

"Once There Was a Camelot": Women Doctoral Graduates of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1982-1992, Talk about the Seminary, the Fundamentalist Takeover, and Their Lives Since SBTS

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for Helen Barnette (1932 -1992), Ed.D. 1987

[Duke] McCall . . . was speaking at a graduation. . . . It was very much a farewell address. And what sticks in my mind is he used an analogy from the musical, Camelot He was talking about how at the end of the book, the play, Camelot, Arthur sends home one of the page boys He knights him and says, "Your job is to go home." And he says, "No, I want to stay and fight in this tumultuous battle." And he says, "No, you have to go home." Gosh, I'm starting to tear up. "You've got to go on and make sure the story of Camelot lingers, and tell people what we were and what we believed in."

Barbaraⁱ

The Southern I went to does not exist. And I grieve a lot, grieved a lot about it. If I let myself think about it I still will. But it's really sad because I think it was a wonderful place. . . I remember [Duke McCall] preached . . . and he saw it coming. Because I remember he told us to go out and tell people, "Once there was a Camelot." And he's right, and when I think about Southern I feel that way. I mean, it wasn't perfect, but I see a passion in Southern grads.

Flannery

In 1979 fundamentalist Southern Baptists began a concerted 10-year plan to take over the agencies, boards, and institutions of the Southern Baptist Convention. The key prize in the ensuing battle was the six theological seminaries operated by the Convention. At the focus of the controversy was The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, the denomination's oldest institution, the second largest theological seminary in the world, and a growing center for training in ministry for women. Early in the controversy, often dubbed "The Battle for the Bible," women became part of a litmus test for theological orthodoxy.ⁱⁱ During the period 1982-1992 significant numbers of women entered Southern Seminary's doctoral programs, most with hopes of teaching in Baptist colleges and seminaries. Also during this time, the Southern Baptist Convention passed a resolution disapproving of women in leadership in churches,ⁱⁱⁱ and the fundamentalists completed their takeover of the seminary and the Convention. In the mid-nineties, the Convention appointed a seminary president who himself denounced women in church leadership, and the seminary's board of trustees elected to disqualify any faculty applicant who endorsed women in church leadership.^{iv} These events led to cataclysmic changes in the seminary, the Convention, and in the lives of those women who had received doctorates from Southern.

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Both of us attended Southern Seminary during those years and received our doctorates in anticipation of lives of service in Baptist higher education. Ten years after leaving the seminary, we both have severed ties with Southern Baptists, and, as we looked around at many of our women colleagues from seminary days, we found that they had done the same. With this realization, we began to ask, what has happened to the women who were at Southern during the years of the controversy? How do they perceive that the controversy affected them? How have they come to understand their seminary experiences? What have they done with their lives since Southern?

We offered a proposal to Pew Charitable Trusts, and they provided funding for us to ask those questions to the women themselves during the summer and fall of 1997.^v People who have lived through trauma need to tell their story, and in fact, a number of the women we interviewed said to us, "It's about time somebody told our story." We entered the research from a decidedly feminist standpoint. We wanted to do a narrative, retrospective study with and for the participants. Our goals were threefold: (1) to document the lives and activities of these women; (2) to understand the experiences of these women from their own point of view; and (3) to conceptualize these women's experiences as an expression of their social contexts.^{vi}

Our questions were open-ended, and out of participants' responses generative themes emerged, many of which will be discussed later in this article. Our intent in this study has been both to provide space for Southern's women doctoral graduates to tell their stories and to identify any patterns that might exist in these women's stories which may have applicability for women in theological education beyond the scope of this study's particular population.^{vii}

We recognize that as researchers, particularly as members of the study's population, we bring our own biases and perceptions to the reporting of our results. Hence, the analysis we offer is but one view of the complexities of these women's experiences. In order to allow these women most fully to speak for themselves, much of our reporting will consist of these women's own words, rather than our interpretation of their words. In that way, we hope to capture both the similarity and great diversity of the voices of these women. We tell their stories so people will know who they were and what they believed in.

In her 1995 *Saving Work: Feminist Practices of Theological Education*, Rebecca Chopp noted the important work done by feminist practices in theological education in the past two decades and acknowledged the continuing need for application of feminist scholarship around issues of theological education to be made in very practical ways. She offered this challenge: ". . . the second generation of literature on theological education needs to remake the formal method of the first generation of writers into practical methods that investigate contemporary reality—methods that can anticipate possibilities for transformation in our midst."^{viii} That is our goal. We hope from the stories of these women seminary graduates, theological educators may learn some of what happens to women in theological education, especially in the midst of exclusionary discourses and practices, and may work to find ways to make theological education more empowering for women.

We begin by recognizing that gender is a salient issue in theological education. Gender categories are essentially social constructs which give meaning to and define groups of biological characteristics in relation to power.^{ix} Thus, these categories name, not innate characteristics of individuals, but where these individuals stand in relation to power. In the United States, the dynamics of power around gender are embedded in the culture in such a way that each relationship between men and women is mediated by this social power. Therefore, when women and men come to the seminary classroom, they come already situated in a web of power that consistently privileges one group over the other. Women, therefore, experience particular forms of oppression and exist in

certain relationships to power based on their situation within this web. Practically, this means that gender is an operative factor in theological education. Ignoring gender simply reinforces dominant, patriarchal norms. The important question, then, is not, is gender operative in theological education, but rather, how is gender operative in the seminary?^x And what changes can be made so that discriminatory and oppressive practices can be eliminated and empowering transformations can be implemented?

Through the narratives of participants, this study explores the gendered experiences of a group of women who attended seminary during a particularly tumultuous time in Southern Baptist life. Increased numbers of women at the seminary and the focus of the Southern Baptist controversy on women in ministry specifically highlighted gender issues at the seminary during those years. The stories of these women serve as exempla for seminaries whose women students face many of the same challenges and long for many of the same transformations.

The Participants

Thirty-four women graduated from the Ed.D. and Ph.D. programs of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary from 1982-1992. Twenty-six of these women participated in the study by completing one to two-hour interviews with one or both of us. Of those not participating, four were out of the country, one is deceased, one could not be located, and two chose not to participate (One of these two withdrew from the study after completion of the interview). These interviews invited participants to reflect on their experiences as seminarians and to talk about how they have come to construct meaning out of those experiences since seminary. The interviews also allowed them to talk about their lives since Southern and to make connections between the Southern Baptist controversy and their experiences both as seminarians and as religious professionals.

Of the 26 participants, 13 are involved in higher education. Four work in the local church, five participate in other forms of religious work, and four are no longer in ministry. All of the women in the study are white. Four identify as lesbian. Thirteen are married. Eleven are ordained. Eighteen also received a masters degree from Southern Seminary. Twenty-one of the 26 were Southern Baptist when they began doctoral work. Of those 21, only three are still Southern Baptist. Six are members of Cooperative Baptist Fellowship churches, 10 have joined churches in other denominations (Presbyterian, United Church of Christ, American Baptist, Episcopalian, United Methodist, Metropolitan Community Church), and two no longer participate in religious communities. Twenty of those 21 entered Southern's doctoral programs hoping to work in a Southern Baptist context following graduation. Only five of those 20 currently do.

