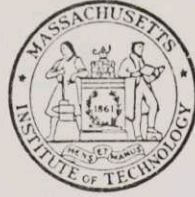


AC 232
BOX 7 FOLDER 11

Androgyny

1973-1977





OFFICE OF THE
PRESIDENT AND CHANCELLOR

SPECIAL ASSISTANT
FOR WOMEN AND WORK

January 26, 1977

Sherry Hayes
David Goslin
National Academy of Sciences
2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20418

Dear Sherry Hayes and David Goslin:

I wanted to write a note in support of having the NAS look at the "economic and social consequences of how people spend their time", rather than at "women's employment".

I think there are a number of reasons for this in addition to the obvious first point, that we should learn about and support options in men's lives so that men's lives can improve, as well as learning about and supporting options for women. Additional reasons include the fact that what men do, and how men spend their time, sets a constraint on options for women. Women will never be randomly distributed in paid employment (at the top as well as the bottom) unless men are randomly distributed in unpaid employment. This is true for many reasons.

First, if women did a random half of the work now sex-stereotyped for men, and all of the work now stereotyped for women, women would wind up doing 3/4 of the world's work. This is an unlikely proposition, and would worsen unemployment for men. Thus what "all men" do constrains "all women". Second, if women are to be randomly distributed, half of them will earn as much or more than (their) men. The proportion of families where this is already true, is rising very fast. It is however plain that women must equally share their traditional life satisfactions and rewards (including loving and nurturant relationships) if men are to be asked to share the traditional male rewards (salary and power). Here again what men do, in the aggregate, sets a constraint on options for women. Third, in addition to my labor economist's, macro view, there are recent psychoanalytic discussions along a similar vein. Dorothy Dinnerstein of Rutgers, for instance, builds a very persuasive case for ubiquitous damage to both male and female children who are exclusively mother-raised. Her discussion has nothing to do with the classic concern of whether boys will become homosexual if reared in an exclusively feminine environment. It centers on how male and female children learn about the fundamental meaning of life and creativity and nurturance and death. Her view (and mine) is that both male and female nurturance is needed if children are to have a chance at maximally human and productive lives.

Then there are the micro decision-making questions. How are the children in an individual family to be taken care of? Obviously the options open to individual women depend on the options open to their men.

A further reason why an inquiry at the Washington level should be about men as well as women is because of the public policy implications. To give a small example, suppose a "women's employment" study emerged with a list of public policy consequences, one of which was for mandatory maternity leave. ~~From the point of view stated above,~~ this policy might in the long run strengthen the traditional female sex role, rather than helping with options. Conversely, imagine the outcome of a study on how men and women spend their time. This study might emerge with the strong recommendation that both fathers and mothers be encouraged to spend 2-3 weeks with their newborns to establish together the "attachment" phenomenon, in both father and mother, (and in the baby, for both father and mother). Suppose we discovered a lower divorce and abandonment rate in families where both parents had taken parental leave? Suppose we discovered higher lifetime earnings in families where both parents shared child care and neither ever dropped out of the paid labor force? Suppose there were demonstrably less child abuse in such families? I think these benefits would make us feel the short-term cost of parental leave was well worth while, let alone the possibility that we would gain the long-term "Dinnerstein" and EEO advantages, which might accrue.

This kind of recommendation would of course be much likelier to result from research on how both men and women spend their time, than from research on women alone.

Finally, there are legal and logical reasons to study the whole system rather than one of its parts. In the letter thus far, I suggest that studying women by themselves may be unfair to men, may be insufficient to help women, and may be undesirable in terms of public policy consequences. There are two more problems to consider. The first is that more and more Title IX--type questions are being raised about exclusively women-oriented surveys in academia. I am not suggesting that the NAS would be sued under Title IX about its "Women Studies" but that many educational institutions may be, and that you might want to help build the Wo/Men's Studies model.

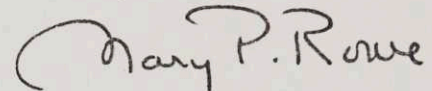
The second is that studying just part of a system may give not just undesirable results but wrong ones. Those of us who have struggled for years with male-oriented Census and Labor statistics, and male based psychological and medical studies, are particularly sensitive to the just plain inaccuracy involved in sub-system analysis. This is of course the more true if your designated subsystem is in any way arbitrarily designated, especially where the degree of arbitrariness is not well recognized or understood. And it is the more true if your subsystem is an

Page 3
January 26, 1977
Sherry Hayes and
David Goslin

integral part of the whole system, and especially if this is true in ways that are not well recognized and understood. Women are an arbitrarily designated, permanently integrated sub-system in ways that are not well recognized and understood. I think looking at men and women separately, while often desirable and necessary for psychological reasons, has also often given wrong results. In your case, that of the NAS, I do not see that the psychological necessity or desirability obtains.

This has been a long letter. I'm sorry if it turned out to be carrying coals to Newcastle. And whatever you decide to do in this arena, let me wish you well! With warm regards, I am

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Mary P. Rowe". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name.

Mary P. Rowe, Ph. D.

MPR:RH

To: Mary Rowe

How's this for a happy
freshman female's first
brush with engineering?!

September 29, 1974

File
Audio 2/24
Scotty
11/1/74

Dear UROP,

Yes, the summer is over, but the accomplishments of this summer will stay with me always. With funding from UROP and especially the CLAPP AND POLIAK ENGINEERING DESIGN AWARD, I was able to spend my whole summer gaining invaluable engineering design and construction experience.

A year ago I was a freshman beginning to think that she was far too inexperienced for the seminar she had joined. After one meeting it had become quite clear that there was a lot of work to be done and that I had had no experience doing it. But that feeling didn't last long, and by summer I had learned enough to be able to design and build, and our 8-foot mini-submarine was on its way.

The HMS ALBERTROSS, fondly named after Dr. Albert Bradley, our teaching assistant and greatest help, was lowered into Castine Harbor, Castine, Maine, on July 21, 1974 and underwent other testing over the next few days. The culmination of a year's hard work in those brief launches gave us all a great sense of pride and accomplishment, but also gave us a very definite look toward the future.

Before the ALBERTROSS can be the small programmable tool of the oceanographer that we want it to be, it needs major redesign and some finishing touches especially in electronics. Many of us have returned to the project this year and are being helped by a new group of freshmen. Once again we look forward to another successful summer in Maine. Although I am working for credit during the school year, financial reward is essential to any summer work that I do and only UROP funding made this possible. Thank you for making it one of the greatest experiences of my life.

Deborah S. Hoover
Class of 1977

5. N. Tyrer and E. Bell, *Brain Res.* **73**, 151 (1974).
 6. The cobalt ions never traveled more than 15 to 16 mm in any of these experiments or in concomitant experiments where the optic nerve was filled instead of the tract. This limitation indicates that the branches are formed at the optic chiasma: from the point of injection on one side to the geniculate nuclei on the opposite side (by

way of both optic tracts through the optic chiasma) is about 15 mm.
 7. I thank M. Segraves for expert histological assistance, R. Malinsky for photographic work, and M. Murray and M. Goldberger for valuable criticism. This work was supported by NSF grant BMS 74-24088.

12 May 1976; revised 27 July 1976

Carrying Behavior in Humans: Analysis of Sex Differences

Abstract. Behavioral differences between the sexes include methods of carrying books. Females clasp books against their chests; males carry them at their sides. In kindergarten and the first grade, both sexes carry like mature males. Sex-typical carrying appears before adolescence. Behavioral differences seem to be primarily a consequence of morphological differences and social modeling.

Male and female college students differ consistently in their methods of carrying books. The results of our studies on carrying behavior of college students in Montana, Ontario, New York, El Salvador, and Costa Rica all show similar sex differences (1) and are in agreement with studies in Tennessee (2). College females usually wrap one or both arms around their books, which they rest on their hips or clasp against their chests. College males carry books in one hand at the side of the body. This behavioral difference must be widely known and recognized (3), but it has usually been ignored as a subject of study.

We classified book-carrying behavior into eight categories, but it is sufficient here to combine them into two basic types (Fig. 1) and to group the other categories as "other." In type I, one or both arms wrap around the books; the forearm, on the outside of the books, supports them. The short edges of the books rest horizontally against the body on top of the hip or in front of the body in line with or higher than the hips. When books are carried in one arm, the fingers wrap around the long edges. When they are carried in both arms, the fingers wrap around contralateral edges or grasp contralateral forearms or wrists. In type II, books are supported by one arm and hand at the side of the body, with the long edges approximately horizontal. The hand may be above the books, pinching them between the thumb and the fingers, or on the outside of the books with the fingers wrapped around the lower edges. When the elbow is flexed and the books are raised, the long edges sometimes rest on both the hand and the forearm or wrist. Other methods include a variety of unusual, infrequent methods such as resting the books on the shoulder or head.

Our initial discovery that 92 percent of females at the University of Montana car-

ried their books according to type I and 95 percent of males carried according to type II was confirmed in widespread locations throughout North and Central America (1). Sex differences in strength or in load size do not explain the behavioral difference. Both females and males carry both large and small loads typically for their sex (1). A detailed study of book carrying, weight of books, and grip strength failed to reveal any causal relationship among these variables (4).

Differences in morphology of physically mature individuals may contribute to the differences in carrying. Ratios of hip width to shoulder width are different for males and females. Not only is the female hip relatively wider than that of the male, but fat over the iliac crest gives it a more shelf-like quality (5). In most females, the carrying arm could not hang vertically but would have to angle outward. Males and females also differ in the angle at which the forearm attaches to the arm.

The differences in book carrying might also be an expression of sex differences in body postures and in the way the limbs are held. Females tend to assume more closed positions than males; they more often fold their arms in front of the body and cross their legs or keep them together. Male positions tend to be more open or exposed (6). Similar postural differences were found in a comparative study of 480 human cultures (7) and in studies of other primates (8). This raises the possibility that these differences may in part be genetically determined. Certainly the female carrying methods result in positions that are more closed, with the arms and books partially covering the front of the body; male carrying methods result in open positions that leave the body unobstructed.

First-grade school children in Montana lacked both the sex differences and the rigid stereotypy typical of college students. The differences developed most rapidly during the junior high school years. To determine more precisely when these changes in behavior occur, we recorded the spontaneous book carrying methods of 2256 individuals from kindergarten through old age in Ithaca, New York, between October and December 1975. We made a single record of each individual's carrying method as he entered an arbitrarily defined space. All data were combined into types I, II, and other, and into ten levels: kindergarten through grade 1; grades 2 and 3, 4 and 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 through 12 (high school); college; and mixed-age adults.

In the kindergarten and grade 1, there are no significant differences in carrying behavior between males and females

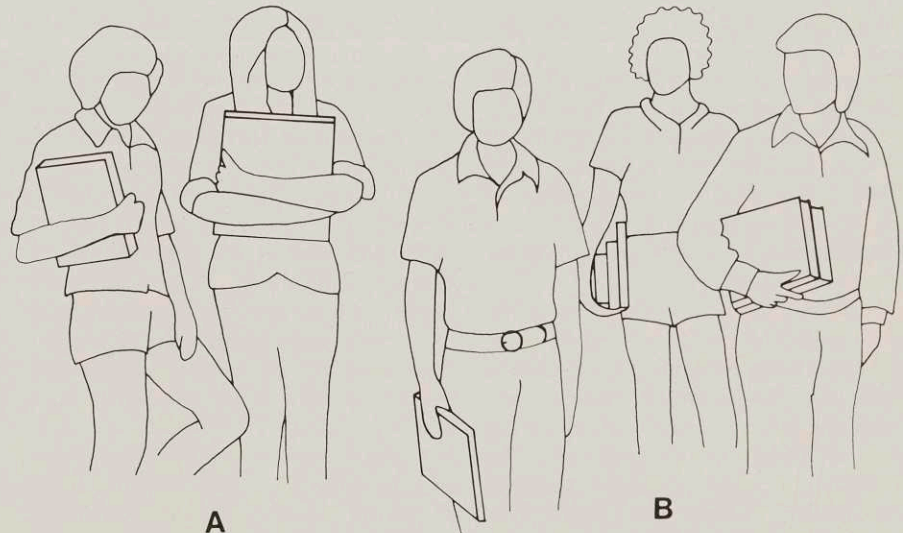


Fig. 1. Methods of carrying books. (A) In all type I carrying methods, the short edges of the books rest on the hip or in front of the body. (B) In type II methods, the books are either pinched from above or supported from below by the hand or the hand and arm.

File
Androgyny

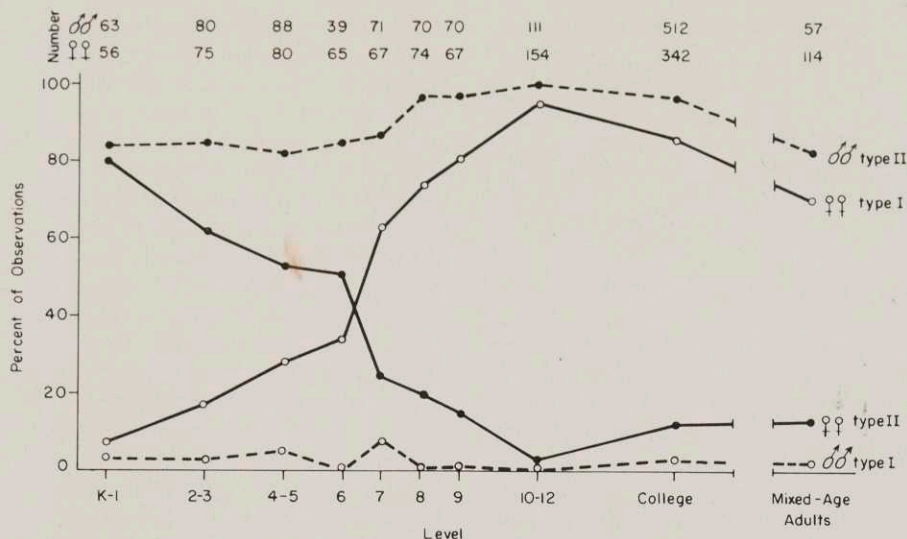


Fig. 2. Percentage of males (broken line) and females (solid line) that carry according to type I (hollow circles) or type II (solid circles) at different levels. Sample sizes are shown across the top. When the sum for a sex at any level is less than 100 percent, the rest used other methods.

($P > .50$). Children of both sexes, like college males, usually use some variant of type II. However, in grades 2 and 3 and at all subsequent levels, there are significant differences between the sexes ($\chi^2 = 12.75$, d.f. = 2, $P < .01$ for grades 2 and 3; all other χ^2 values are greater).

The proportion of females using type I carrying methods increases linearly from kindergarten through grade 1 to high school ($r^2 = .94$), while the proportion using type II decreases. After high school the proportion carrying according to type I decreases (Fig. 2). There are no level-to-level significant differences between females until grade 7 (9). In Tennessee, significant differences were found in females between grade 6 and grades 7 to 9 combined (2).

Although males also change their behavior over time, 84 percent in kindergarten and grade 1 already carry like older males (Fig. 2), and there is no significant change between any two adjacent levels. [The largest increase in type II carrying, between grades 7 and 8, is not significant ($P < .10$)]. The sex difference after grade 1 is primarily a consequence of females shifting their behavior from carrying methods typical of males to those typical of females.

