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Interview with Susan Josephs

by Mary Margaret Fonow

Susan L. Josephs is an Associate Professor of Labor Education and Research Service and has been a member of The Ohio State University faculty since 1978. Labor Education and Research Service's course offerings and research focus on a broad range of topics within the field of industrial and labor relations, including contract negotiations, labor management cooperation, collective bargaining law, health and safety issues, and civil rights. She maintains a special teaching and research interest in the needs and experiences of women. Sue has conducted programs on pay equity, sexual harassment, equal opportunity law, women's labor history, child care, and reentry women. Her research interests include women and nontraditional jobs, union joining characteristics, and the assessment of women's social and employment needs. In addition, this past fall Sue served as

the co-chair of the Ohio Women's Empowerment Conference.

Are unions important to women workers?

Employees of any kind need a collective channel to voice their concerns, whether it is a union, as such, or not. In fact, it may even be more important for women than for men to have collective representation. For instance, the pay gap between a union job and a nonunion job is greater for women than for men. A woman holding a union job can expect to earn on the average 30% more than her nonunion sister. It is also harder for a union employer to practice sex discrimination since hiring, promotion, pay rates, disciplinary procedures, and firing are specified in a legally binding contract. In addition, any

violation of a worker's civil rights can be taken through the grievance procedure where you have the benefit of an experienced representative. I would even argue that this is a more expeditious and effective way than solely going through the courts or the Civil Rights Commission. Under the legal duty of fair representation, unions have an obligation to represent workers when their civil rights have been violated. Unions don't have a choice about the matter: it is their legal obligation.

Don't we usually view unions as a male domain?

There is this persistent stereotype of the unionist as a cigar smoking man that is partially rooted in history. Unions had their origins in the crafts – occupations that were totally dominated by men. The significance of the union card was mobility. The worker was free to move from job to job and from city to city seeking better wages and working conditions. Holding a union card meant you could bargain for your services and thus guarantee yourself a living. While women did much of this same type of labor in the home, they didn't have the mobility to shop around for a better deal. Paid labor and the struggles of paid labor came to be seen as male.

An early goal of the labor movement was the family wage, i.e., pay the working man a wage high enough to support a family so that his wife didn't have to work. The early forms of trade union activity emphasized organizing men into unions and women into auxiliary support groups. However, the grim economic reality facing many immigrant workers often meant that whole families had to work for wages. Therefore the labor movement shifted to a strategy of protectionism of women in the workplace and to organizing them so as not to undermine the struggles of men.

Women's participation in unions parallels their participation in the paid labor force. With greater numbers came greater collective strength in the workplace. World War II raised women's expectations and aspirations and thus opened up the possibility of change. Spurred on by the second wave of the women's movement, working women began to challenge



Photo by Joan Barker

organized labor to meet the needs and concerns of women, at work and within the unions. They formed their own women's organizations such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and 9 to 5, and demanded that organized labor take political action on behalf of women's issues like day care, maternity and parental leave, flextime, pay equity, and the ERA.

So even though we associate unions with men, there has always been a women's labor history. Whenever women as workers were in a situation that was oppressive there was an accompanying long and continuous history of struggle by women workers against that oppression. Women often showed a more militant capacity than men. Today the heroes of the labor movement are women – Crystal Lee Sutton (Norma Rae) and Karen Silkwood.

Is organized labor responding to women?

The labor movement has moved away from viewing the entry of women in the labor market as a nuisance or intrusion, to viewing it as an opportunity. In order to survive in the contemporary period unions must meet a need. To be effective, unions must have both numbers and the consensus of members. This provides the motivation to look for the support of women workers. The decline of manufacturing and the expansion of service and public sector jobs have altered the balance

of power within organized labor. In the settings where work is done by women, unions must appeal to women's interests. I'm optimistic that women can have an impact within the labor movement. Women joining unions will help to form new ideas of what unionism is all about. This will be good for labor.

How did you get interested in working with women in unions?

I grew up in England where unions are more accepted institutions. In college I was a history and English major. After graduation I took a job as a features reporter covering the local squire and drinking too many gin and tonics. Bored with that, I took a freelance job writing the history of a retail cooperative society which had strong ties to the labor movement. I became interested in industrial relations and decided to go to graduate school at the University of Warwick to study labor relations. I had no idea I would emigrate, but the longer I stayed the more I realized the opportunities for a single professional woman were better here than in England.

Do you consider yourself a feminist?

I consider myself to be a feminist, but I am not in any particular political or theoretical camp. To me feminism works on two levels, the individual and the global. On the individual level, feminism provides me with a sense of empowerment that is rooted in the right not to be restricted because of my gender. Growing up I felt very keenly the restrictions of being female. I was encouraged, for instance, to learn "useful" skills such as knitting and sewing . . . something in which I had no interest and certainly no ability! On a more global level, feminism means changing our society towards a non gender biased one.

How does your feminism affect your work with women in unions?

I still see unions as institutions located on the frontier of change. They are in a central position to challenge inequality and injustice

in society and to women. I try to encourage my students to think in ways that will harness the potential of unions to create a more just society.

Sue, you are in much demand as a public speaker, including in Women's Studies courses. What accounts for your popularity as a speaker?

I love words and I like to shake people up. In most of my teaching I am dealing with the conditions under which people work and live. The issues are very real and my teaching style has to be accessible. I like speaking to Women's Studies classes because it puts me in touch with the younger generation of students - their attitudes towards work and towards unions. It helps me to understand what we have to deal with, and besides - I can always get out in a hurry.

What can feminists learn from working class women?

Feminists in the academy have an overt consciousness about the issues and problems important to working class women, but very little contact with them - and that's a pity for both groups. If the women's movement is to succeed, it must be able to break through the barriers of race and class. Once feminists make connection they will find a lot more support and awareness for women's studies than they think. The women out there are thirsty for information. They are struggling to make ends meet, struggling in a male dominated work world, struggling within their families and with institutions that are not responsive. Feminists can provide the information that they need, a way to piece things together, a way to understand being a woman in the modern world. To be unable to make this connection is to misunderstand the basic point of feminism in the first place. If the essence of feminism is to change the world, the way it functions and the way it sees itself, then I think you have to be in the world to change it.

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A Woman's Place Is In The Home – Or Working In Someone Else's: Blue-Collar Men Talk About Housework

by J.J. Micks

This article will examine attitudes about the household division of labor among blue-collar men under thirty years of age. Because the majority of men interviewed held similar opinions, my research soon began to take on a new focus: the examination of the justifications given for these opinions. All of the men believed that a mother should be the primary care-giver for her children, that women living with men should perform the majority of household labor tasks in addition to the child-rearing, and that any housekeeping or nanny employees of the family should also be female. The reasons they gave for these opinions were even more interesting than the opinions themselves, ranging from genetic, biological determinist explanations of competence to homophobic fears of any male who would willingly perform such tasks. I believe that the justifications given by men for these attitudes are important because they are the bottomline support arguments for those who wish to perpetuate strict gender roles as they exist in our society today. If people, and especially men, can argue convincingly that women are biologically programmed to wash dishes and change diapers, and that having a uterus makes one content to perform menial, repetitive chores, then they can continue to equate masculinity with powerful outside-the-home jobs that have little to do with the family other than providing money to support it. If, however, the justifications can be shown to be faulty, then masculine and feminine sex roles as they currently exist will also be shown to be faulty, and may become easier to eradicate.

I interviewed five men, all blue-collar workers under 30. I chose this group because I believe it is one that feminists have not reached or often addressed in the past. Men have power over women – economic, physical and coercive power – especially in the area of housework and the home. Many women live with, and are under the control of, the men in

their family, and although these men are precisely the ones who would lose the most if women threw off their chains, it is, as long as patriarchy exists, the attitudes of those men that make the most difference in the lives of women.

