

Seeds of Sexual Assault:

In loco parentis at the University of California, Santa Barbara 1944-1974

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Winter 2017

Introduction

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¹ I chose to use the term "culture" instead of "subculture" because the latter implies overtly sexual assault and developing through their movements. I do not believe it is my place to presume to what extent the women I write about have overtly sexual assault. Ruth Leffert, "Students Demand Change," *Daily News*, May 14, 2013, accessed November 26, 2014, <http://www.dailynews.com/2013/05/14/students-demand-change/>.

² New York: Ballantine Publishing, Warner Books, and Crossing Wagon, *Age: The First Year of the Women*, 1972, 103.

Introduction

On May 14, 2015, UC Santa Barbara (UCSB) students staged a thirteen-hour sit in at Chancellor Henry T. Yang's office to protest the university's mishandling of sexual assault cases. Women and a few men students filled the room in peaceful protest, prepared with a list of demands for how the university should respond to sexual assault survivors' needs, improve consent education and prevention measures, and enact stricter and swifter sanctions against perpetrators. The ensuing discussions and negotiations between the Chancellor, Student Affairs administrators, and student protest leaders resulted in a signed promise to enact thirteen policies favorable to victims of sexual assault.¹

Over sixty years ago, the overt and public political action advocates for sexual assault victims took on campus would have been unimaginable. In the spring of 1955, UCSB, then known as University of Santa Barbara College, completed the first academic year on the Goleta campus, and the administration put its efforts toward enhancing the campus's reputation, developing infrastructure, and resolving internal conflict within the Academic Senate, not sexual assault policy. The academic community did not openly discuss the sexuality of UCSBC students much less protest or take measures to curb or prevent what would later be thought of as campus rape culture.²

The reasons behind and enforcement of policy about women students during the 1950s reveal allusions to hidden sexual cultures and foreshadowed more public and explicit ones that

¹ I choose to use the term "victims" instead of "survivors" because the latter implies overcoming sexual assault and developing strength through their experience. I do not believe it is my place to presume to what extent the women I write about have overcome sexual assault. Beth Lebens, "Students Demand Change," *Daily Nexus*, May 14, 2015, accessed November 26, 2016, <http://dailynexus.com/2015-05-14/students-demand-change/>.

² New York Radical Feminists, Noreen Connell, and Cassandra Wilson, *Rape: The First Sourcebook for Women* (NY: New American Library, 1974), 105.

developed by the 1970s. Modern campus rape culture is an extension of historic attitudes and ideologies about female students prevalent at midcentury.

The history of sexual assault at UCSB, together with the university administration's response, has roots in the university's antecedents, the relationship between campus and surrounding communities, national culture shifts, and intimate experiences of individual students. UCSB is a unique campus with historical developments which, when analyzed, challenge the mythos of the homogenous and safe 1950s. The intertwined histories of UCSB residence policies, development of student affairs, and fraternity and sorority life, reveal policy developments and positions by the university designed to protect its reputation, sometimes also protecting harmful collateral sexual cultures. Although neither individuals' accusations and reports of sexual violence nor disciplinary records have been archived, likely a purposeful elimination, other archival evidence and alumni testimony in addition to scholarship done at comparable universities allude to the darker side of student sexual experience at UCSB and its antecedents.

The suppression of reporting assault to authorities at UCSB due to the threats of victim blaming, social ostracizing, and even disciplinary actions taken against victims of sexual assault further limit written records of their experiences. The in loco parentis policies UCSB put in place during its antecedent years to protect student respectability and quell parental concern conversely protected UCSB from assuming responsibility for assault against women students if the students consciously disobeyed the rules designed to protect them; for example, by staying out with a date

after curfew.³ As a result, victims, not perpetrators, of sexual assault were the focus of administrative scrutiny, especially if the assault had occurred outside the bounds of university-sanctioned social engagements.

Victim blaming has roots in gendered policies mostly for female students such as lock out hours and chaperoned housing because prevailing belief held that respectable women who followed the rules would remain chaste and safe. In reality, coeds of the 1950s were far more sexually active than rules allowed, and their lived experiences involved negotiating sex in their relationships with increased pressure from potential partners, in some cases to the point of coercion or date rape.⁴ Although in the decades since, victim advocates have set up resource centers, hot lines, and counseling for such occurrences, similar roadblocks to justice and a safe college experience, rooted in past practices and ideology about women's responsibility, persist. There is a danger in analyzing 1950s experiences through twenty-first century lenses for which there is terminology and an established framework for discussing sexual assault. Terms such as "rape culture" and "date rape" were not coined until the 1970s and 1980s, and the timeline is indicative of a shift in conceptualization of assault.⁵

Policy makers at UCSB's antecedents shaped a pattern of gradually increased gender inequity during the first half of the twentieth century. By the early 1960s, when in loco parentis

³ "In loco parentis" means in the place of a parent as in, "regulation or supervision by an administrative body (as at a university) acting in loco parentis" Merriam-Webster OnLine, s.v. "in loco parentis," accessed March 1, 2017, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/in%20loco%20parentis>.

⁴ Nicholas Syrett, *The Company He Keeps: A History of White College Fraternities* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Clifford Kirkpatrick and Eugene Kanin, "Male Sex Aggression on a University Campus," *American Sociological Review* 22 (1957): 58, accessed February 9, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2088765>.

⁵ Anya Kamenetz, "The History of Campus Sexual Assault," *NPR*, November 30, 2014, accessed March 1, 2017, <http://www.npr.org/sections/ed/2014/11/30/366348383/the-history-of-campus-sexual-assault>.

policies relaxed and the student enrollment skyrocketed, women began to vocalize their discontent over lack of rights and resources on campus. The women organized and used one another as resources in consciousness raising groups to communicate about topics previously considered taboo, such as premarital sex, abortion, and rape. By 1974, the demand for a women's space on campus, a previously all-female campus, resulted in the formation of committee to plan and open UCSB's first Women's Center. Founders aimed to balance equitable co-educational academic and living opportunities with a women's haven out of which they could work on gender issues for themselves and the university. UCSB has demonstrated a pattern of failure to support women which was demonstrated when it became the last University of California campus to establish a women's center and as recently as 2014 was reported to the Department of Education for failing to uphold Title IX and the Clery Act.⁶ Further, contemporary student groups feel compelled to demonstrate in free speech zones and administrative buildings on campus to demand solutions to a local nearly century-old problem. The university's current normative response to sexual assault cannot be wholly understood without the context of its historical policies put in place to negate accepting responsibility and insufficient attention to women's problem.

UCSB administrators, such as the Dean of Women, had students' best interests at heart and generally operated as benevolent counsel. However, societal expectations forced them to

⁶ This excludes UCSF, a graduate school. Memo to All UCSB Women, "Woman's Place... is in the World," April 29, 1975, Women's Center Collection, Special Research Collection, UC Santa Barbara Library, University of California, Santa Barbara (hereafter UCSB SRC); Supriya Yelimeli, "Students Claim Yang Has Not Fulfilled Sit-In Demands," *Daily Nexus*, May 26, 2016, accessed November 16, 2016, <http://dailynexus.com/2016-05-16/students-claim-administration-has-not-fulfilled-sit-in-demands/>; Jason Song, "Students Allege UCSB Mishandled Rape Allegation," *Los Angeles Times*, September 3, 2014, accessed February 2, 2017, <http://www.latimes.com/local/lanow/la-me-ln-uc-santa-barbara-rape-discipline-20140902-story.html>.

deliver swift and sharp punishment to women students whose "lasciviousness" threatened UCSB's reputation. Although few, if any, administrators believed that the rules they published to establish social control were effective in preventing premarital sexual relations, ignoring the reality of sex also allowed them to ignore injustices to women, or at least, absolved them from accepting responsibility for those problems.

Panhellenic sororities, the oldest remaining women's extracurricular organizations on campus, provide a compelling case study. Their local and national incarnations also allow ample examples of comparison to similar organizations at other universities. Sororities are a helpful component of the fabric of student life because they are traditionally on the conservative end of the spectrum of student ideology, their member's face higher risk of sexual assault than other college women, and have a unique relationship to the university. The Statement of Relationship they are compelled to accept by UCSB to remain recognized campus organizations has singled them out for special privilege, as well as special responsibility, and thus makes sorority membership a particular, albeit historically white, population to study.⁷ The subculture of sororities at UCSB is a critical population to study the administration's history of choosing to ignore or enforce policies as it fit their needs, rather than for the organization or woman's best interests.

Historiography

Several local histories have been written about UCSB but almost always with a narrow emphasis on the political and cultural upheaval of the 1960s and 1970s. Historians tend to focus

⁷ "Statement of Relationship," last modified July 21, 2009.
<https://www.sa.ucsb.edu/osl/GreekLife/Policies/Statement.aspx>

on landmark political protests and burning of the Isla Vista Bank of America branch as the apex of UCSB's historical narrative. Since contention over the Vietnam War and draft were central to those political events, narratives of the time are also often male centric.⁸ However, several notable works provide an important framework of major phases of the institutional growth from a women's teacher training school to a world-renowned campus of the University of California. In 1960, Dr. William H. Ellison, a former acting Dean of Men and history professor at UCSB from 1925-1948, wrote *Antecedents of the University of California, Santa Barbara, 1891-1944*, and in 1981 UCSB public history professor, Robert Kelley, published *Transformations: UCSB, 1909-1979*.⁹ Both touch on student organizations and extracurricular opportunities, but not in depth or from a feminist history perspective. They are helpful for elucidating the evolution of UCSB's antecedents and trace the shifts in vision of university, local, and statewide leadership. Jennifer Strand, a graduate student in the UCSB history department, studied the growth of neighboring community Isla Vista in her 1994 dissertation, "Maximum Freedom and the Limits of Community: Isla vista, 1925-1975."¹⁰ She provided important insight into students' lived experiences off campus and attitudes the university held toward responsibility for them.

Aside from the rare comment, none of the existing literature analyzes women's history or student sexual experiences at UCSB. J.F. Ely's 1989 sociology master's thesis, "A Case Study in Social Control: A Study in Social Control at UCSB and Isla Vista from the 1950s to the 1980s,"

⁸ "Isla Vista Resources: Books and Articles," UC Santa Barbara Library, accessed March 1, 2017, <http://www.library.ucsb.edu/special-collections/research/ivweb/iv3>.

⁹ William H. Ellison, *Antecedents of the University of California, Santa Barbara 1891-1944* (Santa Barbara, CA: University of California, 1960); Robert Lloyd Kelley, *Transformations: UCSB, 1909-1979* (Santa Barbara, CA: Associated Students, UCSB, 1981).

¹⁰ Jennifer Strand, "Maximum Freedom and the Limits of Community: Isla vista, 1925-1975" (PhD diss., UCSB, 1994).

offered insight into the relationships between students, campus police, and Santa Barbara sheriffs from the 1950s through establishment of the Isla Vista Foot Patrol in 1974.¹¹ Gayle Clark Olson also wrote about the history of law enforcement in Isla Vista in her 1979 master's thesis, "Twenty-Four Years of Policing: Law Enforcement at UCSB and in Isla Vista 1954-1978." Her analysis sheds light on the history of reporting sex crimes at UCSB and in Isla Vista as well as connects the growth of Isla Vista's population to cultural changes and increase in violence.¹²

By contrast, historians such as Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Lynn Peril, and Linda Eisenmann have studied college coed experiences during the 1950s and early 1960s across the United States holistically. They have analyzed the impact of increased access to contraception and reproductive health services on married and unmarried women, the decline of in loco parentis policies, campus culture, and relationships between fraternity men and college.¹³ Nicholas L. Syrett's 2009 history of white college fraternities, *The Company He Keeps*, is an important work for contextualizing the rise of fraternity power and its role on campus.¹⁴

The popular historical narrative about fraternities and sororities focuses on hazing and harassment, alcohol abuse, and their exclusive tendencies. The Greek system's level of secrecy, exclusivity, hegemony, and purpose have changed over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Horowitz's book, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, puts the members of those organizations into the historical

¹¹ John Frederick Ely, "A Case Study in Social Control: A Study in Social Control at UCSB and Isla Vista from the 1950s to the 1980s" (M.A. thesis, UCSB, 1989).

¹² Gayle Clark Olson, "Twenty-Four Years of Policing: Law Enforcement at UCSB and in Isla Vista 1954-1978" (M.A. thesis, UCSB, 1979).

¹³ Linda Eisenmann, *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945-1965* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006) and Lynn Peril, *College Girls: Bluestockings, Sex Kittens, and Coeds, Then and Now* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 2006).

¹⁴ Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*.

context of larger student populations and history of power dynamics.¹⁵ Her specific references to fraternities and sororities outline the shifts in power dynamics after women enrolled in public institutions in large numbers.¹⁶ Horowitz's and Syrett's analyses of those communities contextualize them by associating them with larger changes in dating practices and sexual exploitation to exert power and influence. The two books illuminated a complex and longstanding tension between Greek men and women. Fraternity and sorority's origins as adversaries and development as allies in a college subculture are complicated by their history of power struggles and sexual relationships. The history of sexual assault links to the Greek system, and the administration's handling of those cases at UCSB is congruent with national trends and begs further research.

