NEW DIRECTIONS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

# Entering the Picture

## JUDY CHICAGO, THE FRESNO FEMINIST ART PROGRAM, AND THE COLLECTIVE VISIONS OF WOMEN ARTISTS

Edited by JILL FIELDS

ROUTLEDGE

# ENTERING THE PICTURE

In 1970, Judy Chicago and fifteen students founded the groundbreaking Feminist Art Program (FAP) at Fresno State. Drawing upon the consciousness-raising techniques of the women's liberation movement, they created shocking new art forms depicting female experiences. Collaborative work and performance art—including the famous Cunt Cheerleaders—were program hallmarks. Moving to Los Angeles, the FAP produced the first major feminist art installation, *Womanhouse* (1972).

Augmented by illustrations and color plates, this interdisciplinary collection of essays by artists and scholars, many of whom were eyewitnesses to landmark events, relates how feminists in multiple locales engaged in similar collaborations, creating vibrant new bodies of art. Articles on topics such as African American artists in New York and Los Angeles, San Francisco's Las Mujeres Muralistas and Asian American Women Artists Association, and exhibitions in Taiwan and Italy showcase the artistic trajectories that destabilized traditional theories and practices and reshaped the art world. An engaging editor's introduction explains how feminist art emerged within the powerful women's movement that transformed America.

With contributions by: Nancy Azara, Tressa Berman, Darla Bjork, Katie Cercone, Judy Chicago, Ying-Ying Chien, Gaia Cianfanelli, Lydia Nakashima Degarrod, Lillian Faderman, Jill Fields, Joanna Gardner-Huggett, Paula Harper, Caterina Iaquinta, Jo Anna Isaak, Jennie Klein, Karen LeCocq, Gail Levin, Laura Meyer, Nancy Marie Mithlo, Beverly Naidus, Gloria Feman Orenstein, Phranc, Terezita Romo, Moira Roth, Sylvia Savala, Miriam Schaer, Valerie Smith, Faith Wilding, and Nancy Youdelman.

**Jill Fields** is Professor of History at California State University, Fresno. She is the author of *An Intimate Affair: Women, Lingerie, and Sexuality*.

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# ENTERING THE PICTURE

## Judy Chicago, the Fresno Feminist Art Program, and the Collective Visions of Women Artists

*Edited by Jill Fields*

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**This book is dedicated to my mother**

**Valerie Fields**

for inspiring a love of the arts in her children and grandchildren,

for working to make the arts flourish in Los Angeles while serving as Mayor Tom Bradley's Education and Cultural Affairs Liaison (1973–1993),

and for championing arts education for all the children of Los Angeles as a member of the L.A. Unified School District Board (1997–2001).

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# PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In late spring of 2000, during my first year of teaching at California State University (CSU) Fresno, I picked up *Sexual Politics: Judy Chicago's* Dinner Party *in Feminist Art History* in search of images for my women's history class lecture on the 1970s. Though I had bought the book at the 1996 Armand Hammer Museum exhibit of *The Dinner Party*, I hadn't noticed before the "Feminist Chronology" compiled by Laura Meyer at the back. As I began to read through it, I was jolted by a 1970 entry: "Judy Chicago establishes the Feminist Art Program at Fresno State College, with fifteen students participating. The curriculum includes feminist consciousness-raising and performance workshops; research into women's history, art and literature; and radical artistic experimentation." The revelation that feminist art history itself, let alone the internationally renowned feminist artist Judy Chicago had anything to do with Fresno, astonished me. I also quickly realized that the thirtieth anniversary of this momentous event was upon us, and I became in that instant determined to do something to about it.

I knew exactly whom to contact. I threw down the book, leapt up from my couch, and called Linda Garber and Jackie Doumanian, who both immediately agreed that we should celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Fresno Feminist Art Program (FAP). Linda was then chair of Women's Studies; Jackie is an artist, yoga teacher, and businesswoman whom I had chatted with briefly while standing in line at the lingerie department of Macy's shortly after I moved to Fresno, and then unexpectedly saw again at the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration for Gallery 25, the women's art gallery I was surprised to find in town. Jackie said she would call around to see if others were interested (they were), and I began to think about what our event should look like. I knew I wanted to invite Judy Chicago and all her Fresno students to speak. At some point we decided to hold the event during women's history month, March 2001.

During the summer, I went on my planned research trip to Rutgers to consult the Feminist Art Institute archives for the epilogue on feminist intimate apparel art in my then-in-process book, *An Intimate Affair: Women, Lingerie, and Sexuality*. Somehow I found out Judy Chicago was going to be in Manhattan for a book signing while I was there. I went to the bookstore, introduced myself, and told Judy what I hoped to do. Delighted to meet a feminist historian from Fresno, she easily signed on, "Sure, I'll come to Fresno."

Fall brought a frenzy of activity. Planning meetings included about a dozen women: artists, curators, museum administrators, and women's studies professors (Joyce Aiken, Jen Bracy, Jackie Doumanian, Kathryn Forbes, Linda Garber, Loretta Kensinger, Jerrie Peters, Jacqueline Pilar, Judy Rosenthal, Sylvia Savala, Suzanne Sloan Lewis, Gina Strumwasser, and Nancy Youdelman). I applied for grants and developed the two-day symposium, while the artists and gallery and museum people went wild and planned six simultaneous exhibits: "Judy Chicago, Prints and Drawings" at the Phoebe Conley Gallery and "Inside: Art by Women in Chowchilla Prison" curated by CSU Fresno dance professor Ruth Griffin at the Richhuti Gallery, both on campus; "Then and Now: The Women of the 1971 Feminist Art Program" shown at the Fresno Art Museum; "Artists from the Feminist Years" at Gallery 25, "Feminist Art in the 21st Century" at Arte Americas; and even "Feminist Art at the Airport," at the Fresno Yosemite International Airport, an especially apt intervention due to the famous Cunt Cheerleaders airport performance thirty years earlier. As if that weren't enough, planning committee members arranged five additional lectures and events that took place throughout the month of March at a variety of Fresno galleries and museums.

The symposium began with Judy Chicago's keynote address, followed by a panel discussion by Fresno FAP students Nancy Youdelman, Karen LeCocq, Janice Lester, Shawnee Johnson, Christine Rush, and Dori Atlantis recounting their experiences. Youdelman's and LeCocq's essays in *Entering the Picture* are their subsequent written reflections. Former Fresno FAP student Suzanne Lacy contributed a multi-media presentation on her large-scale public performance work. Joyce Aiken, who directed the Feminist Art Program after Chicago and then her replacement Rita Yokoi left, delivered the second keynote of the symposium. Her talk was augmented by recollections by three of her students, Jackie Doumanian, Jerrie Peters, and Joy Johnson. Laura Meyer provided contextualization with her paper, "From Finish Fetish to Feminism, Fresno Style, or How Judy Chicago and Fifteen Young Women at a Rural California Campus Changed the Course of Art History." Connections between Fresno and the larger feminist art movement were also assessed by Yolanda Lopez, who spoke about her work in "Explorations: Feminism, Art, Citizenship," and Gloria Orenstein, who presented on the salons she created in New York City. The symposium ended with a performance at Arte Americas of women's and girl's poetry curated by Sylvia Savala, whose essay in this volume describes her path to becoming a Chicana feminist artist in Fresno in the 1990s.

I wish to acknowledge the participation of all these women in making the symposium and thus this publication possible. The symposium and book projects benefited from grants awarded by the California Arts Council, the Harry C. Mitchell Trust, and CSU Fresno. It has taken some time to develop the book beyond the symposium, and Routledge senior editor Kimberly Guinta's patience, professionalism, and good will—and that of her assistant Rebecca Novack—aided me enormously during the transition from proposal to manuscript to book. I am especially appreciative of Eileen Boris, Alice Echols, Lillian Faderman, Andrea Pappas, Lynn Sacco, and Jessica Weiss who read the introduction to this book on short notice at various stages of its development. My email exchanges with them, along with all of the book's contributors and sticker genius Sheila de Bretteville, created a wonderful feminist, collaborative structure of feeling that evoked the sensibilities *Entering the Picture* describes. I am grateful also to have many reasons to continue to thank another generous feminist historian, Lois Banner, for her unflagging support and mentorship. My Fresno colleagues in Africana Studies, Chicano and Latin American Studies, History, and Women's Studies especially David Berke, Loretta Kensinger, DeAnna Reese, Malik Simba, Bill Skuban, Jan Slagter, and Victor Torres, have always provided assistance when asked. In addition, my graduate student Melissa Morris's aid with the permissions process was vital. I appreciate too the steadfast support and council of Andrea Scott, Stephanie Barish, Marty Bridges, Dorothy Brinckerhoff, Meryl Geffner, Mary Jean, Laura Della Vedova, and Dorrit Vered. Emily Feigenson, Valerie Fields, Jerry K. Fields, and Constance Young provided editorial assistance at critical moments, as per usual. I am thankful for the interest in my work of the entire Fields, Mate, and extended Barish-Chamberlin families. Ken Mate's editorial expertise, keen visual sensibilities, enthusiasm, sense of humor, and love of Hercules, cooking, traveling, and me (not necessarily in that order) makes so much more possible.