Here is a little background information on my interview subjects. Mike is a truckdriver, working part-time on a degree in finance. Jesse is also a truckdriver, employed in a civil service position. Matt installs air conditioners, J.R. is an electrician in a hospital, and David, just graduated from high school, mows lawns while he waits to join the Navy. Jesse is married, with four sons. Matt is divorced, with one daughter he sees irregularly. J.R. is single and lives platonically with a female roommate – both have lovers. David has never been married and has no steady girlfriend. Mike is married – to me – with no children. (David is also my brother.)

I asked questions about many topics concerning housework and gender, and devised groups of questions for different marital statuses and living situations. The most obvious source of bias, of course, would be the fact that two of the subjects are very closely related to me – my husband and my brother. However, I believe I can vindicate myself here in a way I did not anticipate before the interviews: Mike's opinions were the most conservative by far of any I received, and David's by far the most egalitarian – the two extremes almost cancel each other out. Although I will use quotations from both of them, I realized while collecting the data that neither one of them seemed to belong to the norm, and that the other three men's views were more representative of a majority. If any bias was present because of my close relationship to either man, it may have been in favor of validity of data, as I felt more comfortable with them than the other men and was able to question them further and more aggressively and they answered more freely

and at more length.

All of the men I interviewed believed that women should perform the majority of household work and child-raising tasks. Comments concerning assigning the housework to women included: "It's a built-in trait," "It's always been that way. Women haven't worked out of the home until the last fifty years," "They do a better job of it," and even, "They're more suited to it. Women have always had to do more menial things than men. They've never had to use their minds as much." Mike told me, "A man could do it much better if he wanted to spend his time doing it, but men are the main breadwinners and have the right to be treated a little better. Men should have more leisure time." Only one man, the youngest, stated that women were better at housework and childcare because they had been trained from childhood to do it. "Anything you're taught to do you're going to be better at than somebody who doesn't have any experience at it."

The men were even more adamant about childcare being performed by females, especially mothers. When asked what the ideal child-raising situation would be, all five men said they would rather have one parent able to be with the child while it was young, rather than a nanny or babysitter. David, again a loner, said, "It wouldn't necessarily have to be the same parent all the time," and suggested that they could split up the work week in some way, and Matt said that, "Once they're older, they're okay," but none of the men saw staying at home with their own young child as ideal, even if they were financially independent. Mike told me, "My time should be spent more productively. I know how it sounds – what could be more productive than raising a child the right way, but someone has to go out there and make the living so that the child can live, and I prefer someone else doing the lowly job of raising the child – Somehow I see your time as being less important than mine, and if you didn't want to do it, we'd have to hire a nanny."

Four men believed that a mother was the best person to care for a child, and all of those

surveyed said that if neither parent could do it, a female substitute should be employed. Two men justified this exclusive mother-care with talk of "maternal instincts," as if these were abilities and knowledge, scientifically tested and proven to exist and which all mothers possessed. Jesse told me he was sure I'd be a good mother even though I have no experience with children at all, because "it comes natural." J.R. talked about breastfeeding, as did Mike, and the bond that develops between a mother and child because of it: "She can sense when there's something wrong with that child, and that child knows her just by her smell, her touch, her voice – she'll give that child better care than anybody else in the world." I tried to present a picture of a male and a female parent, equally experienced, but was still told that those "maternal instincts" make all the difference: "All factors being equal, the woman would be better – it's in their genes – they're more giving, compassionate, understanding, all those things you need to deal with a baby." Another used words remarkably similar: "Over the millennium, it's soaked into their chromosomes." Matt said that if his wife had not been able to take care of their daughter before she was old enough for school, "she would've had to go to daycare – I wouldn't want to stay home with her. They cry too much."

All five men agreed with gusto that if they could find and afford a reliable housekeeper or maid, they would have one. All five also said that they would prefer this person be female. When I asked why, Mike told me it would be hard to find a male one, and that a female would do a better job because she cleans her own house "and knows where the dirt is." Matt said, "I wouldn't want a guy walking around my house. I couldn't see hiring a guy – I'd be afraid he was gay." David said he too would hire a female, "just because I'd feel more comfortable – I know it sounds foolish, but I'd feel threatened having a man in my home, like he was invading my privacy or territory." J.R. said he wouldn't respect any man who cleaned other men's houses for a living. When I brought up the possibility of male babysitters or nannies,

opinions were even stronger: "I wouldn't want no guy watching my daughter. I wouldn't trust him. The world's full of wackos." No matter how much I stressed that we were presupposing the nanny's reliability, none of the men interviewed could conceive of a male nanny without ulterior motives, especially when female children were involved. "It goes against nature," Jesse told me. Certainly the men's comments reflect both the homophobia and the strict adherence to sexist gender roles prescribed in our culture.

Four of the men said that they would be the ones hiring these female employees, even if they had a wife, and even though they had told me women knew more about cleaning and childcare. "I'm picky and I'd be the one paying for it," said one. "I have a much better business sense," said another. "I could make a better choice because I have more experience dealing with laborers and service personnel – I know how to deal with those types." Only one said he would "let" his wife hire the maid or nanny: "I'm kind of shy around strangers. I'd want her to do the interviewing – if she wanted help with a final opinion, I would give her my opinion."

I ventured the idea to three of the men that perhaps the real reason they wanted to do the hiring was the feeling of power they'd have in selecting a new female member of their household from a room full of applicants, or perhaps that in this way they could assure themselves that they got an attractive maid or nanny. All three admitted that even though a pretty maid who didn't do the work wouldn't keep the job, she would probably be the first hired. "She'd be a 10," one told me. "It would be amusing watching her clean my house. Why would I hire an eyesore to come into my house?" Another said he'd "certainly prefer her to be beautiful, young, Swedish, blond, bubbly – if you're going to have a maid, she might as well be pleasing to look at." The last said, "Even if she was an excellent worker, I wouldn't want anybody who'd scare the kids!"

C. Wright Mills, in The Sociological Imagination, explains that individual lives and the events of world history interrelate in ways

that continually affect and re-affect and cause changes in each other.

Seldom aware of the intricate connections between the patterns of their own lives and the course of world history, ordinary men do not usually know what this connection means for the kinds of men they are becoming and for the kinds of history-making in which they might take part. They do not possess the quality of mind essential to grasp the interplay of man and society, of biography and history, of self and world. (Mills, 1959)

According to Mills, the five men I interviewed may or may not know that their views about the division of labor are products of their own upbringings, educations, and socializations – they seem to prefer to think they are voicing obvious tenets of nature.

Another factor influencing blue-collar attitudes can be attributed to the rising visibility of the gay male and lesbian populations in the last ten years. The increased visibility has had both negative and positive effects on the views of heterosexual men concerning sex roles. For some men, like David, the exposure to different sexual preferences and lifestyles has come at an age when his own opinions are still forming and the new options are easily incorporated into his set of viable choices for men and women. David has also had an experience that is becoming more and more common as the gay community becomes more visible – a close relative told him she is a lesbian. He now has realized that gay men and lesbians can be and are productive members of society, and often may be people he loves and respects. However, the media attention to AIDS has made homophobia even stronger among some men, making them strive even harder to preserve gender roles as they exist. They are even less tolerant of any supposedly inappropriate behavior, such as a male trying to gain employment as a babysitter. Their reactionary conservatism may even have played a part in the recent Supreme Court ruling supporting Georgia's outlawing of

sodomy, a historic event which will certainly affect many individual lives, especially with increasing numbers of people with AIDS trying to gain government help to cover hospitalization costs.

