2005, laying groundwork

[90] One "transnational learning module" documented in the CTP archive was "Constructing Identities in Local and Global Contexts," which included units on "Intersectionality: A Case Study" as well as "Theory and Meanings of Differences in Local Contexts." Faculty for this collaboration included June Castello from University of the West Indies at the campus in Mona, Jamaica, Joo-hyun Cho from Keimyung University in South Korea, Francisca de Haan from Central European University in Hungary, and Seung-kyung Kim and Claire Moses from University of Maryland in the United States. Another module, created by Jasmina Lukic at CEU, Deborah Rosenfelt at UMD, and Tao Jie at Peking University was titled, "Gender, Texts, and Contexts: Reading Women Writers, Interpreting Sexual/Textual Politics." A third module focused on women's health was run as a pilot course in Spring 2005. This class was hosted online by UMD's learning management system, though no UMD students were enrolled. Faculty collaborators noted particular success in facilitating cross-cultural discussion of key concepts such as "wellbeing," though students faced disparate obstacles related to internet access, especially in Uganda and South Africa, see: Yusuf-Khalil, Bozalek, Staking, Tuval-Mashiach, and Bantebya-Kyomuhendo (2007).

for subsequent multi-institutional course offerings as well as a video conference event "Women's Health and Well-Being: Transnational Perspectives and Pedagogies" carried out with financial and technical support from UMD (Staking 2013).[91]

While ahead of its time in many ways, the CTP archive also reflects how these transnational pedagogical endeavors were complicated by difficulties with online teaching platforms, language barriers, and varied opinions about what constitutes meaningful educational experiences through digital modalities. The final Ford Foundation report highlighted that "substantial barriers exist to transnational electronic pedagogical collaborations. There are disparities in the technological facilities and support available at the different campuses, as well as differences in academic scheduling that make offering semester-long co-taught courses difficult." Though considerable changes have occurred throughout the higher education sector over the intervening two decades, these same issues remain prescient for transnational academic feminist collaborations today. The COVID-19 pandemic, in particular, has thrown into sharp relief how the "digital divide" continues to impact students and scholars locally specific ways, exacerbating inequalities related to class, institution, and nation. While emerging technologies can certainly enable new forms of collaboration and exchange, transnational academic feminist practitioners must use these tools strategically while maintaining a critical orientation toward digital substitutions for travel and sharing physical space.

The logistical challenges of working together across distance significantly

[91] Occurring on April 18, 2007, this event involved several past participants in the Curriculum Transformation Project and ICGSWG members with a focus on the transnational, team-taught course mentioned above. Discussants were Grace Bantebya-Kyomuhendo from Mkerere University, Vivienne Bozalek from University of the Western Cape, Kimberlee Staking from UMD, and Rivka Tuval-Mashiach from Bar-Ilan University. Ruth E. Zambrana from UMD served as moderator.

hindered the subsequent activities of the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender. Since then, however, CTP institute alumni have continued to collaborate on research, teaching, meeting at conferences such as the Women's Worlds Conference in Seoul in 2005, engaging in external department reviews, and taking part in exchange programs like Fulbright. International exchanges for graduate students did not materialize as they have through joint initiatives such as the GEMMA Master's program. Rather than a lack of interest and despite continued growth in the field, logistical factors including language, funding, technological limitations, and scheduling with multiple semesters and time zones proved most difficult in carrying out collaborative projects.[92] Between 2005 and its conclusion in 2010, the Curriculum Transformation Project shifted focus back to the University of Maryland, holding a variety of faculty institutes and other events focused on race, gender, and media literacy. These activities are well documented in the CTP archive and could be a valuable source for future research, especially with respect to the ongoing work of building anti-racist and anti-sexist curricula.