I dedicate this book to my mother Valerie Fields, who instilled a love of the arts in her children through museum visits, conversations about literature, listening to music at home, and trips to the theater and ballet. She made us aware not only of arts appreciation, but arts criticism when she explained her favorite Robert Frost poem, pointed out a Gilbert and Sullivan lyric, took us to the Watts Towers, and commented on Martin Landau's excellent acting in an episode of *The Outer Limits*. Many more people benefited when, as a member of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's staff throughout his entire twenty-year tenure (1973–1993), she served as Bradley's liaison to education, the Commission on the Status of Women (which she shepherded from committee to commission), and cultural affairs. In the latter capacity particularly, and with impeccable integrity and boundless optimism and energy, she shaped public arts policy and fostered civic support for the arts, especially for the museum created during the Bradley administration, the Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art. Then, after her election to the Los Angeles Unified School District Board in 1997, she brought this wealth of professional and life experience to leading a successful fight to restore arts funding

for all the children of Los Angeles. She accomplished much more than I have space here to detail. However, the recognition she received from the arts community, public employees' unions, colleagues, elected officials, school administrators, teachers, students, parents, and neighborhood groups upon her retirement further testifies to her numerous civic achievements. We love you Valerie!

# INTRODUCTION

*Jill Fields*

> Instead of beauty and power occasionally, I want . . . to achieve a world where it's there all the time in every word and every brush stroke.
>
> —Shulamith Firestone, 1967

The Feminist Art Program founded in 1970 at Fresno State by visiting art professor Judy Gerowitz (soon to rename herself Judy Chicago), and begun with the fifteen female students she recruited, is not as well known as the program launched a year later at the California Institute of the Arts (CalArts) in Valencia. Yet surely the exuberant success of that initial program prompted painter and CalArts professor Miriam Schapiro to invite Chicago to bring the Feminist Art Program (FAP) to Southern California. Schapiro had seen for herself in Fresno the startling new feminist art forms and teaching methods Chicago and the "Fresno Girls" were creating, and had also visited with them during their trip to Los Angeles-area museums, galleries, and studios.[1]

Schapiro was not alone in being drawn to Fresno during that historic 1970–1971 school year. Women artists and film makers (and some men) from around the state, in addition to high profile feminist activists like Ti-Grace Atkinson, who flew in to Fresno Air Terminal from New York City, were eager to find out more about the exciting developments taking shape in—of all places—California's rural San Joaquin Valley. As an up-and-coming LA-based artist of note, Chicago's activities drew attention; word also got out after Chicago's own visits to New York City during her Fresno residency. A 1971 special issue of the art journal *Everywoman* on the FAP spread the news further. By the time 4,000 people viewed the collaborative installation *Womanhouse*, the signal art project presented in January and February 1972 during the Feminist Art Program's tenure

at CalArts, and thousands more read about it in *Time* magazine in March, the isolated work of a few dozen female artists had cohered into a fully fledged movement—the feminist art movement. Building upon this rapid trajectory, the feminist art movement has had an enormous impact on the media, forms, and visual imagination of contemporary art and on the status of women artists throughout the world.[2]

It is often difficult to pinpoint moments of origin, and at times even folly to try. Searching for such moments can lead to the construction of a singular, orderly narrative that, despite presenting accurate facts, may lose sight of larger truths and omit events that undermine its cohesiveness. The suggestion by French social theorist Michel Foucault that we instead investigate "genealogies" to understand the past has been utilized effectively since the 1980s, especially by historians who study marginalized social groups and topics relevant to women and gender such as the history of sexuality. Previously, investigating such subjects had been hampered because sources were scattered or fragmentary, and the research findings that made use of them challenged neat, conventional historical narratives and thus lay outside their typical boundaries. Yet even before Foucault's work was widely known, feminist historians had already begun to tell untold stories and investigate hidden histories by drawing on the methods of social history, which directed attention to everyday life and built upon an expansive definition of resistance. They then further developed and deployed feminist and postmodern theories that illuminate the lives of the dispossessed and the disrespected, recuperate subjugated knowledge, and give voice to multiple stories and sources from the past that dominant paradigms excluded. Questions about how to synthesize the results of all this work remain. Nevertheless, despite the difficulties of fully accounting for the multiple voices of the past and integrating new approaches, and whatever our methodology in exploring historical events and cultural texts, facts still matter. Moreover, what makes facts powerful is their analysis and contextualization. Thus, more is revealed in this book than just the facts surrounding the beginnings of feminist art education and the feminist art movement in Fresno.[3]

The essays by artists and scholars collected in this book describe and assess the feminist art movement from its beginnings through today, with particular focus on collective projects, voices, and visions. Section I provides first-hand accounts and later reflections by participants and art historians of the Feminist Art Programs in Fresno and Los Angeles. The importance of Fresno as a significant location and moment in the emergence of the feminist art movement deserves attention not only to set the record straight, but also for the difference this recognition makes in how we think about the development and significance of feminist artists' contributions to contemporary culture, especially in the places they live and work. In addition, the essays in the second and third sections of this volume suggest that remembering the Fresno Feminist Art Program augments understandings about the relationship between the larger women's movement and the feminist art

movement it spawned and was enlarged and enriched by. Furthermore, focusing on what Judy Chicago calls the "Fresno experiment" challenges our thinking about the relationship between the local and the global, a loaded dynamic that typically emphasizes the power and importance of people and events located in large cities. This is especially the case in the realm of art criticism and history, in the stories we are used to hearing about where new cultural forms begin and where artistic production matters.[4]

So, why does Fresno matter? What confluence of circumstances made this Central California city the location for the feminist art innovations recounted in the first section of this book? Couldn't the feminist art movement have "begun" elsewhere–or anywhere? Perhaps, but it is more fruitful to ask why Fresno became the site for Judy Chicago's pedagogical experiments and why what she and her students achieved had the enormous impact that they did.

In 1970, Fresno was not only the agricultural, rural heartland—some would say backwater—it is often mistakenly still considered to be. Some trends have come to Fresno later, but others have begun there, for better or worse. For example, CSU Fresno was originally set up in 1911 on the site of the first two-year college established in the state of California. As Fresno's higher education ambitions took shape, the city was also a hotbed of labor activism by the well-known anarchist union the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), who organized agricultural laborers and fought for First Amendment rights while enduring illegal police surveillance and disruption in the 1910s and 1920s.[5] The struggles between the owners and workers in agriculture never ceased. In the 1930s, diverse female cannery workers across California, including Fresno, joined the progressive United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America. Three decades later, Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers successfully challenged Central Valley farmers to increase the pay and improve the working conditions of farm laborers, most of whom had immigrated from Mexico. In 1996, CSU Fresno erected the first statue in the United States of Chavez in the campus Peace Garden, which also honors Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Jane Addams. However, police surveillance of Fresno pacifists persisted; an example of their undercover investigations is memorialized in Michael Moore's 2006 documentary *Fahrenheit 9/11*. The city police force also has been sued successfully for its destruction of homeless encampments, and has been unable to shake the city's reputation as a "meth capital" despite its Special Weapons and Tactics arsenal and the Central Valley's central place in California's well-funded prison-industrial complex. Environmentalists have not faired much better: *Forbes* magazine ranks the self-described "Best Little City in America" third on its list of most toxic US cities for its high levels of airborne particulates and water contaminants.[6]