Finally, it is important to look at the relationships between individual lives and the American economy. Since 1976 the Consumer Price Index, a measure of the general level of prices of goods and services for the average urban consumer, has risen over 75% (Gitman, 1984). Over the same period of time, the American minimum wage for hourly labor has risen from \$2.30 per hour to \$3.35, a rise of only 46% – and although there were increases every year between 1978 and 1981, there has been no increase at all since the minimum was set at \$3.35 in 1981. Inflation, however, did not stand still from 1981-86. What this has meant for American families is a reduced standard of living. Economists have said that those Americans 25 years of age and under today will be the first generation of Americans not to meet the financial level of their parents. America's middle-class is shrinking and the poorer class is growing. To avoid a drop in the standard of living, American families are increasingly sending a second worker, the wife, into the workplace.

Because of this single factor, a whole series of events has come into play. Young children who might otherwise have been cared for by a mother at home now are cared for by daycare centers or neighbors, seldom a family member because of the increased dispersment of relatives. This adds to the family's bills, making what the second worker brings home even less. However, it does create more available "female" jobs. The women who take these jobs may find themselves doing the same job for pay that they cannot afford to do for their own children.

Women working for wages has also meant a longer work week for women, since men are

not picking up the slack at home, no matter how many children there are or how young the youngest one is (Hartmann, 1984). Women are becoming exhausted and resentful and questioning whether or not the whole system should be chucked out the window. Increased female participation in the job market has also meant a generalized stiffening of competition for jobs. Men, especially heterosexual men who are the single workers in their families, see this as a threat to their job security and do their best to keep strict pink collar limitations on jobs – unions are doing this effectively (and undoing the good of affirmative action legislation) with their "last hired, first fired" rules concerning lay-offs. But husbands who still can't afford essential consumer goods after working hard and living frugally may have an inkling of how a society's gender role restrictions ultimately hurt both sexes. The narrow pink collar options that are left to women hurt not only their individual earning power, but also their families' standard of living. Obviously, the ideology of sex roles is based on unexamined assumptions which do not survive close scrutiny. Perhaps an examination of these assumptions will open the options for both sexes.

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- J.J. Micks is an undergraduate student at the University of Arizona.*

Working Girls – A Cleveland Premiere

by Gabriele Weinberger

From March 27 through April 12 the 11th Annual Cleveland International Film Festival took place, with events at the Cedar Lee Theatre, the Ohio Theatre, Case Western Reserve University, and the Cleveland Cinematheque. The exhibition festival featured 112 films from 21 countries, covering the whole range from independent American short films, to documentary films, to award winning foreign productions and a series of contemporary Soviet films. The programming reflected the attempt to satisfy everyone's taste in a growing audience, from the traditional to avant-garde.

As a festival visitor I was struck by a particularly sexist piece of advertising. The front of the printed programs displayed a woman with neon colored spiked hair, who had two fluorescent green film reels in the place of her breasts. Before every feature film shown in the festival, the audience had the questionable pleasure of viewing an animated version of the same scene with laserbeams shooting out of the woman's eyes, proudly presented by a company called 'Creative Products, Inc.'

I was relieved to find that the quality of this trailer was not indicative of the whole event. In fact the founder and festival director, Jonathan Forman, offered a representative selection of recent film productions, including such works as A Virus Knows No Morals, a satiric film about AIDS by the gay German director Rosa von Praunheim, and numerous films by women and other minority directors from different countries.

For the sold out Cleveland opening night of her second film Working Girls, New York based director/writer/co-producer Lizzie Borden met the audience. In a short interview she answered questions about this low budget film production and used the opportunity for direct interaction with the spectators, who may have been attracted by a false element of

seduction in the advertising slogan ("The two things I love most in life are sex and money, I just never knew until much later they were connected") which had been put into the protagonist's mouth by the distributors, only to find a film about prostitution as work. In this movie the filmmaker questions the American concept of work in general. Lizzie Borden shows that bordellos are mostly work, ritualistic routines, money, hygiene and that in this type of prostitution there is, in fact, very little sex. The film rejects degradation and romanticizing of prostitutes and destroys the myths on the one hand about danger (which is very much forefronted in a Dutch movie by Marlene Gorris titled Broken Mirrors) and on the other hand about glamour and mystery (as Neil Jordan's Mona Lisa propagates it).

Already before work on her first film Born in Flames (1983), Borden had met Margot St. James, the head of San Francisco's COYOTE (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics) and several other women from prostitutes' organizations. In this first film originally there was the theme prostitution, but it was eliminated in the editing process. The new project, "Working Girls," then developed out of Lizzie Borden's discovery that some women she knew actually worked in small houses. "Women work although they have a good education and other options available. I became very interested in the business aspect of prostitution, in sex as a commodity," says the director, who subsequently researched her project in brothels.

To fund the \$300,000 project, she received money from a number of sources such as New York agencies and investors, but also used escrow money from her Canal Street apartment. Her film work and her private life overlapped as she had set up her loft as a Manhattan brothel, divided up into many small spaces. During the six weeks spent shooting the film, she escaped into sublet apartments.

All of Borden's 'working women' are

professional actresses. After she cast the film, the director made the actresses visit a real house and apply for a job from a real madam. For the first rehearsals they had come in dressed and acting like what they imagined street hookers were like. Borden steers clear of the stereotypical typecasting of whores (big breasts, etc.) and instead presents the viewer with a representative array of the various types of real-life women to be found in middle-class brothels. The director ran into more problems in casting the male roles. It proved impossible to find a Chinese man over 35 who was willing to play the role that Borden and her co-writer Sandra Kay (the actress who also played Gina in the film under her real name Marusia Zach) had put in the film script. The director ended up recruiting most of the men through an ad in Screw magazine.

While Working Girls was attacked by some feminists for accepting prostitution as factual and not depicting it as degrading, its sex scenes are non-erotic, mostly segmented looks at parts of the bodies from the woman's point of view. The camera emphasizes the control that the women have over the action, beginning with the opening ritual when the johns come in the front door, entering into the women's sphere. The girls direct their customers very much, keeping the likeable ones as regulars and openly showing their disrespect for others (Molly, the Yale graduate protagonist, quips "There is no such word as 'aphrodisiacal,'" and sends "her best hate signals").

The film's structure, with unity of space for the most part, emphasizes the division into the claustrophobic, boxed in inside and outside. Working Girls opens with Molly cuddled up to her lover and closes with a parallel scene. These scenes of a serene private life embrace the seemingly endless work routine inside the brothel, from which Molly briefly escapes to make a run to the drugstore before finishing the double shift. The division is underscored by the fact that the musical score is limited to the three scenes in which Molly is outside. The rhythm of the film makes the viewer feel the constant routine, functional moves from one room to

the other, between upstairs and downstairs. It accentuates recognizable hygienic details through extreme close-ups (the stacks of supplies, towels, condoms opened and disposed of in kleenex).

The film portrays the prostitution business in its aspects of exchanges: towels, sheets, money, clothes. Most important is the change of behavioral codes: the girls have a fun lunch of junk food and pot, and then switch into a different code for their customers, very similar to the code of the dating rituals. Middle class girls learn to offer friendly services, be it on the level of waitress or stewardess. The work environment demands certain acting skills, which they drop like masks after work hours. The division between the two worlds, work and private life, is represented in many different ways, including the women's acceptance of the difference between emotional and sexual relationships. Dawn for instance says that she has never been unfaithful to her lover in five years, pointing at her strict separation of the two spheres. The newcomer, Mary, cannot detach herself from her feelings and therefore can't be a professional. Interestingly enough it is not her fear of men that fails her (none of these girls is afraid of men: "As long as you know their sexual trip, you can handle any man"), but her homophobia. Having to deal with the feelings and sensitivity of women frightens her. Ironically, the worst thing asked of her in her short career as a 'working girl' is to play a lesbian together with the 'dyke' Molly. Molly doesn't fit the image of a prostitute. The title of the film refers to Molly's sensitivity to the word 'whore.' She prefers 'working girls.' Thus she betrays a level of awareness not commonly associated with a woman in her line of work. She plays the game of alienation of her choice ("I am already renting out my body, I am not going to rent out mind.") At the end the viewer leaves Molly cuddled up to her lover, who is asleep. As society as a whole has not come to terms with prostitution, neither have feminists. There are no simple truths.