The sex difference in the ratio of hip width to shoulder width is a consequence of differential growth rates during adolescence (10). The greatest increase in type I carrying by females coincides with the onset of female adolescence (11). The continued increase in type I carrying from grade 7 to high school may reflect the increased proportion of females entering adolescence. However, the sex difference in carrying begins to appear be-

fore adolescence (from grades 2 and 3), when body proportions of males and females are identical (5). Morphological differences also cannot explain the significant decreases in the proportion of females carrying according to type I after high school.

The most reasonable explanation for the early development of female-typical carrying behavior is social modeling. There are older children of the same sex to imitate, teachers to copy, and an increased awareness of sex roles brought on in many ways, including separate bathrooms for boys and girls, lining up boys and girls in separate rows, and pressure for sex conformity from older schoolmates. The decrease in sex-typical carrying after high school is probably a consequence of decreased tendencies toward peer group conformity, which is very important in high school (12).

The importance of cultural differences was demonstrated by 147 female and 128 male *colegio* students (grades 7 through 11) observed in Turrialba, Costa Rica, during March 1976. Females and males carried books differently ($\chi^2 = 66.94$, d.f. = 2, $P < .001$), but only 39 percent of females used type I methods and 55 percent used type II. In New York, 82 percent of females in grades 7 through 12 ($N = 362$) used type I; only 12 percent used type II. The difference between females in New York and Costa Rica was significant ($\chi^2 = 105.46$, d.f. = 2, $P < .001$). There was no cultural difference in males ($P < .20$). In Costa Rica, 97 percent, and in New York, 96 percent ($N = 322$) used type II (13). The importance of peer modeling was demonstrated by the Costa Rican students who

used other methods. Almost all of these students tucked one or two books inside the waistbands of their pants or skirts. This method was never observed in New York.

The difference in book carrying behavior of males and females seems to be a consequence of the interaction of several factors. (i) We cannot discount the possibility of a genetic predisposition for females to assume more closed positions than males. (ii) Because of the sex differences in hip width, hip shelf, and lower arm angulation between physically mature males and females, some carrying positions are probably more comfortable or less fatiguing for one sex than for the other. (iii) Interacting with these relatively fixed sexual differences is learning. Certain methods may come to be preferred through practice. Social modeling may explain the regular increase in the adult female type of carrying among pre-adolescent females.

DONALD A. JENNI

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University of Montana, Missoula 59801

MARY A. JENNI

Department of Psychology,
University of Montana

References and Notes

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3. When we started this research, we found no reference to it in the literature. However, the difference has been incidentally but clearly illustrated in a cartoon strip by D. Berg [*Mad* **172**, 27 (1975)].
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9. There are significant differences in females between grades 6 and 7, grade 9 and high school, high school and college, and college and mixed-age adults (all $\chi^2 \geq 12.17$, d.f. = 2, $P < .01$).
10. J. M. Tanner, *Growth at Adolescence* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1962).
11. Although there is much individual variation, the adolescent growth spurt in females typically begins at age 11, peaks at 12, and slows by 13½ [J. M. Tanner, R. H. Whitehouse, M. Takaiishi, *Arch. Dis. Child.* **41**, 455 (1966)]. The age range for grades 6 through 7 in Ithaca is 10.8 through 12.7 years.
12. C. Gordon, in *Twelve to Sixteen: Early Adolescence*, J. Kagan and R. Coles, Eds. (Norton, New York, 1972), p. 25; P. H. Mussen, J. J. Conger, J. Kagan, *Child Development and Personality* (Harper, New York, 1974).
13. In Costa Rica, no male *colegio* students used type I carrying and 3 percent used other methods. In New York, 2 percent used type I and 2 percent used other methods.
14. We thank the central administration and principals of the Ithaca public schools for permitting us to observe students within the schools. We thank G. Burghardt, T. Hanaway, and P. Spottswood for sharing the results of their research in Tennessee.

11 May 1976; revised 27 July 1976

Androg



A
mother's loving
lament

LITTLE-BOY BLUES

Condensed from REDBOOK

I AM a neat and cautious person, pained by dirt and disorder, the sound of loud voices, the sight of fresh blood. My athletic skills can be summarized in six words: I can float on my back. God never intended me to go on a camping trip, and the spectacle of a small child trying to leap from the top of a 12-step stairway makes me sick to my stomach.

I was clearly meant to be the mother of girls—dainty, well-mannered, ungrubby little girls for whom I could buy velvet dresses and dolls with soft, curly hair. So how did I ever wind up with three wriggly, blood-dripping, loud-

mouthed, fresh, fierce little boys?

I know what you're thinking. I'm sure you can show me girls who are fierce and noisy, and lots of gentle boys as well. But I only want to explain what it's like in *our* family. For it has been my heart-attack-making experience that if there's thin ice to skate on, my sons will go skate on it; if there's a hole big enough to get their heads *into* but not *out of*, they'll go stick their heads in it; and if there's a deadly drop between the Tuttle's roof and the Biermans', they won't be content till they've jumped from one roof to the other.

I don't understand it. But then

I've never understood mountain climbing or shark hunting or automobile racing. "Why ask for trouble?" I say to my boys. Their reply is cruelly simple: "Asking for trouble is fun."

Last summer, for instance, I took four-year-old Alexander to Kiddie Land. It was bad enough, I thought, when he switched from the black horse to the white horse on the merry-go-round, catching his foot in a stirrup and finishing the ride upside down. But at least the merry-go-round was on the ground. The fighter-pilot ride, on the other hand, whirled high above my head, and as soon as Alexander was sure I couldn't intervene, he unhooked his seat belt and—oh, no! I can't bear it!—crawled onto the wing of the plane.

"Why?" I cried when he had returned, unsmashed, to earth, and I was smacking and hugging him simultaneously. "Why can't you get on the rides and just plain ride them?"

"I just plain rode them last year," Alexander explained. "This year I wanted to ride them *fancy!*"

My son Nick was recently informed by the

school nurse that while he had only the second-highest number of school accidents, he was No. 1 as far as major accidents were concerned. He was very proud. And I am very wrung out. The week that Nick collected three concussions in six days, I burst into tears and said to our pediatrician, "How will that kid ever survive his childhood? How, in fact, will *I* survive it?"

The doctor patted me on the arm. "Mrs. Viorst," he said, "when you have sons, you've got to figure that several times a month you'll be filled with terror."

I am; I am.

CLEARLY, I was meant to be the mother of girls. We could look through my jewelry box together, and I could teach them how to make pretty paper fans. They wouldn't



ride bikes down very steep hills—eyes closed and no hands. They wouldn't tell me I had to play in the outfield. They wouldn't say, "Let's race," and beat me every time.

What makes it hard about raising boys isn't only the risks they take and the blood they shed; it's also their exhausting *physicalness*. At the moment, for instance, I'm the only one in our family without a baseball mitt. And I'm afraid they plan to buy me one for my birthday. I'm also afraid they would gladly trade me in for two pitchers, one fullback or a Harlem Globetrotter. And why not? What good is a mother who won't go camping (suppose we meet snakes?), who never gets any basketballs in the basket and who cries when tackled?

Daughters wouldn't *want* to tackle me—and, furthermore, they're not as twitchy as boys. A friend once told me that a single sheet of paper could keep her daughter occupied for hours. "She'd color, fold, cut and paste it," she said. "And then, after that, she'd kiss it and hug it."

I know exactly what would happen if I gave a sheet of paper to one of my sons. He'd either rip it to shreds or swallow it—immediately. And then he'd say, "There's nothing for me to do." He wouldn't say it softly and sweetly, either.

Softly and sweetly is not how my sons speak. I have often tried to explain to my boys that it isn't really necessary to convey the simplest little message in earsplitting bellows and roars. But bellowers and roarers

they are. And thumpers and thuders and bangers and slammers, too, as if it were their mission in life to stamp out silence.

I remember the day at the shoe store when my sons decided to entertain the other customers by singing those awful songs that little boys learn in the little boys' room at school. In their exuberance, they toppled a couple of standing ashtrays, one of which wiped out an elaborate display of Italian sandals.

Please don't think that I'm smiling benignly through this madness. I am not. I am seizing my boys by their collars. I am bopping them on their behinds. I am thrusting them into their chairs, swearing that they will suffer horrible punishment if they don't CUT IT OUT IMMEDIATELY! They stare back at me with hurt, bewildered eyes. "Cut what out?" Anthony wants to know. "We were just being friendly."

How in the world did I ever wind up with boys? They are handsome fellows—honestly they are—but the sight of them in their smeary, mismatched outfits is enough to break a clothes-loving mother's heart.

With boys like mine, clothes just don't stand a chance. Whatever I select, they jam the zippers. And pop the buttons. All of a sudden, gaping holes appear. And every remaining accessible surface gets covered with wrinkles and stains for which modern science has yet to find a cure.

"That's how you let the children go to the movies?" my mother-in-

law asked me yesterday. And much as I'd have loved to contradict her, it wasn't possible. For there was Alexander in a shirt with huge red smudges ("That's not dirt, Mommy. That's just spaghetti.") and two entirely unrelated socks. And there was Nick in baggy shorts that sank to his ankles whenever he inhaled. ("I do, too, know where all my belts are. One is at school, one is at David's, and one we cut up to make headbands.") And there was Anthony in jeans whose patches' patches had patches ("Grandma gave me a dollar to throw them away. I gave it back.") and a purple polo shirt with a stretched-out neckline large enough to accommodate the head of an elephant.

"You look darling," I once said to Nick, after he had been bludgeoned into white ducks and a gold-buttoned blazer. He clutched at his stomach and made horrid gagging sounds. "Who," he groaned, "wants to look darling?"

No, my boys do not like their mother talking mushy. Nor is it ever

possible to get them talking mushily to me. Our cozy conversations reveal their views on baseball cards, nose-bleeds and picking scabs. Or maybe they'll ask me some deep, philosophical question such as: "Would you rather choke to death or burn to death in a fire?" Or confide that Joel down the block has smelly feet.

"Yesterday we cut a worm in half," Anthony once told me, "and Iggie Halpern ate it."

I'm sure it wouldn't be that way with a girl. We'd cuddle up to each other, and discuss whether ponytails were better than braids. And if I happened to give her a kiss or two, she wouldn't spend several minutes rubbing her cheek as if she'd been fatally contaminated.

Well, someday, I comfort myself, my boys will speak softly and learn to sit quietly. There'll be no more naughty songs that they learned at school. There will be no more shrieks of "Mommy, come quickly! I need you!"

And how I will miss it! How I will miss it all!



Wholehearted

I WAS ushering at a Metropolitan Opera performance of Wagner's *Parsifal*, a five-hour work plus intermissions. When the opera was over, I heard one member of the audience remark: "I can't believe I heard the whole thing!"

—Contributed by Roberta M.N. Malraison

IT HAD to happen, what with city, state and federal taxes, Social Security, retirement funds and hospitalization deductions. On a recent payday at Church of the Nazarene headquarters in Kansas City, when everyone was quietly contemplating his check, a voice of utter despair was heard to say: "I can't believe they took the whole thing!"

—Contributed by Linda P. Sewell

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Science

Androgyny

"Women's Lib"

Arguments for "women's lib" appear in many publications. I can accept the shallow, subjective stuff in other periodicals, but certainly *Science* should publish arguments other than those for equal pay and maternity leave.

How about extended leave to provide offspring with the love, discipline, and care that young mammals need? Surely biologists can describe the needs of mammalian offspring generally, and the needs of man's offspring specifically.

Are certain women (a minority, I am sure) trying to repeal another of nature's laws? Haven't we bought ourselves enough problems by trying to diverge in various directions from the highways nature intended?

Women certainly deserve fair and enlightened treatment; but what should it be? What can it be—without bringing up more children who will become problems for all of us to contend with?

R. G. LYNCH

8121 Stickney Avenue,
Wauwatosa, Wisconsin 53213

Bureaucracy

The publication "Interim Description and guidelines for proposal preparation," sent to me by the National Science Foundation in reply to a letter of inquiry concerning grants under the RANN (Research Applied to National Needs) program, must represent a new high in the bureaucratization of science funding.

Even after an initial letter of inquiry, with a general description of the contemplated research, it is still necessary to submit a preliminary proposal. This preliminary proposal itself imposes formidable requirements, including an

abstract, narrative (containing a "discussion of the implications of the proposed research for national needs or societal problems"), research plan, management plan (including "a schedule indicating major accomplishment milestones foreseen in achieving the research objective"), related programs and activities of the organization, related programs in other organizations, dissemination of research results ("It is particularly important to identify the potential beneficiaries or users of the anticipated research results and to plan for effective information transfer to them..."), as well as the usual vitae and bibliographies, current support, applications to other federal agencies, and budget. However, this preliminary proposal is still to be treated only as a basis for discussion regarding the development of a formal proposal if "review indicates that the project would be a strong competitor for support by the RANN program."

Aside from the demands on the researcher's time imposed by this excessively cumbersome procedure, are not national needs likely to change considerably before the research gets done? An accelerated, rather than prolonged, application period would seem to be a more logical way to get at urgent societal problems.

MEYER CHESIN

Department of Botany,
University of Montana,
Missoula 59801

Courtesy

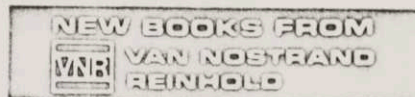
All those except hermits are probably aware of the current crises in job openings and funding. May I call attention to a concomitant, perhaps resultant, crisis in courtesy—courtesy among educational institutions.

Many colleges respond to job inquiry letters with Silence. If this is not an extreme in rudeness and discourtesy, it is certainly at least a failure to empathize with the job-seeking individuals in a poor job market.

Some may suggest an economic justification for this silence, but when \$6 for postcards plus a little time for printing a form letter saying "No, thank you" could relieve some of the anxieties of 100 applicants, the economic argument seems difficult to accept.

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“Women are now attempting to expand the idea of womanliness so they can show toughness, leadership and capacity for authority without being labeled unwomanly”

Audrey

Women's attitudes toward everything—themselves, love, sex, marriage, work, even their children—are changing as they never have before,” says psychiatrist Robert J. Lifton. “But it's important to put this change into the framework of what's happening to society as a whole. Every major symbol and institution is being questioned, so it's inevitable that women should become much more aware of themselves, in everything they do and feel.”

I met Dr. Lifton in his study at Yale University's Department of Psychiatry. The office was low-keyed and somewhat stark—white walls, black leather couch and chairs, dark orange rug, walnut desk and bookshelves—but the professor himself showed up in a cheery bright red shirt and olive-green jacket. He spoke animatedly about his interest in what he calls the protean life-style.

“Do you remember Proteus, the Greek god who had the ability to change his shape whenever he pleased? He could be a lion, a wild boar, or fire or flood. The one thing he abhorred was having to commit himself to a single shape. Well, in today's atmosphere of constant change, I think a new life-style is emerging that emphasizes flux and flow rather than stability and permanence. I call this style protean—constant experimentation and exploration of all areas of human experience, from political attitudes to sexual behavior.

“People of both sexes are adopting the protean style in varying degrees. Women throughout the United States already feel its effects, whether they work in offices or at home. One example of what I mean is the change in attitude toward long hair on men and boys. Many people who once reacted strongly against it are now indifferent to it or even sympathetic. The same could be said for feelings about the women's liberation movement.”