Fresno is also known for its high unemployment rates even in boom times. But however inequitably distributed, the wealth generated by agriculture and development interests, whose respective captains dominate local politics though

they've clashed occasionally as farmland transformed into suburbia, promoted the arts in Fresno.[7] Nurtured by the growing presence of college professors and their students, the community embraced a full spectrum of the arts, including music, from the initial 1911 Fresno Normal School Glee Club to the passionate patronage of the Fresno Philharmonic founded in 1954,[8] active classical and jazz university music programs, and a number of thriving alternative clubs; modern art at The Fresno Art Museum founded in 1948 and numerous galleries that today host a bi-monthly Art Hop, and performance arts in a lively theater scene that produced Tony winner Audra McDonald. Fresno also prides itself as a place of cultural merit by embracing the legacies of photographer Ansel Adams, and writers like William Saroyan and others who find wide audiences, such as David Mas Masumoto. A flourishing poetry scene emerged in the 1960s, and many fine poets—such as US Poet Laureate Philip Levine—settled in for lengthy careers at Fresno State. Cherished cultural institutions include the African American Historical and Cultural Museum of the San Joaquin Valley founded in 1993, the prominent Arte Americas founded in 1987, and the Underground Gardens, a remarkable, unique, and beautiful maze of underground tunnels and rooms dug by Sicilian immigrant Baldesare Forestiere as his life's work over four decades until his death in 1946.[9]

Public art and architecture also has a prominent role in Fresno history. In 1964, Fresno inaugurated the award-winning Fulton Mall, a walking street designed by noted modernist architect Garrett Eckbo. Fulton Mall is graced by twenty sculptures and fountains that, with the exception of *Washer Woman* by Renoir, are contemporary works by a surprisingly diverse group of artists, many of them locals such as Joyce Aiken, whose interview with Lillian Faderman is included in this book. A recent proposal to destroy the Fulton Mall in a misguided plan for downtown "revitalization" has been countered successfully by Aiken and others, though the fight to "save Fulton Mall" carries on and Aiken is not optimistic. Similarly, though a stunning city hall was erected in 1992, a magnificent Victorian courthouse was torn down in 1966 and replaced by a poorly designed building. And, upon my arrival in 1999, I was delighted to see a fabulous Googie diner on main drag Blackstone Avenue, and dismayed to drive by a few weeks later and see it being demolished. It was replaced by a used car lot. Such are the contradictions of Fresno as ahead, behind, and of its times.[10]

In 1970, the year the Feminist Art Program began, campus unrest was rampant at Fresno State as elsewhere around the country. This disquiet stemmed from the Vietnam War, and also to the challenges university students had been making to the purpose and content of their curriculum since Students for a Democratic Society issued the "Port Huron Statement" in 1962, and established itself as a prime force for social change on college campuses nationwide. The successful opposition to university administrators organized by students 180 miles north of Fresno at UC Berkeley during the Free Speech Movement (FSM) of 1964–1965 built on student activism in the Civil Rights Movement and laid the groundwork for the anti-war protests that grew in number and intensity as the war

escalated. "Free Speech Areas" remain a common legacy of the FSM on many of the twenty-three CSU campuses, including Fresno, Chico, Dominguez Hills, and Los Angeles. The related articulation by students of the urgent need for a "relevant" curriculum led to the creation of alternative university programs across America, including an Experimental College at Fresno State set up in the mid-1960s, and infused plans for the new University of California campus in Santa Cruz, a popular coastal vacation spot for Fresnans. Students and faculty nationwide also fought for new majors in Black, Chicano/a, Ethnic, and Women's Studies. San Francisco State was the site of numerous confrontations beginning in 1967 by anti-war and Black Studies activists, some of whom spoke on the Fresno campus in spring 1968.[11]

Two years later, Fresno State's reactionary administration fired faculty, expelled students, and locked professors out of their offices during the most turbulent year in campus history. Recently created ethnic studies programs were abolished, and then re-established after resistance by students and community supporters. Anti-war and ethnic studies protests and administrative responses included the destruction and seizure of property; subsequent lawsuits against the university reinstated many of the students and faculty who had been dismissed. In 1971, a year after San Diego State founded the first women's studies department in the United States, Fresno State's Women's Studies Program won approval; Lillian Faderman was named its first Coordinator in 1972.[12]

In addition to the catalysts provided by the civil rights, anti-war, and black and ethnic studies movements, the larger women's movement fueled the creation of women's studies as an academic field and as a space for feminist scholars, research, and teaching on university campuses. The 1963 publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, release of the President's Commission on the Status of Women Report, and the Equal Pay Act passed by Congress that same year, sparked the return of feminist concerns to mainstream discussion after they had faded in the decades since the suffrage movement's hard-fought success in mobilizing for the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote in 1920. Afterward labor unions continued the fight for equal pay and treatment through collective bargaining, venerable suffragist Alice Paul found support for the Equal Rights Amendment among groups like the Business and Professional Women, and diverse women continued to organize for peace and other causes important to their communities. However, the 1966 founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW) by Friedan, Pauli Murray, Aileen Hernandez, and a few others launched new legal challenges to workplace gender discrimination that could be imagined because of the judicial successes of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) fighting racial discrimination, and that could be won because of provisions in the 1964 Civil Rights Act that made gender discrimination a federal concern.[13]

NOW's subsequent high profile advocacy for women's rights coincided with the emergence of women's liberation organizations, many of which were formed by university students in the late 1960s. Some of these groups, which became

known as consciousness-raising or CR groups as they quickly spread nationwide, self-consciously distinguished themselves from NOW in terms of their intentionally small-group structure, their intense discussions of personal experiences, their debate and publication of feminist theories, and their counter-cultural proclivity toward direct action which at times incorporated humor as well as anger. CR groups and the wider women's movement also spawned a creative rush of feminist institution building, including women's health collectives, rape crisis centers, feminist bookstores, and battered women's shelters. The transformations these institutions quickly brought to the lives of women who worked in and were served by them, and their critical role in long-term and profound social changes in the United States should not be underestimated.[14]

The creation of the Fresno Feminist Art Program at a university where a CR group had just been formed by two women who applied for and joined the first FAP—Suzanne Lacy and Faith Wilding—and where at least some faculty had already begun discussing how to create a women's studies program, underscores the overlapping people, themes, and goals of the young, ambitious, energetic, experienced, and hopeful women who forcefully challenged the status quo and sought to improve women's lives—their own lives—on so many fronts at once.

Lacy and Wilding's experiences of moving between CR-style group activism and artistic pursuits were not unique to the development of the women's movement nationwide. Yet the significant presence of artists among the founders of women's liberation is one aspect of the early days of the movement that has been overlooked thus far in the important and growing number of historical studies on this topic. For example, sculptor Kate Millett joined NOW in 1966; Shulamith Firestone was an art student when she joined the Chicago Women's Liberation Union in 1967, initially called the Westside Group and identified as the first women's liberation organization in the United States. Later that year Firestone moved to New York City and co-founded New York Radical Women (NYRW); in 1969 she was a founding member of the influential feminist collective Redstockings and then New York Radical Feminists. Artist Florika became a member of NYRW, and participated in 1968 at the first Miss America protest—which incorporated what could be termed performance art—before joining WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell), formed in 1969. Artists Irene Peslikis and Pat Mainardi joined NYRW after hearing about the Miss America protest in a WBAI radio report, and were also founding members of Redstockings; artist Louise Fishman joined Redstockings, then WITCH, and later became active in the New York Feminist Art Institute (NYFAI). Nancy Azara, another Redstocking member, was a co-founder of NYFAI as was Peslikis. Painter and activist Faith Ringgold participated in the 1970 Whitney Museum protest demanding greater inclusion of female and black artists, and joined the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO), founded in 1973.[15]

One reason for this feminist turn for those who were students, Pat Mainardi explains, is that female artists who hoped to find in art school a space for self-

expression where they could avoid oppressive circumstances, found instead blatant discrimination. The extraordinary 1997 film *Shulie*, by artist Elizabeth Subrin, a shot-by-shot recreation of a 1967 documentary on the "Now Generation" that features then twenty-two-year-old art student Shulamith Firestone, for example, depicts the patronizing critique by her male teachers of Firestone's paintings. At the New York City art school where Mainardi met Peslikis, administrators openly stated that only male students would get scholarships; female students would pay tuition. Then, upon graduation, they, like other women in their mid-twenties with college degrees who became feminists, couldn't find jobs. Judy Chicago similarly experienced gender discrimination at UCLA, where she earned an M.A. in painting and sculpture in 1964, and afterwards, in the Los Angeles art scene.[16]