Gabriele Weinberger is a graduate student in the Department of German and is writing her dissertation on film.

Liz Gallese's *Women Like Us: What is Happening to the Women of the Harvard Business School, Class of '75*

A Book Review by Mary E. Doyle

The women of the 1975 Harvard MBA class have ever so slowly emerged into the world of business. These women and the growing numbers of women in the ranks of business management may produce a blend of tough and humanistic problem solvers unknown to our generation. But many of these business women have begun to question the traditional corporate model of success. For example, two-fifths of the women in the 1975 Harvard MBA class either left the work force entirely or backed off from their male counterparts' eagerness for success in the businessworld.

Women Like Us, by the free-lance journalist Liz Gallese, surveyed Harvard's MBA class of 1975. That year, for the first time, 10% of the graduates were female. The study shows how these women, given the same credentials as their male counterparts, chose to utilize their education. In the author's view, an MBA from the Harvard Business School represents the credential for success. Gallese theorizes that these women had the same chance for success as their male classmates. The eighty-eight women of this class were interviewed in 1981. They were asked about their background, what brought them to the Harvard Business School, how their life changed, and their ambitions for the future.

As a pattern emerged, six women were selected for in-depth interviews because each said something unique about what it is like to be a woman in business today. Their stories are remarkably candid and insightful. Aware of what is happening to them as a result of their choices, each has a message for other women and men. As individuals, they are seeking to use their talents and build a future for themselves and their families. We gain some insight into how these elitely educated MBA's are dealing with their decisions about money, power, family, and keeping their own individualism. Living in the constraints of a man's world, all business women today share the same challenge.

Essentially, the decisions made by these women highlight the tensions caused by the pursuit of money and power. In almost every case, the price was loss of personal relationships, home, and family. Each of the six women selected for interviews represents one individual, not a composite. Here is a brief look at the six women chosen for study.

Suzanne yearned to become a Chief Executive Officer. Her experience verifies the belief that many women are held back because their mostly male superiors perceive that somehow they don't fit. This perception prevails despite indications that the drive for power is exhibited by individuals of both sexes in corporate America. Suzanne comments "I'm increasingly aware of a ceiling ... I've gotten my department in order ... now what? What's next for me?"

Phoebe was a maverick who failed to fit in even the most flexible of organizations. Some of the women interviewed were clearly ambitious for their careers, others were not. Many were ambivalent, and another group had decided they wanted both careers and families. The writer put Phoebe in a class by herself. She refused to become a partner in the firm, much to the dismay of management. This ambivalence existed despite her ability to make others perceive her as an individual whose judgement should be valued. To Phoebe, however, life offered more facets than work alone. In summarizing her work experience she says, "I seem to be too many personae and have too many options. It's like they don't know me. They don't know enough about me. What I am, what makes me tick, what I want to do ..."

Mary Pat was not in control of her work environment - the male milieu of business. Having had three different jobs the first five years and no title of Vice President, Mary Pat considered herself a misfit: "... I always knew I could do the work ... psychologically, it's been

very taxing. Which was a shock to me because what I wanted was security. I didn't want a sense of disruption and non-acceptance. I didn't want another place where I didn't fit. I wanted to belong."

Tess put her career first to the detriment of her relationship with her husband. After dropping out of school, she worked for a software company and was fired. Striving to regain control of her life, Tess re-evaluated her situation and returned to finish school and gave birth to her child during the same year. To the interviewer she said, "The challenge of the Business School alone wouldn't have been enough to shock me out of my past modus operandi. With the pregnancy, it may have been 70 hours a week, but it was finite. In control."

Martha also had mixed feelings about her career over which she had no control. As an assistant vice president doing exceptionally well, she still wasn't happy: "All systems were go, and I didn't like it. I hated to go to work in the morning. I was miserable." Two-fifths of the women in the class of '75 shared her concern and have cut back, toned down, or left the work force.

Holly was involved in a marriage of equals. Her husband commented, "I like winning football teams and I like successful women." She seemed to have it all: children, loving husband, and an upwardly mobile career. Interestingly enough, Holly's friends viewed her situation differently. Clearly, success is in the mind of the individual, not in the perceptions of others.

Because these women were new to the previously male dominated management field, comparisons were difficult. In addition, the pursuit of management excellence depends more upon relating to others in the organization than of the results of individual efforts. Women, however ambitious and willing to struggle for power, are still new to the senior management ranks.

It is also becoming apparent that "Superwoman" is dead. Women are asking for

more personal satisfaction from a male environment where restructuring the economy is the goal of many. A large number of women are also not willing to forfeit families for a career. For those hoping to combine a career and marriage, the author suggests that the key to success seems to be in choosing a partner who is equally ambitious. While this balance may help, women still must deal with the traditional role of being responsible for building a home and refuge from the pressures of the world of work. Men have, and continue to benefit from, this haven. They do not have to make the same choices as women. At 48, a man can still start a family, enjoy a challenging promotion and come home. Few women are able to affect the near perfect timing required.

A Harvard MBA offers women a slight competitive edge for entering the work environment; it does not guarantee wages. Research done at the University of Pittsburgh shows female MBA's earning \$9000 a year less than their male counterparts. Although male MBA's enjoy no guarantees of promotion or success, there is nevertheless the problem of the extreme slowness with which the values of these hard working, well-educated women MBA's are accepted into the business environment.

The challenge of all workers is to maintain a balance between work and personal lives. Liz Gallese's Women Like Us shows that women, even those striving to establish a balance, are often faced with overwhelming odds. More encouragement from supporting groups is required. Childcare accommodations and paternity leaves are all symptoms of a growing awareness that the values of family life do contribute to our world. The responsibility for maintaining these values must be shared equally, just as we share a concern for producing a quality product. The presence of women in management – should they make it – may produce a superior environment of growth and humaneness unknown to past generations.

Mary E. Doyle is a Sales Associate of Wilson Learning Corporation.

Women's Studies News

From the Director

by Susan Hartmann

Dynamism and expansion characterized Women's Studies at The Ohio State University this year, as they have since the inception of the program. During this academic year we have taught more than 1,700 students. Our introductory courses are filled to capacity, and we are not able to accommodate all the students who wish to enroll. We signed on more than a dozen new majors, and we now have more than fifty students majoring or minoring in Women's Studies. This growing interest in the study of women owes much to fine teaching by our 13 Graduate Teaching Associates who handle most of the introductory classes and to Tania Ramalho who has coordinated undergraduate instruction this year.

Our curriculum has expanded significantly with the introduction of several new courses. Kris Dugas initiated an honors course, *Women and Peace in the Nuclear Age*; and Claire Robertson taught *Marxism and Feminist Theory* for the first time. For the Summer Quarter, Kathleen Laughlin has designed a new course, *Women and Work*; Kelly McCormick will teach a course on *Eating Disorders*, and Tania Ramalho is offering *Women's Studies for Teachers*. Next Autumn Quarter we will offer *Women's Studies 202, Introduction to Women's Studies in the Social Sciences* at the Black Studies Community Extension Center.