Historical Antecedents of UC Santa Barbara

UCSB originated as a private teacher training college for women, the Anna S.C. Blake Manual Training School, in 1898.¹⁷ Over the next seventy-five years, the academics, administration, campuses, and student life evolved into a world-renowned research institution with unique geography, student culture, and relationship to its surrounding community. UCSB's transformation was characterized by advantageous administrators and several prominent

¹⁵ Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1987).

¹⁶ Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 206-211.

¹⁷ The University of California, Santa Barbara has multiple antecedents and titles. I explain and date them here for reference. The Anna S.C. Blake Manual Training School operated 1898-1909. It then became a California state owned institution and the title changed to Santa Barbara State Normal School of Home Economics from 1909-1919. It was shortened to Santa Barbara State Normal School from 1919-1920 then Santa Barbara State Teachers College from 1920-1934. In 1935, it became a campus of the California State College system and was known as Santa Barbara State College until 1944 when it was absorbed by the University of California and changed title to Santa Barbara State College of the University of California, also referred to as University of California Santa Barbara College (UCSBC), until 1958. Since 1958 its official title is University of California, Santa Barbara and UCSB or UCSB for short. Finding Guide to the University of California, Santa Barbara, History and Antecedents Collection, UArch 100, <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt587037kv/>.

community members' efforts to improve the credentials and ranking of the small school. Once designed exclusively to prepare California's teachers, the normal school adopted new curricula in manual arts, and eventually liberal arts. UCSB's major shift toward a research oriented liberal arts school happened after 1954 and continued during the early years of the Goleta Campus. The period was characterized by conflict within the Academic Senate over the future of manual arts internally and an external campaign by the Office of Public Affairs to craft a serene image of UCSB as a playground like "Campus by the Sea."¹⁸ In hindsight, the activity of Santa Barbara during the 1950s is less eventful than the tumultuous late 1960s; however, when analyzed in its own context, the decade was very busy for the university, moving to a new location and building campus culture at a time of anticipated rapid enrollment growth.¹⁹

Women's place on campus during the 1950s was shaped by historic changes in gender ratios. In 1909, the school consisted of three women faculty and twenty-four women students. The first man enrolled in 1910, and by 1912 the student body remained predominantly female with fifty-nine women and five men. The male population grew steadily except during World War I when enrollment reached a dangerous low point for both sexes. Santa Barbara State Normal School of the Manual Arts and Home Economics recovered from the war at a slower rate than comparable normal schools, prompting President Clarence L. Phelps, appointed in 1918, to reimagine the school. He spearheaded multiple overhauls of its title, curriculum, and accreditation over the next few decades. In May 1921, California Governor William D. Stephens approved legislation which changed all California normal schools to four year teachers' colleges.

¹⁸ "A Campus by the Sea." YouTube video, 18:31, filmed circa 1960s, posted by "UCSB All Gaucho Reunion 2014," April, 10, 2014, accessed March 4, 2016, http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/16/ch14/ch14_sec280.html.

¹⁹ Kelley, *Transformations*.

Santa Barbara State Normal School became known as Santa Barbara State Teachers College (SBSTC).²⁰ Phelps led the campaign for a liberal arts curriculum, hired an increased proportion of faculty with graduate level degrees, and repeatedly changed the title of the school to reflect a more general and distinguished institution.²¹ More men were attracted to SBSTC because the value of the teaching credentials and bachelor degrees it offered appreciated.

The increased male enrollment changed the character of the former all-female institution and started a pattern of shifting gender ratios that correlated to UCSB's antecedents' gradual rise in national prestige. The increased level of testosterone on campus sparked the desire and necessity of women to form sororal organizations to preserve feminine spheres. President Phelps likely did not have national sororities in mind as a component of improvement for his school, but they had the potential to signify a quality institution. In her 1923 publication, *The Sorority Handbook*, a comprehensive history of sororities and index of national chapters, Ida B. Shaw interpreted the increase of endowment funds as an "inspiration that has raised a number of mediocre colleges to recognized rank and has made possible their presence on the rolls of the oldest and proudest sororities."²² Her publication included the populations of each university, their sororities, and size of endowment; it was meant to serve as a reference for university libraries and potential new members.²³ National sororities qualified themselves by quantity and reputation of their membership; therefore, it was imperative for them to colonize only at renowned universities, like the University of California, rather than normal schools. Their

²⁰ Ellison, *Antecedents of the University of California, Santa Barbara*, 132.

²¹ Edmund O'Reilly, "A History of Santa Barbara State Teacher's College" (M.A. thesis, Stanford, 1928), 51.

²² Ida B. Shaw, *The Sorority Handbook* (Boston: Martin, 1923), 25.

²³ The term "pledge" to denote a new member or neophyte is used colloquially today but most Greek organizations have replaced it officially with the more grammatically correct term, "new member."

presence at SBSTC would have benefitted the campus by providing a public status symbol and the more immediate practicality of additional student housing options.

SBSTC paved the way for sororities during the 1921-1924 period of student life development. When SBSTC adopted its new title traditional tenets of co-ed student life began to develop, including the Associated Men Students (AMS) and Associated Women Students (AWS) in 1921, an elected student government and student publications such as *La Cumbre* yearbook in 1923, and the campus newspaper, *The Eagle*, in 1923.²⁴ The AWS formed "to bring together all women of campus to solve common problems."²⁵ Every female student was eligible if she paid the egalitarian fifty cent semester dues, granting her access to social events and a big and little sister mentorship program.²⁶ The AWS functioned in similar ways to sororities, yet the desire of some women to form exclusive social clubs persisted. The first sororities at SBSTC were local and clandestine before 1925. It is unclear how exactly underground sororities began at SBSTC, but they may have grown out of secret high school sororities, even though California outlawed them in 1909.²⁷ They formed without recognition or approval of the college deans and President Phelps but worked toward charters for at least one year. By January 1925, Phelps stated that "agitation for the establishment of such organizations had been prevalent among several groups of men and women for some time," and in acknowledgement, promised he would consider them.²⁸

The stature of the University of California was a model and goal for Phelps. Santa

²⁴ O'Reilly, "A History of Santa Barbara State Teacher's College," 100-106.

²⁵ "AWS Completes Year of Success," *The Eagle*, June 2, 1924, 3.

²⁶ "AWS Completes Year of Success," 3.

²⁷ W.J. Cooper, "The High School Fraternity," Report of the Committee, High School Teacher's Association C.T.A., Berkeley High School, Berkeley, CA, 1912.

²⁸ "Fraternities and Sororities May Be Recognized," *The Eagle*, January 23, 1925, 1.

Barbara's student body shared in his dream and worked in earnest during the 1920s to establish a collective spirit and to supplement their education with campus traditions and extracurricular opportunities on par with other colleges. The students at the University of California had a long history of pitting academic classes against one another and differentiated them by distinctive headgear. The forty-year practice was abandoned by 1911 because it hindered a corporate spirit.²⁹ Nevertheless, it served as a model for SBSTC. The practice of making freshmen wear beanies did not begin at Santa Barbara until men enrolled in significant numbers in the 1920s and lasted through the early 1960s.³⁰ First-year men were not alone, all freshman women had to wear letters on their sweaters and undergo a public hazing and initiation ritual hosted by the AWS. The patterns of the beanies changed from year to year, but the orientation books, called the *Frosh Bible* explained when to wear freshman insignia, how to navigate campus, the Greek recruitment rules and regulations, and general information pertaining to spirit and traditions. Associated Students originally published bibles in 1924 and the Sophomore Squires continued the tradition into the 1960s.³¹ On paper, UCSB and its antecedents shared many aspects of student experience in common with other colleges. Horowitz argued that colleges embraced organized "college life" to deter students from participating in rowdy, destructive activities.³² The development of college life, meaning student-centered activities outside academics, encouraged growth of the Greek system in the image of other universities. It follows then that UCSB's and its antecedents'

²⁹ Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 46.

³⁰ *Frosh Bible*, Associated Students, various years, University of California, Santa Barbara, Division of Student Affairs Collection 1926-1980 (DSAC), UCSB SRC.

³¹ The Sophomore Squires was a student organization of second year students who enforced campus traditions and traditionally hazed freshman. *Frosh Bible*, Associated Students, various years, DSAC, UCSB SRC.

³² Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 10.

fraternity and sorority attitudes toward drinking, conformity, and premarital sex also followed national trends.

The campus moniker changed once again when SBSTC was absorbed into the University of California system in 1944. The University of California, Santa Barbara College (UCSBC) redefined its curriculum and accelerated development after J. Harold Williams became the first provost to be appointed after the legal change.³³ The pattern of student activity building was reinvigorated in the 1950s much as it did during the 1920s. Undergraduates of the period have been characterized as self-absorbed, extracurricular focused, and disconnected from larger world issues. They are nostalgically referred to at UCSB as the “Golden Gauchos” because their public disturbances were relatively unremarkable.³⁴ The geographic isolation of the Goleta campus and adjacent Isla Vista area created an increasingly insular culture as more students moved into new housing on or near campus. After 1954, permanent freshman residence halls and academic buildings on campus were a construction for the university that superseded special interests such as on campus fraternity and sorority housing, which could have provided closer supervision between the university and those organizations. Reconfiguring campus culture took the better part of a decade because of housing shortages on campus and in the largely undeveloped Isla Vista area. Freshman lived in the first dorms, but most students commuted from downtown for the next six years, until Greeks built new houses and developers invested in the Isla Vista boomtown.

When the Goleta campus was established, UC President, Robert Gordon Sproul, intended

³³ Williams was Acting Provost from 1946-1950 and Provost 1950-1955.

³⁴ Ely, “A Case Study in Social Control,” 16; “Seen and Heard at the 2016 All Gaucho Reunion,” *Coastlines Online*, Summer 2016, accessed March 19, 2017, http://www.ucsbalum.com/Coastlines/2016/summer/webextra_scene_agr.php.

it to be the "Williams of the West," a small liberal arts college with a 2500 student enrollment cap.³⁵ By 1958, the changing demands of higher education by the baby boomer generation forced the regents and campus administrators to reimagine Santa Barbara's function. Its enrollment reached a record 2380 students and the campus was given a broader title befitting its new role as a general campus of the University of California. "College" was dropped from the name and the "University of California, Santa Barbara," looked toward a future more aligned with a distinguished research university.³⁶

Enrollment more than quintupled over the next decade and the building on campus and in Isla Vista raced to keep up with faculty and student need. The growth of culture, community activism, and controversy at UCSB and in neighboring Isla Vista was organic and influenced by larger political and cultural shifts. Tensions with law enforcement resulted in the infamous riots, protests, bank burning, and Isla Vista curfews of 1970. Student response afterward was to collaborate to make a better community. In 1974, UCSB enrolled 16.9 percent minority students, the highest proportion in its history, an even distribution of men and women at the undergraduate level, and a measurably more liberal leaning student than at the average American college.³⁷ Through general reported police numbers and the testimonies of women from the period, a narrower picture of the UCSB female student reveals more particular characteristics and aims. The increased prevalence of rape in Isla Vista coupled with a new shared feminist consciousness led to collective action to create a women's center. The call for action to establish a formal women's space on campus and discuss its purposes resulted from the loss of all female spaces

³⁵ Kelley, *Transformations*, 9.

³⁶ Kelley, *Transformations*, 14-15.

³⁷ Kelley, *Transformations*, 96.

elsewhere, primarily the residence halls. In her final year of employment, Ellen Bowers, the final Dean of Women at UCSB expended her energies supporting the movement after working with women students since she arrived at the Riviera campus in 1947.

"In loco parentis" translates to "in the place of a parent." For parents in the early twentieth century, it signified a standard of supervision that allowed them to trust colleges enough to send their sons and daughters away from home, assured their reputations would remain intact. The policies put in place under the blanket of in loco parentis were carried out by deans of women, a relatively new professional field developed to sequester otherwise capable professorial women into non-academic professional roles. The positions were unique and double-edged niches for college educated women. They could rise to administrative roles on campus but it was often as an alternative to the difficult-to-secure faculty positions.³⁸

In loco parentis policies were controlled and created from the highest governance levels within the UC System, including the regents, presidents, provosts then chancellors, and deans of men and women, the latter of whom had a direct relationship with chancellors prior to 1960. UCSB successfully cultivated its reputation as a school safe for women into the late 1960s compared to the "radical" campus of UC Berkeley, contributing to its continuous high proportion of female to male students.³⁹ The relationships between deans of women, parietal rules, housing policies and developments, and sexual cultures at UCSB are intertwined and cannot be analyzed without acknowledging their mutual effects of each other as elements of collegiate life. The dean's role and position of power evolved along with changed perceptions of women's place on

³⁸ Jana Nidiffer, "Advocates on Campus: Deans of Women Create a New Profession," in *Women Administrators in Higher Education: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Jana Nidiffer and Carolyn Terry Bradshaw (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001), 137-138 and 151.

