

How Did the Women's Liberation Movement Emerge From
The Sixties Student Movements: The Case of Simon Fraser University
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In 1967, women members of the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), a national organization dedicated to peace and social justice, published a paper titled "Sisters, Brothers, Lovers, Listen..." denouncing the "male chauvinists" who dominated the student movement. "Embodied in all the things we stand for, are concerned with, and work for, as the New Left," they argued, "is this concept we talk about as the liberation of human beings, a liberation that would enable us to develop the full potential that human kind may have. It is the concept behind our rhetoric on the black people of the U.S., the Vietnamese, the Canadian Indians, the developing Third World and the poor and middle classes." This liberation, they believed, must also be understood "in relation to women, the most exploited members of *any* society," or the movement would be "voicing political lies." Concerned with the roles they played within the organization, SUPA women declared that they would be "the typers of letters and distributors of leaflets (hewers of wood and drawers of water) no longer. We are recognizing our own existential position and know the exploitations that affect us." After this rousing declaration, these movement women affirmed their readiness for revolutionary action (see Document 2).

This paper, according to feminist activist Judy Rebick, was eagerly distributed among women active in the student movements; it called attention to important grievances and identified a common dissatisfaction with the position of women in student organizations.ⁱ Becoming aware of these shared experiences and concerns, female students began to organize, and, in the years following the publication of this article, women's liberation groups emerged on university campuses throughout the country.ⁱⁱ Although this process occurred on a national and international level, the focus of this article is on the development and evolution of the Women's Liberation Movement in Vancouver, particularly the women who moved from the student movement at Simon Fraser University into off-campus women's liberation organizations.ⁱⁱⁱ I argue that politically active female students at this university, discovering common frustrations with their positions in the student organizations, increasingly acknowledged and prioritized their identity as women, rather than their identity as students, and began to agitate to end their oppression in society. Demanding the liberation of women, and organized around a shared gendered identity, these female students created autonomous groups that attracted the support of women both on- and off-campus. Thus, the Women's Liberation Movement in Vancouver emerged in part from the student movements at Simon Fraser University as women students increasingly prioritized a particular identity and developed alliances with others who shared this gendered consciousness.

According to Stuart Hall, drawing upon the work of Antonio Gramsci, each individual is comprised of a number of 'selves' or identities. Such identities are never unified but are fragmented and fractured, variously "constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions." They are rooted in

particular historical moments, constantly shifting and changing, and must be examined as discourses produced in specific historical and institutional sites.^{iv} For Hall, in particular historical moments groups will form around some shared characteristic or position, despite other divisions such as class, gender, or race. This results from a process he refers to as “articulation,” “the complex set of historical practices by which we struggle to produce identity or structural unity out of, on top of, complexity, difference, contradiction.”^v In the late 1960s and early 1970s, many women who had been involved in campus politics, while comprised of a variety of identities and ‘selves’, were able to ally, at least temporarily, under the banner of a common gendered identity, creating a social movement rooted in a collective commitment to women’s liberation

In Canada, scholarship on the women’s movement has, in large part, focused on the development of different forms of feminist action within the overall women’s movement. It is argued that so-called second wave feminism began in Canada in 1960 with the establishment of the Voice of Women, followed by the creation of the Fédération des femmes du Québec and the Association féminine d’éducation et d’action sociale in Quebec in 1966.^{vi} During the period that followed, according to some scholars, two distinct, though often connected, types of women’s groups emerged, both demanding improved conditions for women in society. The first group, referred to as liberal-feminist, pressured the government to take action to improve the status of women and, scholars argue, was often similar in membership, structure, and beliefs to the women’s organizations of the first wave of feminism.^{vii} Women involved in these liberal groups, including the Voice of Women,^{viii} believed that they, as wives and mothers, had an important role to play in creating a world free from violence, war, and oppression. They also believed that reform through government action was the means by which women could achieve the equality necessary to change society.^{ix}

The second group, who referred to themselves as “women liberationists” to distinguish their more radical politics from the liberal feminists,^x largely rejected the efficacy of parliamentary politics and established more radical extra-parliamentary organizations (see Document 15). Comprised especially of younger women with a significant commitment to an economic, class-oriented analysis, these women’s liberationists initiated a process whereby women could discuss their common problems and concerns, raising awareness regarding their common identity and shared oppression in society; this often took the form of small consciousness-raising groups.^{xi} The origins of this latter movement, most scholars agree, are located in the New Left and the student movements at Canadian universities in the Sixties.^{xii} However, while commentators generally recognize the frustrations of women involved in the student movement and the lessons learned from involvement in these movements, they do not acknowledge the important shifts in identity that transpired, leading to the creation of a relatively unified social movement in the late Sixties.^{xiii} The Women’s Liberation Movement was created when women allied together through a shared emphasis on their oppression as women.