As the history of the women's movement that began in the 1960s is more widely studied, artists' participation deserves a closer look; further research could explain its causes and effects. Moreover, the interplay between female artists and women's rights activists may be traced from the nineteenth century, when, after the end of the Civil War, "women's urgent desire to become artists," as historian Kirsten Swinth puts it, led by 1900 to an "extensive network of female artists seeking . . . to exhibit their work." This phenomenon, and the 1889 founding of the still-active National Association of Women Artists, coincided with the further intensification of suffrage mobilization. By the early twentieth century, female artists like Fresno native Marguerite Zorach could mingle among avant-garde circles in Paris, Greenwich Village, and Los Angeles that included artistic innovators, free love advocates, political radicals, and suffragists. Not only did "virtually all the artists" in these circles engage with feminism, but the "great, mass suffrage campaign of the teens received universal support among women artists." For example, New York modernist painter Theresa Bernstein went to meetings often attended by National American Woman Suffrage Association president Carrie Chapman Catt, participated in suffrage parades, and "recorded her involvement in the suffrage campaign" in a series of paintings. She was not alone in contributing images for the cause—political cartoons were an important suffrage strategy, as were the public performances of carefully planned suffrage parades. In a similar vein, African American artist and club woman Meta Warrick Fuller created politically-informed sculptures after she returned from Paris, such as her 1919 condemnation of lynching, *Mary Turner (A Silent Protest against Mob Violence)*. In 1920, Georgia O'Keeffe joined the National Women's Party (NWP) as a founding member, and at an NWP event in 1926 articulated the difficulties women artists faced: "They have objected to me all along; they have objected strenuously. It is hard enough to do the job without having to face the discriminations, too. Men do not have to face these discriminations."[17]

The concern about cultural representations of women voiced by feminist leaders and organizations who are primarily identified with struggles for equality in work, politics, education, and reproductive rights takes on a new light when reckoning

with the presence of artists within the movement in the later twentieth century as well. Though her main focus is employment and a central target is misguided psychiatric treatment of women, in chapters like "The Happy Housewife Heroine" and "The Sexual Sell" from her bestseller *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan critiqued the image of women and constructions of femininity in popular culture. In the NOW Statement of Purpose she penned three years later, Friedan put these issues on the feminist agenda in a strongly worded passage:

> In the interests of the human dignity of women, we will protest, and endeavor to change, the false image of women now prevalent in the mass media, and in the texts, ceremonies, laws, and practices of our major social institutions. Such images perpetuate contempt for women by society and by women for themselves. . . . We believe that women will do most to create a new image of women by acting now.[18]

Friedan's understanding of culture as a key aspect of women's oppression in social, economic, and political spheres echoes concerns voiced by Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the nineteenth century, and is a view also shared by artist Shulamith Firestone, who wrote her groundbreaking 1970 book *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* after earning a B.F.A. in painting from the Art Institute of Chicago in 1967. Firestone's book became what Ann Snitow terms a "demon text" of anti-feminists in the 1970s for its now-prescient advocacy of reproductive technologies.[19] However, Firestone's views on motherhood were just one part of a far-reaching analysis that included critiques of Freud, racism, love, and ecology. Her chapters on "(Male) Culture" and "Dialectics of Cultural History" explicitly addressed the male-dominated art world in Europe and the United States. Building upon Simone de Beauvoir's breakthrough *The Second Sex*, published in English in 1953, Firestone outlines how representations of women have been central to Western culture, though women remained marginalized as creators of culture:

> women, and those men who were excluded from culture, remained . . . fit subject matter . . . [P]ainting was male; the nude became a *female* nude . . . But what about the women who have contributed directly to culture? There aren't many. And in those cases where individual women have participated in male culture, they have had to do so on male terms . . . they saw women through male eyes . . . It would take a denial of all cultural tradition for women to produce even a true "female" art.[20]

Though Firestone saw even male avant-garde artists as marginalized, and was skeptical that contemporary artists' use of plastics, mixed media, and happenings was "unreservedly" progressive, she believed she was living "in the transitional pre-revolutionary period" that would lead to the "creation of an androgynous culture" formed by male technology and female aesthetics.[21]

In *Further Adventures of* The Dialectic of Sex, a 2010 collection that thoughtfully reappraises *Dialectic*'s contributions without overlooking its instances of "contradiction, misjudgment, or affront," Stella Sandford acknowledges the binary constructions, which readers today likely identify in the passages quoted above, but also the possibilities Firestone articulated for feminist transformation of gender; thus Firestone relies on a contradictory understanding of gender difference both as biological and unchanging as well as a political, constructed view. Mandy Merck similarly stresses Firestone's eclectically-based advocacy of abolishing sexual distinction, concluding that the book is not "quite the biological reduction so often described, since her concern is how bodies matter culturally."[22] These insights also can be applied to assessing Firestone's views on art and image, which anticipated theorization of a "male gaze," and contributed to the dynamic field of feminist art history and criticism launched in the 1970s. Its beginnings include Judy Chicago's Feminist Art Program project to excavate and reclaim the history of female artists.[23]

*Sisterhood Is Powerful* is another critical text published in 1970 that included criticism of images of women and essays by artists. Edited by Robin Morgan, the section on "psychological and sexual repression" includes "Media Images 1: Madison Avenue Brainwashing—The Facts," by Alice Embree, an assessment of mass marketing techniques on women, and artist Florika's still provocative "Media Images 2: Body Odor and Social Order." Florika's deconstruction of hair spray, deodorant, insecticide, and cleaning products begins, "The aerosol spray container reveals that the roles of the policeman and the middle-class housewife are interchangeable."[24] The anthology also includes essays by artists and Redstocking members Irene Peslikis and Pat Mainardi, "Resistances to Consciousness," and the much reproduced "The Politics of Housework," respectively. Peslikis explains how to transcend common counterrevolutionary misperceptions, such as "*Thinking that individual solutions are possible*" and "*Thinking that women's liberation is therapy*." Mainardi's humorous and cutting deconstruction of the methods husbands employ to avoid housework and dismiss feminism similarly lists common justifications, such as "Housework is too trivial to even talk about," and "Women's liberation is not really a political movement." In the poetry section, Karen Lindsey's "Elegy for Jayne Mansfield, July 1967" mourns the objectification of this actress before and after her accidental death. In the "historical document" section, which includes statements from Redstockings, WITCH, and The Feminists, an excerpt from Warhol-shooter Valerie Solanas' *SCUM Manifesto*—positioned between the NOW Bill of Rights and the New York Radical Women Principles—has received more attention than other emergent feminist arts commentary due to the Solanas' extreme formulations and notoriety. Nonetheless, radical feminists clearly prioritized representations of women as a problem requiring feminist solutions, and art as a significant strategy in their repertoire.[25]

In addition to their writing, artists Florika, Peslikis, and Mainardi created graphics, posters, and visual art to critique sexism and promote feminist

mobilization. Florika's reworking of a Women's Army Corps recruitment poster is one of two art works in *Sisterhood is Powerful*; the other is a line drawing by Diane Losch that conveys women's isolation in the home and an interior life of suffering. A late 1960s drawing by Peslikis reproduced in *Dear Sisters* urges "Women must control the means of reproduction" by depicting a dystopian reproductive assembly line that uses technology not to liberate women as Firestone hoped, but to exploit them.[26] Feminist poster art flourished in a context of anti-war, Black Power, La Raza, and Third World Liberation counter-cultural artistic production, which included work by artists such as Yolanda Lopez and Betty Kano in San Francisco. The art of these movements drew upon the longer practice and iconography of radical politics that had been intrinsic to twentieth-century revolutions and progressive organizing before and during the New Deal. Moreover, public critique of denigrating images had been identified as a significant tool in opposing racism and anti-Semitism and promoting diversity from the early twentieth century by the NAACP founded in 1909 and the Anti-Defamation League founded in 1913.[27]