In addition to the practical considerations that made it difficult to sustain collaborations across borders, Dr. Rosenfelt described a shift after the mid-2000s away from internationalization as a priority for higher education institutions and large nongovernmental funding organizations like Ford. Within the field itself, there was also a growing emphasis on LGBTQ Studies and queer theory during this time that corresponded with fewer projects being organized under the label "women's studies." During our second oral history interview, in which we talked about the CTP's conclusion at length, she expressed a sense that graduate students' scholarly interests and needs have

[92] For more on the current landscape of cross-border academic collaborations, see Helms (2014).

shifted in recent years. Furthermore, the diversification of many women's studies departments has generated more opportunities to work with faculty specializing in transnational feminisms within U.S. institutions. As global connectedness has become a fact of life rather than a project to be actively cultivated, cross-border exchanges became deprioritized as part of graduate training. The higher education sector as a whole has moved away from international projects that necessitate institutional investments in mobility, preferring less-expensive on-campus or digital endeavors as well as approaches that shift the costs of travel onto individuals.[93] The International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender was also founded at the very moment when technology was taking off in such a way as to make transnational collaboration more meaningful and accessible using digital tools. Since the CTP's conclusion, less-resourced universities in the Global South have acquired more reliable internet access and computing resources, allowing for a locally driven internationalization to occur with less reliance on the facilitative and clearing-house functionalities of Global North institutions or multi-sited consortia.[94] Those transnational initiatives that have persisted, such as GEMMA, have

[93] Higher education research has documented a range of motivations for internationalization, which have changed over time, however "academic and social/cultural rationales" have generally been produced by economic and political imperatives toward global competitiveness rather than vice versa. This is not to say that specific actors, projects, or universities cannot be driven by genuine desire for transnational cooperation or intercultural understanding, but rather that institutional profit and national influence remain key factors under conditions of neoliberalism and academic capitalism (Qiang 2003).

More recently, the American Council on Education (ACE) has documented the predominance of "in-house models" for internationalization as well as the growth of administrative "senior international officer" positions and overseas student recruiters. Internationalization continues to be stratified among U.S. colleges and universities, with doctorate-granting institutions and wealthier schools more likely to engage in cross-border projects. Interestingly, the ACE report also notes a significant decrease in government funding for internationalization endeavors among tertiary educational institutions since 2001 (Helms, Brajkovic, and Struthers 2017). For additional information on trends in U.S. international education, see the "Open Doors" report from the Institute on International Education in partnership with the U.S. Department of State, EducationUSA, and USA Study Abroad. This data includes useful insights about student enrollment, off-campus travel, and international scholars. See https://opendoorsdata.org.

[94] Many texts have explored the impact of expanded information and communication technologies for

done so by drawing on the substantial experience of organizations such as the European Union, building on a narrower regional focus with well-established practices for facilitating cross-border educational exchanges. In the future, however, it seems likely that technology will continue to make transnational projects more feasible and affordable by allowing scholars and students to collaborate remotely. One of the few silver linings coming out of the COVID-19 pandemic has been the improved utility of digital tools such as video conferencing and platforms for online teaching and learning. Scholars, students, and staff have developed greater fluency with these technologies such that they can be effectively employed by a range of stakeholders. Academic feminist practitioners should maintain a critical perspective toward institutional interest in promoting online collaboration or distance learning initiatives, which may supplant more time and resource-intensive approaches to diversifying curricula or fostering cross-border collaboration. Though nothing can replace coming together in person, however, women's studies can be strategic and proactive about exploring new avenues for building and sustaining its transnational endeavors.[95]

In our conversations, Dr. Rosenfelt described the "filaments" of connection that did persist from the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and

"developing" educational institutions with an eye toward how these enable greater access and inclusion (Vrasidas, Zembylas, and Glass 2009). For a synthesis of the higher education research on this topic, see Richardson and Lee (2014). Despite these advancements, access to both technological and information resources remain unequal across contexts—a trend which has been exacerbated by the globalizing "knowledge economy." For compelling examples of how students and scholars navigate these disparities through institutional and informal practices in different countries, see Karaganis (2018).