Recent historical studies have challenged this traditional narrative of feminist movements. Works by Mary-Jo Nadeau and Benita Roth, for example, argue that experiences differed tremendously among women of diverse racial and ethnic

backgrounds and that the origins of the women's movement can be located in different historical moments if the stories of such women are included in the wider history.^{xiv} While it is important to keep this qualification in mind and acknowledge the fact that the social relations of class, race, and ethnicity continued to divide women, this study focuses on the women active in the student movements at Simon Fraser University and in the Vancouver Women's Caucus. Based on the realities of higher education in Canada during the Sixties, and the relatively small proportion of ethnic and racial minorities in attendance at Canadian universities at the time, this is primarily the story of white, middle-class, and young women. It is based upon archival and newspaper research undertaken at the Simon Fraser University Archives and supplemented by oral histories with a number of former activist women students. I do not, therefore, purport to tell the complete history of the women's movement during this period; I hope to gain insight into how the Women's Liberation Movement in Vancouver emerged from the experiences and frustrations of women involved in the student movements at Simon Fraser University.

Simon Fraser University (SFU) offers an interesting case study. It is generally considered the most radical university in Canada during the Sixties, as a number of crises and conflicts rocked the institution.^{xv} Located in Burnaby, British Columbia, a suburb of Vancouver, SFU was created in response to the dramatic expansion of postsecondary education in the 1960s. Opened in the fall of 1965, after only eighteen months of planning, this so-called "instant university" aimed to provide a different type of education than that available at other universities, offering graduate and undergraduate instruction based on a liberal arts model that stressed interdisciplinarity and available year-round through the trimester system. Like other universities created during this period of expansion, SFU was initially staffed largely by British and American scholars, a number of whom were recent graduates themselves; many of these original staff members welcomed the opportunity to develop a new university and provide unique educational perspectives. As well, Simon Fraser University was located on the top of Burnaby Mountain, isolated from the surrounding community and organized around a revolutionary architectural design.^{xvi} These factors, combined with the general temper of the period, led to the development of a radical student movement on campus.

Spearheaded for the most part by the Students for a Democratic University (SDU), the student movement at Simon Fraser University challenged the traditional structures within the university. Its leaders demanded the democratization of the university, promoting participatory democracy and encouraging the involvement of large numbers of students in the debates and confrontations on campus. As well, the leadership of SDU raised concerns about issues external to the university, generally revolving around racism, imperialism, and war.^{xvii} Throughout the Sixties, such concerns led to a number of confrontations at the university. In 1967, students protested the summary dismissal of five teaching assistants for their participation in an off-campus demonstration in support of free speech. The following year, in response to calls from faculty members for greater participation in university governing structures, student leaders demanded the complete democratization of the institution, including increased student involvement on decision-making bodies. In the fall of 1968, SDU leaders

organized a protest against what they believed were unfair admissions policies, demanding equal access to universities regardless of financial circumstances or political beliefs. This confrontation, during which student leaders occupied the Administration Building, led to the arrest of 114 students and divided the campus. Finally, in 1969, faculty members and students in the Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology (PSA) Department went on strike to defend the democratic governing structures and educational experimentations in that unit. In response, the university administration fired eight faculty members and ultimately dissolved the PSA Department.^{xviii} These conflicts kept Simon Fraser University in an almost continuous state of crisis for approximately three years, leading to its characterization as the most radical university in Canada during the Sixties.