³⁹ Mr. Johnson, interview by Lauren Cain, February 28, 2017 at his home.

campus. Although historians considered the 1950s a "lost decade" for women until recently, the printed university policies from the 1950s, if not practiced, allowed "conservative" interpretations which fostered conditions for student discipline and conflict to be handled internally to avoid administrative intervention.

The deans of women students were the highest ranked female administrators during the school's incarnations from SBSTC to UCSBC. President Phelps created the office of the Dean of Women in the summer of 1921, after men began to enroll in significant numbers.⁴⁰ The position's establishment at SBSTC was atypical because normally deans of women were hired to supervise minority female populations at early coeducational campuses.⁴¹ At Santa Barbara, women outnumbered men until throughout most of the university's history, except during post war spikes. By the 1940s, the office of the Dean of Women was composed of the Dean of Women, Assistant Dean of Women, and several part time student support staff members.

The Dean of Women involved herself in aspects of women students' lives through individual counsel and was responsible for "policy matters affecting women students," such as "living accommodations, student welfare, and scholarship," as well as student committees "concerned with living accommodations, student conduct, and residence hall administration."⁴² For Bowers, although she was a disciplinarian to women students, the role she preferred was academic counselor to students. In retirement, Bowers recalled with fondness how she developed a rapport with students to offer more effective counsel, because they sought her out for

⁴⁰ Ellison, *Antecedents of the University of California, Santa Barbara*, 137.

⁴¹ Carolyn Terry Bashaw, "Reassessment and Redefinition: The NADWC and Higher Education for Women," in *Women Administrators in Higher Education: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Jana Nidiffer and Carolyn Terry Bashaw (New York: State University of New York, 2001) 158.

⁴² "Report of Santa Barbara College University of California to the California State Board of Education," 12, University of California, Santa Barbara, History and Antecedents Collection (hereafter HAC), UCSB SRC.

thoughtful listening. She specifically referred to counseling students through academic difficulties and made no mention of coaching distressed students through romantic problems.⁴³ In 1955, students initiated fifty percent of contact with Deans of Students, the deans requested forty percent, and the remainder was instigated by referrals from students' peers and faculty members.⁴⁴ The relationships deans developed on small campuses were more intimate in nature because they could afford more time to make each student's acquaintance. They were more likely to know students personally when they addressed their individual concerns on the Riviera campus and early years of the Goleta campus than later because student enrollment was limited to a couple thousand.⁴⁵

The declared purpose of the Office of Dean of Women was to "give all possible assistance to women students."⁴⁶ The dean served a dual, sometimes conflicting, role as administrator and nurturer. The *Handbook for Women* her office published was a standard issue pocket guide to being a woman at Santa Barbara State College and UCSBC. In the 1940s, they were a few inches tall, averaged fifteen pages, and were transportable. Women's guide content included information relevant to women students regarding average cost of living, housing regulations, rules for social engagements, curfews, employment, and responsibilities of housemothers, women student activities, health services and more.⁴⁷ The pamphlet explained the myriad ways the Dean of Women aided and held students accountable for following policies. The books were tools created to indoctrinate female students into passive subjects of in loco

⁴³ Ellen Bowers, interview by Charles J. Cheek, May 1, 1975 at her home, Ellen Bowers Oral History, 1975 (hereafter OH 20), UCSB SRC.

⁴⁴ "Report of Santa Barbara College University of California to the California State Board of Education," 26.

⁴⁵ Bowers, interview, April 24, 1975, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

⁴⁶ *Handbook for Women Students* (Santa Barbara, CA: Santa Barbara State College, 1942), 1, DSAC, UCSB SRC.

⁴⁷ *Handbook for Women Students*, 1, DSAC, UCSB SRC.

parentis policies because however positive the relationships deans cultivated were, their ultimate task remained “to make college life compatible with the administration’s goals.”⁴⁸ They dictated regulatory policy for student activities and attempted to mitigate risk for the university.

The average Dean of Women was educated, white, and believed to who possess matronly qualities. Before the 1940s, they were often promoted from faculty members with academic careers who took on deanship to fortify their presence on university campuses hostile to female faculty.⁴⁹ The professionalization of the position and formation of organizations such as the National Association for Deans of Women simultaneously diminished the influence of women faculty on campus, according to historian Carolyn Terry Bashaw.⁵⁰

The Riviera Years, 1944-1954

In 1944, after years of lobbying by prominent community members, SBSC became a campus of the University of California. The transition to the UC system was unceremonious and did not directly affect women during the first few years because there was a wartime campus climate that took precedence.⁵¹ Women dominated classrooms and extracurricular activities, taking advantage of new executive leadership opportunities while their male peers and faculty members were gone, either drafted or taking a leave of absence to avoid the stigma of being unfit for service.⁵²

During the war, women found new opportunities in the academic and extracurricular life

⁴⁸ Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 111.

⁴⁹ Ellen Bowers was hired from a government agency in Washington DC not within faculty ranks, but she was not promoted full time to Dean of Women until 1961. Bowers, interview, April 24, 1975, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

⁵⁰ Bashaw, “To Serve the Needs of Women,” 262.

⁵¹ Kelley, *Transformations*, 8.

⁵² “UCSB Memories ~ Riviera Reunion,” YouTube video, :40, from a UCSB alumni reunion luncheon held April 2010, posted by “ucsantabarbaravideos,” May 18, 2010, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T2ADtJWeZ2A>

at University of California, Santa Barbara College (UCSBC). In 1944, Eleanor Boyle became the first full term female Associated Students president, by 1945 all fraternities were inactive, and in 1946 two Chi Delta Chi sorority sisters were named co-editors of *La Cumbre*.⁵³ However, as the men returned, women students found the tenor of the higher education landscape completely reoriented. Not only did the male to female ratio change again, but the number of men enrolled in colleges across the nation doubled prewar numbers by 1947, the same year veteran enrollment peaked at UCSBC.⁵⁴

For returning veteran students and faculty, it was a welcome surprise to learn SBSC had become UCSBC. Their in-progress degrees had gained prestige, and the change also attracted new students as well who desired to take advantage of their military benefits. Within just a few years of the transition from state college to UC campus, women lost their upper hand and majority influence. To deal with this situation, they turned to the Dean of Women and her staff who served, when needed as confidants, to help them cope with the shifting power dynamic. Bowers joined the office in 1947 as Assistant Dean of women after she was recruited from a government job in Washington DC by Acting Dean of Women, Helen Sweet.⁵⁵ Bowers played an integral role in student administration for the following twenty-seven years, including the transition from the Riviera to the Goleta campus. She recalled hearing a good deal in her office about the difficulties women faced after World War II veterans enrolled en masse under the Selective Service Act of 1944, more commonly referred to as the GI Bill. The women were eclipsed in classrooms because they were younger and lacked the worldly experience of

⁵³ University of California, Santa Barbara, *La Cumbre*, 1944-1946.

⁵⁴ Melissa Murray, "When War is Work: The G.I. Bill, Citizenship, and the Civic Generation," *California Law Review* 86 (2008): 973-974, accessed February 15, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20441038>.

⁵⁵ Ellen Bowers, interview, April 24, 1975, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

seasoned veterans. Per Bowers, women felt enough comfort and support from the dean's office to share their sense of distress after witnessing veterans interact in a more adult manner with the faculty.⁵⁶

A study of World War II veterans at the University of Wisconsin revealed that veteran students there held similar attitudes toward academics and earned the highest grades on campus across the board, indicating the value they placed on scholastic success.⁵⁷ It follows that veterans' drive as much as their maturity led them to dominate the classrooms at UCSBC as well. Dr. Robert W. Webb, the acting Coordinator for Veterans Affairs at UCSBC observed "rising scholarship attainment among veterans" and their "critical attitudes toward 'value received' in courses of instruction."⁵⁸

The experience repeated itself in the 1950s when Korean War veterans enrolled at UCSBC. Merna McClenathen who attended UCSBC from 1952 to 1956, two years on the Riviera and two years on the Goleta campus, recalled her own experience of being overshadowed by the intensity and maturity of older, often married with children, veteran students. She described the veteran students as serious minded and focused on course material, to the point that they would keep the professors on track. The relationship was not negative though per se even though she recalled her peers in comparison as "scared little freshman girls," because in certain situations she found the presence of veterans comforting. An uncomfortable Shakespeare class illuminated the nuances of the relationship between veterans and coeds.

⁵⁶ Bowers, interview, April 24, 1975, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

⁵⁷ Keith W. Olson, "World War II Veterans at the University of Wisconsin," *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 53 (Winter, 1969-1970): 87, accessed February 13, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4634501>.

⁵⁸ "GI Joe Declines in Numbers, Gains Seriousness in Purpose," *Santa Barbara News-Press: A Supplement Devoted to Santa Barbara College*, September 14, 1948, 17, DSAC, UCSB SRC.

Returning sorority women had warned McClenathen and her roommate, Joan, against taking courses with Professor William Frost during fall recruitment parties, before school had begun but too late to change registration. Frost called upon the freshman women to explain in graphic detail the sexual innuendos in Shakespeare and would berate them until he was satisfied their responses were explicit. In response, McClenathen said the older men, who were not keen to waste time or see their female peers tortured, would blurt out the answers using slang terms, to the repeated fury of her sexist professor.

Joan's father had gone to college with Bowers so she had offered her personal assistance if they had any issues. After a semester of torture in their English course, Joan and McClenathen met with Bowers to report and express their frustration with the behavior of their professor.⁵⁹ Although it remains unclear if any action was taken after the meeting, at which McClenathen recalled Bowers took copious notes, Bowers' own oral history conducted decades later indicates the problem stayed with her.

Women students were immediately made aware of the regulations specific to their sex, to which men were not subject. Prior to the 1954 move to the Goleta campus, there were no campus-owned dormitories or residence halls. Instead, women and men had to find appropriate housing in the neighborhood surrounding the Riviera campus or commute from their parents' homes if they were "town girls." Options were more limited for women students because their housing had to be chaperoned and approved by the Dean of Women as a step to complete

⁵⁹ William Frost was a professor of English at UCSB from 1951-1988. Merna McClenathen, interview by Lauren Cain, March 4, 2017; "Department Writing Contests and Prizes," Department of English, accessed March 21, 2017, <https://www.english.ucsb.edu/undergraduate/opportunities/departments-writing-contests-and-prizes>.

registration.⁶⁰

The student housing situation for UCSBC students was dismal when Bowers began working in the Dean of Women's office February 3, 1947. As in other college towns, such as at the University of Wisconsin, the return of soldiers meant housing shortages. Although Santa Barbara students never became as desperate as at Wisconsin, where veterans pitched tents along main thoroughfares, the quality and quantity of leases was limited.⁶¹ Out of town women's living options included boarding houses, single rented rooms, cooperative houses, sorority houses after 1925, and rooms in private homes with contractual work exchanges. Bowers recalled having to live in some strange dwelling situations herself when she first moved to Santa Barbara because of the impacted housing market. She familiarized herself with student housing situations by going "out in the field and find out what we're talking about" rather than reading the listing of approved women's housing in a "big fat book." What she found led her to remark, "I never was so depressed in all of my life because," quoting herself, "if you ask me to approve this housing you're going to lose all your housing, it's just not up to standard for students at all." She continued to her interviewer, "we put up with certain things and I'd work out these problems that they had."⁶² This indicates Bowers cared for students' wellbeing rather than checking administrative boxes like her predecessors may have done. It also illuminates the shortcomings and limitations of the college to facilitate housing arrangements and fulfill the in loco parentis problems.

⁶⁰ One notable exception was a short-lived dormitory, "Tracy Hall," which opened in September 1919 and housed just a few of the female students in response to the pressing problem of chaperoning out of town female students. After the first housemother resigned and no suitable replacement could be found the campus sponsored dormitory was reorganized into a club, the Illahee Club; O'Reilly, "A History of Santa Barbara State Teachers' College," 62.

⁶¹ Olson, "World War II Veterans at the University of Wisconsin," 91.

⁶² Bowers, interview, April 24, 1975, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

In the 1945 version of the women's guidebook, housing information is printed early in the document on page two to reinforce its importance. The booklets provided practical advice and information but their implicit purpose was to justify in loco parentis policies. Under the subheading, "Responsibilities of Students," there was a seemingly simple reminder to be respectful to landlords. It went on to reveal a pervasive theme in the college's literature, the concern for women to represent the campus to the rest of the community. "Other college women may be denied the opportunities of college life if students do not cooperate with the housing regulations," the pamphlet warned.⁶³ It justified regulations for women, not only for the individual's well-being, but for her sex's and campus's good standing in the community.

The handbooks emphasize the importance of community relations and reputation because the campus was downtown at the Riviera and student living was decentralized. Campus and city life was generally more integrated during the 1940s and 1950s because of the more concentrated presence of students as employees, business patrons, and neighbors. The relationship with neighbors devolved during the 1950s in legal battles over noise and zoning ordinances.⁶⁴ The fraternities especially tended to develop tension with their neighbors over excessive noise in residential neighborhoods.