[95] In their introduction to *Transnational Feminist Itineraries*, Tambe and Thayer (2021) describe a shift from "embodied transnationalism" to "spectral transnationalism" that has occurred since the 1990s (22-26). These terms convey how cross-border feminist activism is now less likely to emerge through in-person meetings like the UN Conferences or Women's Worlds Congresses, transitioning instead to more grassroots, locally situated projects that nonetheless find transnational solidarity online and through shared critiques of global forces such as capitalism, white supremacy, right-wing authoritarianism.

Gender. Ultimately, its institutional form could not be sustained by formal structures and thus its impact may not be legible to the institutions that house, fund, and facilitate this kind of important work. The archive makes apparent that dozens of faculty, both from the U.S. and abroad, were deeply impacted by their involvement with the CTP in ways that undoubtedly had a significant impact on their subsequent service, scholarship, and teaching—affecting many institutions and an incalculable number of students. The issues of difference, geography, and translation raised by the Curriculum Transformation Project and discussed in this chapter are useful for understanding and enacting transnational feminist pedagogy. However, there are necessarily threads of meaning and connection that elude preservation in the archive and representation in the narrative presented here. Future work on the CTP would be well-served by drawing on the new catalog created as part of this dissertation in order to access relevant data more efficiently and consider other methodological approaches for examining its impact. Focusing on archival materials and oral history interviews with organizers of the Curriculum Transformation Project and International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender does not necessarily offer a complete perspective. Whereas this chapter emphasizes the perspective of facilitators, a possible future step would be shifting attention toward the experiences of participants. Gathering interviews and documenting the work that individuals and institutions have conducted in the time period since their involvement with the CTP would likely provide a useful complement to the data described and analysis generated thus far.

In their final report on the 2003 conference, the Curriculum Transformation Project offered the following reflection, which exemplifies its emphasis on building and

maintaining diverse, multi-sited connections among academic feminists from varied locations. This is strategic internationalization in the sense of being logistically prudent, but it also conveys the importance of decentering institutions in the Global North so that other relationships can flourish:

> We think that the graduate Women's Studies programs of all the participating institutions will be greatly enhanced and strengthened by these affiliative ties, and that Women's Studies as a field of endeavor will profit from its elaboration across borders rarely crossed in academia, borders not only of nation but between north and south, east and west; between privileged research university and historically Colored institution in post-apartheid South Africa; between secular and religious; between capitalist, communist, post-communist. We think that ultimately it will serve as a model for academic democracy, a structure suitable for the next stage of an enterprise, Women's Studies, that has always linked the production of knowledge with the hope for progressive social change.

This reflection offers an opportunity to think about what colleagueship can look like in practice—its political grammar conveys the importance of cross-border connections that foreground the varied needs of participants, institutions, and nations. The ability for women's studies to function as a site of academic democracy that challenges inequalities in the production and circulation of knowledge requires deep understanding of its many stakeholders. The histories and investments of particular universities and countries, as my interviews with Dr. Bolles and Dr. Zheng revealed, are essential for making sense of how collaborations work on an everyday basis. My conversations with Dr. Rosenfelt and the CTP archive together made it possible to link these various elements together and thus narrativize a transnational history of women's studies.

The Curriculum Transformation Project's international institutes originated in the United States, evolving initially from the impetus to "internationalize" and "engender" faculty across the University System of Maryland—this context matters greatly, but one of my key findings from working on this case study has been importance of

simultaneously decentering U.S. institutions, funders, and bilateral relationships. While U.S. women's studies practitioners must acknowledge our own standpoint, it is equally important to consider other cross-border relationships that often have an even more substantial effect on how collaborations play out—particularly because the international CTP institutes involved academic feminists from multiple countries. The 2000 institute, for instance, was shaped by the political and economic dynamics between China and South Korea as well as disagreements about the meaning and location of "Asian women's studies." The following year in 2001, participants from South Africa and the Caribbean were able to develop Global South solidarity around their overlapping histories and institutional aims, strengthened by transnational activism against colonialism and apartheid. The final international institute in 2002 was significantly shaped by conflicts between Israel and Palestine as well as post-Holocaust tensions about race among women in the Jewish diaspora. While each case was distinct, they collectively illustrate how our understanding of transnational academic feminism must go beyond a U.S. or Eurocentric framework. By attending to the specific cross-border relationships involved in transnational collaborations, women's studies scholars have a better chance of engaging in meaningful internationalization without falling back on Americanization. Such nuances give a fuller picture of this emerging interdisciplinary field, but they also demonstrate strategies that present-day academic feminists can employ in our work with funders and universities—and with one another.