Although female students supported and participated in these actions, it is clear that they were second-class citizens within the student movements at Simon Fraser University (see Document 1). Young women, entering universities in larger numbers than ever before, became actively involved in the movements for change that emerged during the Sixties. Yet, within these student-led organizations, women played a subordinate role to men, largely excluded from leadership positions and reduced to performing tedious tasks such as typing, photocopying, and food preparation. Leadership roles in the student movement were defined in masculine terms, favouring those who were articulate and assertive within the decision making process; women remained peripheral to the “ideological, strategic and policy decisions” (see Document 1). “Many of us were ‘involved’ in various radical or new left wing groups espousing social action, social change,” one woman explained,

and all of us involved had played our traditional passive roles as loving, but non-active, repressed conveniences, accepted our ‘proper places’ as posterers, secretaries, canvassers, etc., and denied our rightful places (active) as potential equal theoreticians, competent speakers, and capable organizers (see Document 3).

As Hugh Armstrong, former president of the national student organization, the Canadian Union of Students, summed up, “Men made the speeches; women made the coffee.”^{xix}

Nevertheless, the student movements provided activist women with much of the analysis and many of the skills required to critically examine their own inequality in Canadian society. Through their involvement in radical student politics, these young women absorbed the sociological, political, and economic analyses of the New Left, which were then successfully applied to their own oppression.^{xx} Emerging from a student movement radicalized by racism and imperialism and focused on the liberation of oppressed groups in society, the women’s movement came to believe that women were to be liberated in the same manner as minorities and colonial dependencies.^{xxi} According to Sara Evans’ research on the United States, in working within the movements for racial justice, these young women assimilated an ideology that described and condemned an oppression analogous to their own and developed a belief in human rights that was then used to justify their claims for equality.^{xxii} A similar process took place in Canada.

However, in Canada, and in Vancouver in particular, there existed a strong social democratic tradition and significant connections with early forms of women's activism; women in Vancouver were therefore also able to draw upon the lessons learned and the analyses developed through many years of leftist organizing and a long-standing women's movement. As well, women involved in the social movements of the period, and connected with these earlier traditions, developed many of the necessary tools to express these demands. They gained experience in political organizing and collective action and developed the self-respect required to challenge the male dominance of the student movements.^{xxiii}

As these women became increasingly aware of their subordinate positions within the student left at Simon Fraser University and began to recognize their own oppression, they demanded that the student movements address their concerns. However, they frequently, in the words of SFU activist Sharon Yandle, "came up against our male comrades."^{xxiv} The male leadership of the student movements was largely unwilling to accept the oppression of women as a valid political issue and continued to relegate women to inferior roles within the movement. For female activists, then, the student movement was failing to recognize a serious issue of inequality and injustice within society and was failing to practice the democratic rhetoric that was so frequently preached (see Document 2). "The rhetoric and the reality" were crucial, claimed one activist woman. "[H]ere you're preaching democracy and empowerment, and please scrub the floor."^{xxv}

Increasingly aware of their "exclusion from meaningful participation in the struggles on campus," the Feminine Action League was organized at SFU in 1968 (see Document 13). This group provided an opportunity for activist women to discuss their experiences and problems and identify a common frustration with their positions in the student movements. In doing so, it became clear to many women that, despite feelings of isolation, they faced similar problems associated with their oppression within society. Through this process, a sense of group solidarity and support emerged (see Document 4). Out of the anger and frustration of oppression came a sense of shared experience, of sisterhood.^{xxvi} This notion of sisterhood became central to the women's movement as many female students began to prioritize their identity as women over their identity as students.^{xxvii} As a result, they ceased their involvement in the student movements on campus.

Although the Feminine Action League existed for only a short time, dissolving as women's issues took second stage to the Admissions Crisis in the fall of 1968, in the wake of the arrests and the temporary retreat of student protest on campus, many female students again joined together and formed the Women's Caucus (see Document 13). By this time, a consensus had emerged for this group that the central issue for women was their oppression in society. Many of these activist women agreed that women's issues should take priority over all other concerns and that they must organize autonomously from the student movement on campus (see Document 5). The decision to organize independently from men remained a source of debate among these female students (see Document 11). However, many women came to believe that only through an

independent organization could their oppression in society be adequately addressed. Some argued that, as a relatively powerless group, women must develop autonomous organizations from men who, however unintentionally, could exercise control and determine the policies and tactics of any movement. Women, many believed, had to organize separately in order to develop the skills, self-confidence, and power to effectively mobilize for change (see Document 3). Also, they believed that women, like other oppressed groups, had to mobilize as a separate group to fight to end their oppression. As a Vancouver Women's Caucus pamphlet claimed, "We cannot rely on others to fight our battles. Women have special problems... All of us confront myths and discrimination *as* women. It is both possible and necessary for women to organize independently" (see Document 14). These women, then, increasingly prioritized their gendered identity and created autonomous organizations to struggle against their oppression in society.