Through sponsorship of lectures, colloquia and other forums, we continue to promote attention to feminist scholarship beyond the Center. With a special emphasis on women of color and through collaboration with the Women of Color Consortium and the Department of Black Studies, we offered several lectures on African women by scholars from Senegal, Nigeria and Ghana, a lecture on Black motherhood, and a dramatic presentation by the noted actress Vinie

Burrows. Other programs which we arranged or co-sponsored featured women's health, feminism and peace, lesbian history, and women in communications.

Under the leadership of Research Associate Mary Margaret Fonow, the Center initiated a Research Group on Women which brings together scholars from across the University to discuss their feminist research. Our two publications, the *Sojourner*, edited by Vicki Allen-Callahan, and *The Women's Studies Review*, edited by Glynis Carr and Willa Young, have expanded both in size and in content.

As you have been reading in the *Sojourner* throughout the year, Center Faculty and TAs have been particularly active in the production and presentation of feminist scholarship. We have had published or accepted for publication a dozen articles and have given research presentations at a number of professional meetings, including the National Women's Studies Association, the Modern Language Association, the American Farm Women's Conference, the Berkshire Conference on Women's History, the Organization of American Historians, and the American Folklore Society.

Anyone who has spent five minutes in the Center will be familiar with the invaluable contributions Suzanne Hyers, our administrative assistant, has made to all aspects of the program. We are enormously pleased that she has won an Outstanding Staff Award, which recognizes not only her value to the Center and College, but also her work on behalf of staff across the campus and her sustained commitment to improving the quality of University life for students, staff, and faculty. Suzanne recognizes that her award represents a grateful acknowledgement of the indispensable work of all university

staff, and we at the Center know that we could accomplish little without the dedication, efficiency, and good humor of Susan Farquhar and Mary Sullivan, who support us in every way.

Departures inevitably attend the closing of an academic year, and this year we say goodbye to three GTA's. Chris Smithies has been a special part of the Center for the past five years; she has brought abundant energy and enthusiasm to almost every committee and has generously given assistance and support to new TAs. Perhaps most important of all, her expertise in women's health has enabled us to expand in new curricular directions, and to offer the course on women's health which she created and taught. Chris leaves for the University of Florida where she has been awarded an internship and will complete her dissertation. We will also miss Chikako Cox who will be on internship in San Francisco and completing her dissertation next year, and Sue Ellen Peters who will begin teaching for the Department of Psychology in the fall.

Filling new faculty positions was the most demanding enterprise of the Center this year, and we are delighted to announce two new appointments, both of whom were our first choices. We are especially grateful to Professor Caroletta Curtis from the College of Social Work and to Professor Elsie Williams-Wilson of the College of Nursing, who served on our search committee for these positions.

Linda Bernhard will join us next fall as a joint appointment between the Center and the College of Nursing. She received her Ph.D. at the University of Illinois at Chicago, and she specializes in women's health and sexuality. Active in NOW and the Women's Studies Program at Illinois, Linda has published numerous articles on black and white women's concerns about sexuality and hysterectomy, and she has made presentations at the National Women's Studies Association, at International Congresses for Women's Health Issues, and at the Conference on Feminist Psychology.

Kathleen Nuccio comes to her joint appointment between the Center and the College of Social Work with a Ph.D. from Bryn Mawr. She has taught Women in Society, and was instrumental in initiating Women's Studies programs at Elizabethtown College and at College Misericordia where she directed the Women's Studies program. Kathleen specializes in public policy and women's work and has given presentations to the National Association of Social Workers and to the National Women's Studies Association on protective labor legislation, the feminization of poverty, and lesbian and gay issues.

Along with the arrival of our new faculty, our former director Marlene Longenecker will be returning to the Center next winter. Her position on Governor Richard Celeste's staff has enabled her to work for women's interests on a larger scale and to accumulate experiences and contacts which will be invaluable to the Center. Marlene's heart has never left the Center, and she has squeezed time from a very demanding schedule to help on various projects. We welcome back her full-time presence and her abundant expertise and enthusiasm.

Finally, we look forward next year to launching the NWSA Quarterly Journal which will be located in the Center. MaryJo Wagner is working with NWSA and coordinating plans for this new interdisciplinary, multicultural journal which will include research articles, essays focusing on pedagogy and public policy, and critical reviews of books, other media, and teaching materials.

As I complete my first year at OSU and as Director of the Center I remember the great expectations I brought with me last September, and I want to express my surprise and profound pleasure that those expectations were exceeded in every way. The warm welcome I have received from individuals in the Center, the College, the University and the community, the enthusiasm for our work on the part of faculty and staff in various campus

units, the numbers of University scholars interested in feminist research, the desire of students for knowledge about women, and the energy, dedication, and cooperative spirit of everyone in the Center, all have been extraordinary. I am deeply grateful to all of you for your support, good will and

patience with me as I learn a new job and a new institution. While I look forward to a more relaxing summer (and hope that in this case reality coincides with my expectations!), I anticipate even more eagerly the beginning of a new year and new projects in the fall.

Activities of Women's Studies Faculty and Staff

The Sojourner is pleased to announce some of the current activities of its faculty and staff members.

Tinia Bradshaw, Graduate Teaching Associate for the Center for Women's Studies, was a participant on a panel at the North Central Sociological Association held during the week of April 7, 1987 in Cincinnati, Ohio. Her presentation focused on the status of Black women in American institutions.

Glynis Carr, Graduate Teaching Associate for the Center for Women's Studies, received Honorable Mention in the Kathleen Gregory Klein Award given by the Women's Caucus for Popular Culture for her essay on Fannie Hurst. She presented the paper "Learning about Color and Caste: Interracial Friendship in Bildungsromanen by U.S. and Caribbean Women Writers" at the National Women's Studies Association Conference, Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia, June 1987.

Nancy Essex, Lecturer for the Center for Women's Studies, has been doing consulting work for the State of Ohio. For the Ohio Department of Mental Health, she authored the Case Manager's Income Support Manual, a comprehensive guide to understanding and accessing Ohio's human services programs on the behalf of Ohio's severely mentally disabled. She is also serving on the Ohio Departments of Health and Mental Health's field review committee which is evaluating grant proposals for chemically-dependent women's treatment programs.

Susan Farquhar, Secretary for the Center for Women's Studies, has been accepted in the counselor education program, Human Services Education. Her past course work in adult education and women's studies will transfer to this M.A. program.

Mary Margaret Fonow, Research Associate for the Center for Women's Studies, James N. Upton, Department of Black Studies, and Gwendolyn Gilbert, College of Social Work, were awarded a grant by the City of Columbus, Department of Human Services for "A Survey of the Human Service Needs of Columbus Youth".

Phyllis Gorman, Graduate Teaching Associate for the Center for Women's Studies, recently passed her general examinations and is now a Ph.D. candidate. Phyllis is a student in the Department of Sociology.

Suzanne Hyers, Administrative Assistant for the Center for Women's Studies, was the recipient of a University Outstanding Staff Award (May 1987) and served as Vice Chair of the President's Staff Advisory Committee (1986-1987). She received the Ohio Humanities Council Outstanding Achievement Award (with Marlene Longenecker) for work as project directors of "Women's Voices," a five day symposium of presentations and discussion about poetry and fiction by female authors. Suzanne has a review of Lesbian Etiquette in the current Women's Studies Review (Spring 1987); has worked as script writer for Women Who Made a Difference, a

slide presentation produced by Ohio Department of Education for the 1986 Ohio Women's Hall of Fame; and has written for the Columbus-based publication it's not my dog. In addition, Suzanne has served as representative of the Lesbian Caucus to the Coordinating Council of the National Women's Studies Association.