By now my mind was brimming with questions to ask Dr. Lifton; I got out my notebook and our interview officially began.

Wilhelm: How has this rapidly shifting life-style you describe changed women's ideas about themselves? Why are they freer now, sexually and in so many other ways?

Lifton: How you live is influenced by certain socially accepted symbols. For instance, we have images of what is manly and womanly, what should be expected of each sex. Maybe because of the importance of the frontier in the development of America we have stressed toughness, super-masculinity, physical strength in the male image. You know—the John Wayne kind of a manly man of quiet and uncon-



TOM DI GRAZIA

testable strength, tight-lipped, wary of sensitivity, vulnerability or softness. Aesthetic appreciation was generally considered unmasculine, even effeminate—a threat to masculinity.

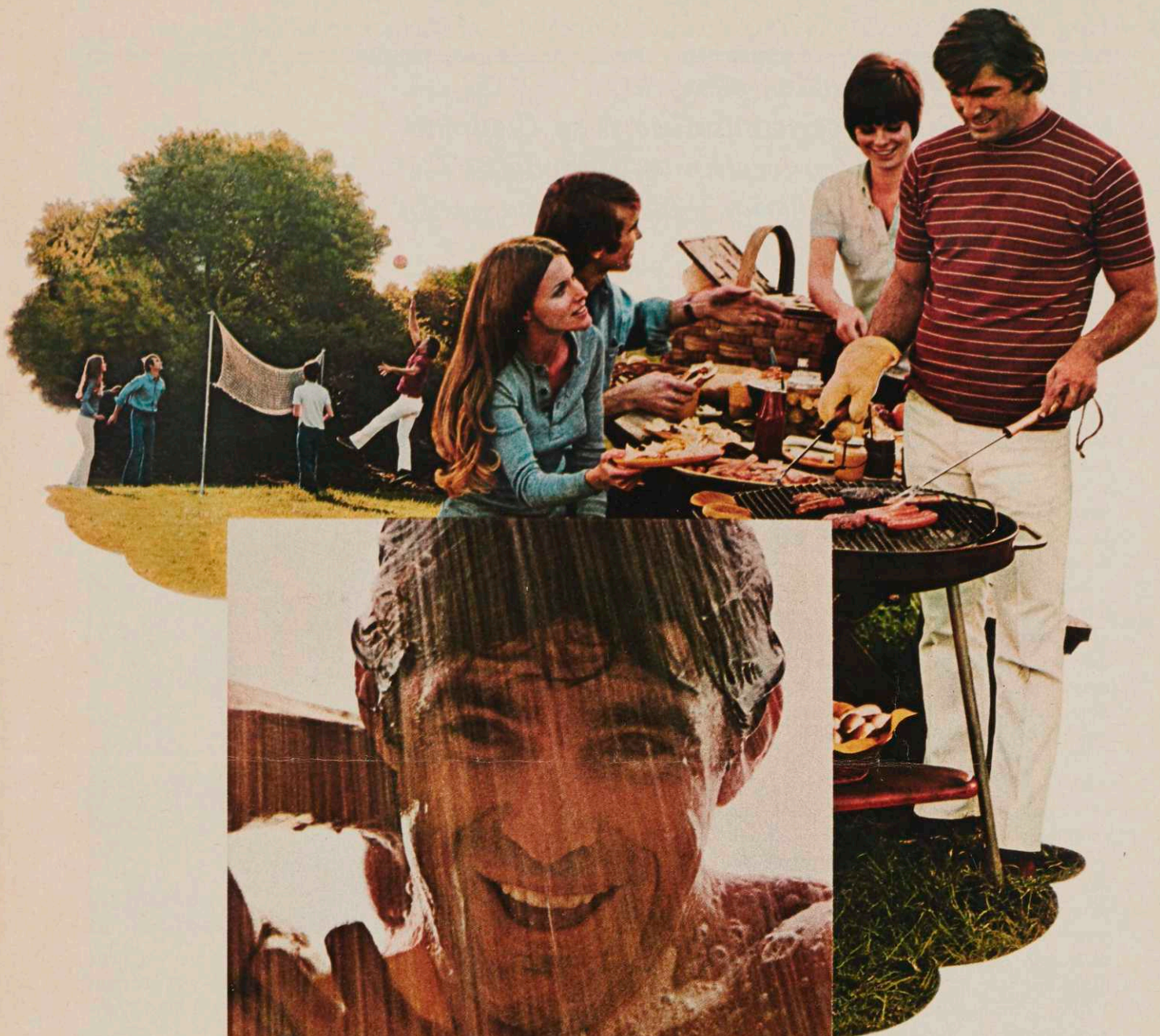
For women there has been a companion stereotype. Except for the frontier woman, who was as sturdy and self-reliant as the man, a woman was generally thought of as soft, compliant, submissive, to be dominated rather than dominating.

One way to look at both the young male hair rebellion and women's lib is that they are rebellions against stereotypes, against rigid and absolute images. The youth rebellion has to do with the idea of *expanding* the ideal of maleness so *he* can be sensitive, soft at times and pliable, without considering it a threat to manliness. A man is just as capable of feeling tenderness as a woman is, but he hasn't been allowed to express it very openly.

In the same way, women are now attempting to expand the idea of womanliness so it can include toughness, leadership, capacity for authority and even for domination, and not be labeled unwomanly. I think this kind of experimentation with changing images will go on for a long time.

Wilhelm: Women who try to assert

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IDEAS FOR LIVING

From page 12

themselves, whether in a job or in planning the family budget, are often called "aggressive." Would you say this is largely a masculine defense—or maybe attack would be a better word?

Lifton: I think many of us are beginning to accept the concept that, except for obvious biological differences, nothing is strictly male or female. But long-held images die hard. Assertive is too often considered synonymous with aggressive. Any real achievement requires that the achiever be assertive. Dedicated energy is needed for achievement. This is all too easily put down by men when it appears in women.

To many men it naturally seemed much easier when women lived by the "whatever you do, darling, is great by me" rule. I'm not saying men *must* react this way, but this is just an example of pain that accompanies real change.

Wilhelm: As women become more able to express themselves sexually, will this too be regarded as aggressive?

Lifton: Something very important is taking place in women in respect to their sensuality, and I think men may learn to live with and even enjoy female assertiveness in this respect. I *do* think women will make more demands on men to be responsive, and not just in terms of bringing her to orgasm but in a much more complete realization of sensual pleasure. For those men who remain inclined to think only of their own response, it will be a bad situation. Once a woman knows what she is and can do, she can

hardly settle for the puritan notion that women were made to serve, and service, men.

Wilhelm: How do you think women's changing attitudes will affect marriage?

Lifton: Marriage has already been profoundly affected. Aside from the prevalence of divorce, there are radical experiments going on in communal living, and also by individual couples and groups of couples. I think it's obvious that, as other values are redefined, many

traditional ideas about marriage will be scrapped, though not, I think, the institution itself.

I don't think women are by nature any more monogamous than men, but because they feel greater responsibility for the continuous care of their children, they have accepted restrictions. As women become socially more independent, it's doubtful they will take it for granted that love can be expressed with only one particular man, now and forever. I am not necessarily arguing for

at making a marriage satisfying for both partners? What happens to all the old-fashioned virtues like loyalty, honesty and sincerity?

Lifton: There are no simple answers, and I have no desire to put myself in the position of a public spiritual or sexual adviser. But one way of looking at the matter would be to take those old-fashioned virtues seriously. Let's consider loyalty. Loyalty should be characterized by honesty and sincerity on both sides. This could mean digging deeper into the possibilities of a marriage in a rewarding way; it could also mean ending a marriage in which these qualities are absent.

Sometimes sex becomes a desperate substitute for real intimacy, and is experienced by each partner in a kind of isolation. This is a tragic kind of dishonesty.

Wilhelm: I would like to switch to women as workers, now. Do you think working and coping in a man's world affects women's attitudes toward men?

Lifton: Both sides are guilty of defensiveness, touchiness and exaggerated sensitivity. There's no such thing as historical change of real significance that isn't accompanied by suffering as well as exhilaration. What was considered a man's world was really a world that excluded women. Women have been victimized by being shut out.

There has always been an edge to male-female relationships—some kind of struggle, with elements of hostility. A heightened and focused hostility is inevitable during this experimental period. Women are now moving toward the right to do things

which before were limited to men. But this does not mean women are going to behave like men; they'll still approach love, sex and jobs as women, but not as the women of 10, 20 or 30 years ago. Eventually, there will be much more mutuality, more interchange of "roles" and a real meaning to equality.

I think that because women are *different* from men, they have too often been thought of as *inferior*. Women

To page 96



"MANWICH—the secret ingredient in my best homemade Sloppy Joe"



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infidelity, nor against the rare "perfect mating." I just think it will be more acceptable for men and women to attempt to fulfill newly recognized and changing emotional and sexual needs in ways not now sanctioned by society.

Wilhelm: But how do you differentiate between promiscuity and a meaningful affair? Do you think a serious extramarital relationship can contribute to individual growth, or is an affair just a rationalization for not working harder

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 1 cup shredded cabbage
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 ½ cup peas
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have been regarded as less able to do all kinds of things, and this notion has been held by *women* as well as men. I'm not referring to obvious physical differences such as muscular strength, but to long-held myths ranging from women's alleged greater emotional instability to their supposed inability to think in abstract, theoretical terms.

We Americans put great emphasis on individuality, but how much of our ideal of self-reliance has applied to women? Women's independence—especially sexual independence—has been pretty much of a fiction.

Wilhelm: Women have depended on their husbands for status, for security in the social world. Do you think they will be regarded as someone other than Mrs. Police Officer or Mrs. Vice President? So far it seems to me this kind of separate identity has been reserved

only for the few highly successful women, usually professional women such as doctors or lawyers.

Lifton: I think this identity question is an enormously important part of women's struggle. They clearly have to carve out their own identities as people, which is what much of women's liberation is about. But my own view is that these identities and styles of working and living can have qualities of their own, which differ in some ways from those of men in similar positions. And here, I think, we still have a lot to learn about the real differences between the sexes, beginning with the biological and going into psychobiological areas—differences that neither Freud nor women's lib have yet identified or described.

The simple point is that equality need not be sameness.

There's one more thing I want to say, and I feel I can't stress it enough. We've been talking a great deal about the equal status of men and women as the ultimate goal, sexually and at work. I think it's pretty ironic to see all those pictures of women in uniform in various parts of the world, fighting side by side with men as one step toward their ultimate goal.

Instead, I would like to see the changing woman use her special qualities to do something concrete about the world's extraordinary danger of being destroyed by war. It is not enough to react emotionally. It means women's movements and women individually will have to become experts on the issues of war and weaponry, so that they can exert real influence on America's and the world's future. This is a very tough assignment. ■

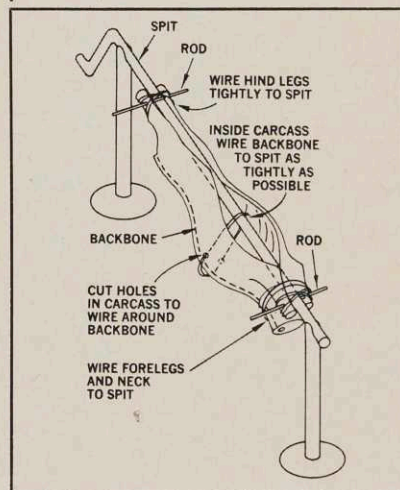
LIVING BLACK

From page 22

pounds of melted butter. (Keep extra butter or margarine on hand and add it to your basting sauce if needed.) Place the butter near the fire to melt. Blend in oregano, poultry seasoning, pepper, thyme and curry powder (*see box on page 98 for amounts*).

Add the chopped onions, one cup of salt water, one 8-ounce can of tomato sauce and, if you like it hot, one 4-ounce can of jalapeño (chili) peppers.

You're almost finished with the preparation. Didn't I tell you it was easy? Now all you have to do is secure the lamb to a three- to four-foot spit. Use strong but flexible, lightweight picture-hanging wire to tie the lamb tightly so it won't flop while roasting . . . and so it won't fall into your fire, either!



Insert the spit lengthwise through the lamb. Slide a 12"x1/4" metal bar through the lamb shanks and under the spit (*see ILLUSTRATION*). Draw the shanks up to the spit and wrap the wire tightly, pulling with pliers, around the bar, legs and spit to secure the carcass. Follow the same procedure for the front shanks and the neck. Then, using your sharp, thin-bladed knife, make two holes through the carcass, from the inside to the outside, on either side of the backbone. Insert

File
Autogym

MY HUSBAND WANTED A SILENT PARTNER

When we were married in 1963, both my husband and I were working. He had a job in a local GM plant and earned well over three dollars an hour while I was a clerk in a drugstore, earning one dollar an hour. The thought of my quitting never entered our minds because we both came from families where it was necessary for all family members to work.

Having been raised to know what and where a woman's place is, I never questioned my husband about money. On payday we pooled our checks and paid the bills. I kept enough money for groceries and my lunches, and all that remained was his money to do with as he wished—after all, he earned considerably more than I did. My mother had done this and so had his, so it was expected that I also would have no personal money.

Because I had been taught that men should be king in the home and never be contradicted or questioned, I didn't say anything when over half of our combined annual income was channeled into his hobby—motorcycles. Of course, when you have bikes, you must have tools, parts, tires, beer and eventually a special truck to haul the bikes in. During this time I was cooking on a range with one working burner, using a \$20 prewar refrigerator (Civil War, I believe) and borrowing a vacuum cleaner.

I worked until two days before our first child was born, and I was just beginning to look forward to spending quiet days with my husband and baby when my husband's brother moved in with us. According to my husband, I was just a housewife and would have nothing to do but stick a bottle in the baby's mouth, cook a couple of meals and sit around and watch TV all day. But what with taking care of a new baby and with a brother-in-law on first shift and a husband on second shift—and all on a much reduced income—it seemed to me that all I was doing was cooking and changing diapers. I loved them, all three, but it was too much for a 20-year-old. Having no one to turn to, I would cry all night long, considering myself a failure.

When my brother-in-law got married and left us, some of the tension and confusion eased. Our lives went along with relative smoothness until shortly after our second child was born. My husband became ill and could not work for a while, so I reluctantly returned to work. Having no particular skills and no connections in the right places, I went from one low-paying job to another. My return to the work force was just to tide us over



WOMEN ON THE JOB: A READER'S STORY

BY KATHLEEN K. SMITH
BURTON, MICHIGAN

until my husband got on his feet again; I didn't intend to make a career of it, so what did it matter what the job was?

I continued to help out for quite a while after he returned to work because the extra income seemed like heaven. It never bothered me that while I was bolstering our finances I was still using the same range and refrigerator. My husband had given up his motorcycles during this time only to take up an equally expensive hobby—sailing. By now I was beginning to feel a little resentful of the way he spent money, but because I was not an equally contributing partner (so I thought), I didn't say anything.

One of the jobs I held was as a cook in an elementary school. During that time I discovered that I really liked working with and being around kids. My enjoyment was short-lived, however: I soon discovered that I could not afford a daytime job. By the time I paid the baby-sitter, bought uniforms and maintained an extra car, I was left with ten dollars for a 40-hour week.