Following a Calling

All of the participants expressed a very strong sense of calling into ministry, some into teaching, others into local church ministry or denominational work. Taylor's experience was especially striking:

All my life I have been Southern Baptist. I was a GA, went to GA camp, was involved in the BSU in college, worked at GA camp for many summers and was very interested in foreign medical missions. . . . After a while, I realized for many reasons that I probably didn't want to be a physician but was still interested in the medical field and went into [a related area]. The

summer after my first semester in [that area], while I was working at the GA camp, I had, I know this sounds really hokey, but I had a blinding light revelation, literally. Without going into a lot of detail, let's just say, I knew without a doubt that I should go to Southern to do a masters and a doctorate. I really felt a definite call.

All of the participants recognized that attending seminary was an essential part of fulfilling their calling. They chose Southern Seminary for a variety of reasons: academic reputation, Southern Baptist heritage, particular programs, particular faculty members, reputation for openness.

Well, I had felt a sense of call to ministry when I was 17, and had continued to have a sense of being called through college, and attended Southern, primarily because I wanted to attend a Southern Baptist seminary. And my sense was that Southern was the best place to go academically and professionally.

Deborah

I knew [Southern Seminary] was a place that would require academic stretching and theological nuance that I knew I needed.

Katherine

I went to a Baptist college, and my father was a Southern Baptist preacher. A lot of Baptists in my family, and so I was kind of, I think, but the fact of the Baptist heritage, kind of inclined toward Southern, although my father tried to talk me out of it. . . . he thought that the Southern Baptist Convention was coming on hard times and thought that I would not want to be at a Southern Baptist seminary during the 80s, and I told him, "Oh, Dad, it's all going to blow over." Then he reminded me of that pretty much monthly until he died. . . .

Barbara

When I was in college I was involved in the Baptist Student Union, and my campus minister there was a female. . . and [she] was a graduate of Southern Seminary and loved it, thought it was one of the best experiences of her life. And so through her encouragement, that's how I ended up at Southern, picking Southern specifically.

Alex

I heard something about the social work program at Southern Seminary, and I thought, wouldn't it be nice to be able to meet people's needs in a truly holistic way, not just material needs, psychological needs, general social cultural needs, but also spiritual needs. And so I pursued looking at the program at Southern Seminary, thinking that perhaps I wanted to do an M.Div. in social work.

Judy

I had graduated with my Master of Divinity from a more liberal seminary, and I was just ready to go to school. I spent so much time at the seminary just defending that the Bible was able to be used for interpretation I thought I would like to go to a school where I wouldn't have to be constantly defending the reliability of the Bible. And then as well, of

course, I'd heard of A. T. Robertson and his grammar book. And so was just impressed with the heritage.

Mary

Its academic reputation and also its reputation for being a liberal seminary. As a woman in ministry and a woman wanting to do graduate work in biblical studies, I felt like I'd have more of a chance to flourish at Southern than at the other Baptist seminaries. And I was pretty clear that I wanted to go to a Baptist seminary.

Ruth

My growing up years in Southern Baptist churches, near as I can remember, all the pastors that I had were graduates of Southern. I almost didn't know that there were any other Southern Baptist seminaries for a good long while.

Courtney

I had a college professor who had been to Southern. I had read many of Findley Edge's books, well, two of his books, knew of his work, specifically in church renewal, not his education stuff so much as his *Greening of the Church* and *Quest for Vitality in Religion*. And I really liked, I liked what he was saying. And [it] sounded like Southern Seminary would be a good place to be.

Annie

Few of the women interviewed are doing what they had felt called to do upon entering their doctoral programs, at least in the contexts they had planned. For many, "call" had to be redefined given the denominational barriers and other constraints experienced.

Overall Assessments of Experiences at Southern Seminary

Despite insightful and often painful critiques of their theological education at Southern Seminary, most participants reported an overall positive seminary experience. While the controversy heightened the issues and struggles typical of theological education, for most participants it provided a backdrop against which to define themselves as women in ministry while they were in seminary. When asked if they would still have attended Southern Seminary then, knowing what they know now, most participants answered, even if somewhat reluctantly, in the affirmative. Responses such as that of Frances were typical:

I'm glad I was there when I was there. I can't even imagine having arrived, say, even two or three years later. I think I was there for the very best days of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. And I'm proud to list on my resume, Ph.D. from Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. I'm proud of my faculty. I'm proud of my colleagues, male and female. I'm proud of what they have done. And I wouldn't trade that.

Many of the participants saw their experiences at Southern as formative in the development of their identity. Nicole explained: "I would not be who I am today without that experience. I would not have the family I have without that experience. And I would not have learned to feel God's love

and love myself." Kathy concurred: "I like the changes that seminary brought about in me personally. I'm more open-minded and less judgmental about myself and about other people."

As we talked to these women, the metaphor used by former Southern Seminary president Duke McCall in a graduation address and mentioned by both Barbara and Flannery seemed apt in reflecting the participants' general feelings about the seminary. For most of them, there was a sense that during the decade of our study, Southern Seminary was a place that, while not optimal for women, was at least an open environment where women on the whole were encouraged to follow their callings. Several responses reflected this fondness for Southern, despite its shortcomings.

It was hardly a utopia. You know, I don't kid myself and look back. You know, I can talk about troubles I had with my supervisor and problems I had on gender issues and all of that But despite all those things, I got pushed and stretched to grow and become in ways I couldn't have even dreamed of when I got there. And I count all of those as great gifts.

Courtney

The best of times, the worst of times, sort of thing. I don't know what my life would have been like without Southern. I will always appreciate the fact that Southern gave me the tools to work out of fundamentalism Southern gave me the tools to work through the biblical material, through the theology, to come to the sort of social justice stances that I did. And I'll always appreciate that.

Flannery

[My experience at Southern] was positive because it got me where I am now. It moved me away from Southern Baptists. It moved me away from organized religion. It moved me toward a much broader view of God than I ever could have imagined, toward my own sense of worth and self-acceptance. So it was a very important stepping stone.

Leslie

My years at Southern were some of the best years of my life. I probably grew more there than anywhere before or since. . . . That place changed my life, and I have very fond memories of Southern, being under the beeches and walking down those magnificent halls of Norton.

Taylor

For most of the participants, Southern Seminary provided a place where they were able to grow as humans, as scholars, and as ministers. While they regretted the controversy and its aftermath, few regretted the time they had spent at Southern or the theological education they had received there.