Julie Jacobs, Graduate Research Associate in the Center for Women Studies, received the Edwin Sharp Burdell Award from the College of Social Work for "scholarship, service, and personal qualities harmonious with the ideals of social work." She will be receiving her Master's in Social Work in June 1987.

Judith Mayne, Associate Professor for the Center for Women's Studies and the Department of Romance Languages, published "Uncovering the Female Body," in Before Hollywood: Turn of the Century Film From American Archives, edited by Jay Leyda and Charles Musser, (New York: American Federation of the Arts, 1987), and "Walking the Tightrope of Feminism and Male Desire," in Men in Feminism, edited by Alice Jardine and Paul Smith (New York and London: Methuen, 1987). She lectured in April of 1987 at Vassar College on the image of Marlene Dietrich. In addition, Professor Mayne was a panelist and moderator for "Film Criticism in Context" at the Society for Cinema Studies 1987 Conference held in Montreal.

Kelly McCormick, Graduate Teaching Associate in the Center for Women's Studies, recently passed her general examinations and is now a Ph.D. candidate. Kelly is a student in the Department of Sociology.

Dottie Painter, Adjunct Assistant Professor in the Center for Women's Studies, Counselor and Staff Assistant in the College of Arts and Sciences, presented "Past, Present, and Future of Women's Studies in Academia: Implications for Academic Advising," (with Tania Ramalho) at the National Academic Advisors Association, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, March 1987. She also presented the paper "Language and Social Reality in Police Interpretations of Domestic Violence," at the National Women's Studies

Association Conference, Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia, June 1987.

Roseanne Rini, lecturer for the Center for Women's Studies, was interviewed for a WCBE radio broadcast, aired April 8, on "Women and Journal Writing."

Claire Robertson, Assistant Professor for the Center for Women's Studies and the Department of History, recently was awarded a Fulbright Fellowship. Professor Robertson will be traveling to Kenya to study Nairobi market women. Her work will be building on her past research on women traders in Ghana. She also published "Developing Economic Awareness: Changing Perspectives in Studies of African Women," in Feminist Studies 13 (Spring 1987). She presented the paper "Does Studying African Women Make a Difference? Perspectives on History and Women's Studies" at the Organization of American Historians meeting in Philadelphia, April 1987. In addition, Professor Robertson lectured at St. Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, April 1987, and at the Five College Symposium (Amherst, University of Massachusetts-Amherst, Smith, Mount Holyoke, Hampshire), April, 1987 on "Reading Gender into History."

Willa Young, Graduate Teaching Associate in the Center for Women's Studies, presented "The Sacred and the Profane in Wendy Kesselman's My Sister in this House: Violence, Incest, Lesbianism and Religious Imagery," Contemporary American Theatre Company, Columbus, Ohio. Her presentation was part of a symposium on the issues of violence suggested by the play, supported in part by The Ohio Humanities Council, February 1987. She also presented the paper "Feminism, Ethnomethodology, and the Politics of Knowledge," National Women's Studies Association Conference, Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia, June 1987.

Also of interest to our readers is the publication of Survival in the Doldrums by Leila Rupp, Associate Professor of History, and Verta Taylor, Associate Professor of Sociology, which examines the women's rights movement from 1945-1960.

How To Deal With Cancer

by Judith B. Moody

I am a forty-four year old scientist (Ph.D.) whose life has been changed forever. It began in late July, 1986 when, for the first time in my life, I had a neurological brain seizure. It happened when I was asleep. I was not aware of it, but it awoke my husband (also a scientist), and he observed clinically what was happening with considerable human concern. Within a week after I had a second brain seizure I called a personal friend who is a physician. She sent me at once to a neurologist, who scheduled me for a CAT scan three days later. The CAT scan and other tests were performed over two days, during which I was hospitalized. Five days later I was operated on by one of the best neurosurgeons in the country, who also happens to be a woman. The operation resulted in the documentation and partial removal of a benign brain tumor. With a brain tumor, the term "benign" simply means a slow-growing tumor (in terms of years rather than months).

Not only am I a woman scientist with brain cancer, but three of my physicians are women. I discovered that "the old-girls network" can function very well. My personal doctor friend worked behind the scenes to make sure that the individuals involved in my treatment did their best. I owe my life to all three women doctors.

The second stage was in many ways more difficult and intolerable than surgery. I spent six weeks in radiotherapy. I had to go five days a week for six weeks to receive 180 rads/day. The problems were exacerbated each day because the cumulative radiology exposure increased each day you were exposed. The side-effects continued throughout the total time period and still existed ten weeks later. However, week five of the radiology treatment produced a knock-down drag-out fight between me, the chief doctor, and the resident in charge of the radiotherapy. The fight had to do with the radiological side effects produced on my ears, which resulted in

complete fluid filling inside the ear and in outside tissue sores because I wear glasses. The doctors wanted to stop my treatments for a week or two, which the female radiotherapists and I understood why. I said that I had to finish the radiology treatment on schedule because I could not stand the exposure to radiation any longer. The doctors had to agree with me because I had told them I would walk out and never come back. The doctors knew me well enough to know that what I was saying I would, in fact, do. I therefore finished treatment on the scheduled time (with relief), and with an aspect of femininity completely gone – my hair.

I am now in the third stage of cancer treatment for a non-malignant brain tumor. This stage will involve the continuous checking of my brain for new tumor growth. The tumor tissue did enter the left temporal lobe of my brain. The surgical operation resulted in removal of 66 to 90% of the external tumor tissue and left the penetrating tumor tissue inside the real brain tissue of the left temporal lobe. The surgical operation and radiotherapy treatment did not result in any damage to my brain or my ability to function. I was back at work three weeks after the surgery was completed, and also worked full time during the six weeks of radiology treatment.

Through these many months I have learned many important elements in dealing with the medical profession. First, you must take someone with you to appointments, medical examinations, instrumentation tests, and surgery. A personal friend or family member is needed to accompany you because you are the person suffering from cancer treatment and cannot handle the examination difficulties, etc. by yourself – it is impossible to expect that of yourself. Second, doctors will not volunteer information but they will answer questions. Questions should be asked continuously until you have the answers, including a possible "I don't know" from the

medical community (the answer given for why brain tumors grow). Ask questions so that you can understand what is being done to you, and so that you can feel accepting of the cancer surgery and treatment.

Third, doctors, nurses, and medical support personnel have highly variable abilities to deal with you as a human being, especially a female human being. Your own kindness, respect, and cheerfulness go a long way in human interaction with the total group of people you will be dealing with. Pain and human suffering is in your situation continuously, therefore your humanness is continuously tested. Do what you can when you can, and the medical staff will appreciate it. Fourth, you must have trust and faith in your personal doctor. If you do not have those intellectual and personal feelings for the doctor, you must change doctors before you undergo surgery, radiology, or chemotherapy treatment. Do not hesitate to obtain a second opinion on the recommended treatment from your doctor at any stage in the cancer treatment. Fifth, medical treatment is very expensive and the necessity for medical insurance coverage has become acute with respect to any cancer diagnosis.

A second major point to be discussed is dealing with family and friends at the time of cancer diagnosis. Suffering caused to you from cancer treatment can be made much easier and less difficult because of your personal relationships. Cancer is an ugly, horrible word in the English language. In the U.S., the occurrence of this illness is taking us into the 21st century. Therefore, all people have a very difficult time dealing with cancer. Cancer affects them in manners which most other human diseases do not, but some are just as bad (Alzheimer's disease, AIDS). Many positive things can happen when people volunteer their services to help you in the hospital, at home, or at work. Do not hesitate to accept any person's useful help at any time. Both family and personal friends feel better doing something rather than sitting there with nothing to do.