Then the school had an opening on the second shift for a janitorial position. The salary was higher than I had been earning, so I made the switch. Until now my husband had not minded my working because I had seen to it that he had no added responsibilities and at none of my other jobs had I been working with men. Suddenly he was forced to baby-sit with our two children all evening, and I was working with an all-male janitor crew. After three months of fighting, I quit the only decent-paying job I ever held. It just wasn't worth it. But I wondered: What do I do now?

I remembered some of the conversations that the teachers had had about

the lack of good baby-sitters, so I decided to apply for a day-care license. I asked my husband if he would mind. After much discussion (crying and pleading on my part), he finally consented. I immediately placed an ad in the newspaper and started my business. Somewhere I got up enough courage to refuse to pool my money with his. I saved until I was able to purchase a new stove with a self-cleaning oven, a frostfree refrigerator and a washer and dryer. But while these things certainly made my life easier, there was still something missing.

I had been reading a lot about self-fulfillment, confidence and women's rights. None of this had seemed applicable to my life. But the more I read the more I came to believe that I was not so different from those women and that maybe I too was an individual of some worth.

In January of 1974 I decided, after an absence of 12 years, to return to college and become a teacher. This was a big decision because I had been a very poor student during the one semester I had attended when I was 18. I was not too sure the local college would welcome a 29-year-old freshman with a previous grade point average of 1.75. However, I was definitely going to try.

There were many discussions with my husband and children. All ended in the same manner; the kids thought it was a "fun" idea and my husband thought that it was quite possibly the worst idea he had ever heard.

The first proclamation he issued was that no financial aid would be forthcoming from *his* / turn to page 70

NOTE TO OUR READERS

MCCALL's will pay \$1,000 for each Working Woman's story accepted for publication. We are interested in stories that reflect the special problems, conflicts and opportunities that confront women who have jobs outside their homes, how they are handling these pressures and any rewards they are experiencing. ("Special problems" might include resistance from the family, worry about children or house-keeping, strain on the marriage, lack of time for recreation, relationships with employers and co-workers, money, job discrimination, lack of education and/or job credentials, and so forth.) Send your manuscript (1,000 to 2,000 words) to Working Women, McCall's, Room 720, 230 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10017. Please keep a copy of your manuscript, since MCCALL's cannot be responsible either for its receipt or its return.

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THE IN-DISPOSABLES

continued

paycheck for the purpose of increasing any woman's brain power. Because I had my day-care license that was not a real problem. Gathering up all my courage, I ran another ad in the newspaper, which brought in four children for me to watch on a full-time basis (over nine hours a day). It was now time for some minor changes in tradition. For the first time in our marriage, my earnings were going to be used for something exclusively for me.

The real problem for me was the actual enrolling and attending college. I was so nervous the day I went down to register that I could hardly spell my own name.

I had intended to sign up for only one course—a Saturday class in U.S. history. But then I saw there were openings in an evening child-development class, too. I was sure after reading the course description that it would help me with my baby-sitting, so I signed up for both classes. Then I thought: What have I done?

When I went to my first class my stomach was upset, my palms were sweaty and my heart was beating so loud that I just knew the whole world

GETTING THEIR NUMBER

The way a teenager clings to the phone

To parents like me is appalling.

Adolescence, I see, isn't just a phase;

It really is more of a calling.

—RICHARD ARMOUR

could hear. I was sure I would be the only 29-year-old housewife in the room and everyone would laugh at me. I spent hours on my makeup and hair. I dressed very carefully in my best pantsuit and left home long before I needed to. I was in the classroom a full 30 minutes early and sat nervously in the back of the room so that no one would notice me. To my surprise and amazement, almost one third of the class were older students. I was not nearly the oldest. And many of my fellow students seemed as nervous as I was. (I later discovered that even grandmothers get opposition at home. One woman, who turned out to have six grandchildren, told me that her husband was categorically opposed to her furthering her education—especially at her age). I no longer felt alone.

As the semester wore on our house became increasingly more "homey" (which is one way of saying not quite so clean). The fact that there were four extra children around continually from six AM until five PM had, according to my husband, nothing to do with the situation; there could be only one excuse for the deplorable state that existed—college. In due course, the

continued on page 138



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WOMEN ON THE JOB

continued from page 70

resident children (my own) were assigned kitchen privileges (setting the table and doing the dishes), bathroom privileges (keeping the tub and sink clean) and bedroom privileges (keeping their own room clean). By this time they were nine and seven years old and perfectly capable of pulling their own weight. It did not take them long to discover that the resident father (their own) was the only person not engaged in some method of creating order out of the chaos we called home. With a few not-too-subtle hints they succeeded in embarrassing him into at least picking up his clothes and not using a clean cup every time he had a fresh cup of coffee.

I spent hours on my homework, staying up until all hours and getting up before everyone else to study. I agonized over every paper or assignment that I had to hand in. Thank goodness for an understanding instructor, who gently asked the right questions and offered the appropriate comments to get me started. I survived it. No one laughed in the wrong places. They were even asking me—*me*—questions and, wonder of wonders, I knew the answers. The class was treating me as an equal. I knew then that I would make it, no matter what.

Having managed to survive the first semester, I decided not to press my

luck by taking summer courses. If I could possibly keep six children entertained for the summer, I could save enough money to take at least three courses in the fall. But hark! another proclamation from my husband. Because of the energy crisis, the family car could no longer be used for frivolous educational purposes (and besides, he wasn't going to be stuck at home on Saturdays with two kids and no car). So after setting money aside for my tuition, I had to start saving for a car. For \$250 I managed to purchase a fairly reliable "set of wheels."

The fall semester began with my husband's now-familiar rantings continuing at an unrelenting pace. As my over-the-hill, 30th birthday approached, I decided it was time to make a decision. Instead of asking for more material things for the occasion, I would ask for either a truce or a divorce. I would point out to him that I gave him no trouble about his hobbies, so it was only reasonable that he give me no trouble about my college. Then, three days before my birthday, he said to me, "For your birthday, I promise to *try* to stop giving you such a hard time about college." The only reply he received was a very stunned, incredulous look.

Although the situation is still far from trouble-free, we have at least faced it. I now have amassed 32 credit hours, which is a long way from my

goal. It is also a long way from nothing. To me it has been a lot of hard work, but I have managed to maintain a 4.0 (A) average. I know that that first low grade is coming, but now I think I can handle it. I have discovered that nothing will happen if the beds don't get made every day or if the laundry doesn't get done on Monday. Life still goes on—a little less spotless but a lot more interesting.

My husband has discovered that no harm will come to our marriage if I am not tied to the house. I'm sure he now realizes that all humans have a need to grow. In fact, he has signed up for high-school completion courses and is well on his way to a diploma and intends to join me in college when he can. I am really glad that he has decided to grow with me. I would like to get a decent job to help *him* through. It is going to be a long hard pull, but I'm sure that we will both make it. I am also sure that our marriage is much stronger now that it has been in the nearly 12 years we have been married.

What is really ironic about all this is that I am no longer sure that I want to be a teacher. College has opened up areas of my brain that I have never used before. I have learned many things about myself that both please and disappoint me. I no longer am sure what I want to be, but one thing is sure: I shall continue my college, come what may. ■

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1. Dissolve gelatin in boiling water. Add cold water. Measure 1 cup; chill until thickened. Spoon fruit and thickened gelatin into parfait glasses.



2. Tilt glasses in refrigerator by catching bases between bars of racks and leaning the tops against wall; chill until set. Meanwhile, chill remaining gelatin until slightly thickened.



3. Spoon whipped topping into glasses.



4. Top with remaining gelatin. Stand glasses upright and chill about 1 hour. Garnish, if desired. Makes 3 cups or 6 servings.

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NEW YORK SPLIT

Androgyny

“...At best, the new divorce bill is ‘a mixed bag,’ says a prominent matrimonial lawyer, who adds, ‘It will cause divorces’...”

Divorce, New York Style

If you are a New York State resident and are (a) married, (b) separated, (c) contemplating marriage, (d) contemplating divorce, or (e) blissfully single, keep a close eye on the new domestic-relations bill just introduced in the Legislature in Albany. If it passes, which is highly probable, it will alter drastically the ground rules of every existing and future marriage in the state after September 1.

It has been dubbed everything from the “Jewish Princess Bill” to the “No-Love Bill” (love is not mentioned anywhere in it), but it has the solid support of many legal associations and feminist groups, which helped bring the bill into being. Basically, there are two major provisions of the bill that virtually all groups applaud. The first deals with alimony. Even the term has been abolished—it is now “maintenance.” And either party would be able to collect it, based upon need. But once the recipient is economically self-sufficient, payments can stop. (Score one for the men.)

The second major feature has to do with distribution of assets. Under existing law, the spouse who holds title to property usually retains it after a divorce. A shrewd husband or wife can wind up with all or most of the property acquired over the course of a marriage by insisting that it be put in his or her name. The new bill would empower the court to divide the spoils equitably—but not necessarily equally. Inheritances and outright gifts would be excluded.

Included in the marriage property would be each party’s contribution to the other’s career or career potential. If a wife helped to put her husband through medical school, for example, the court can put a cash value on hubby’s career and order him to pay her back for her contribution.

Also, a woman’s contribution as “homemaker” would be considered by the court in dividing property. (Score one for the women.)

There are other important provisions. The husband and wife would have to make full financial disclosure to the court. There would be tougher enforce-



Interested parties: Lawyers Raoul and Myrna Felder, shown here in their Fifth Avenue office, find serious fault with the pending New York State divorce bill.

ment of court-ordered settlements, but elimination of alimony jail. Both parties would be held responsible for the support of children.

Then there is the elimination of the “Caesar’s wife” provision of the current law, whereby the court has to deny a wife alimony if her husband can prove a single act of marital misconduct during the course of marriage or separation. This change is one that feminist groups have fought for vigorously.

“Husbands who ought to be spending money on their kids are spending it on detectives trailing their wives,” notes Julia Perles, a partner in charge of matrimonial cases at Phillips, Nizer, Benjamin, Krim & Ballon, and one of the bill’s most ardent backers.

Under the new law, the court can cancel or amend maintenance payments if one spouse can prove that the other has been “habitually living with an unrelated member of the opposite sex for a period of at least three months.” (Curiously, the provision makes no mention of homosexual cohabitation.)

The bill, which was proposed by Assembly Majority Leader Albert H. Blumenthal, Senator Bernard G. Gordon, and Assemblyman Gordon W. Bur-

rows, is considered a shoo-in. To date, there has been no organized opposition, and proponents feel it will pass quickly and practically intact.

In spite of the widespread support of the bill, however, some matrimonial lawyers have nagging reservations. “At best it’s a mixed bag,” says Raoul Felder, one of the most prominent matrimonial lawyers in New York. “It will cause divorces. A lot of marriages stay together for financial reasons. With this law, many people will be able to gain financial independence, and so will get divorced.”

Felder, who insists that “not everyone who finds fault with the bill is a male chauvinist pig,” also questions whether the law will be all that popular with women.

“There is a cutoff date on alimony. A woman can be responsible for her husband’s support. And contributing to a spouse’s career can cut both ways. I figure it cost me \$100,000 for my wife’s legal training, including baby-sitting fees, and so on. She would have to pay for that in case of divorce,” says Felder.

He also feels that the husband’s case in custody squabbles will be much stronger, since the new law would not

“...There can be solid tax breaks if you give your stocks to charity—and in some cases you can even make a profit...”

give women any automatic advantages. He predicts the courts will be swamped with custody cases, at which time courts will sometimes have to appoint guardians to care for the children.

He points out that the law could even require a spouse to take out life insurance and guarantee the college education of children to age 21. “The court can require a spouse to take on responsibilities after marriage that were not necessarily required while he or she was married,” he notes.

There will be problems, too, in Felder’s view, in putting price tags on people’s careers. “I can’t equate a husband’s going to medical school with a woman’s keeping house,” he says.

Ms. Perles allows that there will be some difficulties with the new law. “Valuation of assets may be a problem, but that’s no reason to put up with the gross inequity of the current law.

“I think I’m satisfied with the bill. I’ve made the compromises necessary. It will be a vast improvement over the existing law,” she adds.

The New York Women’s Bar Association supports the principles of the bill, but some members, including first vice-president Myrna Felder, Raoul’s wife, have reservations. “This will encourage men to dump their wives,” she says. “The bill is too loaded. It is too much of a radical change.”

Whatever its final form, the new law will be a boon to divorce lawyers. “It will be a windfall,” says Raoul Felder. “Settlements will involve so much money that legal fees will be very substantial. Lawyers will do very well.”

Some couples are even likely to see lawyers before getting married, since the law would permit couples to sign an agreement before marriage exempting them from some of the provisions of the law. “Divorce lawyers are going to become premarital lawyers,” says Raoul.

In fact, he feels that the law ought to apply only to couples married after September 1. “If people don’t like the law, they can sign an agreement beforehand that satisfies them. It’s unfair to change the rules midstream on the many people who had set aside private nest eggs and who will have to split those eggs open in case of divorce.”

When It Pays to Give

You’ve been holding some old dogs in your stock portfolio for years, and suddenly over the past few months they got frisky again and doubled or tripled

—it happened with a lot of stocks. If you are in a high-income bracket, and are looking for something to do with such appreciated stock, why not give it away? There can be solid tax breaks if you do it right—and in some cases you can even profit by it.

First of all, you can make an outright gift of your stock to a bona-fide charity. Provided you have held the securities six months, you are allowed to deduct the full market value of the stock as a charitable contribution. There are advantages to such gifts, according to Sidney Hoffman, a tax partner with Touche Ross & Company, an accounting firm.

Suppose you are now in the 70 percent bracket and are holding a stock valued at \$100, which you bought at \$25. If you donate the stock, you get a tax deduction of \$70 on every share you give away. If you sell the stock, you have to pay a capital-gains tax on the profit—in this case about \$19. This leaves you with \$81 per share—the \$100 selling price minus the capital-gains tax. In other words, giving the stock to charity, as opposed to selling it, has cost you only \$11 per share. But the charity, of course, has the full \$100-per-share value.

If the stock has really gone through the roof, and you have other capital gains, it is conceivable that a hefty stock gift will cost you nothing out of pocket—and could even save you some money.

Consider a stock priced now at \$175 which you bought at \$25. You are in the 70 percent bracket and have other capital gains, so that your effective tax on gains is 35 percent—or \$53 per share if you sell the \$175 stock. That would net you \$122 per share. On the other hand, if you gave the stock away, your income-tax savings would be exactly the same—\$122.

You can make further calculations and assumptions in which the result would be that you would actually save money by giving stock away.

Play It Straight on Your Résumé

In preparing a résumé, you may be tempted to gloss over some unsavory details of your job history, or even invent a few things—a Harvard MBA, for example. But the better the job you are reaching for, the better the chances that you will be found out.

Increasingly, companies are using private investigators to check out candidates for high-level jobs. The investi-

gators will verify all the data on a résumé—education, marital status, employment history, job responsibilities. They also will run credit checks and report on any tax liens, judgments, or bankruptcies.

And in checking your job record, they will interview former subordinates and superiors, as well as your references.

One of the investigators specializing in such reports is Jeremiah M. Bogert, president of Bishop’s Service in New York. Burns and Pinkerton’s also do it.

Bogert’s firm runs hundreds of personal checks each year for employers, at an average cost of \$300 each. And in roughly one case in ten he finds something seriously wrong. “There’s everything from phony MBA degrees to overblown job descriptions,” he says. “Most often we find gaps in employment. And occasionally we find information that actually helps a candidate, but which he has ignored for one reason or another. Sometimes applicants actually understate their own cases.”