"Chilly" Climate

Despite their reports of overall positive experiences at Southern, most of these women also reported the experience Bernice R. Sandler, executive director of the Project on the Status and Education of Women of the Association of American Colleges, identified as a "chilly" campus climate for women.^{xi} A chilly climate emerges when women's educational experiences are considerably different from men's because of gender issues. Factors contributing to a chilly climate

may include differential treatment of women students by faculty members, derogatory or stereotypical comments about women, use of sexist humor, and devaluing of women's contributions. The effects of a chilly climate may be many: women may be discouraged from class participation; women may drop classes, change majors, change career goals, or even leave schools; women's academic and career goals may be limited. According to Sandler's study, women graduate students are particularly at risk for being adversely affected by a school's chilly climate.^{xii}

As participants in this study described their experiences at Southern Seminary, many related experiences of a chilly climate for women. During the period from 1982-1992, this climate seems to have been created in two primary ways: (1) through the high profile of the controversy among Southern Baptists; and (2) through the sexism and sexist structure of theological education at Southern Seminary itself.

The Southern Baptist controversy in many ways affected everyone associated with the seminary during those years. Faculty members feared for their jobs; students wondered about their futures; people took sides in the ongoing, fractious debate all around campus. But for women, the controversy was especially discouraging. Early in the controversy, women were targeted as specific concerns of the fundamentalists. Thus, the academic debates that raged around issues such as biblical inerrancy were secondary to the very personal effects of controversy around women's right to participate in ministry. So, not only were the women who were students at the seminary at this time asked to engage in intellectual discussion of theological issues, they were also forced into constant examination of their calling and their right to be students at the seminary at all.

Complicating women's grappling with issues raised by the controversy were the inherently sexist structures of theological education in place at Southern. While the seminary on the whole and many of its professors in particular were making conscious efforts to improve conditions for women, numerous areas of sexist behavior and structure prevented equitable conditions for women. Women in this study reported sexual harassment, differential treatment in the classroom based on gender, devaluing of alternative modes of knowing based on intuition and affect, an "old boy" culture, invisibility of women in the curriculum, lack of women on the seminary's faculty, and professors' ignorance of women's issues. Thus, most women's reports of positive experiences at the seminary were balanced by incisive and specific critique of the patriarchal structures which characterized their theological education.

Interestingly, many of these women also reported that this chilly climate has continued in the new structures created by alternative groups which grew out of the controversy, such as the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship. Most of these women, even five to fifteen years after their graduation from Southern Seminary, continue to grapple with gender issues in their churches and in their ministries. Our hope is that their stories and observations will hold some clues to finding new ways to build a theological education that is truly liberatory and empowering for all people.

Perceived Effects of the Southern Baptist Controversy

Undoubtedly, for these women the controversy among Southern Baptists was a key issue both during their time at the seminary and in their lives and careers directly following graduation. Taylor explained:

I think [the controversy] was probably the most significant experience, the most significant issue. I hate to say it, and I wish it hadn't happened, but it really was pretty exciting. It totally

consumed us. I think we probably spent more energy on that issue than anything else while we were there, but I do not think I would be where I am theologically had that controversy not occurred. So it was incredibly significant.

Many of the participants expressed anger at the role the controversy played in their seminary experience. Lynn explained: "The controversy affected me in many ways. It colored everything. . . It has made me pretty bitter and at times very ashamed of being Southern Baptist." Barbara likewise said, "[The controversy] made me angry. It made me angry first and foremost, I think, because of the way that [the fundamentalists] were treating the Bible, as if it was no more complicated than the directions for programming your VCR." Alex added: "I spent probably my entire doctoral program just being angry . . . I think we all lived through depression, and I think it put all of our futures up in the air. You know, we had spent all this time and energy and commitment; then there was nothing for us out there."

Alex's words were prophetic for a number of participants who either could not find jobs or lost jobs as a result of the controversy. Ruth's story was not unusual:

When I finished, the controversy made it difficult to find a teaching position because those places that would hire me as a seminary graduate would not hire me because I was a woman. I can remember I was invited by the chair of the department at [a Baptist university] for a campus interview, which usually means you're one of three candidates that they are considering. And I never heard back from them, and I'm still waiting to hear back from [the chair]. When I finally asked someone that I knew there in the religion department, he said, "We got cold feet because you were ordained and you're a woman."

One woman, Suzie, could not find a Southern Baptist church in her town that would accept her as a member because she was ordained. Other women left the denomination because of the controversy:

I used to say when I was at Southern that I would stay in the denomination as long as I had a place to stand and fight and something to fight for, and I identified that as the seminary. So once the fundamentalists had taken over the seminary, I really felt like there was nothing left, nothing, no reason I could stay within that particular denomination.

Courtney

I'm intentionally not involved in any of these [Southern Baptist] arenas. I have limited contact with people and no contact with organizations or institutions. I don't have to think about it. I mean, I don't even know what the latest movements are in the Convention or any of the other split off groups. I have trouble remembering what they're called. I don't know who's doing what, and I don't want to know. I don't care.

Brenda

While the women who were not Southern Baptist when they entered doctoral work at the seminary were angered by the controversy, Southern Baptist women were especially vulnerable to its effects. For many of these women, Southern Baptist was an identity, much like family. For them, the

controversy was particularly tumultuous. Ruth characterized her relationship with Southern Baptists as abusive:

One of the paradigms that I've used to sort of envision my relationship with the Baptists . . . it's like being in an abusive relationship. It's being a woman in an abusive relationship. It's like you don't know anything different, and so it's really scary to leave it because being in the relationship, it's your sole identity. It's what you know. I mean, there are times that it's positive and that you do receive good things from it. But then more times than not it's abusive. And the only way to break that cycle of abuse is to leave.

The women who have left Baptist circles seem to have done so at least partially because of the effects of the controversy. On the whole, those who have left appear "happier" or at least less frustrated than those who have stayed. We can safely speculate that more of our sample would have remained in Baptist churches and in service to Southern Baptists had the controversy not occurred.

Experiences of Discrimination/Harassment

While participants expressed generally positive feelings toward the seminary, they were also acutely aware of sexism at work within the seminary. While most had good working relationships with professors and peers, many reported experiences of discrimination or harassment. Four women reported having been physically sexually harassed or assaulted by male professors or male graduate students (grabbed or kissed). Several others reported having been asked out on a date by married graduate students. Judy suggested that a "bar culture" existed among male doctoral students in the graduate lounge in the seminary's library:

In the graduate lounge. . . at first [male students] focused on me in a way that I think men focus on women when there is a majority of men and just a woman. Sort of, I guess, sort of like a bar culture, when a woman walks into a bar and it's mostly males who inhabit that particular social space. You know, I'd be the subject of all innuendoes or jokes that were about women because I was the only one there.