This necessarily brief and partial account of artists' participation in the fight for women's rights and the long-held concern by women's rights activists about how representations impact opportunities for social change in some ways has replicated the first wave/second wave periodization that has been an important topic of debate since the mid-1990s. As texts such as the recent collection *Breaking the Wave: Women, Their Organizations, and Feminism, 1945–1985* show, the waves formulation tends toward elision of women's activism between 1920 and 1963 and later periods of conservative, anti-feminist backlash. Other works have highlighted how wave periodization emphasizes the contributions of white women and thus relegates feminists of color to an inaccurate, background role.[28] However, Benita Roth counters the latter perspective by discussing second wave feminisms in the plural and arguing that women's movements "from the beginning, largely organized along racial/ethnic lines. . . . feminisms were articulated in diverse political communities." Though black, Chicana and white women may have taken "separate roads to feminism" via their distinctive organizations, women's second wave activism as a whole included diverse groups, perspectives, and definitions of feminism. In addition, dynamic exchanges among diverse women fomented change. For example, Lisa Gail Collins compares the black arts and feminist art movements, finding it was "Judy Chicago who most intently wrestled with [de Beauvoir's] findings on the problems of women creators throughout Western history in relation to the struggles of contemporary women artists," though Chicago was inspired to do so in part because of the Black Power movement.[29]

In *Entering the Picture*, these separate roads by participants in the feminist art movement are explored in Section II by Valerie Smith, "Abundant Evidence: Black Women Artists of the 1960s and 1970s" and Terezita Romo, "A Collective History: Las Mujeres Muralistas," and in Section III by Sylvia Savala, "How I

Became a Chicana Feminist Artist," Lydia Nakashima Degarrod, "Searching for Catalyst and Empowerment: The Asian American Women Artists Association, 1989–Present," and Tressa Berman and Nancy Marie Mithlo, "'The Way Things Are': Curating Place as Feminist Practice in American Indian Women's Art." Moreover, Phranc's essay, "'Your Vagina Smells Fine Now Naturally,'" and Nancy Azara and Darla Bjork, "Our Journey to the New York Feminist Art Institute," highlight the integral contributions of lesbians to the women's and feminist art movements. Jewish women's feminist art and activism is present in information by and about Judy Chicago, in essays by Gloria Feman Orenstein and Miriam Schaer, and art works by Chicago, Schaer, and contributor Beverly Naidus.[30]

Overall, the essays in this book suggest methodologies, research topics, and ways to evaluate the intertwined histories of the women's movement and the feminist art movement. Each of the three sections has distinctive elements and moves us forward in time, though their overlapping genealogies, chronologies, and motifs link the sections together. For example, all three sections narrate the unique history of feminist art in Fresno, which flourished after Judy Chicago left, and incorporate essays by feminist artists and feminist art teachers that provide practical examples of pedagogical techniques and exercises for classroom or individual use. And throughout the book, essays explore feminist institution building and collaborative projects, and address issues such as differences among women, intersectionality, the meaning of place, the gendered nature and impact historically of the art/craft distinction, the importance of small-group organization to feminist activism, the strategic articulation of women's experiences, and the tensions between individual and collective accomplishments.

Grappling with the participants' reflections and later considerations of the Fresno and CalArts Feminist Art Program in Section I, for example, raises questions about important movement history themes such as the proliferation, deployment, and results of consciousness-raising, the provocative role of early second wave publications, and the significance of separatist activities. More specifically, differing perspectives on Judy Chicago's early 1970s teaching methods that emerge in the essays by Laura Meyer and Faith Wilding, and recollections by Nancy Youdelman, Karen LeCocq, and Suzanne Lacy, speak to the difficulties and psychological toll feminists and all counter-hegemonic activists may experience when challenging fundamental inequities and entrenched interests. Judy Chicago's upbringing in a leftist, Jewish home, encounters with sexism in art school, fierce determination to become a professional artist in an era when few women succeeded in doing so, and entrée in 1960s Los Angeles to a boys' club of up-and-coming artists who themselves cultivated tough-guy personas led to the image if not necessity of confident combativeness so vividly depicted in the 1971 art exhibit announcement where she posed in a boxing ring, with boxing gloves, boots, and shorts. Yet Chicago's move to Fresno—and subsequent teaching—signal her commitment to helping other women enter that struggle better prepared and not leave it

prematurely, and to helping herself by forming a community of women artists so she would not have to battle alone and where their revolutionary art representing female identity and experiences could find receptive audiences (see Plate 1). Some of Chicago's 1970s students responded better than others to the unprecedented, experimental structure she devised and to her urban radical personality. Certainly, it is important to recognize, as Chicago does in Chapter 6 of this book, that the teacher/student relationship holds a different power dynamic than the collective organizing experiences of radical feminists who chose to be involved in new organizations of their own creation. Yet as the history of those organizations' intense theoretical and practical debates, personal clashes, mistakes, achievements, splintering, and flourishing illustrates, even the entirely voluntary and purportedly egalitarian work of intense 1970s feminist mobilization took a toll on some of its most courageous participants. Moreover, though the excess of feminists generally is one well-worn line of attack, what is fascinating in regard to Chicago is the excess ascribed to her from multiple directions: too confrontational, too celebratory; too kitsch, too invested in traditional, Western notions of artistic genius; too narrow, too assimilationist. These criticisms also speak to tensions within feminism about women as leaders of collective actions and their accomplishments as individuals.[31]

Section I begins with an excerpt from Gail Levin's biography of Judy Chicago, which details the artist's move from Los Angeles to Fresno and the initial phase of the Feminist Art Program she began there. Although described by Levin and throughout *Entering the Picture*, Laura Meyer and Faith Wilding's following essay more explicitly outlines some of the key themes of influential and contested FAP-initiated feminist art practices, such as collaboration, "the quest for new kinds of female body imagery" (cunt art), and the use of media associated with femininity, including costume. Additional elements in Fresno FAP artists Nancy Youdelman, Karen LeCocq, and Suzanne Lacy's recollections, and in Paula Harper's 1985 assessment that includes a detailed description of *Womanhouse*, are the development and significance of performance art, the challenge of feminist art to the high art/women's craft tradition distinction, and the attention to domesticity and violence against women by feminist artists. Judy Chicago's essay ends this section with reflections on her teaching philosophy and experiences that incorporate useful descriptions of the types of work her students have undertaken.[32]

Section II moves beyond the Feminist Art Program, beginning with Valerie Smith's important history of black women artists in the 1960s and 1970s. Smith describes artwork and activism that predates, and was also coterminous to events in Fresno and Los Angeles, such as Faith Ringgold's politicized art-making in 1960s New York, more explicitly feminist art focus of the 1970s, and the 1971 founding of "Where We At" Black Women Artists (WWA) by women "marginalized by both the predominantly male Black Arts Movement . . . and the largely white feminist (and feminist art) organizations." In Southern California, Betye Saar's paintings offered revolutionary challenges to popular culture

stereotypes of African American women such as Aunt Jemima at the same time FAP students and teachers were planning and exhibiting their challenges to dominant notions of domesticity and constructions of white femininity at *Womanhouse*. Smith's essay thus enriches our understandings of African American women's artistic and collaborative contributions, underscores the complexities of feminist genealogies, and brings attention to diversity within feminist histories and movements.[33]

Jennie Klein's chapter on Rita Yokoi's tenure as Fresno FAP director after Chicago and her students left for CalArts, and Lillian Faderman's interview with Joyce Aiken, who took the reins from Yokoi, relates the surprising—and what may seem the unlikely—story of how feminist art and support for women artists flourished in Fresno at the university and in the community for decades. In addition, the intensive efforts Klein and I undertook to track down information about Yokoi show that reclaiming even recent women's art history continues to be a vital enterprise. There is an ironic element at work here too, as Yokoi herself incorporated such research (begun by Chicago) into her curriculum, and also because one of Chicago's aims in setting up the FAP was to teach female artists how to sustain their professional artistic careers. In addition, Judy Chicago's recruitment of Yokoi as program director provides more evidence about Chicago's concern for maintaining feminist art education in Fresno and other locales, though she moved elsewhere. Joyce Aiken's recollections about her long career as a feminist artist and teacher, and her interactions with feminist artists in New York and nationally, explain the persistence and reputation of the program in Fresno. Aiken also describes how the Fresno FAP heightened opportunities for women artists in the community as its graduates launched Gallery 25, a cooperative women's art gallery, in 1974. In addition, the Fresno Art Museum became the first museum in the United States to devote an entire year to exhibitions by women in 1986–1987, and afterward established an annual one-woman show.[34]