The Curriculum Transformation Project undoubtedly had a significant impact on teaching, learning, and research in Maryland and throughout the United States, but it looked beyond this local context to help cultivate women's studies as a global project.

Exemplifying the principle of colleagueship formulated in Chapter Two, the CTP international institutes offer a case study of how transnational academic feminism can be practiced strategically to benefit a range of stakeholders with particular needs and investments. To do so involves recognizing and seeking to redress past as well as present inequalities among institutions and nations. It must involve decentering the United States in order to address a wider range of international dynamics—both sites of tension and points of solidarity. This involves building trust through the cultivation of long-term, mutually beneficial relationships in contrast with an extractive or one-sided approach. Perhaps most importantly, the Curriculum Transformation Project shows how U.S. universities can leverage their relatively privileged position in the global knowledge economy in order to support the ongoing academic feminist work of colleagues situated elsewhere. As I will expand upon in the conclusion of this dissertation, this work requires U.S. women's studies to remain continually open to changing its own theories and practices. By resisting the impetus to impose a single, Global North version of academic feminism on other places, this field can transform the dynamics of higher education to be more inclusive and effective in enacting social change.

Conclusion

Though this dissertation has offered a transnational account of women's studies in the past and present, the story of this field is still unfolding. Those of us invested in the transformative potential of feminist approaches to pedagogy, research, and administration should be informed about the breadth and complexity of work that has already been completed or remains in-progress, but the greatest significance of this account lies in its potential to guide our future endeavors. Women's studies and its allied fields have undergone tremendous growth over the last five decades through a combination of local, regional, and national movements as well as cross-border collaborations—but the impact of academic feminism within and outside higher education has never been a foregone conclusion. This study demonstrates that women's studies has been generated and sustained through the deliberate, creative efforts of university students, faculty, and staff as well as their supporters. By critically and strategically advancing academic feminist projects, this emerging interdisciplinary field has continually transformed itself along with the institutions and societies where it resides. Perhaps predictably, these efforts have not always been well-received, often sparking hostilities that both reflect and reinforce a wider, persistent backlash against the greater representation of diverse perspectives in our collective intellectual, political, and social life. To counter such resistance and persist in the project of academic feminism, women's studies practitioners must work together across difference—a directive that may appear straightforward on its face but in fact constitutes a challenging, open-ended process. Transnational academic feminism remains an aspiration rather than a goal we can fully achieve, but there are profound lessons to be

learned from its pursuit, which I have explored in this dissertation through digital mapping, autobiographics, archiving, and oral history.

The first chapter, "Where is Women's Studies? Digital Cartographies and Possibilities of Scale," embarks on this investigation by documenting and describing the field's emergence in the broadest possible terms. Taking a global view of the field over five decades, the ArcGIS and StoryMaps versions of *Women's Studies Worldwide* use innovative cartography tools, informed by critical digital humanities scholarship, to paint a more robust and comprehensive portrait of the field than has been previously available. This large scale of analysis and the sheer number of sites included necessitates providing less depth of information about each of the individual institutions, countries, and regions featured, but this is an area where the map can evolve over time as the dataset continues to expand. At present, the zoomed-out ArcGIS version shows hundreds of data points at the same time. The upside of this approach is that it allows users to follow their own lines of inquiry and generate new questions about the history and present state of women's studies. As a counterbalance, however, the StoryMaps version uses a timeline and nation-level case studies to provide context and nuance that make the data more meaningful. The bibliographies serve both of these representations by supporting users in learning more about the history of academic feminism within specific locations as well as decentering traditional narratives about the field that overrepresent the Global North. Showing women's studies in the United States, Canada, Western Europe, and Australia on equal terms with sites in the Global South invites us to think differently about where feminism originates and how it circulates across borders. For example, this process allowed me to recognize the important role multinational and multi-institutional consortia as well as