Bogert insists that applicants for employment are always told when they are being investigated. But the moral is clear: on résumé and application, it’s best to play it straight.

Making Book on Yourself

A bookie friend of mine once described life insurance as the ultimate sucker bet. “I gotta die to win,” explained Eddie, “and then my old lady gets the money—and sits around waiting for a guy like you to take it away from her.”

The Billion Dollar Bookies, by Richard Shulman (Harper’s Magazine Press, \$7.95), is a cynical look at the mutual-life-insurance industry that would have warmed Eddie’s heart. (He died penniless; we had to take up a collection to bury him.)

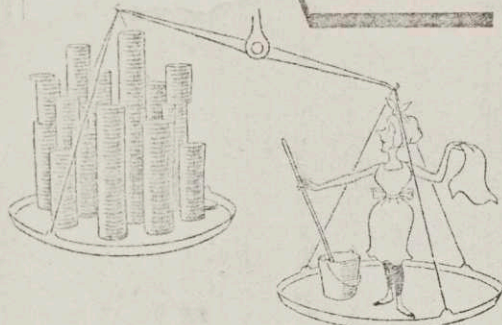
Shulman figures that no bookie has it as good as insurers do. “The true odds of a 35-year-old insurable American man dying in the next year are about 900 to 1 against. A mutual-life-insurance company will offer only about 200-to-1 odds in a \$10,000 policy. The company thus has considerable vigorish to work with.”

His case is overstated, if colorful, but Shulman does raise some good questions about how the mutual-insurance companies operate, and offers some ponderables if you are in the market for insurance. ■

Help Wanted-Female

REQUIREMENTS-
Intelligence, energy, and
skill at 12 different
occupations - hours - 99.6
per wk - SALARY - NONE

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in a newspaper
...it's a
job description
for millions
of American
housewives



not only is the
average husband
richer than he thinks
..so is the country!



America's 30,000,000
housewives are a powerful,
though neglected, force
in the economy.. they
are worth over
\$250,000,000,000 a year..
but are not even included
in our statistics!

if the Housewives' contribution
were counted, economists say
the gross national product
would shoot up more than 35%
to around \$900,000,000,000



*Chase Manhattan
Bank
"What's a wife
worth"*

1966

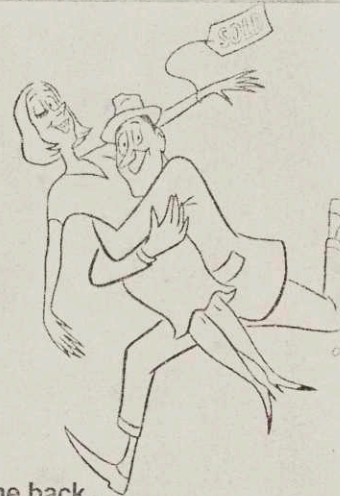
*cat
Audios
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Audios*

here's a list
of the average
housewife's
tasks..the
number of
hours she
spends on each
..and the
going rate
for these jobs
on the
labor market..

JOB	HOURS		RATE		VALUE
	per wk.	per hr.	per hr.	per wk.	per wk.
nursemaid	44.5		\$1.25		\$55.63
dietitian	12		2.50		3.00
food buyer	3.2		1.50		4.95
cook	13.1		2.50		32.75
dishwasher	6.2		1.50		9.30
housekeeper	17.5		1.50		26.25
laundress	5.9		1.90		11.21
seamstress	1.3		2.50		3.25
practical nurse	6		2.00		12.00
maintenance man	17		2.25		3.83
gardener	2.3		1.55		3.57
chauffeur	2.0		2.20		4.40

TOTAL 99.6 hrs. per wk. \$159.34 per wk. or \$8,285.68 a year

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yourselves
not just the most
successful of
bargain hunters..
but lucky as well!



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Stress has no gender

*True
File Androgyny
Bulletin*

Women court the same achievers' diseases as men on the corporate ladder

"I don't know any woman who has an executive position who doesn't have some form of stress or some kind of physical result of it," says Peggy Lancaster, a principal and creative director of Scott, Lancaster & Mills, a Los Angeles ad agency. Heart disease is relatively rare among women, but Lancaster, like a remarkable number of women managers, has a serious heart condition. "I can't imagine what could have caused it other than my work," she says. "You go home, you're still worrying about the problems. You go out, you're worrying over your clients. You walk into a store, you eavesdrop on customers."

As more women become executives, the more they are the victims of heart disease, ulcers, and other ills traditionally associated with men executives. Their health profiles become more like those of male business achievers and less like those of other women.

Because women have entered the corporate world in force only recently, this cannot be proved statistically, says Dr. John P. McCann, medical board chairman of the New York-based Life Extension Institute, which administers annual physical checkups to 30,000 executives of 1,500 major companies. But McCann predicts that Life Extension's own records will produce firm statistical proof of the phenomenon within the next five years.

Heart attacks. To many executives, female and male, no statistical proof seems necessary. Ethel Narvid, chief regional coordinator for Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley, had her first heart attack certified as work-related 11 years ago, when the federal government, which then employed her as district representative for a California congressman, ruled her eligible for a pension if she had to quit. Narvid expects to receive workers' compensation benefits for her recent, second heart attack, which led to open heart surgery.

To prevent a third attack, Narvid is trying very hard "to work one day a day instead of two days a day"—a remark that recalls the post-heart-attack resolves of numerous male executives.

Other women managers blame business pressures for their ulcers, high blood pressure, and even cancer, which

some researchers are beginning to believe can be related to stress. Even when executive stress does not cause a disease, say some observers, it can obstruct its treatment. Donna Angott, manager of customer relations for Mary Kay Cosmetics in Dallas, recalls a Mary Kay sales director who died of cancer because "she was so busy that she never had time to go for a gynecological checkup until it was too late."

The Dallas case raises a point emphasized by many health experts: It is the executive lifestyle as much as executive stress that causes "executive diseases," in women just as in men. "Women are getting coronaries as never before, but I can't say whether it's because they have been thrown into business situations with the same pressures as the men or whether some of it is due to the lifestyle that goes along with the situation, with smoking and drinking and other things," says Dr. Charles Winterhalter, medical director of Pitney-Bowes in Stamford, Conn. "The alcohol problem is way up among women in the managerial levels, but I can't say whether that is due to stress or social environment."

Lifestyle. Formerly medical director for the corporate staff at Olin Corp. in Stamford, Winterhalter cites an Olin case that obviously sprang from both lifestyle and stress: It was "a woman who underwent a gastrectomy for ulcers after doing a lot of traveling on a job that required intense attention."

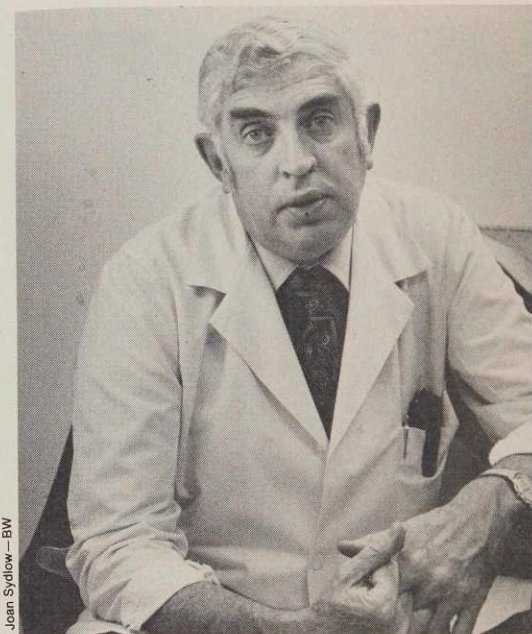
Some conditions, he concedes, stem directly from stress. At Olin, he was called upon to treat women who had held nonmanagerial jobs, then suddenly received promotions to posts with executive responsibility. "They'd come in hyperventilating [breathing hard] or with tachycardia [abnormally rapid heartbeat]," he says. "These are stress symptoms."

Historically, such cases represent a temporary aberration, says Tobias W. Brocher, director of the Center for Applied Behavioral Science of the Menninger Foundation in Topeka, Kan. He says that once women executives survive the current, highly stressful period of being conspicuous exceptions in unfamiliar roles, they will probably stand the gaff better than men. Brocher runs the center's executive mental health seminars, which have changed in the past decade from 100% male to 15% to 20% female.

"Women tend to have higher psychological and physical endurance for stress," he says. "They know more about



Lancaster: All the executive women she knows "have some form of stress."



Winterhalter: "The alcohol problem is way up among women in managerial positions."

their own feelings and it's easier for them to deal with emotions."

Support system. Moreover, as women continue moving into management, says Brocher, they will find safety in numbers, a great aid to mental and physical health. "Now there is often only one female executive among many males," he observes. "She has no support system. She suffers from isolation. Often her reaction is to outdo her male counterparts constantly, whether in the number of martinis, the number of tough jokes, or whatever. We call it the 'Annie Get Your Gun Phenomenon.' It creates uncertainty over self-esteem and role perception, and it inevitably ends in depression."

But Jane Voltz, assistant vice-presi-

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dent of personnel at Illinois Bell Telephone Co. in Chicago, comes up with an entirely different prediction of what the future holds for women executives. Tomorrow's women executives will be more rather than less likely to develop executive diseases, she believes.

The women executives she sees today, says Voltz, have excellent health, probably because they attained their positions through outstanding ability and a touch of luck. These women executives were largely untroubled by the pressures of long-range planning. "They didn't look far ahead in their careers because, in the ordinary course of events, the opportunities just weren't there," she says.

"But the woman who will make it 15 years from now is probably a different breed of cat," says Voltz. "Women coming along now know that a woman can become an assistant vice-president.

Many doctors say that trying, more than achieving, triggers executive illness

When you know you can, you will drive yourself the way a man does. You're in competition, and that's when the problems may show up."

The trigger. Voltz's theory dovetails with the opinion that many doctors hold that it is trying rather than achieving that triggers executive diseases. They add that trying unsuccessfully—inevitable for many in a corporate structure with limited room at the top—has the worst effect. They have found that strokes occur more frequently among middle managers than in the executive suite, the doctors note.

"Top executives are among the healthiest people in America," says McCann. "In a sense, they're champion athletes. These people make it in part because they are able to survive stress and, after they've made it, new challenges become stimuli rather than stress. It's the 35-year-old comer who's still in the same spot at 40 who feels a tension he cannot dissipate. He's your likeliest candidate for an executive disease."

Once women have won full acceptance in the corporate world, the formula that McCann describes will apply to them as thoroughly as to men. And in the same way women executives' growing integration into the corporate world subjects them to the same health hazards as their male colleagues, says McCann.

Fortunately for them, he adds, women executives resemble men executives in another respect: Aside from the special risks that are associated with their jobs, the women executives are a sturdy lot. "Both men and women tend to be pretty healthy to begin with," says McCann. "And, as intelligent people with ample means, they usually seek the care that will keep them healthy." ■

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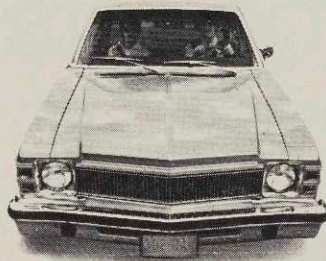
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Sweden Enacts Programs to Make Workers Both Safe and Happy

By RICHARD LITTELL

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Having wholeheartedly embraced the goal of improved conditions for her workers, Sweden is busily adopting a series of laws and innovations aimed at making the worker not only safe but happy as well. It all falls in the category of the work-environment concept.

This trend, an official Government policy, is being given top priority for the seventies and, indeed, for the rest of the century. Premier Olof Palme said recently that by the year 2000 Sweden would have influenced man's working conditions in a rather fundamental way, with improvements in environment, safety, influence in his company, and in the respect shown for practical occupations.

It is no longer enough to show concern for safety and health, says Sweden's Minister of Labor, Ingemund Bengtsson. "You don't feel satisfied with your job if you have nothing to say, if all the decisions are taken by others. We in Sweden are aiming at giving the individual worker more and more to say regarding his own position."

In addition to recently adopted legislation, Sweden

has two special commissions drafting further reforms. One, in work environment, is expected to take effect next year. The other, in the area of workers' rights, will probably go into force in 1977.

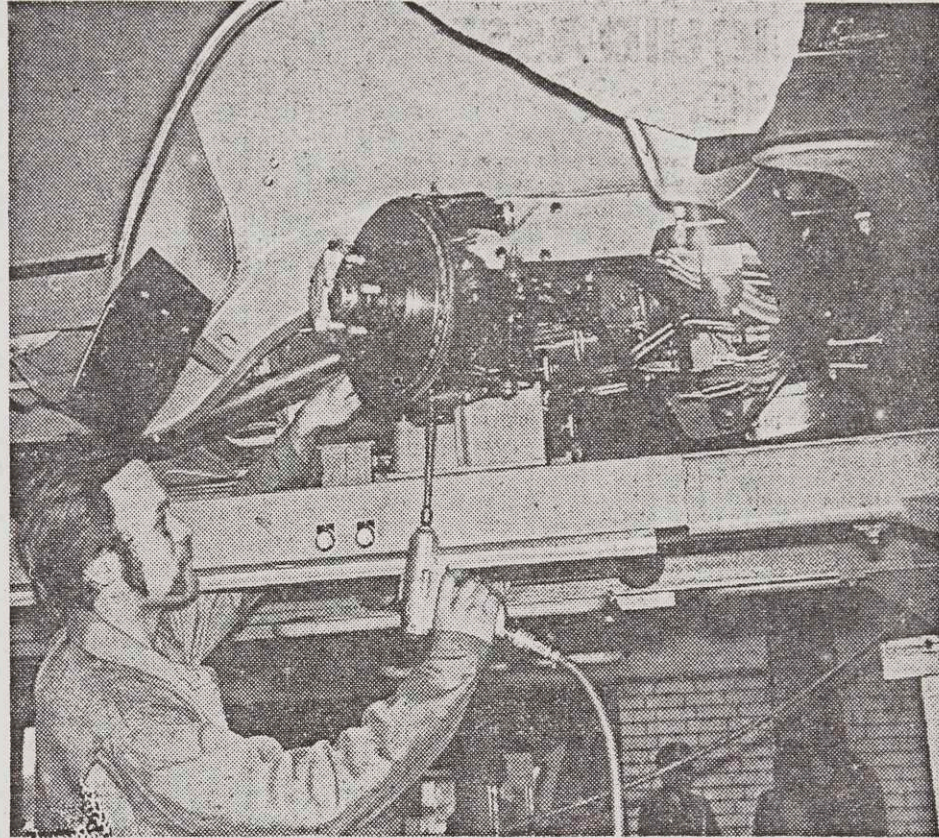
The latter, which Mr. Bengtsson describes as revolutionary, will strip employers of their exclusive right to hire and fire and will give unions the right to negotiate in employment matters.

A law that took effect last year gives so-called safety delegates considerably greater responsibility and power. These delegates, elected by the unions, can now halt production if they decide a work method or site is unsafe.

This right has already been exercised several times, Mr. Bengtsson said, but statistics do not show how effective it is because many factory problems have been remedied safety delegates now have by the very fact that the this power.