Bowers recalled that fraternities and sororities had some of the best houses downtown because of their substantial size. The largest was Alpha Phi, which housed up to twenty-five women, in contrast to the few boarding houses in the area that slept upwards of ten students. What made them attractive in Bowers' opinion, was the program built into sorority houses,

⁶³ *Handbook*, (Santa Barbara, CA: Office of the Dean of Women, University of California Santa Barbara College, 1945), 4, DSAC, UCSB SRC.

⁶⁴ Bowers, interview, April 24, 1975, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

which made them reminiscent of residence halls.⁶⁵ The large homes near the Riviera campus were coveted but unreliable properties because most fraternities and sororities rented them on a year to year basis. Without the support and infrastructure of national affiliation until 1950, they were without strong enough alumni networks to form house corporation boards to take out mortgages.⁶⁶ Greek chapters would periodically have to move into new buildings and were forced to appeal for zoning variances from Santa Barbara County.⁶⁷ The Greeks needed to retain their large houses to satisfy their members, but filled them beyond legal capacity of the single-family purpose for which they were built. After years of legal battles, the fraternities and sororities eventually relinquished their leases. Zoning ordinances and conflict with neighbors were some of the push factors that led fraternities and sororities to relocate to Goleta and build new, permanent houses.⁶⁸

Although there was conflict between students and their neighbors, they were generally a positive element of the larger fabric of the community. While students attended the Riviera campus, they lived throughout the downtown Santa Barbara area and played an important economic role. They were patrons to the five movie theaters, restaurants like Boon's which had menu items such as the "Gaucho Special," and various local and chain stores.⁶⁹ The *Santa Barbara News-Press* published a special "College Edition" around the start of each fall semester

⁶⁵ Bowers, interview, April 24, 1975, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

⁶⁶ *La Cumbre*, 1950; "Santa Barbara Campus Student Housing Data," Excerpt from Hannum Report, 1952, University of California (System) Office of the President Records (hereafter President's Records), Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

⁶⁷ Bowers, interview, April 24, 1975, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

⁶⁸ The largest Greek house downtown was occupied by Alpha Phi and housed up to 25 members. In Goleta, by comparison the average house accommodated 30-60 members. Bowers, interview, April 24, 1975, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

⁶⁹ Helen Ambroff Reynolds, "Mrs. Sandell's Rooming House," *Santa Barbara*, March/April 1989, 19-20, Gledhill Library, Santa Barbara Historical Museum, Santa Barbara, CA.

from 1948 to 1958. Its pages were filled with advertisements geared toward collegiate consumers for campus fashions, corsages for school dances, "hair specialists for the co-eds," "cosmetic and beauty preparations" for "the smartest girls in school," dozens of local clothing, art, luggage, and sporting goods stores, laundry services, etc.⁷⁰

Annual event such as the Galloping Gaucho Revue, Barbary Coast, Spring Sing, and Homecoming parade welcomed community members to participate in and enjoy student-led events. There was a presence of students in major venues such as the Arlington for the Galloping Gaucho Revue, a variety show, and Panhellenic Council's annual Presents ceremony, during which newly pledged members wore white gowns and were presented as members of their respective sororities to a crowd composed of fraternity men, their families, and friends.⁷¹

Benevolent community relationships were important to the university, and its regulations for students outside of class time reflected the intention to maintain them. Being a Gaucho was a full-time responsibility in the classroom, at home, and downtown. The women's dress code regulations articulate the image women students were supposed to uphold. They were "expected to dress neatly while on campus and in the city. Scarves on heads over curlers and slacks are not worn on campus and are in poor taste in town,"⁷² the 1945 *Handbook* instructed.

Women students were not permitted in men's homes or all areas of downtown Santa Barbara. They were banned from neighborhoods of ill repute, south of Cota Street in Helen

⁷⁰ "A Supplement Devoted to Santa Barbara College," *Santa Barbara News-Press*, September 12, 1948, HAC, UCSB SRC.

⁷¹ McClenathen, interview; Salcido, interview. Barbary Coast was discontinued in 1959 because it had devolved into a drunken brawl. Olson, "Twenty-Four Years of Policing," 37.

⁷² *Handbook*, 7, DSAC, UCSB SRC.

Reynolds's day.⁷³ More research is required to analyze the "seedy" history of Santa Barbara, in particular, the implication of prostitution and the extent to which male students engaged and exploited prostitutes. More research remains to be done on the history of prostitution in Santa Barbara and the prevalence of fraternity men to exploit minority women, in their own context and as an alternative to sorority women partners. While no woman was allowed to go beyond Cota Street, there were no such unwritten rules for male students.

Syrett traced the historic patterns of fraternity men's sexual practices and analyzed the gradual shift from postbellum hostility directed toward college women to the peer pressured dating culture by the 1950s. Fraternity men traditionally engaged in sexual relationships with women of lower class and social rank such as waitresses and prostitutes, often encouraging other brothers through group visits to brothels. In the postbellum period it was "still considered unseemly for men to boast publicly of their sexual relations with prostitutes or other women 'beneath' them," however, they nevertheless continued those relations.⁷⁴ By the 1920s, fraternity men began to embrace the favor of sorority women as a tool of social power and control, whilst harboring "strictly sexual liaisons" with women they met off campus or possibly with peers lower on the "rating-and-dating" scale.⁷⁵ The measure of masculinity increasingly became sexual prowess, thus creating a culture that encouraged group dynamics with regard to fraternity men sharing stories of their sexual exploits and even instances of gang bangs.⁷⁶ During the 1950s, there was increased pressure on women to go further sexually with their partners prior to marriage. The trend of putting increased pressure on women to engage in petting and

⁷³ Reynolds, interview; Salcido, interview.

⁷⁴ Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*, 176.

⁷⁵ Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*, 219.

⁷⁶ Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*, 222-228.

consideration of premarital sex as a deliverable correlated with women's own increased sexual liberty and increased access to contraceptive devices.

By the 1950s, there was an increased prevalence of sex in relationships between fraternity men and sorority women, as economic and social equals, rather than between fraternity men and prostitutes. More often than not, it was limited to couples in committed relationships. There were also "easier" women who garnered negative reputations. Their sexual experience in part explains the findings in one 1959 study that for men the "degree of physical intimacy" was "inversely related to intensity of familiarity and affection existing in the male-female relationship"; the opposite was true for women. Soliciting prostitutes outside of a group setting had attained negative stigma. It signaled a lack of masculinity and failure to coerce or force sex from a sorority woman, rather than a preference.⁷⁷ On the other hand, group sexual activity, such as watching a pornographic film or hiring prostitutes as a brotherhood event, remained acceptable. At the same time, the pressure to "go all the way" with an individual sorority woman increased for both parties.

The consistency of fraternity experience nationally indicates that some fraternity men engaged in sexual relations with prostitutes in the Santa Barbara and Goleta areas. There were rumored group pornographic movie viewings endorsed and attended by the Dean of Men, Robert Evans at smokers.⁷⁸ A photo published in the 1965 *La Cumbre* showed a fraternity showing home movies at a smoker, presumably a more wholesome one because a few women were shown

⁷⁷ Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*, 263-265.

⁷⁸ Salcido, interview.

in attendance.⁷⁹ The implication is that other group sexual events may have occurred as well.

Even at a small college like UCSBC, the Dean of Women could not watch over all of the women all the time. Instead she delegated the responsibility of in loco parentis at home to preapproved housemothers. The housemother deans approved was also characterized as a “mature person capable of assisting the student with any problem and of being sympathetic with her activities.”⁸⁰ UCSBC alumna Helen Ambroff Reynolds wrote a commemorative article about her boarding housemother, Mrs. Sandell, for *Santa Barbara* magazine in 1989. Helen Reynolds characterized Mrs. Sandell through her approach to her duties; “the dean handles college discipline, I handle house discipline,” Mrs. Sandell remarked, and she had no problem booting and replacing “delinquent” boarders from her home. She was also described as “a pleasantly plump lady” with “twinkling blue eyes” familiar with the ways of men, in keeping with matronly character.⁸¹

Her recollections of attending UCSBC from 1945 to 1949 elucidate the lived experience of college women in downtown Santa Barbara and how the strictness of in loco parentis varied by living group. In Helen Reynolds’s case, her parents embraced in loco parentis and took steps to ensure their daughter would be properly supervised beyond generic guidelines in the women’s handbooks. They contacted the Dean of Women, Helen Sweet, to inquire about the strictest housemother available, and she recommended “without hesitation” Mrs. Sandell, an indication there were known degrees of variance in housing supervision. The exchange that Helen Reynolds described on move-in day between Mrs. Sandell and her parents was notable because they

⁷⁹ *La Cumbre*, 1965.

⁸⁰ *Handbook*, 4, DSAC, UCSB SRC.

⁸¹ Reynolds, “Mrs. Sandell’s Rooming House,” 20.

discussed expectations for Helen Reynolds' conduct and house rules in place to protect her moral character without including her in the exchange. The student herself had no say in the negotiations.⁸²

Parietal rules governing women's schedules at UCSB and its antecedents fit national trends. Housemothers were charged with enforcing the rules, or else they would lose approved status from the university and thus, their tenants. Parietal rules included lockout hours, sign out procedures, study hours, quiet hours, social hours, limitations on how many weeks per night to study at the library, male visitation hours, and sign-outs for overnight absences.

Nationally, lockout hours were notoriously complicated because they attempted to impose institutional regulations on student dating culture. They set women's curfews to assure parents the college did its part to ensure their daughters remained respectable. Each campus had its own time restrictions but they tended to share general tenets: variances for upperclassmen, weekends, school nights, nights of formal socials, nights of informal exchanges or joints, nights women worked, etc. Other campuses' lock out hours were complicated enough for a small guidebook industry to develop, catering to men planning potential dates.⁸³ Peril outlined the "maze of rules," and Endicott Junior College in Beverly, Massachusetts included the following particulars:

Curfew for freshman for the first six weeks is 7:30 P.M. on weeknights, 1:00 A.M. on Saturday, midnight for a maximum of three Friday nights, and 10:30 P.M. on Sunday. Thereafter, a 9:45 P.M. limit once a week and an 11:00 P.M. once a semester are permitted during the week. Weekend curfews from then until April are midnight on Friday and 1:00 A.M. on Saturday. From then on, weekend curfew is 1:00 A.M. both nights.

⁸² Reynolds, "Mrs. Sandell's Rooming House," 18-20.

⁸³ Peril, *College Girls*, 285.

Seniors have a 9:45 P.M. curfew on all weeknights (with three 11:00's per semester), 1:00 A.M. on Friday and Saturday, and 10:30 P.M. on Sunday. If a girl is on academic probation or academic restriction, however, she must be in the dorm by 7:30 P.M. for three weekends out of eight. She is allowed to take her proper number of 11:00's.⁸⁴

UCSBC curfews were simpler by comparison. They could be difficult to recall for new students, though, so Santa Barbara's Dean of Women's office printed them in the Women's Handbook. In 1944, women had to be home by midnight on Friday nights, 1:00 a.m. Saturday nights and the nights of College Dances, 11:00 p.m. Sunday nights, and 2:00 a.m. after College Formal Dances. It was considered a privilege to study in the library during the evening and recommended not to exceed one or two nights per week.⁸⁵ By 1956, lock out hours had evolved little, to 1:30 a.m. Friday and Saturday nights for social functions, and 2:30 a.m. on evenings of Formal Dances, per UC policy.⁸⁶ Peril noted, "college girls frustrated by their school's strictness could find solace in the knowledge that there was almost always a campus where things were worse."⁸⁷ In comparison with restrictions fifty years earlier, 2:30 a.m., even for a formal dance, was quite a liberal curfew.

Though the rules were designed to protect women and give them some semblance of respectability, the reality of locking them outside alone or with their male dates seems contradictory to the proclaimed protective purpose of the rules. In the case of Mrs. Sandell's strict house on West Valerio Street, women who snuck out at night (Mrs. Sandell did not allow any dating on school nights even after the dean lifted the ban) would go out the window, scale a

⁸⁴ Peril, *College Girls*, 286.

⁸⁵ *Handbook*, 5-6, DSAC, UCSB SRC.

⁸⁶ "Regulations for the Conduct of the Social Activities of Recognized Student Activities," undated, President's Records, Bancroft Library.

⁸⁷ Peril, *College Girls*, 284.

roof, and jump onto trashcans only to find them moved upon return to their dismay.⁸⁸ The line between delinquency and rule following regarding lockout was tested at campuses across the country and coeds developed a culture of their own around it. Curfew delinquency was not unique to UCSBC, and there are no known records to indicate it occurred more or less frequently than the national average.