Although this resulted in the retreat of many women from student politics, the prioritization of gender-based politics provided an opportunity to create alliances with women from a variety of economic, social, and political backgrounds. Female students joined with female faculty members such as Maggie Benston, Anne Roberts, and others to struggle against their inequality and oppression on campus. These faculty members were, at the same time as their students, developing political priorities rooted in their oppression as women and were organizing women's studies courses and programs within the university. Such courses and programs provided further impetus to the development of an autonomous women's movement by offering an analysis of oppression and uniting female students and female faculty members in a fight against their subjugation. However, these women also moved off-campus to ally with housewives and working women throughout the city of Vancouver. A movement was created that brought women together under the rubric of sisterhood. By the spring of 1969, the Women's Caucus began meeting off-campus, opening an office in downtown Vancouver in August of that year (see Document 13). In explaining the success of this move, Marcy Cohen and Jean Rands acknowledged that, "the common oppression of all women as women allowed us to quickly overcome the superficial differences in our experience" (see Document 6). "It was exhilarating for the original student members to discover that the links we were making with these women, many with backgrounds diverse from our own," exclaimed Marcy Toms, "were strong and real and that they were based on a common, social oppression" (see Document 8). In discovering a shared oppression and a common identity, female students from Simon Fraser University were able to form strong alliances with women throughout Vancouver and create an organization dedicated to the liberation of women in society.

With this focus, women's liberationists in Vancouver discussed the issues and strategies required for women to overcome their oppression in society. Along with debates over the structures and strategies of the Vancouver Women's Caucus itself (see Document 15 and Document 16) and the development of campaigns aimed at challenging the traditional myths about women and their place within both the capitalist system and the university (see Document 5, Document 7, and Document 12), women's liberationists in Vancouver also focused on a number of gender-specific issues (see Document 14).

Perhaps the most important of these issues revolved around a woman's right to control her own body and her reproductive functions. In order to challenge the traditional structure of society, which restricted women to the roles of wives and mothers and largely prevented them from pursuing careers or interests outside the home, it was felt that a woman must have the right to determine for herself if and when to have children; control over reproductive functions was seen as a prerequisite for control over their own lives (see Document 11). Thus, one of the first actions of the Women's Caucus was to provide birth control information for women at Simon Fraser University and throughout the city (see Document 13). Although the birth control pill was introduced to Canada in 1961, it remained illegal to provide information about and products for birth control until 1969.^{xxviii} Those involved in the Women's Caucus, despite the initial illegality of their actions, felt it was necessary to distribute information that would help women gain control over their own lives.

Through these efforts to increase access to birth control information, many involved in the Vancouver Women's Caucus (VWC) came to believe that their campaigns must also include free abortion on demand. Prior to 1969, abortion was illegal in Canada. When the law was changed that year, rather than making them completely legal, abortions were permitted only at accredited hospitals and only when approved by a therapeutic committee of four doctors for reasons associated with the woman's health.^{xxix} This situation was unacceptable for members of the VWC who believed that all women should have the right to decide for themselves whether or not to bear children. This was seen as an issue of basic human liberty; women must have the right to self-determination and autonomy.^{xxx} Placing responsibility for the thousands of deaths and mutilations that resulted each year from illegal abortions squarely on the federal and provincial governments, women's liberationists in Vancouver spearheaded a national campaign demanding changes to abortion laws (see Document 10).