Another new law stipulates that the board of directors of every corporation of more than 50 employes must include at least two worker representatives. It is still too early to determine the effect

Continued on Page 57, Column 3



The New York Times

A Swedish auto worker in the Kalmar Volvo assembly plant. Workers there have a voice in what jobs they perform and at what pace. Sweden is adopting laws to improve the happiness of workers.

*PEG Wynne
Xc Sheldon Friedman
§
rest MPR*

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As Individuals
Trustees
offer excellent
and complete
in settlement
and service
your credit
debt service

**MA
MID
BA**

MEMBER F.D.I.C.

Summary

NEW EXCHANGE
February 12, 1975
97,745 (shares)

Wednesday	Tuesday
797	880
307	254
214	364
276	262
13	10
0	0
75.47	+0.71

E-COUNTER
57,800 (shares)

2,481	2,480
519	347
317	453
1,645	1,580
69.62	+1.08
71.59	+0.76
N.A.	N.A.

Sweden Seeks to Make Workers Safe and Happy

Continued From Page 45

of this law, says Mr. Bengtsson, because the unions are not ready to make effective use of this new privilege. They do not have enough people trained for the task. However, the unions are now conducting four-week programs to teach workers how to be board members.

A new Promotion-of-Employment Act requires an employer to give the county labor board a certain period of notice before cutting his staff. The act also makes it easier for elderly employes and those with reduced working capacity to retain their jobs or obtain new ones in the open market.

Another act provides support for the union activities necessary to carry out the various industrial-relations reforms. It says that a shop steward may not be obstructed by his employer from discharging his union duties. It also safeguards a shop steward from being indirectly punished for carrying out his union duties. In the event of cutbacks, the shop steward is to be given job priority.

A new Industrial Litigation Act will make it possible to

develop uniform legal practices to apply to all industrial disputes.

Sweden may be unique in the democratic conditions she offers foreign labor. By law, all alien workers are considered immigrants and thus eligible for all citizens' benefits and immune to expulsion. Moreover, they have the right to free courses in the use of Swedish on company time.

While it is difficult to ascertain how big a role piece-work plays in Swedish industry, Mr. Bengtsson thinks that it should eventually be eradicated. "Most trade unionists have also come to this conclusion," he says. "It would provide more security and, in the long run, be good for the working environment."

It is primarily young workers in such occupations as joiner, woodworker, and builder, who favor retaining the piece-work system because with vigorous efforts they can earn more.

Mr. Bengtsson, who last month described Swedish labor policy at a hearing of a Senate subcommittee on employment, poverty, and migratory labor, also favors introduction of the 30-hour, 5-day week. Premier Palme expects this reform by the turn of the century. But Mr. Bengtsson says it is up to the trade unions to decide when they should take steps toward this goal.

The Government has already set up a committee in the Ministry of Labor to determine the implications and impact on the economy of such a reform.

For the moment, Swedish labor is more concerned with extending the current four-week vacation guaranteed to all Swedes to five weeks. Mr. Bengtsson is confident that the fifth week will be granted before the end of the decade.

"After all," he says, "one week is just 10 minutes a day per year."

He stressed, however, that the goals of a shorter work week and longer vacations were not set because jobs should be looked upon as dull chores. "It is because we can afford to give ourselves more leisure time," he declared. "The job should be made so attractive that people will enjoy being there. This is quite a new approach, because earlier the leisure time was the main thing and work was something you had to do in order to secure it."

Another move to improve work environment involves special legislation calling for companies to turn over 20 per cent of their pre-tax profits to an environment fund to be used for the benefit of

the companies.

"It's not enough to have safe machines," says Mr. Bengtsson. "You have to feel content with what you are doing. If you go to the job every morning hating it, it doesn't matter how clean your shop is. That is why our program is being given top priority for the seventies. And that's why we have formed a Ministry for Labor-Market Problems."

Sweden previously had one Ministry of Internal Affairs that dealt with employment and housing, and a Ministry for Social Affairs with responsibility for the work environment. Now all labor and employment matters fall under Mr. Bengtsson's Ministry of Labor. Housing matters fall under a separate ministry.

We are pleased

to announce that

Harold E. Strauss

has joined our Executive Sales Staff

Corporate Printing Company, Inc.

225 Varick Street, New York, N. Y. 10014

Telephone: (212) 255-2800

A GROWING FORCE IN FINANCIAL PRINTING

BRITISH-AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY LIMITED

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT HAS BEEN MADE

BY THE SECRETARY

1. At a meeting of the Directors held today, it was decided to recommend to the Stockholders at the Annual General Meeting, which will be held on 20 March 1975 the payment on 1 April 1975 of a final dividend for the year ended 30 September 1974 of 3.917p per 25p unit of Ordinary Stock making a total for the year of 10.417p (1973 9.555p) per 25p unit of Ordinary Stock. This is the maximum permitted under the Counter-Inflation (Dividend) Regulations 1974.

O'MELVENY & MYERS
611 WEST SIXTH STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 90017
213-620-1120
Attorneys for Trustee

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
In the Matter of
EQUITY FUNDING CORPORATION
AMERICA,
No. 73-0-
In Proceedings

Reorganization of a Corporation
Debtor,
TO ALL CREDITORS, STOCKHOLDERS
OTHER PARTIES IN INTEREST:
HEARING ON MARCH 5, 1975

1. NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that on March 5, 10:00 a.m. in Courtroom 17, United States Courthouse, 3 Spring Street, Los Angeles, California 90012, a hearing will be held before the Honorable Harry Pregerson, United States District Judge, on the Application of Robert M. Loeffler, for an Order Enjoining the Prosecution Against Any Subsidiary of Equity Funding Corporation of America ("EFCA"), except Equity Funding Life Insurance Company, (the principal EFCA subsidiaries are listed on Exhibit A hereto) of any claim for relief which has the following characteristics:

(a) The claim is based upon or arises out of (i) the retention or retention by the plaintiff of a note, share of other security issued or guaranteed by EFCA, or (ii) extension of credit by the plaintiff to EFCA;

(b) Liability is asserted against the EFCA subsidiary on the reason of the alleged participation of said subsidiary as aider, abettor, or conspirator, in the violation by EFCA of statutory or common law duty to the plaintiff; and

(c) The conduct of the EFCA subsidiary that constituted such participation was carried out at the direction of a person who was at the time an officer or employee of

the plaintiff. The Application prays that said injunction shall continue in effect during the pendency of the above-entitled reorganization proceedings and shall become permanent upon confirmation of the Plan of Reorganization. The Application is on file with the court, and copies may be obtained from counsel for the Trustee, O'Melveny & Myers, 611 West Sixth Street, Los Angeles, California 90017; attention: Robert J. White.

2. Said injunction, if issued, would apply to certain individual and purported class actions, heretofore filed against subsidiaries which actions are now pending before the United States District Court for the Central District of California styled, "In Re Equity Funding Corporation of America Litigation, M.D.L. Docket No. 142." These actions seek recoveries against EFCA subsidiaries for damages purportedly suffered as a result of violations of the Securities Act of 1933, the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, the Rules and Regulations of the Securities Exchange Commission promulgated pursuant thereto, common law fraud, all of which violations arose out of or as a result of acts by EFCA and its subsidiaries.

IS RULED
INFRINGER

Cork Company had been in the United States for the Third Circuit in Pennsylvania held that the company had infringed its embossed design of Congoleum Inc., The Armstrong's structure of certain vinyl flooring from 1967 and the find-

ings of the United States District Court.

A spokesman for Armstrong said the company was reviewing the opinion of the court to determine whether further appeal action was to be taken. Should the present decisions stand, the amount of the damages will be determined by the trial court, the company stated.

The infringement action was one of four instituted by Congoleum in December, 1966, on the same patents against its competitors—the GAF Corporation, Mannington Mills, Inc., and New London Mills, Inc. These have been settled in Congoleum's favor,

NOTICE OF REDEMPTION

10/16

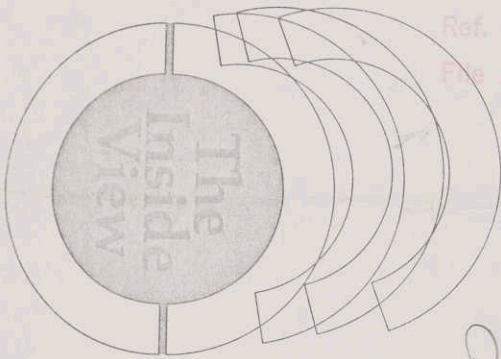
Mary
Thought you might be
interested.

Dty B

File
Audiography

MARY P. ROWE
Special Assistant for Women and Work

OCT 21 1974



Ref. to _____
File _____

Rosa -
~~write how~~
~~on copy of~~
~~paper by~~
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Newton Public Schools
Volume 9 Number 1

September 1974

Sex-Role Stereotypes Haven't Changed Much

Women may have come a long way in their fight for equal career opportunities, but a survey taken at Newton North High School points up the fact that they still have a long way to go.

A questionnaire distributed last spring to 120 juniors and seniors (53 girls, 67 oys) in Palmer House by three psychology students at Newton College attempted to test attitudes and opinions on career choice and opportunity, with a particular focus on women.

Boys ranked public school teacher as the career they considered best for males. Girls rated sociologist as the career they would most prefer for themselves. Sixteen careers were listed and students were asked to rank them. The Newton College women pointed out that a similar list was presented to 30 tudents at the college. Members of that group selected "lawyer" as their first hoice. Boys at the high school saw "lawyer" as number 12 on their best for emales list, and girls ranked it number 11 out of the 16 careers listed.

The questionnaire also sought to determine attitudes in four categories: areer-general, career-specific, leadership-general, personal-specific.

"Overall, we saw the males still holding many of the traditional sex-role stereotypes," reported Alix Decker, Betsy Costello and Jane Lamkin, the Newton ollege women who prepared the questionnaire.

"However, we interpreted the large number of undecided responses of the males as hopeful. We feel this data suggests that males are in a transitional stage, hopefully abandoning the traditional stereotyped attitudes, but we feel this is a low change. This is possibly due to the confusion some issues still evoke," they commented.

Some of the attitudinal statements about which students were asked their opinions, and the responses follow:

Women should assume their equality in positions in business and all the professions along with men.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Male:	13%	57 44%	30%	9%	16 5%
Female:	40%	78 48%	6%	2%	6 4%

Sons in a family should be given more encouragement to become career oriented than daughters.

Male:	12%	29 17%	31%	26%	40 14%
Female:	2%	6 4%	7%	34%	87 53%

Society should regard the services rendered by the women workers as valuable as those of men.

Male:	18%	160 48%	25%	9%	9 0%
Female:	64%	83 19%	15%	1%	1 0%

There are many jobs in which men should be given preference over women in being hired or promoted.

Male:	28%	59 31%	21%	18%	20 2%
Female:	4%	20 16%	26%	35%	57 22%

Women should be given equal opportunity with men for apprenticeship in the various trades.

Male:	2%	53 51%	12%	14%	17 3%
Female:	57%	90 33%	7%	2%	2 0%

A Female physician is as competent as a male physician.

Male:	33%	89 50%	11%	6%	6 0%
Female:	70%	83 23%	5%	0%	2 2%

I would feel safer knowing my plane was piloted by a man rather than a woman.

Male:	13%	57 44%	30%	9%	16 5%
Female:	40%	78 48%	6%	2%	6 4%

Women should take increasing responsibility for leadership in solving the intellectual and social problems of the day.

Male:	13%	41%	35%	6%	5%
Female:	38%	43%	19%	0%	0%

Men are inherently better leaders.

Male:	11%	39 28%	33%	19%	28 9%
Female:	1%	1 0%	22%	41%	76 35%

The initiative in dating should come from the men.

Male:	9%	37 23%	40%	19%	27 8%
Female:	9%	36 27%	25%	30%	38 8%

Women should be concerned with their duties of childrearing and housekeeping, rather than with desires for professional and business careers.

Male:	6%	26 20%	30%	17%	45 28%
Female:	4%	4 0%	12%	36%	46 48%

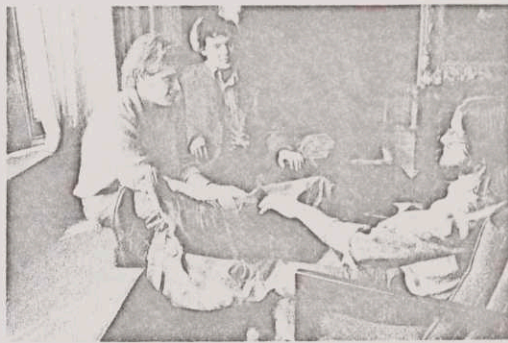
Most women need and want the kind of protection and support that men have traditionally given them.

Male:	8%	39 31%	41%	14%	20 6%
Female:	4%	30 30%	36%	22%	30 8%

The motive to avoid love

Radclyffe Quarterly
Dec 1974

File andragogy



by Caroline Walker Bynum

Ms. Bynum AM'63, PhD'69, is associate professor of church history at the Divinity School.

Female undergraduates and those women who advise them discover again and again for and in themselves the truth of Matina Horner's research on the "motive to avoid success." Prof. Horner's concept has been widely misunderstood as synonymous with a "motive to fail"; but actually her analysis is far more subtle, speaking of the conflicting pressures on upper and middle class women both to succeed and to avoid the perceived liabilities of success. In the past two years I have noticed a pattern of conflicting pressures affecting male undergraduates and graduate students that may reflect an even more fundamental problem in our society than the problem of "success." Deliberately underlining the parallel to Prof. Horner's research, I should like to call the phenomenon "the motive to avoid love," fully aware that the definition and the value of "love" is as problematic to some in 1974 as the definition and value of "success."

I am not here speaking of the obvious fact, frequently pointed out by women and admitted by men, that males in our society find it difficult to express their feelings. I am, rather, talking of a conflict set up in

males between the ages of 20 and 30 by the fact that they simultaneously fear and desire the emotional closeness with a woman that our culture has usually called "love" or "romantic love." I can best illustrate this by describing an evening last fall when I was invited by one of the Harvard houses to an organizational meeting of what had been rather grandly labeled a "women's and men's issues" program. The women present proceeded quickly to outline their agenda; and when the meeting broke up a small group of somewhat disgruntled young men hung around to explain to me that "of course they sympathized with the problems of women but none of it had anything to do with them." Acting on a hunch, I countered bluntly: "How many of you have trouble feeling sexually attracted to any woman who is your equal intellectually?" Two hours later the discussion was still growing in intensity, as some deep sense of inadequacy and frustration and loneliness surfaced; and this intensity was regularly punctuated by the comment: "I've never been able to talk about this to anybody!" One would, I think, expect a different—and more uncomprehending—response to the same question if asked of a group of 45-year-old businessmen. Whereas middle-aged men frequently initiate sexual and familial relationships without feeling much need to achieve per-

sonal openness and equality within them, male students often find it impossible to attempt relationships at all. To put it sociologically, young men in elite educational institutions are torn between, on the one hand, a broad cultural pattern which prescribes male dominance and a kind of emotional stoicism, and, on the other, the demands of a sub-culture which prescribes emotional openness and personal equality. Caught in this bind, they are sometimes unable to feel, to act sexually, or to love.