Male visitation at a coed's home was subject to specific hours at Santa Barbara and elsewhere. The public nature of male calling has a long history and the awkwardness created by parlors was designed to prevent couples from being too romantic.⁸⁹ Peril listed inventive interpretations of visitor policies at other campuses arguing that historically, students never abided by them fully. They found loopholes for "increasingly quaint" rules to keep bedroom doors closed, lights off, a required number of feet on the ground, etc.⁹⁰

A recurring theme in the history of UCSBC housing is the difference in strictness between sororities and other types of accommodation. Per Helen Reynolds's recollection, "sorority rules were not nearly as strict as Mrs. Sandell's," but that could be a difference that developed over time and changed from one chaperone to the next.⁹¹ As the general rules loosened and senior women got the right live in apartments without chaperones, sororities shifted on the spectrum to be the more regulated housing option. In the 1940s at least, when women lived in smaller, more closely supervised groups, the larger sorority houses appeared to offer greater freedom than strict boarding houses or private homes with only one resident to watch over. In the mid-1940s, Mrs. Sandell forbade men in the boarding house always, except when

⁸⁸ Reynolds, "Mrs. Sandell's Rooming House," 22.

⁸⁹ Peril, *College Girls*, 282.

⁹⁰ Peril, *College Girls*, 171.

⁹¹ Reynolds, "Mrs. Sandell's Rooming House," 22.

they arrived to pick up a date, only then could they wait in the parlor. At the end of the date, which her boarders could only have on Fridays and Saturdays until midnight, they were not permitted any further than the front door and were discouraged from taking “long goodbyes” or “‘spooning’ in parked cars or on the front stoop.”⁹² In contrast, at the University of Rochester, a student newspaper documented “a mass entanglement of passionate last embraces” outside women’s dormitories known as the “lockout scene.”⁹³ Similar situations occurred outside sorority houses in Santa Barbara and Isla Vista.⁹⁴

Despite the carefully laid out expectations for students, there was always a degree of variability from one housing situation to another. McClenathen lived in a cooperative boarding house her freshman year in and did not recall ever being closely supervised in contrast to her experience the next three years in the Delta Sigma Epsilon sorority house where her housemother followed up on any excuse for missing curfew.⁹⁵

The careful construction of control over women students’ time and supervision at sanctioned social events created the circumstances for women to be taken advantage of on their own time. Co-eds could not be chaperoned every moment nor did they want to be; however, enough rules and curfews existed ostensibly for their protection that damages suffered outside of that framework made them vulnerable to “victim blaming.” Women were responsible for being home on time, and the rules regulating curfew were explicit.

There were serious consequences for missing lockout. Every UC Campus had a Faculty Administration Committee on Student Conduct charged to investigate misconduct and deliberate

⁹² Reynolds, “Mrs. Sandell’s Rooming House,” 20.

⁹³ Peril, *College Girls*, 172.

⁹⁴ Salcido, interview.

⁹⁵ McClenathen, interview.

sanctions if appropriate. Penalties of suspension for more than one semester, dismissal, and expulsion required final approval from the UC President; however, no records of the Office of the President exist to certify whether discipline for lock out was common. There are archived files regarding students' academic dismissal but few regarding criminal or conduct offenses and none specifically about sex.⁹⁶

UCSBC Moves to the Seashore, 1954-1964

In 1948, the UC Regents purchased the marine base in Goleta for a new permanent location for the growing UCSBC. Formal plans were begun for appropriating the existing military buildings and constructing new ones. Aside from the remarkable size difference of the campuses, 408 acres on the Goleta campus compared to the sixteen acre Riviera, the major differences were the first on campus and university owned residence halls and decline of the dean of women's position. The move to the former Marine base posed new challenges for in loco parentis and new opportunities to carry it out. Over the next decade the student population gradually moved from downtown closer to and on campus where they exercised greater freedom to develop student culture. Their isolation from the downtown community and concurrent loosening of supervision policies created more opportunity for sexual experiences. Likewise, on other campuses, women were increasingly subject to explicit pressures to go further sexually before marriage but at UCSB the situation was uniquely heightened due to the disruption of moving toward Isla Vista.

The office of the Dean of Women expanded to include a Counselor for Women Students

⁹⁶ Robert G. Sproul, "Student Discipline," in University Regulations, revised Marched 1954, President's Records, Bancroft Library.

(title change from Assistant Dean), and full time secretary-stenographer and receptionist by 1955.⁹⁷ The rapid increase in enrollment anticipated by the late 1950s required a compensatory increase in student personnel services. The office of the Dean of Women jointly managed the residence halls and Activities Control Board with the office of the Dean of Men prior to the creation of the position Dean of Student Residents in 1961.⁹⁸ Ultimately, the increase of campus owned housing and a separate department to operate it freed of Bowers to work on other student projects but made her position more obsolete. The belief that women needed specialized supervision fell out of popularity while the Student Affairs field professionalized and restructured to exclude women, particularly Deans of Women. Bowers, in one sense, responsibly delegated her workload, but in another, relinquished her dominion over housing during a period when residence halls increasingly replaced the necessity and viability of other chaperoned living groups.⁹⁹

It is critical to analyze Bowers' own position and philosophies about her role. In a letter to Acting Provost, Elmer R. Noble in 1956, she clearly articulated her the defense of the position and office of Dean of Women. She advocated for the continuance of a Dean of Women, no longer because women needed special protections, but because they needed proper representation amongst university leadership.

Leadership in the development and creation of student personnel services came from women not to build an administrative empire but to serve better the needs of women students. For their past and their potential contributions in this area,

⁹⁷ "Report of Santa Barbara College University of California to the California State Board of Education" (Goleta, CA: University of California Santa Barbara College, 1955), 12.

⁹⁸ Margaret Gettman and Everett Kirkelie, "History of the Residence Hall Programs: The First Fifteen Years 1954-1969," 1971, University of California, Santa Barbara Housing and Residential Services Collection (hereafter HRS), UCSB SRC.

⁹⁹ Bashaw, "Reassessment and Redefinition," 174.

they deserve to be accorded first class citizenship at top policy level not for their own personal satisfaction, but for because they are the only real spokesmen at that level for women students. To deny them this not only makes not only them, but the women they represent second class citizens in institutions purporting to be educational.¹⁰⁰

Bowers took measures to protect her position of authority and advocate for necessary representation for women students. She warned against "the lone masculine voice heard at the top administrative level even if some fifty percent or more of the students for whom he speaks are women," amongst the other 99.5 percent of male administrative voices.¹⁰¹ Bowers wrote her letter in the earliest days of the Goleta campus, when she was still Counselor to Women Students, not yet a dean, and anticipated changing structures to the student personnel office that would create what would be further professionalized as Student Affairs. A member of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors, her position reflected the concerns of her colleagues across the country being demoted or let go in favor of male deans of students, who superseded the co-deanship of men and women. Bowers was careful to illustrate the history of the Dean of Men's and Dean of Women's positions nationally and their local development at UCSBC. They provided an "unwieldy assemblage of service," which had theretofore avoided the "upheaval" at other campuses because of the university's priorities to organize other departments. By this she is referring to the latent firing and demoting of women deans. Her recommendations went unheeded, and by 1958, the less experienced Lyle Reynolds, Dean of Men, was promoted to the new position of Dean of Students. Bowers, meanwhile, was promoted to Assistant Dean of Students, Dean of Student Activities and by 1961, Associate Dean of Students, Dean of

¹⁰⁰ Ellen E. Bowers to Elmer R. Noble, 24 July 1956, "Ellen Bowers," appendix 3, 11, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

¹⁰¹ Ellen E. Bowers to Elmer R. Noble, 24 July 1956, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

Women.¹⁰² Consequently, she lost her direct line of communication to the Chancellor and had to report to her new male supervisor, Lyle Reynolds. The restructuring came about concurrently with the decrease in supervision of female students. The adult treatment and rights coeds argued for, especially by the mid-1960s, came with less supervision, but was granted at the same time their advocacy within the administration weakened.

The deans of women continued their work whilst their futures were jeopardized because the campus was in a state of flux. To maintain a sense of normalcy and respectability on paper, they reminded fraternities and sororities they needed chaperones for their social events. The requirements for student organization faculty advisors and event chaperones also reflected in loco parentis standards. UC-wide policy limited non-faculty chaperones at social functions to married, pre-approved, couples present together at the event. Even married, they counted as a single chaperone.¹⁰³

Despite the lengthy debates about chaperone requirements, they were largely an administrative check box to remove liability rather than an enforced rule. According to one Delta Gamma alumna, Mary Jane Salcido, during her four years attending UCSB from 1958 to 1962, there were never chaperones at fraternity-sorority joints or exchanges.¹⁰⁴ Much as the alcohol policy went largely unenforced, so did supervision regulations. The resulting social environments thus created more opportunity for sexual encounters than were envisaged by

¹⁰² Interestingly, UCSB chose to retain the title and position Dean of Women during the restructuring at a time other campuses removed the position entirely. "University of California: Personnel Resume," "Ellen Bowers," appendix 2, OH 20 UCSB SRC.

¹⁰³ Addenda to "Statement of Policy of Santa Barbara College Administration with Reference to Functions and Responsibilities of Sponsors of Recognized On-Campus Student Organizations," circa 1956-1958, President's Records, Bancroft Library.

¹⁰⁴ Mary Jane Salcido, interview by Lauren Cain, February 1, 2017.

parents. The lack of supervision was to the collegians' preference and forced Greeks to navigate situations in which they had to hold their own members accountable. Without chaperones, their social events broke policy, and because fraternities and sororities went into such engagements consciously, they voided certain rights to report wrongdoing. UCSB administrators clearly ignored flagrant breach of policy without reprimanding chapters. Overall, it was a preferred scenario for the collegians because it allowed for underage drinking and other youthful freedoms. "Don't ask, don't tell" situations between the Greek community, university administration, and law enforcement forced to adopt their own internal protections and internalize chapter disciplinary and support procedures. By 1966, chaperones were no longer required at university social functions.¹⁰⁵

The "Regulations for the Conduct of the Social Activities of Recognized Student Activities" reiterated the regulation "in effect on all campuses of the university and... approved by the President" that "no intoxicating beverages shall be served by such groups at any function, regardless of where it is held" and that bars were "*prima facie* evidence of intent to violate the law."¹⁰⁶ Those regulations were required to be signed by fraternity presidents and an alumnus advisor and then turned into the Dean of Students. Afterward, "both the organizations, as such, and their members, as individuals, [would] be held responsible for compliance with these regulations."¹⁰⁷ Despite the administrative hoops fraternities had to go through, those policies were seldom enforced. The legal drinking age in California had been 21 since 1933, so much of

¹⁰⁵ Olson, "Twenty-Four Years of Policing," 99.

¹⁰⁶ "Regulations for the Conduct of the Social Activities of Recognized Student Activities," undated, President's Records, Bancroft Library.

¹⁰⁷ "Regulations for the Conduct of the Social Activities of Recognized Student Activities," undated, President's Records, Bancroft Library.

the drinking in fraternity houses was not only against university policy, but was also against the law.¹⁰⁸

Although underage drinking was commonplace in male living groups, not just fraternity houses, occurrences of regulatory enforcement were far more likely to involve fraternities because they sponsored organized semipublic activities. For example, in December 1961, after inspection of the chapter facility, Sigma Alpha Epsilon's charter was suspended for "deviations from accepted standards of behavior throughout the semester" and violations of alcohol regulations. Whatever incident or information prompted the investigation was not published in the *University Post* article. Rather, it focused on the sanctions, which were modified and lightened in January upon a follow-up inspection. Their fraternity promised to learn from their mistakes and to "take immediate corrective action to help improve the attitudes and social standards' that caused the deficiencies."¹⁰⁹ What prompted that house to get in trouble for drinking at that time, when fraternities and sororities had alcohol at their social functions on a weekly basis? This episode illustrates that although university policy was largely for show, it could be and was incited with enough provocation.

The pressure on university campuses to continue protective policies and even strengthen them was articulated by one overzealous mother, Mrs. Robert C. Riegg, who felt compelled to write UC President Clark Kerr in 1958 about the "nebulous monster" she believed the University of California had become.

To sum it up, we need more liaison between the University as an intellectual and moral leader, and the living situation of the students-

¹⁰⁸ Men as young as seventeen lived in the houses.

¹⁰⁹ "SAE Charter Suspended for Chapter Infractions," *University Post*, February 16, 1962, 8.

between the university as a giver of grades, and the parent, who is the giver of money, who supports the student who is trying to earn his degree.¹¹⁰

Even though her son was twenty-one years old and the president of the fraternity where he lived, she felt it was her right as a paying parent to have a direct relationship with the university regarding her son's well-being and housing situation at school. Mrs. Riegg summarized the demand and basic principles of *in loco parentis*. Usually, those policies were geared toward female students to placate their parents, but as this mother indicated, there was sometimes unwelcome disparity between protective regulations over men and women. President Kerr responded to her by expressing their mutual desire to instill "adequate supervision of men's living groups, particularly of the younger members" but also by indicating the difficulty to enact them in the face of "strong student sentiment against the idea."¹¹¹ At the time of this correspondence, the shift toward loosening restrictions on student housing had already begun and over the following decade, despite Kerr's sympathetic remarks to Mrs. Riegg, it continued in the direction of more student freedom.