Frances reported being confronted by a male student who believed women should not be in the Ph.D. program:

It's funny what we learn to expect and accept as normal—being confronted by a male colleague in the same class with me where I'm obviously doing very proficient and good work and as committed and dedicated as anyone else there. And this guy says to me, 'Well, I'm sorry. I don't think that you have a right to study theology, and you shouldn't be here.'

Many women reported being made to feel excluded by male colleagues. Ruth explained:

I think being heard and valued as a student at Southern was an issue for me. I can remember there would be a lot of doctoral seminars that I was in where I was the only woman in the seminar, and I would have to work harder to be heard. It would be really frustrating to have made a comment about a particular discussion we were having and for no one to hear it or

pick up on it. And then like fifteen minutes later a male colleague of mine would say the same thing, and everybody would go, "Oh, wow! That's really a great insight there."

Frequent reports were also given of women being made to feel excluded by male professors. The most obvious example came from Elizabeth:

We were [in class] discussing some Mishnaic customs or Mishnaic traditions on ejaculation or menstruation . . . and so obviously the male professor was very embarrassed, you know. After class he came up to me, and he said, "You know, if you were not in here we could really have gotten some good quality work accomplished."

Katherine was once asked by a male professor not to share her grade with her male colleagues:

I was well aware during the program how difficult it was for women to be taken as seriously by some of their professors and colleagues as were the men. And I had a deep sense of the perception of the injustice of that. In fact, when I did very well on doctoral exams, one of my older professors gave me one of the two highest grades and told me, "Please don't tell the boys what you made." And I said, "I will if I want because I'm proud of the grade."

Exclusion of women from the curriculum and exclusive language were other significant issues noted by participants. Suzanne argued: "Every seminar was related to gender exclusion just because women's voices were not really there. I mean, you could speak, but women's material, women's history, women's story was not part of the agenda." Mary told this story:

I think there was general support for [women in ministry] in the abstract. In that regard some professors were very supportive. I think it was more a question of ignorance where some professors would call us men or keep talking about men in ministry, assuming a male model. One professor used an image of not putting accents [on words] was like a woman going around naked. And I thought being the only woman there made me feel self-conscious. You know, why pick on a woman, you know?

Marisa felt that professors at the seminary related more to male students. And, she added, "When there was a choice of who to ask to lead or present something, the men were always first." Leslie felt that male professors' attitudes toward women undermined her self-confidence. She often was not sure whether she received the grades she did because of her work or because of her sex:

I was very aware that there were certain women students, doctoral students, who were decorations, who were prizes, who were pets. . . and so there was always that kind of wondering in my mind if my work was of the quality it should be or if it was because I was a good decoration and I made the guys proud of me.

While, on the whole, most participants reported favorable relationships with professors, most also pointed to inadequacies in professors' abilities to deal with women students. Most of the women pointed out that they had come to read and study feminist theology on their own, many of them after

completion of the doctorate, because women's issues were not often introduced into seminary classes. Flannery summed up many of the participants' experiences with male professors:

We had our [student] allies, but I think that there were a lot of those guys that didn't think women ought to be there. They knew better than to say it completely out loud because I think the professors were supportive of us as women in whatever ways they knew how, which, you know, weren't all that great. But they tried. "Good attempt." That's what I would write on an evaluation of Southern's professors in relation to women. "Good attempt" I mean, I felt supported at the time. It's really in retrospect that I've thought, "My goodness, they did so little. And we were so hungry for it that it felt like a lot at the time."

Changes at Southern Since the Fundamentalist Takeover

While participants expressed mixed reviews of their experiences at Southern, they were unified and univocal in their expression of anger, grief, and dismay at the current shape of the seminary. Over and over again, participants stated, "The Southern Seminary I attended does not exist anymore." Participants, especially those in higher education, frequently pointed out that they do not recommend Southern to prospective students. Comments by Marisa and Barbara were typical: "I'm not recommending to anybody to go to Southern right now. . . . Not to be able to recommend a school where you put in that much of your life is not a pleasant thing." And "I don't regret going [to Southern]. I certainly would not go there now. I don't let anyone I care about go there now."

Participants' sense of loss and exclusion was often expressed in terms of the seminary campus itself. Many participants felt that they could no longer visit the campus. Feeling unable to return to the seminary has become a significant metaphor for many of the participants to express their experience of, not simply loss of the seminary to the fundamentalists, but also of the fundamentalists' emphatic exclusion of women. As Annie put it, "My sense of what has changed at Southern is that women are no longer encouraged on any level to become who God calls them to be." So for most participants feeling unable to return to campus describes both their personal sense of exclusion and their perception of the exclusion and oppression of all women by the seminary's new administration.

I don't know if y'all do this. We say BF. Do y'all know this? Before the fall or before the fundamentalists It was a very good school historically and traditionally. And, you know, now it's not a good school. . . . I wouldn't go back there. I wouldn't go on campus. Shake the dust off the sandals.

Suzanne

I have not been back to Louisville since I graduated because I think all I'd do is just cry I don't see or hear much that is truly loving coming out of Southern these days. And that makes me very sad because I really thought when all of us were there that we were working to build something that would be there for those who came after us.

Kathy

It's not the same place. When I think of the Southern Seminary that I attended, I could be quite happy going back, you know, and even thought, "Well, gee, maybe one of these days I'll

be important enough that they'll invite me back to preach, you know." And I would love it . . . but now it's not even the same place. I can't even imagine going there.

Frances

What was hard . . . was realizing I had lost Southern Seminary and all that it was, because it was just such a marvelous place for me to grow and be stretched and become and clarify a sense of vocation and get launched into the future. I had wonderful teachers and wonderful friends. And, you know, probably the seven most significant years of my life. And I can't go back there What I feel fury over now is that I think Southern Baptist people have no idea what they have lost, what a wondrous place Southern was among Southern Baptists.

Courtney

Several participants expressed their sense of loss and anger in very concrete images. Mary explained that she had stopped giving to the seminary: "I just figured, what is the point? What am I supporting? I mean, I feel bad for the students, but I'm supporting an institution that's going all out of its way to restrict women." Judy suggested that a walk through the seminary's library is quite instructive: "There has been such a turnover in journals and magazines, it's unbelievable. I mean you can tell just by walking around and looking at what they subscribe to now, and I'm talking, you know, pseudointellectual journalistic pieces, as well as magazines and bulletins." Marisa also expressed her concern in terms of the library: "There've been a number of occasions where I've said, 'Well, maybe I should go back to Southern and grab the copies of my dissertation that I paid to have bound and put them in my library before they're burned or something.'" Flannery turned to biblical imagery: "I wish they'd close the doors and write Ichabod on them, frankly. The glory has departed." Elaine, who did recently return to campus to walk through for the first time in years, concluded, "And so when I walk through Southern's campus I think with a sense of sadness that women will not have an opportunity to see the fullness of possibility for them, and the church of the next century will be limited because women haven't been able to see that possibility."