states and nongovernmental funding agencies have played in promoting women's studies. As illustrated by the field's history in the former Soviet Union, such partnerships can support institutionalization but sometimes have detrimental long-term effects that cannot easily be foreseen.

In Chapter Two, "Political Grammars of Cross-Border Academic Feminism," I narrow the scope of analysis to examine several instances of transnational women's studies projects as these have been narrativized through collaborative first-person writing. Using the concept of political grammar, I argue that the nature of relationships among women's studies practitioners can be traced through the language they deploy to describe themselves and others. In this way, analyzing the discourse used to enact self-representation and self-reflexivity can elucidate power dynamics among academic feminists situated at multiple institutions, reflecting their varied national and cultural standpoints. Looking at edited collections such as *The Politics of Women's Studies: Testimony from 30 Founding Mothers*, which focuses on the United States, in comparison with *Changing Lives: Life Stories of Asian Pioneers in Women's Studies*, it becomes clear that academic feminists from the United States have felt less compelled to specify their own locations because they were assumed to reside at the field's center. As a result, references to other countries are spoken about through credentializing political grammar in contrast with narratives by Asian women's studies practitioners that more often use contextualizing grammar to describe past and present asymmetries such as colonialism. Also in this chapter, I compare two scholarly articles about cross-border institution-building projects, one between the Netherlands and Yemen and the other between Canada and Indonesia. The first of these relies heavily on the political grammar of development,

erasing the history underlying this exchange and maintaing feminist expertise as located in the Global North without taking accountability or seeking to rectify this dynamic. The latter example more fully employs a political grammar of colleagueship to acknowledge past and present relationships among nations with an explicit focus on mutual transformation. Taken together, these four examples of academic feminist autobiographics show how language matters in the way cross-border projects are conceptualized and enacted, affecting their sustainability and impact.

Chapter Three, "Curriculum Transformation and Collaborative Institutionalization" goes a step further in providing a detailed account of one institutionally specific women's studies project. I began research for this dissertation by looking back at the history of my own department and university, which allowed a detailed site-specific narrative to emerge. By documenting the Curriculum Transformation Project archive and interviewing its facilitators, I was able to trace how the internationalization of women's studies unfolded through an interplay of personal and professional relationships as well as shifting goals on the part of educational institutions, nongovernmental organizations, and nation-states. Though this investigation began with the University of Maryland, it evolved to consider the unique histories and investments of collaborators from China, South Korea, South Africa, the Caribbean, Israel, and Hungary as well as the Ford Foundation. Once again, the local and global are interconnected—transnational academic feminism requires ongoing navigation between particular and universal scales of analysis. The three international summer institutes each offer distinct insights, including about the circulation of terms such as "women" and "gender" in addition to "feminism" and "intersectionality." Intraregional and diasporic dynamics also

played a major role alongside logistical differences in how universities function. Most importantly, this study of the Curriculum Transformation Project shows how U.S. colleges and universities can meaningfully support women's studies projects based elsewhere using several strategies: mediating between partners and funding organizations, centering the relationships between other academic feminists, and developing a deeper understanding of their unique political, cultural, and epistemological contexts. Documenting this exemplar of cross-border women's studies collaboration, including the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender, deepens our collective understanding of this field's history.