As part of this campaign, members of the Vancouver Women's Caucus organized an abortion caravan that left Vancouver for Ottawa in April 1970. Traveling in three vehicles decorated with slogans such as "On To Ottawa," which was inspired by earlier leftist organizing in Canada, "Abortion is Our Right," and "Smash Capitalism," and carrying a coffin that symbolized the thousands of women who died each year as a result of illegal abortions (see Document 10),^{xxxi} the abortion caravan held meetings and protests in the cities and towns through which it passed on its way to Ottawa and attracted significant media attention everywhere it went.^{xxxii} The cavalcade finally arrived in Ottawa on Friday, May 8th and the following afternoon approximately 300 women and men marched on Parliament Hill and held a meeting inside the Parliament Buildings. When representatives of the federal government refused to meet with them, about 150 of the demonstrators moved their protest to the Prime Minister's residence and left a coffin at his doorstep. On the following Monday, while protests continued on Parliament Hill, thirty-six women entered the public galleries in the House of Commons and disrupted question period.^{xxxiii} When the sitting of the House was suspended and the order made to clear the galleries, a number of women chained themselves to their seats in tribute to the British suffragists who had done the same almost a century earlier.^{xxxiv} Although some women were detained and questioned, no arrests were made, and the protest ended

peacefully. For organizers, who remained focused on ending the oppression of women in society, this abortion campaign aimed to bring women together to fight for their right to control their own reproductive functions.

Along with these issues surrounding reproductive rights, women's liberationists also challenged the dehumanization of women as exemplified by beauty pageants (see Document 9). When Waterloo Lutheran University requested that the Simon Fraser Student Society (SFSS) enter a candidate in the Miss Canadian University pageant to be held at their 1970 Winter Carnival, the SFSS, in cooperation with the Women's Caucus, decided to enter a protest candidate who would "promote the philosophy of liberation of women and question the social relevance of beauty contests and queen contests in general."^{xxxv} Feeling that a boycott would not be as effective as a direct demonstration, the Vancouver Women's Caucus argued that:

To change the structures that make us second class citizens, we must challenge these roles on all levels. Rather than competing with one another as sexual objects, we must work with one another as human beings. Only women organized around their own needs have the power to liberate themselves (see Document 9).

The decision was thus made to send Women's Caucus member Janiel Jolley as a protest candidate to the pageant. Upon hearing that the Miss Simon Fraser University candidate was intending to protest the proceedings, however, the Winter Carnival organizers decided to disqualify her. Jolley did, nevertheless, speak at the pageant, decrying the dehumanization of women and their oppression by cosmetic and fashion corporations.^{xxxvi} At the same time, a protest candidate entered by the Toronto Women's Liberation Movement went through all of the motions required of a beauty pageant contestant, was chosen as a semi-finalist, and, when given the opportunity to speak, decried the entire pageant as "a meat market" which exploited women.^{xxxvii} This protest, then, challenged the traditional roles forced upon women in Canadian society and demanded the right to human dignity and equality.

Despite a growing tendency among radical women to prioritize their gendered identity and develop campaigns aimed at the liberation of women in society, fractures developed within the Vancouver Women's Caucus by the early 1970s. In actuality, as a number of scholars have pointed out, the Women's Liberation Movement was always a diverse movement.^{xxxviii} Following the abortion caravan, during which Vancouver women came into contact with the debates and divisions that split the movement in Toronto,^{xxxix} similar conflicts engulfed the Vancouver Women's Caucus. In June 1970 a conference was held to discuss further goals and tactics for the VWC. Despite arguments by a number of women involved in the League for Socialist Action (LSA) that the Women's Caucus focus on abortion and construct a single-issue campaign, the decision was made to follow a multiple-issue strategy. Later that summer, as the debate continued, members of the LSA were expelled from the Vancouver Women's Caucus (see Document 17). Those expelled, along with their supporters, then formed the Vancouver Women's Alliance.^{xl} Within a few years the VWC collapsed, although

women's groups in the city continued to organize and agitate.^{xli} It became clear, however, that a gendered identity could not necessarily overcome differences in political ideology and strategy.

This was also a period when many women began questioning the existing social constructions of gender, challenging the traditional myths about women (see Document 12). This, then, complicated attempts to create a common identity rooted in gender. As well, women from marginalized groups, including radical minorities, homosexuals, and the working class, complained that they were excluded from the Women's Liberation Movement, which was primarily dominated by white, middle-class, young women. Those marginalized women often prioritized other political issues over that of gender oppression, while simultaneously struggling to find their voices in the women's movement.^{xlii} Despite attempts to assert the commonalities among women, rooted in their shared oppression, the notion of sisterhood remained problematic. Nevertheless, large numbers of women continued to recognize a common identity and build alliances based on their shared sense of oppression and inequality. In fact, according to Naomi Black, the women's movement in Canada remained remarkably united, especially under the umbrella of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, which incorporated different elements of the women's movement into one organization. This continuing ability for women to cooperate, Black claims, is a unique feature of the Canadian women's movement.^{xliii} In Canada, despite continued divisions, a vast number of women from all walks of life came to recognize their common gendered identity and struggle in various ways for greater equality and opportunity.