Moving again to Los Angeles, Phranc's lively and wistful recollections of her mid-1970s experiences at the Feminist Studio Workshop and Woman's Building, both co-founded by Judy Chicago, Arlene Raven, and Sheila DeBretteville in 1973, provide insight into the significance of new feminist institutions for those who were welcomed by them.[35] The essays that follow in Section II continue to explore feminist art collaboration and institution building in ever expanding locations, first in San Francisco in Terezita Romo's appreciative assessment of the mid-1970s Chicana women's mural collective, Las Mujeres Muralistas, who created large-scale neighborhood murals that gave prominence to female-centered themes and imagery. Next, Joanna Gardner-Huggett discusses Artemisia, a women's art gallery founded in Chicago in 1973, including the collaborations of women in the mid-west with artists and art workers from both the west and east coasts.[36] Section II ends with three articles focused on collective feminist art projects in New York City. Gloria Feman Orenstein's memoir of the Woman's Salons she organized explains how these gatherings brought women artists and writers

together to share their work and ideas, and her later, similar efforts in international contexts. Orenstein's talk on this topic at the 2001 feminist art symposium in Fresno was so inspiring that Lillian Faderman, Phyllis Irwin, Joyce Aiken, and Jackie Doumanian began hosting salons at their Fresno homes. Katie Cercone recounts the history of the New York Feminist Art Institute (NYFAI) from 1979 to 1990; Nancy Azara and Darla Bjork reflect on their experiences as members and teachers there. Azara, along with Miriam Schapiro and Irene Peslikis, among others, co-founded the NYFAI, attended some of the salons Orenstein organized, and participated in discussions with Shapiro and Judy Chicago in New York about collaboration. Bjork also recalls Chicago's NYFAI workshop on her then-in-development *Birth Project*. Cercone, Azara, and Bjork thus importantly document the exchanges between feminist art organizations and prominent women artists, such as Louise Bourgeois, that are not widely known, and the overlapping of east and west coast feminist art circles, which are often presented as distinct, if not at odds. Azara and Bjork's contribution ends with Azara's instructive overview of her innovative and effective Visual Diary feminist art teaching tool.

Though some chapters in Section III begin in the periods and places covered in previous sections, overall the essays take us further ahead in time and further afield in location. Section III begins with Sylvia Savala's account of becoming a Chicana feminist artist outside of organized feminist institutions and conventional cultural centers, and her later collaborations with Fresno's Gallery 25 and Arte Americas. Savala's engaging essay relays her personal struggles and triumphs with reference to issues of gender, class, and ethnicity, and interrogates the critical question of the difference between women's and feminist art. In an intriguing coincidence, the Asian American Women Artists Association (AAWAA) was founded exactly one hundred years after the National Women Artists Association. Lydia Nakashima Degarrod's exploration of her own multi-faceted identity and the importance of this Asian American women's organization brings forward themes explored in this book about the power of collaboration, the importance of place, and women as sources of inspiration.[37] Miriam Schaer's "Notes of a Dubious Daughter: My Unfinished Journey Toward Feminism," playfully references Simone de Beauvoir's *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter*, and thus also the importance of this influential writer to second wave feminism. However, though Schaer may qualify as generationally second wave, her life narrative and art—like many of the feminist artists profiled here and elsewhere—challenge assumptions, if not stereotypes, about what feminist work can encompass and what sensibilities feminists of different age groups may share. Like the wide age range of AAWAA members, Schaer's twenty-first-century feminist art collective is composed of younger and older artists.

Tressa Berman and Nancy Marie Mithlo's essay on Native American women's art addresses issues of identity, place, and gender. The two artists they focus on, Colleen Cutchshall and Shelley Niro, each holds a collective identity grounded

in a specific location, culture, and history. Yet as these authors and artists move from place to place, their work transforms the spaces they inhabit and challenges gendered claims to tribal culture (Cutchshall's installation), and to popular culture and commercialized appropriation of Native values and representations (Niro's film).[38] The next two articles focus on the collaborations of feminist art curators, championed as art workers by art critic Lucy Lippard. Although transformations in just what constituted art and "artistic labor" were already underway, the feminist art movement broadened their definitions considerably.[39] Inspired by the 1996 Los Angeles *Sexual Politics* exhibit featuring Judy Chicago's *The Dinner Party* to curate a similar show in Taiwan, Ying-Ying Chien displayed art by Chicago and by women from Korea, Japan, and Taiwan in a transnational exhibition that focused on women's labor. In her assessment of the exhibit, Chien finds "striking concordances" in materials and themes among the diverse women's art, though also differences in emphases.[40] Jo Anna Isaak contextualizes the resurgence of US and European feminist art exhibitions in the twenty-first century by drawing out a longer history of group exhibitions, including those she curated in the 1980s and 1990s. Italian feminist art curators Gaia Cianfanelli and Caterina Iaquinta describe START, their innovative arts organization that has mounted large-scale exhibitions of work by women across Italy, and provide historical background on the distinctive approaches of Italian feminism and feminist art that inform their work.[41] Here too, we see feminist disregard for center/periphery distinctions. From the Pacific Northwest, feminist artist and teacher Beverly Naidus ends the book with an account of her feminist history and activist art teaching methods at the University of Washington, Tacoma. Naidus describes assignments and exercises that have supported both male and female students to represent their gendered experiences and social criticism. Like Joyce Aiken in Fresno, Naidus is a singular presence on her regional campus, though she aims to encourage others to try her teaching strategies and focus on making art for social change.

Though the essays in this book don't all directly address ways to rethink the role of artists in the women's movement and the impact of collaboration on the feminist art movement, they do suggests new avenues of research. For example, although consciousness-raising groups played a profound role in fomenting activism in so many directions, there have yet to be full studies of their proliferation across America, and their methods, theories, and effects. More community studies, like Judith Ezekiel's about Dayton, Ohio, and Anne Valk's on Washinton, D.C. will surely shed light on this and other topics. The production and dissemination of feminist poster art, visual culture, and journals need further investigation as well. The women's gallery movement deserves the kind of sustained attention scholars have brought to examinations of women's health collectives, as does the relationship between feminist efforts to reclaim knowledge about and explore the pleasures of their bodies with artists' use of vaginal imagery.[42] In addition, comparative studies of how various strands of feminism created women's culture and feminist institutions and also promoted

women's entry into male dominated arenas would further illuminate collective achievements as well as conflicts among women. The depth, breadth, and geographic sweep of the women's movement suggest new frameworks are needed to analyze, for example, multiple and synchronous events such as the 1969 founding of Women Artists in Revolution (WAR) in New York and Dayton Women's Liberation in Ohio; the August, 1970 launching of the Fresno Feminist Art Program and NOW's organization of the massive Women's Strike for Equality, and the protest of black and female artists' exclusion from the Whitney Museum in New York a few months later. Moreover, including feminist art within discussions of wider movement history may challenge, but could sustain, second wave periodizations and notions of generational conflict. Certainly, feminist artists' humor, ironic commentary, development and dissemination of cunt art, confrontational performance art and museum protests, and reworking of feminine artifacts, also known today as "girly culture," undermine generalizations about second wave feminists as staid or narrow-minded and draw connections to innovations sometimes attributed to feminists who came of age in or after the 1990s.[43]

Kirsten Swinth argues that the unprecedented artistic activity by women from 1870 to 1930 transformed the art world. In those decades, female artists contended with concepts of individual self-expression that were marked by essentialist notions of femininity. Nonetheless, as these artists claimed, represented, and exhibited their subjectivity, they reworked gendered conceptions of culture. Women artists, therefore, were critical to the shaping of modernity, even as it retained a masculinist character.[44] Judith Brodsky and Ferris Olin similarly argue that "feminist art pioneered post-modernism" and call for the recognition of "the formative contributions of feminist cultural production" that began in the 1970s. They fear that feminist "innovations have become so thoroughly embedded in contemporary perspectives that their role in introducing these ideas is in danger of being erased," or misattributed to men like the work of women artists in past centuries. Feminist artists' "contributions to a revolution in modes of representations" include:

> the use of specific events, personal experience, and narratives drawn from daily life to challenge abstract expressionism; the use of pleasure and play to protest the oppressions of the status quo; art inspired by and responsive to social, cultural, scientific, and political conditions rather than art for art's sake; the development of embodied narratives tied to the temporalities of daily life rather than art linked to notions of transcendent form; art that plays with scale, foregrounding the human through ludic proportions; complex forms of art making such as installation, site-specific art, video, photography, and books rather than traditional painting and sculpture; art as collaborative practice rather than the product of individual male genius; and art that blurs the boundaries between craft, popular culture, and high art.[45]

Understanding more about the genealogies and locations of these innovations within the context of the larger women's movement is vital for a fuller accounting of feminist history and more nuanced analysis of the conflicts about the place of cultural activism that have shaped feminist movements and their historiography.[46] As feminist artists and new forms of representing women's experiences entered the picture, feminist activism—whether by small group, separate, or conventional organizations, or expressed in foundational texts, posters, feminist institutions, and performance actions—incorporated concerns about images of women, and feminist artists were there.