Stripped of sociological or psychological jargon, the picture looks something like this. Male students in today's universities constantly encounter gifted and self-confident women who expect honesty and mutuality in human relationships. Nowhere in their families or in the peer-group pressure of the American high school have these young men gained any idea of how to meet this female desire for intimacy and equality; often they have learned patterns of sexual pursuit that strike their female friends as unattractive and faintly comic. And on college campuses, where a standard item of gossip is sexual liaisons between professors and students, they find few examples of older males whose marriages appear to be based on mutual respect and honesty. Yet these young men accept, at least as an abstract ideal, the desire for equality and frankness that per-

vades both youth culture and the women's movement; they do not really want to dominate and seduce. They therefore experience anxiety and guilt about the common pattern of male dominance and emotional frigidity; this anxiety and guilt in turn only exacerbate the inability to feel.

Many men are threatened

Many men in our society are threatened by successful, forceful women; it is, after all, extremely damaging to self-image to be bested by someone whom you assume, however sub-consciously, to be inferior. This threat is especially strong for males between the ages of 20 and 30, who are meeting a competition from women for jobs and professional school admission that their fathers never dreamed of. But the ethos of women's liberation not only produces this competition; it also strongly suggests that a man who settles for a supportive woman rather than an equal is an emotional and moral coward with a 1950's lifestyle. If he absorbs this attitude, the young man of 25 may thus feel expected to establish an open and honest relationship with exactly the woman who terrifies him most.

In addition to these pressures, many young men today assume that sex should follow closely upon any degree of emotional involvement; and I suspect that fear of sexual inadequacy is a far larger factor in the young male's fear of intimacy than the current happy talk about "sexual revolution" would indicate. The student who said to me, somewhat crudely but with real bitterness and pain, "around here you're expected to be able to screw anything that moves" was probably not atypical in the pressure he perceived or the anxiety he felt. Moreover, the free and relaxed friendship patterns of young people in the Cambridge community, while unquestionably an improvement over previous ones, nonetheless create problems for the process by which men and women pick up signals from each other. The female undergraduate who commented "you no longer know what it means when someone invites you to his room at 12:30" was pointing to a problem that really has little to do either with sex or with the much



discussed and rather silly idea that coed dorms create incest taboos. The remark underlines the fact that male-female patterns leading to "love" are, in the broader culture, based on a dominant-subordinate, hunter-pursued model; young people in general, and especially men, find it difficult to indicate the fact that they are attracted to someone in the new modes of "openness" and "equality."

Reluctance to take on responsibility

Finally, the prolonged adolescence of studenthood combined with increasing insecurity about values and about the future makes young men reluctant to take on the "responsibility" which women have traditionally represented. The standard explanation given by male students for breaking off relationships is still: "She was too dependent on me." It matters little that many young women are now more self-supporting and self-reliant than their boyfriends; the feared "dependence" is emotional, not economic. One is tempted in many of these cases to comment that "dependence is in the eye of the beholder," that is, that the young man is projecting onto the young woman his own fear of becoming dependent. But it is easy to understand why "dependence" would appear a threat to male students in elite institutions who are being trained for and pressured toward leadership positions that may not exist. If one cannot plan

one's future, at least one can keep it emotionally uncomplicated. As a graduate student of 27 said to me: "'Commitment' is only to prisons and insane asylums."

If, then, an agonized distrust of and incapacity for love relationships is a serious problem for male students, what is to be done? The answer is: nothing! Or at least nothing that might be done by me or by any of the other women who write about raising male consciousness. If there is a problem, males must solve it. And I expect, unfortunately, that the confused unhappiness I have heard articulated by some men in the current student generation will have to become a much deeper depression before they will begin, among themselves, the kind of discussions from which self-awareness, realism, and solutions will come.

Pointing out male ambivalences

I have, however, a purpose in writing this analysis that goes beyond a challenge to my male colleagues and students to listen to each other. During the past few years, as I and other women have worked for greater opportunities at Harvard, I have noticed a keen interest among the male faculty in the psychological (as opposed to the professional) problems of women, a worried, fatherly concern over female "complexes" and "anxieties" and "ambivalences." Such a concern can only too easily become another version of the belief that women are inferior. Women must therefore begin to point out male "ambivalences," not only because such ambivalences exist and are agents of pain, but also because we will come in the long run to see ourselves as "people" rather than as male and female only when we realize that the male is not the norm of health in our society. Indeed, the problems caused by the "motive to avoid love" may be far more destructive to us all as human beings than those caused by the "motive to avoid success." But women will move toward true equality only when they face the total human predicament in full realization that, if they can be only half of the solution, they are also only part of the problem.

Advertising Age
11/18/74
File
Androgyny

Women at work, men at home AA Media Workshop feature

CHICAGO, Nov. 12—Working women and male homemakers figure prominently in the program for ADVERTISING AGE's 10th annual Media Workshop, set for Dec. 2 to 5 at the Hyatt Regency O'Hare Hotel here.

An analysis of the media options available to reach working women and a review of the scope of this burgeoning segment of the population will be included in a workshop session titled "On Reaching Working Women." Donald P. Evanson, vp-media supervisor, J. Walter Thompson Co., and special adviser to the workshop, will moderate the session.

In another session, "Wooing the Male Homemaker," the changes in society that have created this new segment will be covered by Heath-

er Sturt, assistant advertising manager, U.S. Postal Service.

Both topics are part of the workshop's "National" segment, which includes a number of sessions related to media planning and execution for nationally distributed products. In addition to Ms. Sturt and Mr. Evanson, the "National" faculty includes Robert Stone, chairman, Rapp, Collins, Stone & Adler; Gail Grubbs, advertising manager, Reynolds Metals Co.'s consumer division; William Moran, marketing research director, Lever Bros.; Robert Gardanier, market development manager, Time, and Richard Matullo, vp-media director, Clinton E. Frank Inc.

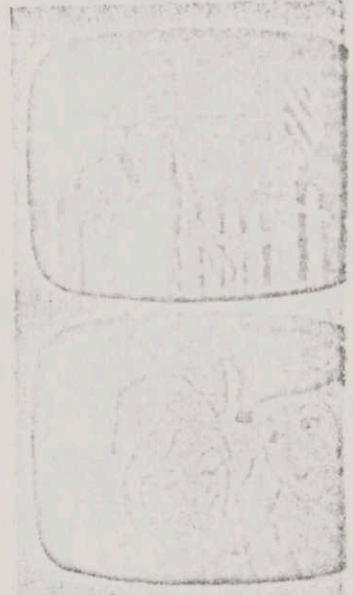
Along with courses in the "National" segment, workshop registrants will be able to choose from

two other courses of study—"Retail/Regional," a series of sessions dealing with media planning and execution for retail and regionally-distributed products, and "Advanced," which covers a variety of topics designed for media executives with at least five years' experience.

Registrants will not be restricted to one course of study, but may attend sessions in all three segments.

■ The registration fee for the 3½-day workshop is \$265 per person and \$215 for each additional person from the same company, if paid by Nov. 21. After that date, the fees increase to \$300 and \$250. The registration fee covers all sessions, receptions, two lunches and two dinners. It does not include hotel accommodations, but registrants automatically receive hotel forms.

Reservations may be made by phoning collect to (312) 649-5242. #

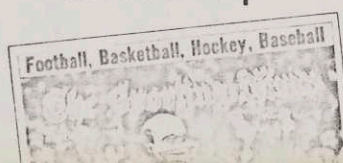


"America, this is Dutch Girl," says animated 30-second tv spot running in company's renamed interior paint line, says MacDougall, Boston.

Our readers give us more than 2 hours of their time each week.

How about 2 minutes of yours?

If you want to reach a young affluent audience of 1 million active sports-minded men—



most of whom are not reached by other sports

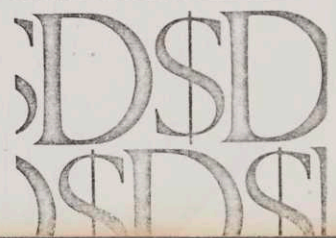
Car, tire performance not typical, reports

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13—Federal auto marketers and two tire companies which were asked by the Federal Trade Commission to document performance reports denoted they were suggesting in ads that the typical driver would have the same experience.

The issue came into focus early last March when FTC asked Ford, Chrysler, General Motors, Nissan, Sears, Roebuck and Bridgestone Tire to document current print and tv ads. FTC today put the responses in the public record without commenting on whether considered the explanations to adequate.

At least one recent FTC complaint was based on material which were released today. It involved a Ford print ad which reported that five Ford Motor small cars got over 24mpg in highway test. Ford submitted driver affidavits and a description of the test, but took the position that the ad only reported test results without making any claim.

FTC's complaint against Ford which was released last July



xc PEG Androgyny

Coledo, Pierce Great Arrow, Franklin, Pope-Waver-Knox Waterless. How these names suggest cars? But few have survived. The name has been shortened to Arrow. And this is but a kind of automobiles once that have been winners in the headlong race to America's cars.

an industry built and usually, from one to 16 self-starter to change from open to closed the introduction of good taste and color as woman became driver and buyer—all these are calling for reams of advertising. Indeed, the feat would have been impossible without advertising, for the whole fantastic are rested on an ingrained universal desire to own an automobile, implanted and kept vivadvertising.

motor-car arrived trailing



100 LEADING ABC MAGAZINES

(Based on Average Circulations per Issue, 2nd Six Months of 1973)

Rank	Circulation	Rank	Circulation
1	TV Guide	53	Co-ed
2	Reader's Digest	54	Nation's Business
3	National Geographic	55	House Beautiful
4	Family Circle	56	Midnight
5	Woman's Day	57	Mademoiselle
6	Better Homes & Gardens	58	Modern Screen
7	McCall's	59	Psychology Today
8	Ladies' Home Journal	60	Hot Rod
9	Playboy	61	Successful Farmer
10	Good Housekeeping	62	'Teen
11	Redbook	63	TV Radio Mirror
12	Time	64	National Lampoon
13	Penthouse	65	Modern Romances
14	American Home	66	Family Handyman
15	National Enquirer	67	Business Week
16	Senior Scholastic Unit	68	Signature
17	Newsweek	69	New Ingenue
18	American Legion	70	Holiday
19	Sports Illustrated	71	American Girl
20	Boys' Life	72	Motor Trend
21	Parents'	73	Simplicity Home Catalog
22	U.S. News & World Report	74	Flower & Garden
23	True Story	75	Car & Driver
24	Workbasket	76	Weight Watchers
25	Outdoor Life	77	Fortune
26	Farm Journal	78	Saturday Review/World
27	Cosmopolitan	79	Lion Magazine
28	Field & Stream	80	Golf Digest
29	Popular Science	81	Popular Photography
30	Glamour	82	Jet
31	V.F.W. Magazine	83	Forbes
32	Popular Mechanics	84	Lady's Circle
33	Oui	85	Simplicity Fashion
34	Elks Magazine	86	Saturday Evening Post
35	Mechanix Illustrated	87	Sphere
36	Seventeen	88	A.D.
37	Sports Afield	89	Vogue
38	Today's Education	90	Gourmet
39	Sport	91	Scientific American
40	Esquire	92	Golf
41	Scouting	93	Lutheran
42	Ebony	94	Catholic Digest
43	Grit	95	National Observer
44	Junior Scholastic Unit	96	Smithsonian
45	Sunset	97	New Yorker
46	House & Garden	98	Modern Photography
47	Photoplay	99	Skiing
48	True	100	Cappers Weekly
49	Southern Living		TOTAL
50	Progressive Farmer		209,265,436
51	Argosy		
52	Family Health		

Note: Includes general and farm magazine members of the Audit Bureau of Circulations. Groups and comics not included.

other vast advertising possibilities in its wake, two of them, tires and

gasoline, attaining major proportions. The trailer is the latest prospect. There was also a host of lesser ones. And in this year of grace, 1937, after five years of depression, it is to the courage and initiative of the motor industry that we owe the revival of advertising, and a large part of the revival of business.

■ Woman has been responsible for much of the vogue of the

an has appropriated all the arts of the courtesan, time-honored since the days of Phryne and Cleopatra, in the exercise of her inalienable right of making herself as alluring and seductive as possible. Supplying the means thereto has swelled the volume of magazine advertising, brought the package to a high degree of artistic perfection, and multiplied beauty shops on the main streets of the smallest towns.

ful thrust at the heart of the active consumer market

File
Androgyny

Marriages Without Children: They're Happy, Study Finds

ANN ARBOR, Mich., Nov. 20 (Reuters)—A team of research experts, striking a blow at the belief that childless marriages are incomplete, reports the happiest married couples are those without children.

As for the pains and sorrow associated with children leaving home to lead their own lives, the team said its research indicated the opposite.

"The time of the empty nest turns out to be a time of fulfillment," the researchers said.

A team, headed by Angus Campbell, Philip Converse and Willard Rodgers, members of the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research, has just issued findings based on interviews in 1971 with more than 2,000 Americans.

Most Are Content

The researchers found that despite the growing divorce rate in the United States, the overwhelming proportion of married Americans that they interviewed said they are satisfied with their relationship.

Over-all, the researchers reported, 58 per cent of the married people they interviewed said they were completely satisfied and only 3 per cent said they were more dissatisfied than satisfied.

The team reported that among childless married couples interviewed in 18-to-29-year-old bracket, 88 per cent of the women and 72 per cent of the men said they were satisfied with life as a

whole. Among over-29 couples, 69 per cent of the women and 75 per cent of the men said they were content.

In families interviewed where the youngest child was under 6, the researchers found 65 per cent of the women and 64 per cent of the men satisfied. There was little difference (66 per cent of the women, 64 per cent of the men) in families where the youngest child was between 6 and 17. In families where the youngest child was over 17, and researchers reported 69 per cent of the women and 66 per cent of the men were satisfied.

The Least Happy

The people found to be least happy are those divorced or separated. Next come widows and—a blow to the so-called swinging singles—people not married.

In the divorced or separated category, the study found only 33 per cent of the women and 42 per cent of the men expressed satisfaction. Among widows and widowers, 56 per cent of the women and 50 per cent of the men expressed content.

Among the never-married, 18 to 29, the researchers found 56 per cent of the women and 48 per cent of the men they questioned were satisfied. It dropped to 53 per cent of the women and 41 per cent of the men in the over-29 category.

"People with children find that parenthood involves both costs and rewards and during the years of raising small children the costs ap-

pear to be substantial," the team reported. "Parents of young children show a great deal of strain, both personal and economic, which gradually subsides as they pass through the stages of later parenthood.

Contentment Grows

"After the children are grown and the parents are alone again," the report went on, "their general contentment is again high and their companionship and mutual understanding surpass their pre-parenthood level."

Whatever the psychological costs of marriage, the researchers said, the costs of being single appeared to be greater.

"People who are currently single generally report a good deal less satisfaction with life than the married persons, and the lack of satisfaction shown by women and men who are divorced or separated is quiet remarkable indeed," the study reported.

The study's results provide little support for the belief that housework casts a pall over the life of the housewife or that the working wife suffers from the pressures of having two roles.