The UC President and UC Regents also took an active role in the housing situation at UCSBC. Over the course of a few years during the 1950s, the Regents on the Committee on Grounds and Buildings met to discuss and create recommendations for various proposals to allocate property on the Goleta campus for fraternity and sorority houses. Their involvement in the Greek housing debates and their ultimate decision reveal the reach of *in loco parentis* ideology and its limits. By 1958, when the proposal was determined to be infeasible the Regents

¹¹⁰ Mrs. Robert C. Riegg to Clark Kerr, November 18, 1958, President's Records, Bancroft Library.

¹¹¹ Mrs. Robert C. Riegg to Clark Kerr, November 18, 1958; William F. Shepard to Vice Chancellor Alex C. Sheriffs March 4, 1959; Clark Kerr to Mrs. Robert C. Riegg, December 10, 1958, President's Records, Bancroft Library.

put practical financial concerns ahead of ideological "parental" ones.

In January 1953, the first report with recommendations for organized, on campus fraternity and sorority housing was published. It called for twenty acres to be set aside from university property to accommodate twelve fraternities and twelve sororities, in anticipation of Greek community growth.¹¹² Over the next five years the Regents learned all but one of the fraternities and sororities lacked the financial means to accept the housing options the university put forth. Except for Delta Sigma Epsilon, all other sororities were local until they were initiated into National Panhellenic Conference chapters in tandem in 1950. The fraternities transitioned gradually from local to national Inter Fraternity Council chapters around the same time. Though the chapters had a larger infrastructure behind them at the national level, they lacked a strong local alumni network to solicit financial backing and donations from. The national Panhellenic perspective in 1953 held that housing of sororities at UCSBC was a university responsibility; however, the Regents disagreed. Their housing options discussed included fraternities and sororities leasing subdivided campus land, sale of campus lands to a fraternity and sorority housing association, construction of university owned housing repayable by fraternities and sororities through a low interest twenty-year loan, or residence halls built for fraternities and sororities but managed by the Supervisor of Residence Halls.¹¹³ The potential location for a Greek row was discussed as well. One of the more idyllic proposals was to have fraternities and sororities separated on either side of the lagoon. There were drawings made which imagined a bridge to the sororities on the peninsula, cloistered away from the men.

¹¹² Daniel M. Luevano, "Santa Barbara Fraternity and Sorority Housing," Report to Vice President McCaffrey, May 28, 1958, President's Records, Bancroft Library.

¹¹³ Luevano, "Santa Barbara Fraternity and Sorority Housing," 1-7, President's Records, Bancroft Library.

Ultimately, the Regents gave up on sponsoring fraternity and sorority housing on or off campus citing a directive from 1953 which stipulated that "in no case should support be given where it will cause postponement or imperil the solvency of the residence halls."¹¹⁴ The Greek chapters were left to purchase or rent properties in Isla Vista where they could, without planned community development. The result was even less university oversight. Meanwhile, the fledgling campus grew and filled in. It was a unique situation for housing because for the first few years the only residence halls were for freshman, predominantly freshman women. The rest of the students remained downtown until homes, apartments, duplexes, and private residence halls were built in Isla Vista.

In 1967, Princeton students created a guidebook for men to "academic truth about curfews, hangouts, and driving-time" to coeds in America titled *Where the Girls Are*. "The beaches are covered with muscular bodies with shocks of bleached and natural blonde hair; the girls are the ones in the two piece suits," the book joked. It described UCSB students as easygoing, average academics, who were "rock 'n roll and surf mad."¹¹⁵ Although satirical, the descriptions were reflective of a truth in UCSB beach culture. In the early Goleta campus days, some male students even lived in fisherman huts on Del Playa. Since the Riviera days, fraternity-sorority "joints" on the beach were the norm. For Merna McClenathen, a favorite missed lockout excuse was getting stuck between State Street and the beach because a train had stopped and blocked in the party; although her sorority housemother would check with the train station to see

¹¹⁴ Luevano, "Santa Barbara Fraternity and Sorority Housing," 1, President's Records, Bancroft Library.

¹¹⁵ Peter M. Sandman, *Where the Girls Are: Or the Academic Truth About Curfews, Hangouts, and Driving-time* (NY: The Dial Press Inc., 1967), 52.

if there was truth to the delay.¹¹⁶ Salcido also fondly recalled beach parties and exchanges with bonfires, which they had more of after her sorority house opened in Isla Vista in fall 1960. They both alluded to beer, bonfires, and a little beach blanket bingo. McClenathen and Salcido recalled a different atmosphere at the Greek exchanges they remembered than those they hear about today. McClenathen said occasionally a sister would consume too much alcohol and throw up but there were not the volume of incidents and hospitalizations commonplace today. Their choice of alcohol was beer, not vodka as is now common. Yet, when they did have joints with a fraternity at their chapter house, it was not unheard of for a man and woman to steal away into a private room—after all there were rarely chaperones.¹¹⁷

The Office of Public Affairs used the stereotype of a happy blonde beach babe at the “seashore campus” to promote the college to high school students. A 1951 promotional pamphlet, “Thinking About College?” included a wholesome staged photo of men and women relaxing on the beach.¹¹⁸ The Goleta campus, surrounded by ocean on two sides with university owned beaches became a central descriptor in the years which followed. The 1956 *College Edition* predominantly featured smiling coeds and sunny days on the cover and in its “Fun in the Sun” article. “Gaucho skin-divers arouse co-ed curiosity” captioned one photo of four women in bathing suits, shot from behind, staring out at two men walking in from a swim. The “balmy days and foaming surf” promoted as the prime climate for study breaks seem to be the lived, albeit promotional, experiences of the California beach movies popular toward the end of the

¹¹⁶ McClenathen, interview.

¹¹⁷ McClenathen, interview; Salcido, interview.

¹¹⁸ “Thinking About College?” Published by the Associated Students and Santa Barbara College of the University of California, May, 1951, HAC, UCSB SRC.

decade.¹¹⁹ The messages detracted from rigor of university academics and sexualized the female students. The perceptions of Gaucho coeds were thus more easily coupled with expectations of them, which could have had negative consequences in situations like sexual assault when their characters were scrutinized.

Despite the publicity of casualness at the oceanside campus, the requirement to dress appropriately carried over from the Riviera campus. Standards of dress relaxed somewhat with changing styles over the 1950s, which prompted Salcido's big sister in AWS to explain in an introductory letter, "Since the campus is very informal, so are the students, and also the dress standards."¹²⁰ By 1958, the dress code recommendations and instructions given to incoming freshman were more explicit and even took the form of a chart in Dear Janie Gaucho, an updated version of the women's handbook, published by AWS, seen in Table 1.¹²¹

At the same time, there was a higher standard for sorority women imposed from within. The 1960 Delta Gamma standards policies dictated that members "not wear earrings with school clothes" and provided a list of other grooming practices and guidelines for social conduct that reiterated UCSB policies. Members were not permitted to "wear petal pushers etc.... downtown...recline on the lawn in public places," wear their pins with play clothes, or most laughably "remove shoes in public (at a party)."¹²² Sororities were contained communities within campus life which promoted conservative values and practices of the college, even if individual members chafed under them. Like the university, sororities were recruitment oriented and their

¹¹⁹ "Fun in the Sun," *Santa Barbara News-Press: College Edition*, 1956.

¹²⁰ Peggy Humphreys to Mary Jane Salcido, August 21, 1958, Salcido private possession.

¹²¹ Associated Women Students, "Welcome... Janie Gaucho," ed. Kitty Joyce, 1958, 12-13, Salcido private possession.

¹²² Delta Gamma Sorority, Gamma Kappa chapter, "Standards Policies," circa 1960, Salcido private possession.

success depended upon positive public image.

Clothing Chart

Events	Dress	Hat	Shoes	Purse and Gloves	Coat
CAMPUS WEAR including classrooms and office buildings	Skirts, sweaters, blouses, wool or cotton dress	Scarf sometimes	Loafers, saddle or bucks sport flats	Purse	Jacket long
Library-Dining Hall	Same as on Campus	Not needed	Same as on Campus	Books, pen & paper, or meal ticket	If necessary for coffee break
Athletic Events	White shirts or blouses, school clothes, sporty or dress up for rooter's section	Scarf	Same as on Campus	Not needed	What's the weather like?
Beachwear	Bathing suit, pedal pushers, and sweatshirt at night	What?	Go-aheads and tennis shoes	Sort of a nuisance	Might get a little warm?
Teas and Receptions	Dressy Date dress or suit	No	Hose & Heels	By all mean	Dressy, if needed
Concerts and Plays	Dressy Date dress or suit	No	Hose & Heels	Yes	Dressy
Banquets	Dressy Date dress or suit	No	Hose & Heels	Purse, yes Gloves, optional	Dressy
Church	Dress suit tailored wool	If you wish	Hose & Heels	Yes	If needed
Dance - Sport	School Clothes	No	Hose & Sport flats	Purse, yes Gloves, no	Sporty
Dance - Informal	Dressy street length	Horrors!	Dressy	Purse- yes don't load his pockets	Dressy: evening jacket
Dance Formal	Cocktail dress Ballerina or long formal or formal	"	High or low	"	"

Table 1. Clothing Chart.¹²³

"Welcome... Janie Gaucho" also included guidelines for how to look and conduct oneself

¹²³ AWS, "Welcome... Janie Gaucho," 12-13, Salcido private possession.

downtown. Perhaps beach culture encouraged casualness, but it did not excuse “waltzing around town in, among other things, a faded plaid skirt and pin curls, smoking on state street,” or other unlady like acts. In the beginning of the section, “Santa Barbarans,” the authors framed the importance of coed conduct and appearance as integral to the financial benefit of the university. They explicitly and cheerily opened, “Although we have moved out to Goleta, we are still part of Santa Barbara life, and Santa Barbarans like to be proud of the University of California students here. Their support of our dramatic and musical programs, athletic events, housing programs, and general policies are important.” The code of conduct to which “Gauchettes” were held was not singular to them, as men were also expected to dress appropriately and be respectful to community members, but it was more explicit for women.¹²⁴ The message reiterated the importance of exuding a positive image of students to the Santa Barbara community the women’s guidebooks published a decade before.

In loco parentis policies were not only exchanges between a student, her parents, and the deans. Complex relationships existed at organizational levels as well by groups who were affected in different ways by policies. The *Dear Janie* pamphlets were edited and published by AWS and adopted an interesting and more direct approach to discussing women’s reputations than earlier publications had. The AWS printed their support for the rules and regulations in place at UCSBC, which “were not made just to be posted on the closet doors.” The AWS board itself was composed of elected officers, over half a dozen specialized chairmen, and representatives from the major female constituencies on campus, including the female residence halls and Panhellenic Council.

¹²⁴ AWS, “Welcome... Janie Gauchette,” 20-21, Salcido private possession.

For what exactly did AWS leaders pledge their support? The increased risk of reputations of ill repute amongst the student body was inversely proportional to the decreased strictness. By the late 1950s, women's housing policies changed to allow upper class women to live in apartments without housemothers. Students required permission from their parents and Dean of Women, but their desire for more freedom gained traction. With freedom came responsibility to conduct oneself respectably on her own behalf and as a representative of the university. Co-eds were counseled:

Any place where a number of college women live together- especially in an apartment where there is no immediate housemother- is open to comments, and the girls must be careful to keep within the college regulations as to hours and men callers. An ounce of prevention in this case may prevent a lot of unnecessary talk and hard feelings.¹²⁵

The first part of this passage acknowledges the opportunity for women to have men in their homes unsupervised and after hours but puts the onus on the women to keep within respectable limits. The warning was limited to protecting the women's reputations rather than their safety. Was the biggest concern for women gossip and hard feelings?

Upperclassmen were expected to know and follow the rules and regulations concerning male visitors and practice self-discipline. Certainly, a vague statement such as this was not the formal policy, but it speaks to the common practice of student interpretation.

The move to the oceanside campus was a boon to the university. It was celebrated by activist community members such as Thomas Storke and Pearl Chase, as well as university officials and the university's Office of Public Affairs. A large photograph of the new property was featured on the cover of 1948 college edition of the *Santa Barbara News-Press*. The next ten

¹²⁵ AWS, "Welcome... Janie Gaucho," 21-24, Salcido private possession.

years of covers varied between pictures of smiling co-eds and updated pictorials of the campus.¹²⁶ The first university owned residence halls opened in fall of 1954. Freshman women were given the option of living the Las Casitas, small dormitories converted from marine barracks, or Santa Rosa Hall, the first permanent residence built for students. The Goleta campus was located approximately ten miles from the Riviera campus, far removed from the activity of downtown Santa Barbara, in unincorporated Santa Barbara County.¹²⁷ Aside from a few residences, orchards, and fishing huts, there was not much infrastructure in the adjacent Isla Vista area nor was Goleta, an unincorporated area of Santa Barbara County, heavily populated by people or businesses. For the pioneering students of the Goleta campus, the freshman women in particular, the new developments encouraged close knit community.