Using the insights developed through work on these three chapters, I have synthesized four recommendations for how women's studies practitioners can engage in strategic internationalization in ways that advance principles of transnational feminism. Taken together, the digital map, autobiographic analyses, and Curriculum Transformation Project illustrate both the potential successes and many challenges inherent to international collaboration, thus offering insights about how U.S. women's studies can forge ethical and mutually beneficial cross-border collaborations moving forward. First, those with relative privilege in terms of rank, job security, and/or access to resources should undertake an active role as facilitators of cross-border relationships. Particular weight should be placed on building and supporting networks among scholars as well as institutions who occupy relatively marginal positions within the global knowledge economy. Such work would involve strategically mediating with (non)governmental funding organizations located in the Global North to leverage resources on behalf of their partners' needs. Depending on the project's goals, the focus might be on colleges and

universities in countries with relatively less-resourced education systems or fewer existing institutional supports for academic feminist work. Transnational collaborations might also foreground opportunities for graduate students, junior scholars and professional-track faculty, women of color, and/or those who work in languages other than English. Rather than focusing solely on their own cross-border relationships, U.S. women's studies should decenter itself in order to help build and sustain diversely situated academic feminist networks. Second, women's studies practitioners should prioritize colleagueship as their primary mode of exchange, both in terms of political grammar and the self-reflective approach to collaboration that it represents. As described in the second chapter of this dissertation, colleagueship requires acknowledging and challenging the power hierarchies inherent in cross-border collaboration. Cowritten texts in the CTP archive demonstrate how the discourse and practices of colleagueship can make international projects more sustainable and effective in challenging entrenched systems of power. Paying explicit attention to political grammar offers a mechanism for individual and shared reflections on creating more equitable partnerships. In practice, this could look like challenging stereotypes that limit how funders or other institutions frame their work with academic feminists from different cultural backgrounds.

Third, U.S. women's studies practitioners should work to gather and share resources in terms of ideas, finances, logistics, and technology. In particular, institutions can leverage their ability to help facilitate in-person meetings through direct financial support for travel costs as well as logistical assistance. The institutional power of universities can be used to help other academic feminists pursue grant funding or navigate the U.S. customs and immigration system. Other projects might facilitate new

translations, provide library services and research support, share technology, or offer assistance with publishing. Finally, building on the strong tradition of self-reflexivity in women's studies, all stakeholders engaged in cross-border exchange projects must be open to critical assessment of their own place within global hierarchies and to self-transformation. International collaborations must go hand in hand with the transformation of our own epistemologies, methodologies, and institutions. Rather than externalizing the need for change, those with relative privilege should continuously address our own complicity with past and present systems of inequality. By divesting from systems of power, U.S. women's studies can improve how transnational academic feminism is practiced through cross-border collaborations. To build stronger alliances that effectively confront the present-day challenges facing academic feminism, we must address our limitations now and into the future. The goal is not to "fix" women's studies or make it more palatable to critics but rather to remain engaged in a continuous process of accountability and transformation.

In addition to these recommendations for U.S. women's studies, this dissertation has generated several insights with significance for future scholarship related to academic feminism as well as higher education. Though it is useful to look at moments of growth and expansion, we must resist the assumption that these are uncomplicatedly positive developments. When embarking on this project, a bias toward programmatic expansion as an inherent goal for academic feminism initially led me to focus on the establishment of new women's studies programs and overlook locations where the field has contracted or been dismantled altogether. Though it has continued to grow, seeing program closures, discontinuations of certain projects, or outright bans as exceptional within an overall

upward trajectory can limit our perspective. Particularly over the last few years with the expanded backlash against "gender ideology," it has become clear that women's studies has always been bound up with political, cultural, and epistemological shifts across sites and scales. Academic feminists are not victims to such processes—there are many opportunities for strategic intervention, coalition-building, and resistance, but we must also understand our work as embedded in a variety of local and global power dynamics. Rather than falling into capitalist or colonial logics of constant expansion, which are often insisted upon by neoliberal universities and nongovernmental funding organizations, women's studies can think critically about the quality of particular cross-border relationships. The non-persistence of any particular program or initiative should not be conceptualized in terms of success or failure, but each example can tell us something useful about the factors that shape academic feminist work. These include large-scale political shifts such as the rise of authoritarian right-wing movements and the turn away from internationalization as an institutional priority as well as smaller-scale but no less significant issues including disparate access to technology or administrative differences in how universities are organized. Without assuming that women's studies can itself resolve or transcend these challenges, understanding their contours in both the past and present can help us strategize about how to build as well as sustain academic feminist collaborations—endeavors that create and hold space for women to share knowledge oriented toward building a more just society.