In conclusion, this analysis of the emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement in Vancouver, with a special emphasis on the student movement at Simon Fraser University, illustrates the importance of a common and unifying identity in the development of social movements. Many women who had been active in the student movements at SFU began to recognize their subordinate status within these movements and to demand recognition of their oppression within society. They increasingly prioritized their identity as women over their identity as students and, as such, were able to form alliances with other women both within the university and throughout the city of Vancouver. In forming such alliances, rooted in particular political priorities, they focused on issues of central importance to women, including reproductive rights and the dehumanization of women through beauty pageants. This gendered identity, however, was never all-encompassing; women continued to negotiate differences in ideology and identity, fracturing and dividing over certain issues, strategies, and conceptions of self. Yet, despite these differences, a widespread recognition of a shared oppression as women assisted in the development of common political ideologies and contributed to the development of a broad-based movement which continued long past the end of the 1960s. This case study, then, demonstrates how identity, though tenuous, can become a unifying force, contributing to the development of a strong and influential social movement.

ⁱ Judy Rebick, *Ten Thousand Roses: The Making of a Feminist Revolution* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2005), 8.

ⁱⁱ Rebick, 8.

ⁱⁱⁱ It is important to note that a similar transition from student politics to women's liberation was occurring at other Canadian universities during this same period, including at the University of British Columbia (UBC) in Vancouver. Many of the women at UBC also became active in the Vancouver Women's Caucus and other women's liberation organizations in Vancouver. The focus of this article, however, is on the experiences of politically active female students at Simon Fraser University.

^{iv} Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?" in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996), 4.

^v Lawrence Grossberg, "History, Politics and Postmodernism: Stuart Hall and Cultural Studies," in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, eds. David Morley & Kuan-Hsing Chen (London: Routledge, 1996), 154.

^{vi} Naomi Black, "The Canadian Women's Movement: The Second Wave," in *Changing Patterns: Women in Canada*, eds. Sandra Burt, Lorraine Code, & Lindsay Dorney (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993), 154-155.

^{vii} Black, 154.

^{viii} Voice of Women was organized in Toronto in 1960 in response to the anxiety and fear surrounding the threat of nuclear warfare. Those involved believed that women, as wives and mothers, must work to protect their children by fighting for peace and security. Very quickly branches of the organization emerged throughout Canada and became actively involved in a number of different campaigns to bring issues of war and peace to the forefront of political discourse. Such actions included letter-writing campaigns, knitting campaigns for Vietnamese children, direct action protests at weapons testing facilities, and Strontium-90 testing on their children's teeth. See, Kay Macpherson & Meg Sears, "The Voice of Women: A History," in *Women in the Canadian Mosaic*, ed. Gwen Matheson (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1976), 71-89 and Kay Macpherson, *When in Doubt, Do Both: The Times of My Life* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

^{ix} Macpherson & Sears, 71-89 and Macpherson. Frances Early, on the other hand, argues that Voice of Women was not a liberal feminist organization, but rather a new form of feminist politics. See, Frances Early, "'A Grandly Subversive Time': The Halifax Branch of the Voice of Women in the 1960s," in *Mothers of the Municipality: Women, Work, and Social Policy in Post-1945 Halifax*, eds. Judith Fingard and Janet Guildford (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 253-280.

^x Varda Burstyn, "The Waffle and the Women's Movement," *Studies in Political Economy* Vol.33 (Autumn 1990), 176.

^{xi} Black, 154. See also, Sharon Yandle, Interview with the author, 13 February 2006.

^{xii} See, Black, 160-164; Rebick, xii & 7-8; and Jill Vickers, "The Intellectual Origins of the Women's Movements in Canada," in *Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States*, eds. Constance Backhouse & David H. Flaherty (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 39-60. For a similar argument regarding the origins of the American Women's Liberation Movement, see, Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979); Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam Books, 1987), 362-376; and Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c.1958-c.1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 679-684.