The freshman women who lived on campus were isolated from the rest of the campus. They had a different sense of community than their predecessors because they lived with more students than they would have downtown and had more institutional supervision in the form of Head Residents and Residence Assistants. Whereas the Dean of Women had approved housemothers and landlords before, now she hired and trained live-in chaperones from within the UCSBC community. It was therefore possible to exercise closer control over living conditions and student experience for some students.

Gradually, as infrastructure developed and urbanized Isla Vista, more students began to take up residence near or on campus. Women were given more freedoms over the course of the 1950s and 1960s. Chaperoned housing requirements were slowly lifted, first for twenty-one year

¹²⁶ *Santa Barbara News-Press*, various issues 1948-1958, HAC, UCSB SRC.

¹²⁷ This calculation is per contemporary highway routes. Travel time and distance would have been longer in 1954 before more access roads were paved to UCSB.

olds with parental permission, then upperclassmen, and finally all students except freshmen. The freedom to live in apartments allowed women to stay out after curfew because there were no housemothers to lock the doors, but the rules for the sorority houses continued the longest. More telling, though, is the attitude the student leadership took with respect to acknowledging and condemning the possibility of sexual relations.

By 1960, when more residences were built on the Goleta campus and in the neighboring Isla Vista community, most UCSB students lived away from the downtown area. The student resident population of Isla Vista was 1379, 350 residents fewer than on campus, of a total enrollment of 3511.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, women were still required to register living accommodations with the university through the Dean of Students. Over the next few years an organized opposition to in loco parentis developed, aided by students' sense of community and inspired by activism on other campuses.

The occurrence of sexual relations between students in the Isla Vista, an area less supervised, more isolated than downtown Santa Barbara was noted by local residents. Despite the current overwhelming majority of temporal residents in Isla Vista today, there is a long history of permanent residents in the community. In 1948 there were approximately 190 residents and they organized the Isla Vista Improvement Association to protect and advocate their homeowner interests.¹²⁹ Many of them adopted in loco parentis attitudes expressed through commentary and complaint about the growing "beatnik" nature of the resident student population. Their awareness of student behaviors sheds light on student sexuality. The wife of

¹²⁸ Strand, "Maximum Freedom and the Limits of Community," 21.

¹²⁹ Strand, "Maximum Freedom and the Limits of Community," 11.

the president of the Isla Vista Association complained in 1960 about "the girl situation" involving a house of twenty women who had "worn a path" to a nearby shack where men lived known for incessant sounds of drumming and drunk revelry until the "wee hours of the morning."¹³⁰

Another telling incident the same year more explicitly demonstrates parental concern. After witnessing a boy and girl enter a "darkened room in a fraternity house alone," a married student and father reported the incident to Dean of Men Lyle Reynolds because he felt it would have been an injustice to the university and woman involved not to. The married student believed there was an unjust expectation of women to lower their standards for the fraternity men they competed for. Although the resident took a strong in loco parentis approach toward protecting women students from "good families" it is important to point out there was no language used to describe the incident to indicate the woman was unwilling, incapacitated, or coerced into the room. That the incident was reported to the Dean of Men, Reynolds, and not the Dean of Women, Bowers, indicated the responsibility at least in that case was put to the fraternity men whom Lyle Reynolds' partly excused in a statement to the association that "these things occur... among young, immature persons away from home for the first time."¹³¹ His hands were tied in one respect because the incident took place in Isla Vista, not on campus or in supervised housing, however, that precisely marks the shift in attitude away from extending regulation and supervision into private homes that the administration had exercised since the Riviera days when everyone lived in off campus housing. Going forward Isla Vista became the nexus of sex

¹³⁰ Strand, "Maximum Freedom and the Limits of Community," 23.

¹³¹ Strand, "Maximum Freedom and the Limits of Community," 23-24.

incidents voluntary and not.

More fraternity chapters were established at colleges and universities across the United States in the 1960s than any decade except the 1920s.¹³² Even as the counterculture movement grew, which was anti-Greek by nature because it repudiated the conservative and elitist qualities of fraternities and sororities, Greek life expanded. At UCSB, the number of Greek houses grew from six fraternities and eight sororities in 1960 to eleven fraternities and eight sororities by 1970.¹³³ The more static sorority system cannot be understood without analyzing its counter, the fraternity.

The ritualistic sexual practices of fraternities are known today for making headlines about gang rape and alcohol fueled deaths, but there is a long and complicated history of the changing meaning of masculinity and sexual practices in fraternities. In *The Company He Keeps*, Syrett analyzed decades of socialization which shaped fraternity men's sexual practices with regard to sorority women. Although in the 1920s and 1930s it was common for fraternity men to "regularly take their sorority-girl dates home by one o'clock on weekend nights and then go in search of a prostitute or an 'easy lay,'" by the 1950s a fraternity man was more likely to have sexual relations with a peer.¹³⁴ Data collected between 1946 and 1953 indicated, "men were 20 and 30% more likely to go further sexually with working class women than women of their own class." By the late 1950s, it was more commonplace for men to engage in sexual relations with steady partners because women were more likely to have "sex with liberal single-standard men

¹³² This likely was partially because of the baby boomer generation coming of age and attending college. Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*, 237.

¹³³ *La Cumbre*, 1960 and 1970.

¹³⁴ Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*, 223.

in committed relationships," according to that same study.¹³⁵ Another study conducted in 1957 revealed that "20.9 percent of women surveyed were 'victims of forceful attempted intercourse' and sorority women slightly outnumbered non sorority women in reporting such experiences." Furthermore, 6.2 percent of women surveyed reported experiencing offense at "aggressively forceful attempts at sex intercourse in the course of which menacing threats or coercive infliction of physical pain were employed." The researchers postulated that higher rates of offense during the spring might have been due to "assumed exploitability of the female because of her emotional involvement" after couples had a longer period to date since the start of the school year.¹³⁶ They extrapolated that it was women in long term relationships who were facing, and thus more at risk for, sexual assault. Therefore, the changing sexual mores which afraid parents had about consensual premarital sex justified to a certain extent because the pressures were on their daughters. The focus on the behavior of their daughter might have been misplaced as their attention might have been better-spent setting rules for their sons.

Their findings are congruent with more general trends of women to enter consensual relationships with men to whom they were engaged. As Peril put it, "only the most naive students or administrators believed that curfews and sign in times stopped students from having sex."¹³⁷ That did not stop protestations from administrators against premarital sex such as one infamous impromptu comment during a convocation speech by Vassar President Sarah Gibson Blanding, with which she reiterated Vassar's prerogative to expel women who engaged in

¹³⁵ Syrett, *The Company He Keeps*, 263.

¹³⁶ Kirkpatrick and Kanin, "Male Sex Aggression on a University Campus," 53.

¹³⁷ Peril, *College Girls*, 285.

premarital sex, excessive drinking, and “vulgar conduct.”¹³⁸ In her 1962 essay, “The Moral Disarmament of Betty Coed,” Gloria Steinem quoted a sophomore student attending a Midwestern university who relayed, “One girl I know is sleeping with the boy she’s pinned to just because everybody else is having affairs, and another girl in my dorm is staying a virgin just because mother said so. They’re both phonies.”¹³⁹ It is not the purpose of this paper to prove students engaged in premarital sex at UCSB or its antecedents. It is safe to assume it did; however, what remains to be analyzed is how the policies and geographical orientation at UCSB coupled with a culture of internalizing discipline allowed sexual violence to perpetuate.

The sexual culture at UCSB can be illustrated through a few positive and negative episodes garnered through alumni testimony and published in various forms. In 1958, while living in Santa Rosa residence hall on campus, Salcido recalled one evening during her freshman year when a particularly strict residence hall advisor was signing in at curfew with the rest of the women coming home. A small crowd gathered when she began to make an announcement and gleefully opened her coat to show she had just been pinned by her boyfriend earlier in the night. Confused she looked down to find the pin missing, until another student tapped her on the shoulder and pointed to the “missing” pin on the “back” of her sweater. Clearly, she had been engaged in more than emotional intimacy.¹⁴⁰

There are other testimonies that indicate the prevalence of house arrest and stricter curfews as a disciplinary sanction against women engaged in voluntary or even involuntary

¹³⁸ “Sarah Gibson Blanding,” Vassar Encyclopedia, accessed February 27, 2017, <https://vcencyclopedia.vassar.edu/presidents/sarah-gibson-blanding%20.html> and Peril, *College Girls*, 171.

¹³⁹ Gloria Steinem, “The Moral Disarmament of Betty Coed,” *Esquire*, September 1962, 97, accessed March 19, 2017, <http://classic.esquire.com/betty-coed/>.

¹⁴⁰ Salcido, interview.

sexual activity. In an opinion piece published in 2016 in the *Santa Barbara News-Press*, an alumna from the mid-1960s recalled the punishment of curfew for a freshman friend, "Mary," who had fallen drunk in the lobby of her dorm. The offense was apparently so egregious that the intoxicated friend would have been expelled if not for the intervention of another female friend's parent who knew Bowers. Instead, the coed's sentence was commuted to 7:00 p.m. curfew every day for the remainder of the school year.¹⁴¹

The article's author charged that her friend Mary had been raped earlier in the night by a male student who invited her to a party. Since Mary was not supposed to be out late drinking, that immutable fact became the sole disciplinary focus, rather than the assault upon her.¹⁴² A similar double standard existed on Middlebury's campus where during the same period, "women could not wear pants to classes or the library; and while men students could drink alcohol openly outside their dorms, women students could be suspended if caught drinking."¹⁴³ The threat of harsh discipline for being caught drinking was sufficient to keep women quiet about other crimes that may have occurred to them while under the influence. Instead of reporting to authority figures such as law enforcement or the dean of women, students instead turned to one another for emotional support. Mary's case highlights the darker side of student experience at UCSB during the period and captures administrative indifference to female plight. Sororities systematized their own disciplinary procedures through internal judicial boards, often called standards, executive, or honor hearings rather than expose their private business to public scrutiny.

¹⁴¹ Mary was a pseudonym. Kathie Marshall, "Letters: Opinion: UCSB's Culture of Rape," *Santa Barbara News-Press*, June 12, 2016, accessed June 14, 2016, <http://www.newspress.com/Top/Article/article.jsp?Section=OPINIONS-LETTERS&ID=567565923083485236>.

¹⁴² Marshall, "UCSB's Culture of Rape."

¹⁴³ Peril, *College Girls*, 180.

Due to limited record keeping, evidence for disciplinary matters primarily relies on alumni testimony. The University Archives at UCSB do not contain any individual student disciplinary records. It was policy in effect at UC police departments that each captain was given discretion after one year to decide which records to keep, give to special collections, or destroy. Therefore, police records of sexual assault at UC Santa Barbara are nonexistent prior to 1973.¹⁴⁴ Even if incidents of assault were reported, a statistical unlikelihood even today, the parental views of police officers toward students may have led them to discourage reporting and suggest a “talking to” with the young men instead. It was not characteristic of Campus Police to make arrests or file charges during the 1950s because they viewed themselves more as concerned father figures. Instead they would impart the issues to the deans to handle.¹⁴⁵

Bowers and Lyle Reynolds worked with a Standards Committee of five students who reviewed student conduct cases and recommended disciplinary action when deemed appropriate. By 1964 the Standards Committee was reorganized into the more punitive named Judicial Committee composed of a chairman, two Residence Hall Association representatives, and two Greek representatives. The proportion of Greeks, even the inclusion of them as quota was not unusual for the period, there were also fraternity and sorority senators in Associated Students.¹⁴⁶ That stipulation in effect maintained a balance of genders and presence of conservative campus elements.

Although geographically isolated, UCSB was not outside of the contemporary political sphere. One issue Greek chapters grappled with across the country and at UCSB was tension

¹⁴⁴ Olson, “Twenty-Four Years of Policing,” v.

¹⁴⁵ Olson, “Twenty-Four Years of Policing,” 35.

¹⁴⁶ Cheek, “Ellen Bowers,” appendix photos, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

over whether chapters signed non-discrimination statements. Some were barred from doing so by clauses in their national constitutions, often proposed and voted in during the 1950s. Some colleges responded by suspending the charters on of non-compliant chapters, while at other schools, fraternities voluntarily disaffiliated out of protest. Fraternities and sororities in California were segregated like in other parts of the country and Santa Barbara was not an exception. The tendency of sororities toward de facto exclusionary policies is important to acknowledge because it continued the precedent to resolve issues internally until forced by the university. Collegiate sorority officers were given judiciary and executive responsibility for responding to their members who experienced sexual assault. The pressure to contend with sexual assault conflict internally had a foundation in their response to anti-discrimination issues, but as rape occurred more frequently and was characterized as such, collegians were left with a burden of self-regulation greater than they could handle. Sororities participated in social change at slower rates than other groups on campus. For the discriminatory reasons outlined below, historical tradition, etc. sorority women continued to remain predominantly white throughout the 1960s.