The findings and implications developed in this dissertation suggest several avenues for future research that would further advance the goals of understanding women's studies from a transnational perspective and supporting academic feminism

across diverse cultural, linguistic, institutional, and national contexts. With respect to the digital map discussed in Chapter One, I will continue to refine and expand the underlying dataset by filling in more information about each entry, cross-checking multiple sources, and adding additional programs. Along with new locations and updated information, I will prioritize including institutions that previously had women's studies degree programs or research centers but do not currently—for example, several of the sites in Russia discussed in my first chapter. The map will be revised to feature discontinued programs in their own feature layer so that the field's history can be represented alongside its present distribution. This phase of the project will be more labor-intensive because information about discontinued programs is less readily available online, however this is changing as the backlash against both feminism and "gender ideology" receives more widespread attention. As I continue building my bibliography about women's studies outside the United States, I can use this knowledge to develop additional sources and contacts with academic feminist practitioners who might shed more light on these events. This additional research would support the writing of new case studies, particularly on the national level, to further decenter the U.S. and Europe as well as drawing conclusions about how the field has evolved in distinctive ways. I will pursue additional training in the Esri suite of programs in addition to collaborating with digital humanities and digital cartography experts in order to improve the map's functionality, notably its chronological representation of how women's studies has grown and contracted over time.

Building on the work of my second chapter on academic feminist autobiographics, in the future I will analyze additional examples including both collaborative and single-authored texts. Working with edited collections and jointly

written examples was instrumental for identifying the different forms of political grammar that women's studies practitioners have used to describe themselves and their labor, but the framework of credentializing, contextualizing, development, and colleagueship could be applied to a wider range of autobiographic texts, including more contemporary examples. It was certainly useful to analyze writing from the 1990s and early 2000s because of this period's significance to the internationalization of women's studies, but looking at present-day materials such as conference proceedings, scholarly articles, or university websites might have greater exigence for how academic feminism will be practiced into the future. Thinking about my third chapter, it could be useful to interview participants in the Curriculum Transformation Project summer institutes as a counterbalance to the oral histories I presented from its facilitators. More broadly, I will also explore similar projects that unfolded at other colleges and universities to gain a broader perspective on how teaching, learning, and research became "internationalized" and "engendered" during this time period. It would be particularly interesting to consider both tensions and points of convergence with discussions about race and intersectionality at this temporal juncture in the history of women's studies.

Finally, learning about the International Consortium for Graduate Studies in Women and Gender made me curious about whether this kind of cross-border collaboration might be more feasible today given the broader access to technology and widespread familiarity with online education. This would require more investigation into existing women's studies consortia that work across multiple institutions, but I think there is great potential for joint classes and shared research projects with lower initial start-up costs and fewer technological limitations than existed in the past. There is no

replacement for bringing academic feminist practitioners into shared space for the purpose of building community, but hybrid and remote options could usefully supplement and help to sustain these efforts over time. Such strategies might make women's studies accessible in places where departments, research centers, or degree programs are not currently feasible because of low investment or local resistance. At the same time, collaborative educational projects would help put the theory of transnational feminism into practice by bringing varied standpoints and lived experiences into conversation—potentially reshaping what it means to do work in women's studies. As I have grown from a student into a scholar, teacher, and practitioner over the course of working on this dissertation, I have moved from frustration with the backlash against this field to a sense of excitement about its future possibilities. I look forward to enacting the potential of transnational academic feminism in my own research and service to the field—but most importantly by creating innovative, transformative opportunities in women's studies for my students.

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