Many participants had been in doctoral work during the same time as the seminary's new president. While all participants expressed outrage at the president's actions around women's issues, many questioned how he had reached his stance.

One of the questions that I really want to ask is 'Al Mohler, what are you thinking? You received the same education the rest of us did. You were exposed to the same ideas and same issues. What in the world happened to cause you to go in the direction you've gone?'

Taylor

It grieves me to think I went to school with [Al Mohler]. And I think, 'Where in the hell were you? And how did you get out of this institution with that mindset and ideology?'

Nicole

Elaine called recent changes at Southern "a good example of an inquisition in all its varying forms," and Lindsey referred to the firing of faculty members as "systemic evil at work."

For all participants, watching Southern Baptists and Southern Seminary change under fundamentalist leadership has been painful. For those who were Southern Baptist, the pain has been especially acute. For many, it has meant rethinking career goals and/or leaving the denomination.

Others have continued to live in the tensions of working in and being committed to a denomination and institutions in which women are marginalized. While the larger Southern Baptist controversy evoked fewer reactions from non-Southern Baptists, the takeover of the seminary was consistently reported as distressing to both Southern Baptists and non-Southern Baptists.

The Cooperative Baptist Fellowship

The Cooperative Baptist Fellowship was formed as a moderate response to the fundamentalist takeover of the Southern Baptist Convention. Moderate leaders formed alternative boards, agencies, and institutions to replace those lost to the fundamentalists. While many women had hopes that the Fellowship would provide greater acceptance and opportunities for women, most participants feel that moderate men have failed miserably in creating new and inclusive structures.

I see the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship as reinventing the same wheel in terms of structures and ideology of the SBC. So it right now doesn't give me a lot of hope and a lot of confidence in organized religion. . . . I'm angry at all men in positions of power. . . . I'm not talking fundamentalist here necessarily. I'm talking men of the moderate persuasion, of the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship. You know, they're supposed to be more open to women. They're supposed to be the ones who are going to provide more ministry opportunities for us. And you look at the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship offices, and it's a man in every single position in their office. It's a man, in every one. There are no women. None. So I feel like, you know, you're lying to us still. You're perpetuating the same old shit that the fundamentalists did.

Alex

The CBF. . . patriarchy all over again. They wear better ties.

Suzanne

I have no interest whatsoever in [the CBF] because I think the CBF is same song, second verse. For some reason they have managed to track me down, and I get the newsletter. And it's just white men, white men, white men. I think the women that are included are tokens, and I think women got used in the controversy. They were a few more votes that the moderates could get, but I don't think the old boys ever had any intention of giving up their power.

Flannery

One of our area pastors gave this illustration. . . . He said in terms of the controversy, we need to realize that we are playing pro ball. He was using a ball metaphor. . . and he said we are in the draft mode, and before 1979 we were playing sandlot baseball. So that anyone could come up to the bat But he went on and said pre-'79 anybody could take a baseball bat and go up to the plate and bat. I was sitting beside an African-American who was also Baptist and had grown up Southern Baptist, and he punched me and he said, 'Sister,' he said, 'Did you ever get up to bat?' I said, 'No, did you? Did you ever get up to bat, and any of the other people who were kind of on the outside, you know?'

Elizabeth

One woman did express positive feelings toward the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship and described a recent CBF meeting as "glorious." She added, "I mean the joy of being among the people [at the meeting], and like-minded, it was like family. It met at our church, and it was good." Comments such as this one were the exception. While some women offered suggestions to those in leadership positions in the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship, many essentially expressed that they had "given up" trying to effect positive change within this structure.

Spirituality

Participants evidenced a wide range of expressions of spirituality, from June's traditional imaging of God as "Father," "Creator," and "Source of all" to Brenda's refusal to label any part of her life as spiritual. Common to participants was an openness to a wide variety of spiritual experiences and expressions and a strong commitment to women in ministry. Most indicated that their conceptions of God, their theology, and their spirituality had changed greatly from the time they began doctoral work; several connected some of these changes with their experiences within the Southern Baptist controversy.

Several participants expressed a relationship with God which they found comforting and empowering. Katherine, for example, characterized God as "comforting presence . . . guiding presence, beloved voice, awakening breath, merciful presence." More often participants reported a less well-defined, more amorphous understanding of divinity. For example, Barbara explained: "I believe in God. I'm just not sure I believe in God in a real personal sense as in 'His eye is on the sparrow, and I know He cares for me.' I'm not sure about that." Likewise, Suzanne noted: "That's a good question [Who or what is God?] I don't know. I mean, I really don't know anymore. I think I have more questions than answers about who or what God is." For these women, life experiences plus the skills of theology and biblical studies have led to more openness in identifying expressions of divinity. Taylor explained:

God was a more distinct entity than God is now for me. I think at the time I thought I knew who or what God was better than I know now. I probably have more questions now than I did then. . . . The definition I've come up with recently in conjunction with a couple of other people is "loving goodness," loving being an adjective there. And I have no use for images of God that are discriminatory, that are overpowering, that are punitive.

A common theme for most of these women was a broadening of their conception of God. And, while many participants concluded that they do not know who or what God is, they also reported being comfortable living in that ambiguity.

I feel that my relationship with God is on a personal level, but I don't anthropomorphize God, or I try not to do that. God is beyond gender. God is primarily relational and relationship.
Suzie

I talk to God. I fuss at God. I cuss at God. I cry to God. But it's a very ambiguous relationship right now because I really don't know how to relate to God or how God relates to me.
Nicole

God is bigger than the little box that my Baptist upbringing had put God into as far as God does this, God does that, God does this, this is God, this is God, this is God. I think God is bigger than any of that So you might could say [my understanding of God] became much more fluid, more nebulous, much more broad.

Alex

While I was at Southern . . . I was trying to get away from that anthropomorphic sort of God, but it was still pretty much there because I just was trying to make God not be male or female . . . when I left Southern . . . the only thing I was willing to say was that God had something to do with connectedness . . . And, not that it's any more specific, but now I call God love. And that's about as specific as I'm willing to get now my own spirituality is a move toward and in unconditional love, it's in experience with unconditional love. That's God.

Leslie

I say the word God a lot less than I used to. I say the spirits, the divine, the powers of the cosmos. . . . To me the term God is no longer adequate to encompass all that I think is the divine or is divine. . . . I think that people truly interested in growing spiritually and developing spiritually will eventually grow beyond the concept of God.