^{xiii} An interesting study that acknowledges the centrality of identity to the development of the Women's Liberation Movement is Katy Reade's work on the women's movement in Australia. See, Katy Reade, "Recognizing and Constructing an Identity: The Beginnings of the Women's Liberation Movement in Melbourne," *Melbourne Historical Journal* No.24 (1996), 26-48.

^{xiv} See, Mary-Jo Nadeau, "Who is Canadian Now?: Feminism and the Politics of Nation after September 11," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, Fifth Edition, eds. Mona Gleason & Adele Perry (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2006), 381-393 and Benita Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicano, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

^{xv} See, Doug Owsram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Hugh Johnston, *Radical Campus: Making Simon Fraser University* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2005); and Dionysios Rossi, "Mountaintop Mayhem: Simon Fraser University 1965-1971," MA Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2003.

^{xvi} See, Johnston & Rossi.

^{xvii} See, Simon Fraser University Archives, F-79 The Simon Fraser University Faculty Association Fonds, File F-79-3-4-1 "CAUT censure of SFU, 1967-69." "A Programme of Action for SFU," [1968].

^{xviii} See, Johnston & Rossi.

^{xix} Hugh Armstrong, Interview with the author, 7 March 2006.

^{xx} John Cleveland, Interview with the author, 11 February 2006.

^{xxi} Black, 151.

^{xxii} Evans, 25.

^{xxiii} Evans, 25 & 212. See also, John Cleveland, Interview with the author, 11 February 2006.

^{xxiv} Sharon Yandle, Interview with the author, 13 February 2006.

^{xxv} Pat Armstrong, Interview with the author, 7 March 2006.

^{xxvi} Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin & Margaret McPhail, *Feminist Organizing For Change: The Contemporary Women's Movement in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988), 61.

^{xxvii} For an interesting analysis of this notion of sisterhood see, Katy Read, "Recognising and Constructing an Identity: The Beginnings of the Women's Liberation Movement in Melbourne," *Melbourne Historical Journal* 24 (1996), 26-48. Read argues that women involved in the women's movement felt an intense need to assert their commonalities. However, she also emphasizes that this notion of sisterhood was not unproblematic; the need to assert commonalities often overlooked the importance and centrality of differences in women's lives and politics.

^{xxviii} Francis Wasserlein, "'An Arrow Aimed at the Heart': The Vancouver Women's Caucus and the Abortion Campaign 1969-1971," MA Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1990, 18 & 23

^{xxix} Rebick, 36.

^{xxx} M.L. Benston, "Women's Caucus on abortion," *The Peak* 25 September 1968, 16.

^{xxx}_i See also, Wasserlein, 88.

^{xxx}_{ii} See Wasserlein, 81 and Rebick, 36.

^{xxx}_{iii} Wasserlein, 104.

^{xxx}_{iv} Rebick, 36.

^{xxx}_v Simon Fraser University Archives, F-74 Simon Fraser Student Society Fonds, File F-74-3-2-28 “Norm Wickstrom – Correspondence (In), Jan.-Mar. 1970.” Letter To Whom It May Concern, January 23, 1970.

^{xxx}_{vi} “Janiel Jolley Shows ‘em the way,” *The Peak*, 4 February 1970, 1.

^{xxx}_{vii} Rebick, 11.

^{xxx}_{viii} See, Adamson *et al*, 7 and Barbara Ryan, “Ideological Purity and Feminism: The U.S. Women’s Movement from 1966 to 1975,” *Gender and Society* Vol.3, No.2 (June 1989), 239-257.

^{xxx}_{ix} In Toronto, divisions emerged within the women’s movement almost from the beginning. In 1969, a number of women left the Toronto Women’s Liberation Movement (TWLM) and founded the New Feminists, one of the first examples of what has been referred to as the radical feminist tradition. These women focused on the primacy of gender, rather than class, as a basis for oppression. Another split took place in 1970 as two groups of women withdrew from the TWLM, to focus on third world issues and abortion respectively. See, Black, 165-166; Adamson *et al*, 49; and Rebick, 36.

^x_i Adamson *et al*, 49.

^x_{ii} Wasserlein, 113.

^x_{iii} Black, 155.

^x_{iiii} Black, 168.