Your relationship with your family will change forever – because cancer is still in

many minds the definition of "a death sentence". Some cancers have effective treatment ("cures") today, but the majority do not. How long a life you have is then an open question in many cases or closed (a year or less) in others. Whoever you are living with will have almost as difficult a time as you do – spouse, children, parents, etc. Each person in your close personal life will cry with you, worry about all the medical treatments continuously, and keep asking you how you are doing. I have used this time to state to all of these people in my life how much they mean to me. My brother who had never said that he loved me in his whole life, finally admitted that he did. My step-son also admitted the same thing. You think that something so simple would be easily done, but it's still hard for men to express their emotions. I went into surgery with those emotions expressed to me sincerely as a true gift to me when I needed it.

Many other people will use the hospitalization and further cancer treatments as the opportunity to express their human caring in a manner that touches you and provides a reason for continuing to deal with your own internal suffering. Your own human suffering may stay inside you to a greater or lesser degree, depending on where you are in your cancer treatment; therefore you need people in your life that can help you survive.

However, people will still depend on you as they did before your cancer diagnosis. You cannot expect yourself to use your complete femaleness in giving to others endlessly, when you have in fact suffered from medical treatment. You must learn how to express yourself given the significant change in your life. Your strength may still be present, but the surgery and post-operative treatment's progress, or lack of progress, will determine your ability to deal with your personal relationships with your children, spouse, parents, or siblings. Your family members may have to make some re-adjustments in their lives to deal with the change effectively and to help in the care for you.

Your professional life will be affected in the short term and possibly the long term.

The short term involves the surgery and radiology/chemotherapy treatments. My personal response wasn't that unusual, i.e., working after surgery and during radiology exposure. People have a highly variable ability to work when receiving radiology treatment – most people can work some. Chemotherapy, however, very often results in not being able to work due to the terrible extensiveness of the side effects of the drugs. The drug treatment can also be much longer than surgery and radiology (several months to more than a year). The employers' treatments of most people with cancer are highly variable because of their sickness policies – some are very good given the severity of the disease itself. The good employers hold the employee's position until the diagnosis and treatment completion allow the return to work.

Cancer does lead each person who has it to consider the long term effects of the disease. Consideration must be given to your professional role within the particular organization you are working for, i.e., whether to stay in the organization, or if possible, retire formally from the job. The severity of the disease itself may lead to permanent work disability, if all known cancer treatments have been completed but the cancer has not been eliminated or even minimized.

If continued work is desired and possible, each person then must resolve whether to stay in the present job or move on to another one,

or even possibly work for yourself. Having a life span predicted by the medical profession (given a specific type of cancer), leads to the necessity of evaluating your professional role. Professional resolution may not be easy, if the job provides the necessary medical insurance, which would be lost if the job is terminated. Therefore, many important problems are raised professionally for the cancer patient, which cannot be immediately resolved.

Finally, women individually and in professional groups (e.g. the American Association of University Women, Society of Women Engineers) need to honor and support other women who are living with cancer. For many types of cancer this disease is still a matter of life and death over a given period of time. As a member of the Association of Women Geoscientists, I honor Professor Sharon Bachinski, who died of cancer in March, 1986. I will miss her as my professional colleague and friend for the remainder of my life. Honoring these women while they still are alive can provide those women with further courage and strength needed for their difficult cancer treatments. Let's do it now for our colleagues and friends who need it!

Judith Moody is a project manager at Battelle Corporation. Through the YWCA's Women of Achievement Award series, Dr. Moody received the Harriet H. Parker Award for Science and Technology for 1987.

South Africa

by Lisa Aubrey

In this article I want to look at some scenarios for change in South Africa. In light of current political events within the country, it is obvious that South Africa is undergoing changes which will invariably affect its future as it moves toward a post-apartheid state. Increased pressures on the government to change from anti-apartheid forces are coupled with increased repression by the government as a means to safeguard its precarious hold on

state power. Proposed negotiations between both parties – the government and anti-apartheid groups – offer possible solutions to South Africa's apartheid problem. Yet there is a major problem preventing productive negotiations. That is, there does not seem to be the willingness to negotiate for meaningful reform on the part of the government or the trust necessary to make negotiations work on the part of anti-apartheid groups. Hence, the

question must be asked, has the possibility of negotiations, which has historically been the major thrust of anti-apartheid groups, lost to a past of violence, lies, and deception by the South African government?

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The South African issue has come to the attention of the international community during this past year in unmatched magnitude. Generally, world opinion condemns apartheid as an abomination and an anachronism. From a moral perspective, apartheid is evil. From a political perspective, apartheid is neither in the public interest nor an effective form of government. From an economic perspective, apartheid has even ceased to be a financially feasible endeavor. In sum then, these varying perspectives point to the necessity to inevitably end apartheid and adopt a more acceptable and workable form of government for South Africa. The problem, however, lies in the manner in which this transition will take place. The question then becomes: what will it take for the South African government and South African people, both black and white, in terms of concessions and negotiations, to bring about change – can reform work or will it be revolution?

Given the present level of internal unrest in South Africa, and with increasing government repression to suppress black demands, the notion of "reforming" apartheid might be criticized as being a utopian idea. Transition to a post-apartheid state through reform is not yet an outdated option. Various political actors unequivocally opposed to apartheid clearly show a commitment to avoiding violent confrontation and revolution whenever possible. Major anti-apartheid groups continue to urge for peaceful negotiation, such as the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front. Segments of the business community have also pressured the government toward more effective reforms. Moreover, labor unions, which have become a very politicized and very strong force in South Africa have not adopted a violent character and have generally agreed to play by the rules of the game to bring change to South Africa. Reform has

failed to be a feasible option, however, on the part of the government which has engaged in reformist practices either reluctantly or unfaithfully. More specifically, reforms have either been "de facto" such as in the case of the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act, or a farce such as the abolition of the Pass Laws. The government must assume a more aggressive and more genuine attitude toward change if reform is to work in South Africa.

Just as the government must adopt a new attitude in proposing reform, reforms must be of a certain nature if they are to be viewed as real change in South Africa. That is, they must reach the very core of South Africa's problems and must also have tangible effects in the black community. Reforms must be political and economic, directly addressing "the vote" and "economic redistribution," which are central, and virtually inseparable, issues in the South African dilemma. Social reforms such as the repeal of the Mixed Marriage Act are "nice" and they may be necessary in reflecting the liberalization of attitudes of South African whites, but they are not sufficient to deal with the crux of the problem in South Africa.

The fundamental issue for black South Africans is the lack of political and economic power. Apartheid has created gross economic inequalities between different groups in South Africa and has rendered blacks, Africans, Asian, and Colored groups, virtually powerless to eradicate their plight through the normal channels of politics. Blacks do not possess the vote (or for Coloreds and Indians, the effective vote) and other resources which would enable them to change their situation. This is not to suggest that gaining the franchise alone would be the end-all solution to black South Africans' problems. Although the provision of the vote might be an acceptable reform to blacks in South Africa when they hunger so desperately for freedom, the vote alone will not secure for them the same chance as whites to secure the spoils of the state. If there is no economic redistribution and the bulk of the wealth remains in the hands of whites, whites will always enjoy the comparative advantage over blacks in all arenas. For example, blacks and

whites may be equal in theory to compete for the same jobs, but they will compete, in reality, from unequal starting points – whites with a three hundred year lead. Economic redistribution is necessary to make amends for a legacy of centuries of economic discrimination and exploitation.