Kathy

Many of the above responses illustrate some of the characteristics of James Fowler's stage of Conjunctive faith. Here the individual moves beyond many of the boundaries that may have been so meticulously constructed in the previous stage of Individuative-Reflective faith.^{xiii} An "epistemological humility" comes through, and the individual recognizes and appreciates "the multidimensionality and density of symbols and myth" and God in general that may have been absent earlier.^{xiv}

Participants were also divided in their concern over gender specific language for God. While most came to seminary using exclusively masculine pronouns for the deity, few continue to do so. Some, such as June, were comfortable using both masculine and feminine images for God. Others, such as Becky, did not see God-language as a significant issue, although she explained that over the course of her seminary experience she had moved from antagonism toward feminine pronouns for God to a more neutral position. On the other hand inclusive language was an important issue for Suzie: "I was concerned about the issue of inclusive language because I envision God as beyond gender." Likewise, Elaine reported "an awakening" to inclusive language when she came to Southern. For Louise, the choice not to call God "Father" was quite personal. During the death of her father, Louise realized that she was projecting her father onto God:

I was projecting my father onto God and I was going to confuse things if I didn't stop. So I made this decision that if there really was a God, then this God was going to be different from my father. And I stopped calling God "Father" at that point. And part of what I had experienced in the few months since my father's death, for as much as I loved him and respected him, was a sense of freedom that I could do what I wanted to. . . . it was like, I am now grown up. I have no father to take care of me and to tell me what to do or tell me if I'm

not doing it right. So my life is in my hands. . . . I stopped calling God "Father," and I stopped asking God to do things for me that I could do for myself.

Likewise, Lindsey's reimagining of God was connected to a very personal experience:

The genesis of my dissertation came out of my experience of pregnancy, that I felt alienated from God during my pregnancy. And when I began to reflect, well, what's that about, I realized that, that it was because I had successfully internalized a male God image, you know, having been socialized that way. And that a male God image had absolutely nothing to do with me as a pregnant woman, and therefore, I felt totally disconnected and abandoned by this male God. And, so then that began both an experiential journey as well as a research journey into how can I move beyond this because I didn't believe cognitively that that was right or true.

Participants' expressions of their spirituality varied greatly as well. For some, spirituality is practiced through traditional disciplines of prayer and scripture reading. Others have begun to include practices from other faith traditions, such as Buddhism and Shamanism, in their practices of Christian faith. For most, faith has found expression in commitment to social justice. Flannery explained:

I think before I entered the doctoral program, church was still this obligation. It was something I was supposed to do to show my devotion to God. And probably there was still this little piece of me that believed that if I didn't do it, I'd pay dearly. And I think the reason I go to church now is it allows me this real sense of being part of something larger than myself. And given the kind of church I've gone to, that means not only being a part of the larger more inclusive Christian community, the larger community of humanity, but also the civil rights movement, the gay and lesbian rights movement, because my church embraces all of those things. And so I do it, it's almost this sense of being part of this something that's larger. And I guess for me, that's kind of how I participate in God.

Similarly, Barbara expressed her Christianity in terms of social activism:

Well, I've never been a particularly spiritual person. I mean, not anything even remotely resembling mystical The churches I've been part of have always been really socially active churches with the emphasis more on we've got to get these draft resisters to Canada; we've got to do this, as opposed to let's sit back and pray or whatever. . . . I am a Christian, but I don't pray much. I think when I say I'm a Christian, it means I identify myself with that tradition, the Christian world view, the biblical world view . . . but as I've said, I've never been a very spiritual person. It's more in terms of, to me Christianity is more a way of acting than not, and that's just my perspective.

Frances explained her faith expression this way:

I have known without hesitation and without wavering from ever since [serving as a Garrett Teaching Fellow for a visiting African-American scholar] that my ministry as a European

American has to be, to be a stand for justice and reconciliation in this country, and beginning in the church. And I believe the church is the only place where we have any hope of, of effectively addressing the needs and beginning that change. So I've not just been open to ways of expressing this call, but have actively sought opportunities ever since. I find my life diminished if I'm in an all white situation. I can't live long that way.

While participants' understandings of God spanned a wide spectrum of opinion from the traditional to the postmodern, on the whole, they were fairly liberal on social issues. From a wide variety of perspectives on God, they had constructed social understandings which were complex, compassionate, and inclusive. Many did not recall grappling with controversial issues such as abortion and homosexuality in seminary classes, although some did encounter these issues either in the classroom or in seminary-related activities, such as Ethics Luncheon, a weekly forum on various ethical issues held on campus during the years of this study. Most came to deal with these issues as a result of either increased national attention to the subjects or personal encounters with people grappling with these issues. While some came to Southern Seminary already with liberal attitudes toward social issues, many participants expressed changing understandings of these issues either as they progressed through doctoral work or as they worked in ministry following graduation.

Participants were especially unified in their affirmation of women in ministry. For many, women in ministry was a significant personal theological struggle early in their seminary careers. Annie, like several others, explained that she had come from a tradition where women were not encouraged to go into pastoral ministry. When she went to seminary in the late seventies, she said, some professors were very supportive of women, while others were still struggling to understand women's issues. "But mostly it was church stuff that I found myself really beating myself against. And some of the folks at the seminary who just didn't get it, like what difference does it make if we sing 'Rise up, o men of God' or if we sing 'Rise up, people of God.'"

Likewise, Deborah had struggled with the issue of women in ministry before coming to seminary:

I entered Southern having had a clear sense of call to ministry. And prior to coming to Southern I had wrestled with the issue of what, can women be pastors, or, you know, what can women do, because my call really felt like a call to pastoral ministry. And by the time I came to Southern I had a sense that God does call women to ministry and to all forms of ministry.

Becky admitted that she had no theological issues with women in pastoral leadership. She explained that because she has not had much experience with women pastors, she is still "a little uncomfortable" with the idea. She added, however, that she has no objections to women in senior pastor positions. Nicole, on the other hand, explained, "I moved from an orientation where women weren't called into ministry to eventually after I left seminary I felt a call into ordination." Lynn's response was quite typical:

I didn't feel a call to preach or be a senior pastor myself, so as far as that issue affecting me, as far as being a pastor, you know, I never felt like that was my calling. But I had met people when I was at Southern, some women who did feel that was their calling. And they were just really wonderful, wonderful people. And it made me angry when people would deny their

sense of call. I grew up in, in the missions organizations and GAs. I worked at GA camp. You know, I was really involved in missions organizations growing up, and, here I thought it was so hypocritical. I even taught when I was in Louisville in a church; I taught in a missions organization. And I thought, here we're teaching these children that they can be called of God, you know, and. . . . that really bothered me at that time that here we're teaching these girls that God can call them, God wants to use them. And then we put limits on them, what God wants to do with them. And that made me very angry.

Encountering these very limits as women in ministry was significant for most participants. In the midst of defining and refining images of God and the church, many of these women also struggled with the church's barriers to women. And while several have left ministry, the majority continue to live in the tension between their vision of a just and compassionate world and the discrimination and oppression they face as women active in ministry.^{xv}

Theological Education

While their experiences of theological education were contextualized within the Southern Baptist controversy, and in particular within its focus on women in ministry, participants also recognized shortcomings of the seminary itself with regard to women apart from the controversy. Out of their experiences both in seminary and in ministry, participants offered a number of suggestions of ways their theological education could have been improved.