In her autobiographical novel, *Loose Change*, Sara Davidson wrote about her experience during Panhellenic recruitment at the University of California, Berkeley in 1961, as a Jewish woman, limited to three sororities of the more than forty.¹⁴⁷ During that same period in Santa Barbara, there were no historically Jewish sororities to join, nor were there historically black

¹⁴⁷ Sara Davidson, *Loose Change: Three Women of the Sixties* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1977) 9.

sororities or a National Pan-Hellenic Council presence until the mid-1970s.¹⁴⁸ The extent of exclusivity may have varied from house to house. Salcido had a Jewish friend at UCSB who circumscribed the Alpha Chi Omega initiation requirement to accept Jesus Christ by accepting Christian values such as compassion and grace.¹⁴⁹ Her sisters actively disregarded their own traditional standards to allow for more diversity. During Salcido's term as Chapter President of Delta Gamma, she received and ignored a letter from an alumnae chapter of Delta Gamma in Texas requesting that she sign a pledge committing her chapter to never admit a black woman into their sisterhood. She refused.¹⁵⁰

At around the same time, university reports and *El Gaucho* coverage indicated resistance from Panhellenic sororities to non-discrimination compliance. Bowers' 1962-1963 "Report of the Dean of Women," stated all sororities declined to sign a "non-discrimination statement as per the 'Pasadena Agreement'" and did not expect them to until a later deadline.¹⁵¹ Discrimination within the Greek system had been publicly criticized in fall 1961 in *El Gaucho* articles and responsive opinion pieces after Lambda Chi Alpha fraternity instituted discriminatory policies not imposed by their nationals.¹⁵² As late as 1964, Pi Beta Phi sorority was the sole Greek chapter at UCSB who refused to sign a non-discrimination pledge that 137 out of 151 Greek chapters in the UC System did. The Pi Beta Phi chapter members voted against it because they risked losing their national affiliation. The real threat was carried out against the Pi Beta Phi

¹⁴⁸ Delta Sigma Theta, a historically black sorority colonized UCSB in 1974 and was followed by Alpha Kappa Alpha in 1980 and Zeta Phi Beta in 1996.

¹⁴⁹ Salcido, interview.

¹⁵⁰ Salcido, interview.

¹⁵¹ Cheek, "Report of the Dean of Women: Academic Year 1962-1963," "Ellen Bowers," Appendix 5, 4, OH 20, UCSB SRC.

¹⁵² Dan Sklar, "Fraternities: Upholders of Discrimination," *El Gaucho*, October 6, 1961.

chapter at UC Berkeley which signed and was put on probation by their nationals for three months. AT UCSB the Pi Beta Phi House Corporation, operated by local alumnae, did not give them women a choice.¹⁵³ However, the chapters were also pressured by the university who threatened to withdraw university affiliation and the privileges necessary to recruit and retain members associated with it.

The approach to discriminatory practices at Santa Barbara is significant because it paints a backdrop for the nature and levels of conservative stances on various issues sororities took at UCSB. Nationally, sororities were known for being less publicly controversial about discriminatory practices because they usually did not write it into their bylaws at local or national levels like some fraternities did, but they still practiced deliberate de facto segregation. The conservative practices and preferential internal conflict resolution shaped their response to sexual assault and inhibited repercussion and response, positive or negative, from university administration.

Sororities were also exclusive by nature of their costliness and recruitment process. They had membership quotas, and recruited members through an involved intake process. Women joined sororities for social networks, housing opportunities, and a structured extracurricular environment. Some of their mothers had been sorority women and was a natural step for their legacies. Not all women participated in sororities, even though popular perception led some members to believe most campus was Greek. Initially, sorority membership was limited to thirty women per house, but those caps by the administration were lifted. Membership size was self-regulated by saturated interest, financial means, and selective recruitment.

¹⁵³ "Kerr directive signed by majority of Greeks," *El Gaucho*, September 17, 1964.

Horowitz's analysis of mid twentieth century sororities was that "all sororities drew from the more affluent college population, but the higher-ranked sororities had the wealthiest members."¹⁵⁴ There was an accepted pecking order of the various houses that was subscribed to, even by those houses on the bottom tiers. The financially well to do women joined sororities and outside of published costs associated with membership, such as purchasing their pins, paying local chapter dues, and international dues, there was pressure to keep up with ever changing fashions.¹⁵⁵ The level to which sorority women advocated exclusive culture varied, but by accepting a bid they perpetuated it. As Salcido conceived sorority women, you could find a girl you liked in every house, but that did not mean there was not some truth to stereotypes or characterizations of each house. Some sororities were known for being brainy, others for being blonde. Each sorority was connected to a specific fraternity based on their pecking order. In that organizational environment, with competitive recruitment, it became important for sororities to put their best face forward and develop tactics of self-preservation in response to changing campus tides.

Bowers recognized and criticized sorority women's hesitancy to lead social change or challenge the status quo. In a characteristic episode, not of sorority women per se, but illustrative of their hesitancy to change things was an occasion when she urged the leadership of the AWS, which was often packed with sorority women, to argue for a budget increase from student fees, commensurate with the proportion of female student fee payers. AWS represented and put programs on for the largest contingency of students on campus but received less than their fair of

¹⁵⁴ Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 208.

¹⁵⁵ Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 211-212.

the budget. The male dominated AS Finance Committee balked at the proposal and the women refused to push the issue because they did not feel it was their place. When Bowers raised the point on the AWS' behalf that men benefitted disproportionately from allocations for sports funding, they ran over her "rough shod."¹⁵⁶ Bowers demonstrated her capacity and intent to advocate for women but she could not do their jobs for them. The same guiding principles Bowers employed advising AS extended to advising the women who led the challenge against in loco parentis housing policies.

During the mid 1960s, the university gradually shifted from lock out hours to "key privileges." Women were then able to exercise greater autonomy and let themselves in to the residence halls while maintain building security. Bowers was surprised to learn, the policy changes faced resistance from some women students who "wanted to hang on to these hours for a bit" because they had been raised to believe "women were supposed to be protected" and still others whom she suspected used lockout hours as a "crutch" to excuse themselves from having to socialize.¹⁵⁷ The "sorority setup" was much more "maternalistic about their freshman" and Bowers found the seniors were afraid to allow freshman privileges over concern they would not know how to handle themselves.¹⁵⁸ According to Bowers, the slow change of lock out and supervision was dictated by women students in leadership positions who tested incremental freedoms and evaluated them each year until there were none left. The policies seemed to change slower than the larger cultural expectations of students though who evolved in the 1960s. In

¹⁵⁶ A similar incident occurred during the summer of 2015 during a meeting between the CPC presidents and IFC presidents and council. In that instance, the CPC presidents had met prior and agreed upon a set of demands to promote positive change in the structure of their socials but broke ranks soon after being challenged by the fraternity men.

¹⁵⁷ Bowers, interview, May 8, 1975.

¹⁵⁸ Bowers, interview, May 8, 1975.

Davison's experience for example, she entered college wearing Peter Pan collars and sweater sets, walked the line between sorority woman and beatnik, then graduated sexually active from a seemingly different campus.¹⁵⁹

In contrast to the normative sorority approach to changing lock out policies, Ely noted other instances of women clearly rejecting in loco parentis and the return of "paternal despotism" as the "rule of the University." In fact, he credited women in the Students for Free Political Action (SFPA), an early active political organization at UCSB for making non-compulsory supervised housing for freshman women an initial project to liberalize university policies. Ely said, "their means for achieving their ends were initially amorphous, merely hoping to create 'a climate of intellectual discussion along political lines,'" but the rejection of university control was evident.¹⁶⁰ There was no singular "woman's experience" at UCSB but they all had to contend with the same policies and make decisions about to what extent they should ignore, support, or challenge them.

Campus by the Sea, 1964-1974

The period after 1964 can be characterized by the decline of in loco parentis. The decade is also known for student aggravation, antiwar protest, free speech movements on campus, the rise of professionalized Student Affairs, and the demand by students to be treated as adults. At UCSB, conventional history holds the campus was slow to join national movements and embrace counterculture, but there are examples of all those phenomena and their impacts were not subtle. While Berkeley radicalized, UCSB outlasted other California colleges in keeping its reputation

¹⁵⁹ Davidson, *Loose Change*, 7-47.

¹⁶⁰ Ely, "A Case Study in Social Control" 18.

as a safe school where parents felt comfortable sending their daughters.¹⁶¹ Enrollment at UCSB increased from 7899 in fall 1964 to 11,798 in fall 1970.¹⁶² The impacted housing situation in Isla Vista encouraged private development and increased tension between the university and its students as they formed a unique off campus culture. The concurrent gradual decline of in loco parentis across the nation was encouraged at UCSB. Although the Department of Housing and Residential Services prided itself on a peaceful transition from in loco parents, a direct result from their acceptance of student requests, the actions which led to it were more nuanced.¹⁶³ Lifting lock out and visitation policies was decided at the Resident Hall Association level, but there was conflicting support and opposition that came from women themselves. By 1969, as on most college campuses across the United States, in loco parentis had all but been erased from the rule books.

Bowers, who had held an integral role in managing women's housing, retired after twenty-seven years of employment at UCSB. Her official positions were multifaceted and evolved with the changing tides of student affairs. After her retirement in 1974, the university decided to retire her position as well. The year symbolized a departure from an older order where women had rules unique to them and matrons to enforce them. Bowers however, did not fit the archetypal role of curmudgeonly dean, even if some students characterized her as a frigid spinster, which she demonstrated through her final major act of support on behalf of female students as Chairwoman of the Ad Hoc Women's Center Forum Committee.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Johnson, interview.

¹⁶² Olson, "Twenty-Four Years of Policing," 53.

¹⁶³ "History of the Residence Hall Program: 1954-1973," University of California, Santa Barbara Office of the Dean of Student Residents, August, 1973, HRS, UCSB SRC.

¹⁶⁴ "Woman's Place... is in the World," Women's Center Collection, UCSB SRC.

The rise of the feminist movement and decrease of women's only spaces led a group of UCSB students, faculty, and staff to demand a women's center. After 1970, the students had a new national and campus climate to navigate, including coed residence halls, and female students sought an inclusive space to collaborate in. The Women's Center became a place to meet, discuss women's issues, and put on programs to "provide personal support and joint advocacy of the advancement of women" at UCSB.¹⁶⁵ The tenor of the exchange of sexual information changed as public dialogue increased. Stories about sexual assault began to make headlines in the news when women began to share and define their experiences with each other.

Stories about sexual assault became more public and prevalent at the same time the number of incidents increased. A disillusioned twenty-year old student was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* explaining to a UCSB superintendent of housing services how unsafe Isla Vista felt in fall 1970, and not just because of the riots. "Three of my girl friends were raped last year. Well, one of them escaped, but she had finger marks all over her throat. One got pregnant from it, and had to have an abortion," she explained more matter of factly than her UCSBC predecessors would have.¹⁶⁶ Her experiences and the candid nature of her discussions of them reflected the darker side of sexual experience at UCSB. The article quotes could have been repeated any year since and reflect the lack of progress UCSB, law enforcement, and students themselves have made in deterring assault. In 1977, UCSB had the highest percentage of

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Dial Torgerson, "Where Santa Barbara Keeps the Kids: Isla Vista, City of Youth Tries to Survive," *Los Angeles Times*, October 11, 1970.

reported rapes of any UC Campus.¹⁶⁷ The statistics reflected a national surge of rapes and reporting of them but student rape at UCSB did not begin in the 1970s.

Even before its inception as a UC campus, UCSBs antecedents developed an environment that normalized sexual crimes and failed to put female students' best interests first. Out of institutional self-interest it protected its reputation by claiming to be a safe place for women by putting policies in place, like strict alcohol and chaperone requirements, ostensibly to protect them from ill repute. However, the university's failure to fully implement those policies and student peer pressure to disregard them absolved the university from responsibility when women were taken advantage of. Panhellenic sororities were quintessential communities within the university which replicated and magnified the conundrum.

A solely celebratory history of UCSB is incomplete and deprives contemporary students of a narrative rich in controversy and lessons about systemic failures, which otherwise might inspire students and administrators to reevaluate their current standards and expectations. Announcements of sexual assaults on campus or in the surrounding area have become normalized at UCSB. If one is reported to the Sheriff, UC Police Department, or "campus authorities," anyone who cares to sign up for an email service receives a "timely warning" of the event, an odd moniker for the recap of a crime. The frequency of these emails at first shocks and upsets students, then becomes commonplace, hardly worth mentioning, except in the case the location is identified as a fraternity house, although never more specific. Prior to the 1970s, date rape and sexual assault were unremarked upon and lacked common conceptualization; today, they are blasted out to the public, but have once again lost shock value and consistent public

¹⁶⁷ Olson, "Twenty-Four Years of Policing," 200.

discourse. Since 2017 began, there have been two reports each of sexual battery and sexual assault or rape in Isla Vista and three of sexual offense. Those reported crimes are a fraction of the occurrences. What will future scholars remark about women's experience on college campuses in the early twenty-first century? For all their awareness about prevalence and risks of sexual assault, women are still debating the responsibilities they hold themselves and the university to, for creating as safe an environment as possible.

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