Ideally, reforms which address both political and economic problems are the most desirable by blacks who have historically been oppressed. Realistically, however, in terms of what the government and the white populace are willing to concede, both political and economic demands will not be met. In light of past concessions by whites or recommendations by government-created commissions to study various problems, whites will be reluctant to make any major concessions. They instead will be more willing to make relatively meager economic concessions, such as pouring money into creating a black middle-class, than they will be to redistribute wealth or to include blacks into the political process. Although a significant number of blacks have been coopted by assuming false, middle-class status, generally government efforts at black "embourgeoisement" have thus far failed to work overwhelmingly in favor of whites. Moreover, given the depressed status of the economy at this point, it is doubtful whether or not enough money could be poured into the black community by the state to ensure continued white hegemony.

Attempting to create a large black middle-class which falls under the rubric of fostering consumerism clearly falls short of any type of fundamental reform in South Africa. Even if there were to exist chances that consumerism might work, it is doubtful that black South Africans will renege on their demand for the vote. Realistically, in negotiation for a post-apartheid government blacks might forego immediate economic repatriation, but they will remain adamant in their demand for the vote.

An assessment of what black South Africans would settle for in a transition to a post-apartheid state would be immediate

political power – both one-person-one-vote and representation in the executive branch in a system of majority rule (whether ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, etc.) with the protection of minority rights. Blacks would be amenable to forego immediate economic redistribution, which in the long term might have detrimental consequences. The black experience in Zimbabwe and the United States clearly illustrates this to be the case. Whites, on the other hand, will not be as generous and flexible in the concessions and negotiations. They will try to safeguard for themselves as much of the power, economic and political, that they can. The degree to which they genuinely concede will be the determining factor of whether reform will work or whether revolution is inevitable. South African blacks are neither making unreasonable demands nor are they unwilling to compromise. If whites share on an equitable basis, reform is workable in bringing about change. However, if whites refuse to share power, then they invite the revolution. The fate of the country and the fate of white South Africans lay in their hands.

The government can seize the opportunity now to prevent the escalation of bloodshed. It can surrender to internal and international pressures, and develop a system of government which is fair, acceptable, and profitable for all South Africans.

As members of the anti-apartheid community here in the United States, we must ask ourselves, "Have we, in the past year and a half, communicated our message for reform loudly enough to the South African government, and do we have an obligation to continue to struggle for freedom and justice for all people in South Africa?" If we continue to struggle, we help send the message to the South African government to share power before it is too late. If we give up the struggle, we share the blame for the bloodshed of all South Africa's children, black and white.

Lisa Aubrey is a graduate student in the Department of Political Science.

Announcements

Summer Course Offering

Women and Photography - Photography and Cinema 694W

This course will review the lives and work of women photographers whose contribution to the history of photography has not yet been fully recognized. Through course readings and class discussion, participants will examine the relationship between gender and art and explore such questions as: 1) Are certain

sensibilities uniquely feminine? 2) Can these be deciphered in a particular individual's art? 3) Can and should art be distinguished as women's art or men's art? Course readings will include three areas: the history of women in photography, the image of women in American mass culture, and the sociology of art.



Call for Papers - North Central Women's Studies Association Conference

The University of Akron will host the North Central Women's Studies Association regional conference on November 6 and 7, 1987. The conference theme will be "Women at Work" and will examine all facets of women in the workplace. Papers are invited in any area of contemporary research on women at work.

Preference will be given to those papers relating directly the theme "Women at Work."

The deadline for abstracts is July 15, 1987. Send abstracts to: Dr. Carole Garrison, Director, Women's Studies Program; The University of Akron; Akron, Ohio 44325.



National Housing Conference

"Sheltering Ourselves: Developing Housing for Women," a National Housing Conference to improve housing for women and children will be held in Zimmer Auditorium at the University of Cincinnati, August 21-23, 1987. The conference will bring together a wide range of persons concerned with housing - consumers, owners, architects, builders, legal and financial experts - in a collaborative process aimed at meeting the acute need for safe, affordable shelter for women.

The conference will focus on the needs of many different populations of women: the elderly, the heads of single-parent families, single women, women of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, differently-abled women, and women in crisis or in transition.

The aim of the conference is to empower groups of local women to participate actively and fully in the process of planning and implementing site-specific proposals for multi-unit housing for women of low and moderate income in greater Cincinnati. The goal is then to share with national participants information on needs, on successful projects, and on planning procedures which could be adopted in their own communities.

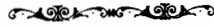
The conference guideline will be a commitment to a concept of comprehensive housing planning which includes not only well-designed physical space, but provision for the necessary support services, for economic development, and for the fostering of interdependent community among the

residents. The conference will present examples of successful projects involving rehab, adaptive reuse of existing structures, and new construction, and meeting needs ranging from emergency shelter to permanent housing.

The National Housing Conference is open to all who are concerned with meeting women's

housing needs. All participants will receive information on successful existing models and will have an opportunity to experience a collaborative process of housing design which solicits consumer input at every stage.

For more information, please contact the Center for Women's Studies, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH 45221.



Sisterfire Celebrates Fifth Anniversary

The fifth anniversary festival of Sisterfire, "the nation's preeminent women's music festival," (Washington Post) takes place June 27-28 with author Alice Walker, folk-singer Odetta, singer/songwriter/activist Holly Near, and the celebrated a capella quintet Sweet Honey in the Rock. They share the bill with Nicaragua's Norma Helena Gadea, the Asian-American Dance Theatre, Native poet Joy Harjo, the Unity of Hands Deaf Chorale, and over sixty other poets, dancers, humorists, actresses, musicians, and story tellers.

Held at the Equestrian Center in Upper Marlboro, MD, Sisterfire '87 features a marketplace of over 100 craftswomen and food vendors, programming for children and free childcare, a Stage for Deaf Artists

programmed by deaf and hearing women, camping and RV sites, and a free shuttle from the Addison Road Metro to the Equestrian Center. The festival is wheel chair accessible, and all performances will be sign language interpreted for the deaf and hearing impaired.

Tickets are \$19 advance for a single day (\$22 at the gate) and \$30 advance for the weekend (\$35 at the gate). For further ticket information, please call Roadwork (202) 483-1010.

Everyone is invited to join this vibrant and colorful celebration of women's culture. Sisterfire is sponsored by Roadwork, INC., a Washington D.C.-based cultural production and resource organization supporting women artists.



Survey Update: We are pleased to announce the winners in the Sojourner Survey Sweepstakes. Congratulations to Norma Wallace, Judith Reese, Marie Sinsabaugh, Kim England, and M. Pickens. Winners receive a "Smash Bi-Coastal Arrogance" t-shirt from the Center for Women's Studies. The editor would also like to take this opportunity to again thank all of our readers who participated in the survey.



Editor's Note: This is our last issue for this academic year. A special note of thanks should go to Susan Farquhar and Mary Sullivan who are an important part of this publication. Susan is the person with the thankless task of keeping current our ever changing and ever expanding mailing list. She also helps out with our typing when her busy schedule permits. Mary Sullivan is our all-purpose assistant. Her help is quite extensive: typing, proofreading, and general consulting. In addition, Mary gives out calm vibes in the most stressful moments. Thanks again to Susan and Mary for all their help and support.

Image and Voice



To be photographed:

Installed on a stool, looking suspiciously at the photographer, hidden behind the mask of the camera.

Becoming divorced from myself, an object, an image.

*the photographs:
Olay the feet to look
at the image you
created - the mirror-image
of myself...
eva*



Lucretia Knapp is a Columbus photographer and videographer. She recently won honorable mention in the Best of the Fest 1987 Columbus Video Festival and will be exhibiting her photo work in the Columbus Museum of Art in June.

The Ohio State University Center For Women's Studies

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