Of particular concern was the lack of women on the seminary faculty. As Louise put it, "To have actually had a woman as a professor would have probably made a difference." Lynn concurred: "Maybe some women professors, women role models, women mentors. There were none [in the doctoral program]."

Ruth connected the lack of women faculty with another significant concern for participants, lack of inclusion of women's concerns in the seminary curriculum:

I regret not doing graduate work with some people who could be role models for me as women but also as scholars, as persons who pushed the envelope, I mean, I felt like I was made to conform at Southern, and that part of a traditional education is that you learn the language. I mean it's like I became bilingual to the point of never knowing my native tongue. I mean, in women's studies they're talking about finding one's voice or reclaiming one's own vantage point and voice and language and vocabulary. And I'm still struggling to do that.

Elizabeth noted that the difficulty of discussing women's issues was compounded by the lack of numbers of women in various areas of doctoral work:

To have more women [would have made the experience better]. Some of the reason [feminist perspectives] didn't occur was there were not enough of us to demand it. One, no, you are the odd person out. But when you have half the group thinking that way, then it becomes a viable option.

Katherine added her concern that issues of career and placement were not being discussed:

Nobody was talking about the issues of women entering the vocation. That would have been of help. And I think had there been perhaps more realism about some of the difficulties of placement, I would have been helped.

Taylor personalized the issue by acknowledging the need for her now to assume the role she missed seeing as a doctoral student:

One thing would have been to have had some more female role models. Obviously there weren't very many. And to know that to be in a male-dominated profession is difficult. I guess some of us will have to pick up that torch.

Leslie suggested that professors needed to look honestly at their own sexism. She pointed out that professors' treatment of women students was often discriminatory and undermined women students' self-confidence. Several other women noted professors' blindness to the ways gender was operative on the seminary campus. Courtney explained:

It's almost a comical thing, sardonically comical, to know of genuinely good-intentioned men who could behave in such demeaning ways toward women. And I encountered that. . . . the professors that I knew at Southern, the men, I think in many ways thought that some of the things they were saying and doing were, you know, in my best interest. And they were just clueless. They didn't get it.

A number of participants also suggested that valuing a variety of modes of knowing and utilizing a wider range of pedagogical practices would have enhanced their seminary experiences.^{xvi} Nicole explained:

The gender issues I experienced were epistemological issues in many ways—why aren't you approaching knowledge the way we think knowledge ought to be approached? . . . for me it was the epistemological issue, that I was not a dumb person because I approached knowledge through relationships, that I could do the relationship exploration before I got to the analytical, let's-tear-it-apart exploration.

Elizabeth told this story:

I remember one time going to class and saying, "Well, why can't we take the good things in this scholar's idea and why can't I write it that way by saying this scholar had some good ideas here. This scholar had some excellent ideas here. This scholar had an interesting contribution to make, and I want to further the discussion by. . ." And they looked at me like, "Well, what planet did you come from?" . . . It's the masculine model. It's the whole thing, but at the time I didn't define it. I just thought I was weird. I just thought it would have been so nice. . . if somebody had said, "That's not weird. That's another way of thinking. Why don't we incorporate that way of thinking within our discussions in this colloquium?" But no one was doing that.

Brenda added her frustration that students were left to process and integrate on their own:

The really hard part in any educational experience is integrating all the pieces and . . . that's the piece you were left to do on your own. And that's the only piece that really matters. So why in the world would you leave that for the students to do on their own? And we watched faculty who couldn't even integrate their areas with each other and yet expected us to do it without them or in spite of them or around them.

Several participants also listed increased diversity in the curriculum as a need. As Flannery put it, "More focus on women, and more focus on race, and more focus on gay and lesbian issues. That would have helped a whole lot." Brenda added, "There wasn't a lot of diversity. . . . I mean, there was nobody who had really a whole different view of the world." Leslie concurred: "I would also say that it would have been better if I had had someone besides Southern Baptists teaching me, that it had been a genuinely more open education."

Conclusions and Questions

For most participants, their experiences at Southern Seminary were checkered. It was both "Camelot" and the "chilly climate." Many of their experiences were typical of most women's experiences at theological seminaries. What was unique for these women was the context of completing their doctoral work during a denominational controversy in which women's role in ministry was a key issue.

Coming to Southern Seminary in the late seventies through the mid-eighties, these women experienced a brief window during which the idea of women in ministry was affirmed by the seminary and particularly by its leader, president Roy L. Honeycutt, even if the seminary's practices with regard to women had not yet caught up with its commitment. For many participants, this experience of affirmation as a woman in ministry at Southern Seminary was incredibly significant because they had come to seminary from churches which were opposed to women in ministry or were ambivalent at best. Like most women going to seminary, many participants in this study came to Southern with a very different sense of the rightfulness of their place there than did their male colleagues. They did not come with a sense of entitlement, but rather many felt the tenuousness of women's place in seminary. This meant that their experiences of affirmation or discouragement were especially important in the development of their self-concepts as ministers. Thus, since they experienced both the affirmation of the seminary's commitment to women in ministry and particular professors' attempts to practice affirmation of women as well as the controversy's negativity toward women in ministry and the seminary's inherent sexism, most women experienced a great deal of ambivalence about the seminary.^{xvii}

The impact of their seminary experiences within the context of the Southern Baptist controversy has continued to play a role in these women's lives. Those who were not Southern Baptist when they went to the seminary feel less strongly about the controversy than do their Southern Baptist counterparts, but they do feel a great sense of loss at the takeover of the seminary by the fundamentalists. Those who were Southern Baptist during their seminary days express much more outrage at the consequences of the controversy, although the intervening years since their time at Southern have allowed them to let go of the denomination, the seminary, and a great deal of the emotional strength the controversy once demanded of them. In fact, many of these women have completely left Southern Baptist life, and most of those remaining do so with a great deal of

ambivalence. Nonetheless, all of the participants have gone on to build successful lives, careers, and ministries.

Telling their stories of those years is important because it offers these women an opportunity to experience a sense of power and closure in naming both painful and wonderful experiences and because it offers theological educators a variegated picture of a time and event that was significant for all of theological education in the United States. The experiences of these women may serve as a cautionary tale for other seminaries desiring to create environments which are empowering for women.

Rebecca Chopp argues that seminary education should be "justice itself."^{xviii} She says that theological education must not simply be about justice but must itself be justice. Her call, and the call of the participants of this study, to seminaries is to be places of justice for women, for people of color, for gays and lesbians. The stories of these women should challenge theological educators to look at their practices with regard to women. Simple inclusion of women in seminary, on its faculty, and in its theological discourses is not enough.^{xix} Authentic diversity within a seminary will necessitate the restructuring of theological education itself. Are women fully integrated into and reflected in all aspects of seminary life? Are a variety of modes of knowing valued? Is the language of the seminary fully inclusive? Are women reflected in the curriculum, on the faculty, in the administration, in guest speakers? Are there clear guidelines for reporting and dealing with sexual harassment? Are faculty men trained to act as allies to women? Do seminary policies and procedures create barriers to women?