## Notes

1 Chicago's appointment was for one year. Judy Chicago, *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 68. See also Gail Levin, Chapter 1 of this book.

2 "Miss Chicago and the California Girls," *Everywoman* 2:7 (May 1971); "Bad Dream House," *Time* (March 20, 1972); *Womanhouse: Exhibition of the Feminist Art Program* (Valencia: California Institute of the Arts, 1972). See also Section I of this book.

3 See for example, Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Vintage, 1984), 76–100. There are many feminist evaluations of Foucault.

4 Chicago, *Through the Flower*, p. 96; Laura Meyer, ed., *A Studio of Their Own: The Legacy of the Fresno Feminist Experiment* (Fresno: CSU Fresno Press, 2009); articles by Faith Wilding, Arlene Raven, and Norma Broude and Mary Garrard in Broude and Garrard, eds., *The Power of Feminist Art* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1994), Part I; and Hillary Robinson, ed., *Feminism-Art-Theory: An Anthology, 1968–2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001). I am grateful to Laura Meyer for generously sharing her FAP image files.

5 http://www.fresnocitycollege.edu/index.aspx?page=230, accessed 2–27–11. A plaque commemorates the 1911 IWW free speech fight in Fresno on the city's Fulton Mall. See also www.iww.org/culture/articles/DJones1.shtml, accessed 2–27–11.

6 Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930–1950* (Albuquerque: New Mexico University Press, 1987); www.aclunc.org/news/press_releases/fresno_homeless_residents_win_settlement_over_citys_destruction_of_personal_property.shtml, accessed 2–20–11; Ruth Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); www.csufresno.edu/peacegarden/monuments.htm, accessed 2–27–11; Morgan Brennan, "America's 10 Most Toxic Cities," *Forbes* (February 28, 2011), accessed on forbes.com 3–4-11.

7 One unfortunate measure of their power is the Central Valley's deadly air pollution—Fresno is one of the three worst places in the United States annually for particulate and ozone levels—caused by suburban sprawl, traffic on Highway 99, and agribusiness lobbying that delayed regulation of dairy and farm machinery emissions until 2004. Valley agribusinesses also garner tens of millions of federal dollars annually through farm subsidies that go primarily to recipients of rural corporate welfare: large dairies and major cultivators of corn, wheat, and cotton. In 2009, Fresno County's subsidies totaled $54,551,171; from 2005 to 2009, it was $689,633,639. http://farm.ewg.org/region.php?fips=06019&progcode=total, accessed 2–26–11. Fresno is just one of several San Joaquin Valley counties that receive subsidies. Fresno and Tulare are the two highest agricultural-producing counties nationwide. www.tulcofb.org/index.php?page=agfact, accessed 6–23–11.

8 www.csufresno.edu/music/about/history.shtml, accessed 2–27–11.

9 www.undergroundgardens.com; www.museumsusa.org/museums/info/1152779; http://arteamericas.org/about.html, all accessed 2–27–11.

10 Email from Joyce Aiken, 2–13–11; John Ellis, "$107m Revamp of Courts Planned," *Fresno Bee* (February 12, 2011). John Ellis, "Fresno Courthouse Façade Has Its Fans," *Fresno Bee* (March 1, 2011) includes a 1966 photo of the wrecking ball demolishing the courthouse.

11 http://foundsf.org/index.php?title=S.F._STATE_STRIKE_1968_69_CHRONOLOGY, accessed 2–27–11.

12 Kenneth Seib, *The Slow Death of Fresno State: A California Campus under Reagan and Brown* (Palo Alto: Ramparts Press, 1979). Seib's important account does not mention the FAP. For a listing of Women's Studies programs, including seventeen CSU and eight UC campuses, see http://userpages.umbc.edu/~korenman/wmst/programs.html, accessed 3–4-11. Emails from Loretta Kensinger, Chair, and Kathryn Forbes, Associate Professor, Women's Studies Program, CSU Fresno (9–1-2010). Fresno's record on women's issues is mixed: the FAP continued until Joyce Aiken's retirement in 1992; the Women's Studies Program thrives. However, despite Fresno State's women's softball team national championship win in 1998, the university's record on Title IX compliance and sexual harassment is troubling. In 2008, for example, three Title IX lawsuits brought successfully against the university for gender discrimination by the female basketball coach, volleyball coach, and longtime athletics administrator resulted in $23 million awards for the plaintiffs. See www.fresnobee.com for more on these suits.

13 Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York: Viking, 2000); Myra Marx Ferree and Beth Hess, *Controversy and Coalition: The New Feminist Movement Across Four Decades of Change* (New York: Routledge, third edition, 2000); and Sara Evans, *Tidal Wave: How Women Changed America at Century's End* (New York: Free Press, 2003) provide movement overviews. Kathleen Laughlin and Jacqueline Castledine, *Breaking the Wave: Women, Their Organizations, and Feminism, 1945–1985* (New York: Routledge, 2011) includes case studies and bibliographies on women's activism between 1920 and 1963.

14 Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870–1930," *Feminist Studies* 5 (Fall 1979), 512–529 and Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989). Recent studies on feminist collectives include Sandra Morgen, *Into Our Own Hands: The Women's Health Movement in the United States, 1969–1990* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002); Kathy Davis, *The Making of* Our Bodies, Ourselves*: How Feminism Travels Across Borders* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Junko Onosaka, *Feminist Revolution in Literacy: Women's Bookstores in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2006); and Nancy Janovicek, *No Place to Go: Local Histories of the Battered Women's Shelter Movement* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

15 Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, p. 317, n. 70; Barbara Love, ed., *Feminists Who Changed America, 1963–1975* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 152 (Florika), 294 (Mainardi), 315 (Millet), 357–358 (Peslikis), 384 (Ringgold); Becky Thompson, "Multiracial Feminism: Recasting the Chronology of Second Wave Feminism," in Nancy Hewitt, *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010), p. 42; Catherine Lord, "Notes Toward a Calligraphy of Rage," in Lisa Mark, ed., *WACK! Art and the Feminist Revolution* (Los Angeles: MOCA, 2007), 444. The NBFO employed consciousness-raising in 1974: Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement," in Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Latham, NY: Kitchen Table, 1981), 216.

16 Author interview with Mainardi, 2–28–11. Mainardi wrote the first feminist appraisal of quilts, "Quilts: The Great American Art," *The Feminist Art Journal* (Winter 1973),

18–23. Elizabeth Subrin, *Shulie* (1997). I viewed *Shulie* at Otis Parsons library in August 2010, and in October at *Shifting the Gaze: Painting and Feminism*, The Jewish Museum, New York City (9/2010–1/2011). For more on the 1968 Miss America protest, including Florika's participation, see www.redstockings.org feature, "The Miss America Pageant," accessed 3–4-11.

17 Kirsten Swinth, *Painting Professionals: Women Artists and the Development of Modern American Art, 1870–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 1, 115, 173–179. See also Andrea Pappas's review of Swinth, http://h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=6748; Alice Sheppard, "Suffrage Art and Feminism," *Hypatia* 5:2 (Summer 1990); Deborah Cherry, "Women Artists and the Politics of Feminism, 1850–1900," in Clarissa Orr, ed., *Women in the Victorian Art World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 49–69; and Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). Lisa Farrington, *Creating Their Own Image: The History of African American Women Artists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 65–71. Chapter 3 details the racial and gender discrimination artists in Fuller's era contended with.

18 Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, 1963); NOW 1966 Statement of Purpose, http://www.now.org/history/purpos66.html, accessed 2–27–11.

19 Ann Snitow, "Feminism and Motherhood: An American Reading," *Feminist Review* 40 (Spring 1992), 34. See also Lauri Umansky, *Motherhood Reconceived: Feminism and the Legacies of the Sixties* (New York: NYU Press, 1996).

20 Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York: William Morrow, 1970), 156–159 (page numbers refer to Bantam edition, 1971).

21 Ibid., 188, 190.

22 Mandy Merck and Stella Sandford, eds., *Further Adventures of* The Dialectic of Sex*: Critical Essays on Shulamith Firestone* (New York: Palgrave, 2010), 7, 14. See also chapters 6 and 9 by each co-editor, respectively.