As the numbers of women on seminary campuses have increased, the need for seminaries to take notice of women's presence and evaluate their effectiveness in empowering women is paramount. Issues of gender permeate every aspect of a seminary's life. Paying attention to the ways power functions in gender relations on campus and creating ways to restructure power relations so that all students can empower themselves is a beginning point toward a radical transformation of theological education itself.

Problematic within this study is the absence of voices of women of color. While this absence unfortunately reflects the constituency of Southern Seminary's women doctoral graduates during that time, it also creates a gap in knowledge. In discussing and analyzing women's concerns in theological education, attention should always be given to the diversity of women. If difference is not attended to, usually middle class, white, heterosexual women's experiences are assumed to be normative for all women.^{xx} Certainly we recognize that the experiences of women of color in theological education are appreciably shaped by the intertwining of race and gender, and we feel the absence of their perspectives in our study.

Conducting this study has been a powerful, emotional, and cathartic experience for us. For the past year we have relived and reconstructed those very foundational years for us at Southern. And with this article, we've just begun to tell the stories of the women who shared their experiences with us. Southern Seminary was not perfect, any more than Camelot, but it was a place where we as women came to construct an initial understanding of ourselves as women in ministry. With tools we learned there, as well as other places along the way, we have continued to create and recreate ourselves, strengthening our voices and using our gifts to empower those with whom we now work. Out of what we experienced and what we learned, we have committed ourselves to work that is justice itself.

Every time I start walking back through this . . . my hands get clammy and my heart starts to flutter a little bit. And, you know, there's a part of me that wants to go out and hit somebody. And then there's a part of me that wants to cry. And all those, all those emotions, and, you know, I've walked back through them at various times never, never because I wanted to, always because someone, you know, asked me to or because I was in a situation that I needed to tell that story to another woman lest she forget, you know.

So it brings, it brings to me . . . some discomfort on the inside. But I guess it also brings to my mind the demand and the need for continued vigilance. And I don't know how. I don't know how to do this. I don't know how to create change, and sometimes have been so snowballed by the demands of it that I've just gone to bed and slept with the covers over the top of my head. And then at other times have been invigorated around the table sitting around with other people thinking about, you know, how do you provide opportunities for women in this?

But I guess I'm reminded that the possibility and the work, that it needs to be done.
Elizabeth

ⁱNames of participants have been changed to protect anonymity. Since conversational language is quite different from written language, practices used in conversation often obscure written transcriptions. Therefore, participants' comments have been edited only for clarity (e.g. repetitions of the same word or phrase have been removed; "ah" and "um" have been removed). The meaning of edited comments has not been changed.

ⁱⁱFor more information on the history of the Southern Baptist controversy, see: Bill J. Leonard, *God's Last and Only Hope: The Fragmentation of the Southern Baptist Convention* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990).

ⁱⁱⁱResolution No. 3: "On Women" was passed 4,793 to 3,466 by the Southern Baptist Convention meeting in Kansas City, Missouri, June 12-14, 1984. Following a series of statements setting out a fundamentalist reading of biblical teachings on women, including placing blame on women for the fall of humanity, the resolution concluded: "Therefore, be it RESOLVED, That we not decide concerns of Christian doctrine and practice by modern cultural, sociological and ecclesiastical trends or by emotional factors; that we remind ourselves of the dearly bought Baptist principle of the final authority of Scripture in matters of faith and conduct; and that we encourage the service of women in all aspects of church life and work other than pastoral functions and leadership roles entailing ordination."

^{iv}A 1997 video, *Battle for the Minds*, documents the controversy at Southern Seminary surrounding women's roles.

^vThese interviews produced more than 40 hours of taped dialogue and nearly 400 pages of transcription.

^{vi}For an example of similar methodology, see: Daniel J. Levinson, *The Seasons of a Woman's Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996).

^{vii}As women entered seminaries in greater numbers, the question of how theological education may be transformed was first raised in 1980 in the Cornwall Collective's *Your Daughters Shall Prophecy: Feminist Alternatives in Theological Education* (New York: Pilgrim) and again in 1985 with the Mud Flower Collective's *God's Fierce Whimsy: Christian Feminism and Theological Education* (New York: Pilgrim).

^{viii}Rebecca Chopp, *Saving Work: Feminist Practices of Theological Education* (Louisville: John Knox, 1995), 11.

^{ix}Jane Flax, "Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory," *Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12 (1987): 621-643; Ellyn Kaschack, *Engendered Lives: A New Psychology of Women's Experience* (New York: Basic, 1992); Edward E. Sampson, "Identity Politics: Challenges to Psychology's Understanding," *American Psychologist* 48 (1993): 1219-1230.

^xBarbara Houston, "Gender Freedom and the Subtleties of Sexist Education," *The Gender Question in Education: Theory, Pedagogy, and Politics*, ed. Ann Diller et al. (Boulder: Westview, 1996), 54-61.

^{xi}Bernice R. Sandler, "The Classroom Climate: A Chilly One for Women?" (Washington, D.C.: Association of American Colleges, 1982).

^{xii}*Ibid.*, 10.

^{xiii}James W. Fowler, *Faithful Change: The Personal and Public Challenges of Postmodern Life* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 64-66.

^{xiv}*Ibid.*, 65.

^{xv}The responses in this section are similar to many of the responses of participants in a study by Miriam Therese Winter, Adair Lummis, and Allison Stokes, described in their *Defecting in Place: Women Claiming Responsibility for Their Own Spiritual Lives* (New York: Crossroad, 1995). For more information on the experiences of women ministers, see Barbara Brown Zikmund, Adair T. Lummis, and Patricia Mei Yin Chang, *Clergy Women: An Uphill Calling* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997).

^{xvi}For an extensive study of women and epistemology, see Mary Field Belenky et al., *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind* (New York: Basic, 1986).

^{xvii} These psychological issues were being addressed at the time many of these women were students at Southern Seminary. See Andrew D. Lester's 1986 article, "Some Observations on the Psychological Effects of Women in Ministry," *Review and Expositor*, Vol. LXXXIII, No. 1, Winter 1986, pp. 63-70.

^{xviii} Chopp, 106.

^{xix} Mary McClintock Fulkerson, *Changing the Subject: Women's Discourses and Feminist Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994).

^{xx} See, for example: bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (Boston: South End, 1984); Peggy McIntosh, "White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences through Work in Women Studies," *Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology*, eds. Margaret Andersen and Patricia Hill Collins (Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth, 1992).