23 As autobiographical elements of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* has yielded insights of that text, it seems germane to consider *The Dialectic of Sex* with reference not only to the then twenty-five-year-old Firestone's rebellion against her religious Jewish upbringing and family pressures, but also in light of her nascent artistic career. Elizabeth Fallaize, ed., *Simone de Beauvoir: A Critical Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998); Ruth Evans, *Simone de Beauvoir's* The Second Sex*: New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Toril Moi, "The Adulteress Wife," *London Review of Books* 32:3 (February 11, 2010), 3–6.

24 Robin Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York: Bantam, 1970), 191.

25 Ibid., pp. 337, 450, 496, 514–519. For an appreciation of Solanas as a proto-third wave feminist who anticipated the sex/gender distinction, see Catherine Lord, "Wonder Waif Meets Super Neuter," *October* 132 (Spring 2010), 135–163. Lord states "the ideas articulated in *SCUM* did not cause Solanas to make an attempt on a man's life. The shooting derived from the logic of psychic disintegration, *not* from the logic of satire. To insist upon a feminist reading of *SCUM* is neither tantamount to condoning murder nor a dismissal of queer theory" (154). Moreover, Lord argues the reputations of William Burroughs, Norman Mailer, Louis Althusser, and Carl Andre were not similarly tarnished by their violent behavior (158). However, Firestone in "I Remember Valerie," in her *Airless Spaces* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1998), 130, states, "I thought it was a big mistake to recognize Valerie as one of us, a women's liberationist, let alone to embrace her book as serious feminist theory."

26 Losch's drawing is untitled; Florika's is captioned "Actual U.S. Army Ad Brought to a Higher Level of Struggle by Florika," *Sisterhood is Powerful* first insert page, front and back; Rosen, *The World Split Open*, p. 225. She interviewed Peslikis, pp. 46, 134, 200. Irene Peslikis, "Women Must Control the Means of Reproduction" and "Friends of the Fetus," in Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon, eds., *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from*

*the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 134, 148. Author interview with Pat Mainardi, 2–28–11. Susan Brownmiller, *In Our Time: Memoir of a Revolution* (New York: Dell, 1999), 49, 55, 65, notes meetings at Pesliskis' loft and describes Florika's collages "putting Vietnamese women in an ad for Chanel No. 5. [Florika] also led an action against Revlon's corporate headquarters, called Revlon Napalm."

27 Karen Davalos, *Yolanda M. Lopez* (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 2008), 31; Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Carlos Francisco Jackson, *ProtestARte: Chicana and Chicano Art* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009); T.V. Reed, *The Art of Protest: Culture and Activism from the Civil Rights Movement to the Streets of Seattle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Bradford Martin, *The Theater Is in the Street: Politics and Performance in Sixties America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004); Helen Langa, *Radical Art: Printmaking and the Left in 1930s New York* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

28 Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945–1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); recent works include Bettye Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin, *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement* (New York: NYU Press, 2001); Hewitt, *No Permanent Waves*; Hasia Diner, Shira Kohn, and Rachel Kranson, *A Jewish Feminine Mystique? Jewish Women in Postwar America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010); Laughlin and Castledine, *Breaking the Wave*. Eileen Boris proposes feminist "strands" in Laughlin et al., "Is it Time to Jump Ship: Historians Rethink the Waves Metaphor," *Feminist Formations* 22:1 (Spring 2010), 79, 86, 90–97.

29 Benita Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). See also, for example, Alma García, *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Sonia Shah, ed., *Dragon Ladies: Asian American Feminists Breathe Fire* (Boston: South End Press, 1997); Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), Annie Valk, *Radical Sisters: Second-Wave Feminism and Black Liberation in Washington, D.C.* (Champaigne-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Vicki Ruiz with Ellen Carol DuBois, eds., *Unequal Sisters: An Inclusive Reader in U.S. Women's History* (New York: Routledge, fourth edition, 2008).

30 See also Harmony Hammond, *Lesbian Art in America: A Contemporary History* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000); Lord, "Notes"; Lisa Bloom, *Jewish Identities in American Feminist Art: Ghosts of Ethnicity* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Joyce Antler, "'We Were Ready to Turn the World Upside Down': Radical Feminism and Jewish Women," in Diner et al., *Jewish Feminine Mystique*, pp. 210–234.

31 Jennifer Baumgardner, "That Seventies Show," *Dissent* (Summer 2002), www.dissentmagazine.org/article/?article=586, accessed 3–4-11; Bloom, *Jewish Identities*, chapter 2; Gail Levin, *Becoming Judy Chicago* (New York: Harmony Books, 2007). Lucy Lippard similarly considered herself "one of the boys" when she became a professional art critic before identifying as a feminist in 1970. Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers*, pp. 129–130, 153. See also *!Women Art Revolution*, directed by Lynn Hershman Leeson (New York: Zeitgeist Films, 2010).

32 See also Laura Cottingham, *Seeing Through the Seventies: Essays on Feminism and Art* (Amsterdam: G+B Arts, 2000) and *Womanhouse* (directed by Johanna Demetrakas, 1974).

33 For more on this topic, see for example, Lisa Gail Collins, *The Art of History: African American Women Artists Engage the Past* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002), Lisa Farrington, *Creating Their Own Image: The History of African American Women Artists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

34 www.fresnoartmuseum.org/about/council_of_100.htm, accessed 3–4-11.

35 See also Laura Meyer, "The Los Angeles Woman's Building and the Feminist Art Community, 1973–1991" in David James, ed., *The Sons and Daughters of Los: Culture and Community in L.A.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 39–62; Terry Wolverton, *Insurgent Muse: Life and Art at the Woman's Building* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2002).

36 For related works, see Karen Mary Davalos, *Yolanda M. López* (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 2008); Laura Pérez, *Chicana Art: The Politics of Spiritual and Aesthetic Altarities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); and, on Judy Baca among others, Amalia Mesa Bains, "Calafia/Califas: A Brief History of Chicana California," in Diana Burgess Fuller and Daniela Salvioni, eds., *Art/Women/California, 1950–2000* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2002): 123–140.

37 See also Karen Higa, "What Is an Asian American Woman Artist?" in Fuller and Salvioni, *Art/Women/California*, pp. 81–94; Valerie Matsumoto, "Asian American Artists in California," in Gordon Chang, Mark Dean Johnson, Paul J. Karlstrom and Sharon Spain, eds., *Asian American Art: A History, 1850–1970* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2008), 169–199.

38 See also Jolene Rickard, "Uncovering/Recovering: Indigenous Artists in California" and Theresa Harlan, "Indigenous Visionaries; Native Women Artists in California," in Burgess and Salvioni, *Art/Women/California*, pp. 187–200.

39 Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers*, pp. 127, 129, 138, 151.

40 See also Maura Reilly and Linda Nochlin, eds., *Global Feminisms: New Directions In Contemporary Art* (London: Merrell, 2007).

41 See also Judith Russi Kirshner, "Voices and Images of Italian Feminism," in Mark, *WACK!*, pp. 384–399.

42 Lisa Hogeland, *Feminism and its Fictions: The Consciousness-Raising Novel and the Women's Liberation Movement* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Judith Ezekiel, *Feminism in the Heartland* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002); Valk, *Radical Sisters*; Anne Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007). Judith Brodsky, "Exhibitions, Galleries, and Alternative Spaces," in Broude and Garrard, *Power of Feminist Art* and Joanna Inglot, *WARM: A Feminist Art Collective in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Weisman Art Museum, 2007) includes information about galleries nationwide. A chronology of all-women group exhibitions follows Jenni Sorkin, "The Feminist Nomad: The All-Woman Group Show," in Mark, *WACK!*, pp. 458–472, 473–499.

43 Cristine Rom, "One View: The Feminist Art Journal," *Woman's Art Journal* 2:2 (Fall 1981), 19–24. Ezekiel, *Feminism in the Heartland*, p. 1. See also Section II, Broude and Garrard, *Power of Feminist Art* and works by the Guerrilla Girls.

44 Swinth, *Painting Professionals*, pp. 1–4, 168, 201–206.

45 Judith Broksky and Ferris Olin, "Stepping out of the Beaten Path: Reassessing the Feminist Art Movement," *Signs* 33:2 (2008), 330–331.

46 E.g., Echols, *Daring to be Bad*; Redstocking feminists thought Women's Caucus for Art members were opportunists because they narrowly focused on finding opportunities to exhibit their work. Mainardi interview, 2–28–2011.