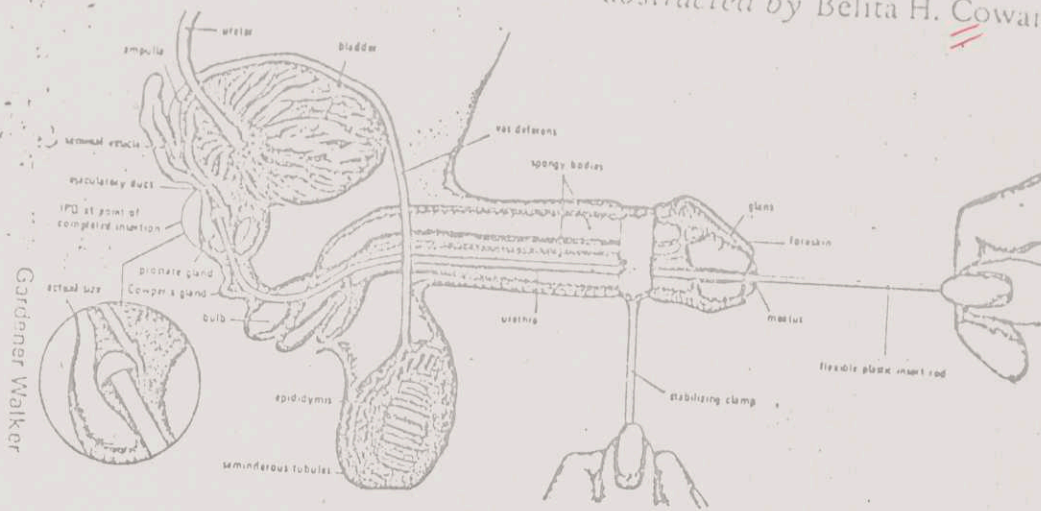
"But college graduates who are housewives," the report added, "find their lives less rewarding than other housewives and, in particular, less rewarding than the lives of college graduate women who have outside employment."

The researchers said they also found that working married women who had gone to college but never graduated often ended up with clerical jobs that they found very unsatisfactory.

N.Y. Times

11/21/74

abstracted by Belita H. Cowan



New Device Tested

The newest development in male contraception was unveiled recently at the American Women's Surgical Symposium held at the Ann Arbor Medical Center. Dr. Sophia Merkin, of the Merkin Clinic, announced the preliminary findings of a study conducted on 763 unsuspecting male grad students at a large midwest university. In her report, Dr. Merkin stated that the new contraceptive—the IPD—was a breakthrough in male contraception. It will be marketed under the trade name "umbrelly."

The IPD (intrapenile device) resembles a tiny folded umbrella which is inserted through the head of the penis and pushed into the scrotum with a plunger-like instrument. Occasionally there is perforation of the scrotum, but this is disregarded since it is known that the male has few nerve endings in this area of his body. The underside of the umbrella contains a spermicidal jelly, hence the name "umbrelly."

Experiments on a thousand white whales from the Continental Shelf (whose sexual apparatus is said to be closest to man's) proved the umbrelly to be 100% effective in preventing

production of sperm, and eminently satisfactory to the female whale since it doesn't interfere with her rutting pleasure.

Dr. Merkin declared the umbrelly to be statistically safe for the human male. She reported that of the 763 grad students tested with the device, only 2 died of scrotal infection, only 20 experienced swelling of the tissues, 3 developed cancer of the testicles, and 13 were too depressed to have an erection. She stated that common complaints ranged from cramping and bleeding to acute abdominal pain. She emphasized that these symptoms were merely indications that the man's body had not yet adjusted to the device. Hopefully the symptoms would disappear within a year.

One complication caused by the IPD and briefly mentioned by Dr. Merkin was the incidence of massive scrotal infection necessitating the surgical removal of the testicles. "But this is a rare case," said Merkin, "too rare to be statistically important." She and the other distinguished members of the Women's College of Surgeons agreed that the benefits far outweighed the risk to any individual man.

part I EARLY YEARS

From Slavery to Freedom

Once when Frederick Douglass was asked exactly when and where he was born, he replied: "I cannot answer; don't know my age. Slaves have no family records."¹ All any biographer of Douglass can say is that the man who was christened Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey and later became world famous as Frederick Douglass was born in February, 1817, somewhere in Tuckahoe, Talbot County, on the eastern shore of Maryland, the son of an unknown white father and Harriet Bailey, a slave.

Douglass never knew his father² and his knowledge of a mother who worked on a plantation twelve miles distant was "very scanty."³ He had seen her four or five times, perhaps, up to the age of seven when the shadowy relationship was terminated by death. In his later life he recalled one of her rare, unexpected visits. She had walked the twelve miles after a long day's work and had brought him a large ginger cake. "I dropped off to sleep and waked in the morning to find my mother gone," he recollected. "I do not remember ever seeing her again. Death soon ended the little communication that had existed between us, and with it, I believe, a life—judging from her weary, sad, downcast countenance and mute demeanor—full of heartfelt sorrow."⁴

Douglass spent much of his early childhood in and around the slave cabin of his grandparents, Isaac (a free Negro) and Betsey Bailey. "Grand-mamma Betty" was a warm-hearted person who spent her time making nets for catching shad and herring, planting seedling potatoes for nearby farmers, and nursing the children of her five daughters.⁵

When Douglass was seven years old, he was taken from his birthplace to the home of his master, Captain Aaron Anthony, on the banks of the river Wye. Captain Anthony owned three farms in Tuckahoe and about thirty slaves, but most of his time was spent in managing the twenty or thirty farms and the thousand slaves of Colonel Edward Lloyd. On the plantation Douglass lived like other slave children: brought in the cows in the evening, kept the chickens out of the garden, swept the front yard, ran errands, and did other simple chores.

It was here that Douglass first discovered the true face of slavery and the humiliations that went with it. Soon after his arrival at the plantation his Aunt Esther was given a brutal flogging. The seven-year-old Negro child was not to forget the tormented screams of the woman as each of the forty lashes with a heavy cowskin drew fresh blood. Later, he saw a cousin of his stagger wearily into the plantation, bare-footed, her neck and shoulders mutilated, open gashes on her head and her face streaming with blood. This was the work of a drunken overseer; the girl had dragged herself twelve miles to beg protection from her master. The young boy learned fast when he heard the master order the girl to go back to her torturer. She deserved "every bit of it," he shouted. And if she wasn't quick about leaving he would "take off the rest of the skin himself."

Life at the big house opened young Douglass' eyes. He compared the food-laden tables with the meager diet of the slave, and the fine clothes of the master and mistress with the slave's tattered wardrobe. The yearly wardrobe of a male slave consisted of two shirts and two pairs of trousers to be worn whatever the weather. These great contrasts remained with Douglass; they helped to create in him a burning hatred of the slave system.

His own experiences at the Lloyd plantation fed fuel to this hatred. He was yet to learn what it meant to be whipped with a cowhide, but he grew familiar with hunger and cold. Whatever the season he walked about almost naked, wearing only a coarse tow linen shirt which barely reached his knees. On cold nights he slept with his head and shoulders in a sack, but the frost bit into his feet breaking the skin open and forming deep gashes. He ate coarse boiled corn-meal—when he could edge his way to the trough on the kitchen floor where the mush was placed, and push aside the children scrambling for their portion. To add to his troubles, Aunt Katy, the cook, did not like him, and delighted in making him go without food. Several times a day he would follow the waiting girl to get the crumbs from the table cloth and the small bones flung out for the dogs and cats. He often fought with old Nep the dog for the crumbs which fell from the kitchen table.

It was only the kindness of Lucretia Auld, his master's daughter and wife of Captain Thomas Auld, which saved him from starvation. He would sing under her window, and it pleased her to reward him with a slice of bread and butter. It was also from Miss Lucretia that Douglass "received the first kindness that I ever experienced from one of a complexion different from my own."⁶ He had been in a fight with another

slave boy, receiving a heavy blow which left a scar on his face. He had come home screaming with pain. Lucretia Auld called him into the parlor, bound up his head, gave him a biscuit, and told him to go out to play with the other children. This simple act remained a bright memory in the bleak life of a slave child.

But such acts of kindness could not stop the constant pangs of hunger, nor make his coarse linen shirt seem any warmer on frosty days. Fortunately for young Douglass, another factor was at work. Slave labor in Maryland agriculture had ceased to be profitable. Consequently after 1820 it was common to farm slaves out to townspeople where they could be employed as house-servants and mechanics. This happened to Frederick Bailey.

In the spring of 1825 the eight-year-old slave was overjoyed to learn that he was being sent to Baltimore to live with Hugh Auld, a relative of the Anthony's. "Going to live at Baltimore laid the foundation, and opened the gateway, to all my subsequent prosperity," was the way Douglass put it.⁷ This was to be the first of the many turning points in his eventful life.

For seven years Douglass worked for Hugh Auld, first as a household servant and later as an unskilled laborer in his shipyard. During the period he experienced comforts such as he had never known before. Yet he was seldom allowed to forget that he was a slave. Hearing his new mistress, Sophia Auld, read the Bible, a burning desire to learn to read consumed him. In response to his plea, his mistress taught him the alphabet and how to spell words of three or four letters. But the lessons ended the moment her husband learned of the boy's progress. In Douglass' presence, Hugh Auld forbade further instruction, shouting that "learning would *spoil* the best n—r in the world." Once a slave knew how to read there would be no keeping him!⁸

These words only inspired the boy with a greater determination to learn. His former teacher was now the chief obstacle; as if to atone for her error, she kept constant vigilance over him, snatching any book or newspaper she saw in his hand, and making sure he could obtain no reading matter. But by various ingenious devices Douglass continued his education. He turned to school boys in the streets in out-of-the-way places where he could not be seen, and converted them into teachers. Out of his pocket would come the leaves of books he had raked "from the mud and filth of the gutter," a copy of his Webster's spelling book, and a slice of bread to pay for the lessons. While his tutors munched the

bread, he talked to them about slavery. "Have not I as good a right to be free as you have?" he would ask the urchins. He was comforted by their sympathy and by their confidence that something would yet happen to make him free.⁹

With the first fifty cents he earned by blacking boots he bought the popular school book, *The Columbian Orator*.¹⁰ This book deepened his hatred of slavery, and as he read and memorized the speeches of Chatham, Sheridan, and Fox in behalf of human rights, he began to understand his position. He was a victim of oppression, and if these great men were right, it was wrong that he or any man should be doomed to slavery. As he walked about the streets repeating to himself the words of Sheridan and Chatham, he kept asking himself: "Why am I a slave? Why are some people slaves, and others masters? Was there ever a time when this was not so? How did the relation commence?" He found no satisfactory answer to these questions, but when he heard his master and his friends denounce the Abolitionists, he resolved to discover who and what they were. Finally, in the columns of the *Baltimore American* he found a report that a vast number of petitions had been submitted to Congress, praying for the abolition of the internal slave trade. From that day, probably some time in February, 1833, "there was hope."

The thought of escaping from slavery frequently occurred to him. Two Irishmen whom he had met on the wharf advised him to run away to the North where he would be free. But he hesitated. He was still too young, and he wished to learn to write so that he himself could fill out the necessary pass.

While working in the shipyards he mastered the essentials of writing. During the slack periods he would copy the letters that made up the names of the ships; then using the streets as his school, his playmates as teachers, and the fences as his copybooks and blackboards, he learned to write. In later life in responding to a request for his autograph, he said: "Though my penmanship is not too fine it will do pretty well for one who learned to write on a board fence."¹¹

In Baltimore Douglass enjoyed a life he never dreamed was possible when he was a slave on the plantation. He was much better fed and clothed, freely moved about the city, and was never whipped. Yet he could not escape the sufferings of slave life. He made the acquaintance of two slave girls who lived directly opposite the Aulds on Philpot Street. They were constantly being whipped by their sadistic mistress, and the head, neck and shoulders of the fourteen-year-old Mary were "literally cut

to pieces." He watched with a heavy heart as the girl fought with the pigs for the garbage thrown into the street.

As he sat on Kennard's wharf, at the foot of Philpot Street, he saw men and women chained together being placed on board ships bound for New Orleans. He was profoundly moved by their piteous cries and their heavy footsteps as they moved from the slave pens to the vessels. Forty years later in a speech in Baltimore, he recalled this tragic sight and declared: "I then resolved that whatever power I had should be devoted to the freeing of my race."¹²

The comparative freedom of life in Baltimore was brought to an abrupt end as a result of Captain Anthony's death. The change of ownership placed Douglass in the possession of Thomas Auld, Anthony's son-in-law, a cruel, tight-fisted master who lived at St. Michaels, some thirty miles from Baltimore. The slave who returned to plantation life after seven years spent in the city was bound to get into difficulty with his new master. From books Douglass had learned of all the evils of slavery, and his hatred of the institution was deepened by the rigors of the plantation system after the comparative freedom of life in the city. He made no effort to hide his dissatisfaction with the meager diet provided by the kitchen at St. Michaels, and he infuriated Mr. and Mrs. Auld by his refusal to call his owner "Master" instead of "Captain."

When Douglass began to teach a Sunday School class for colored children, Master Auld decided that he had better take steps to provide his young slave with proper conditioning. Consequently, on the following Sunday, men armed with sticks and stones invaded the school, disrupted the class, and warned the teacher "to watch out." Douglass seemed determined to be another Nat Turner, said Master Auld, and if he did not mend his ways he would most certainly "get as many balls into him" as had the Negro slave rebel of 1831. Actually, Turner was hanged, but despite the inaccuracy, the warning indicated that trouble lay ahead.

Auld was not satisfied with merely a warning. Determined to crush young Douglass' spirit, he hired him out to Edward Covey, a professional slavebreaker. From January to August, 1834, the young slave was overworked, flogged daily, and was almost starved to death. After six months of such treatment, he was indeed "broken in body, soul and spirit." There seemed nothing left but either to kill Covey and then commit suicide or to fight back. Steeled by desperation and a combination of hope and fear, the youth found the courage to turn on his tormentor one day and soundly thrashed the Negro-breaker. The result was that Covey abandoned the

whip and ignored Douglass for the four remaining months of hire. The slave never forgot the episode:

"This battle with Mr. Covey was the turning-point in my career. I was a changed being after that fight. I was nothing before, I was a man now . . . with a renewed determination to be a free man. . . . The gratification afforded by the triumph was a full compensation for whatever else might follow, even death itself. . . . I now resolved that, however long I might remain a slave in form, the day had passed forever when I could be a slave in fact. . . ."

Following his release, Douglass worked for two years on the plantation of a neighboring slaveowner, William Friedland. Conditions were a good deal better here; he had a kind master, enough food, was not overworked, and was even able to conduct a secret Sunday School for forty slaves. But kindness, food, and a few leisure hours were not enough. When he was at Covey's, beaten every day, he was concerned only with self-preservation. Now he began to think of freedom; the very privileges he enjoyed made him desire it the more. "If a slave has a bad master," he once explained, "his ambition is to get a better; when he gets a better, he aspires to have the best; and when he gets the best, he aspires to be his own master."¹³

Early in 1836 Douglass decided to escape. Together with other slaves, he planned to seize a canoe, paddle down the Chesapeake, and follow the North Star to freedom. But one of the men disclosed the plan before the fugitives could get away. As the leader of the group and originator of the conspiracy, Douglass was put in chains in the Talbot county jail. He expected to be sold to the slave traders and shipped to New Orleans, but his master balked when the idea was proposed by the planters in the neighborhood. Instead, Auld, hoping to subdue Douglass' insubordination by kindness, sent him back to Baltimore with a promise of freedom when he reached twenty-five—provided, of course, that he behaved himself.

For the next two years, from the summer of 1836 to the summer of 1838, Douglass worked in the Baltimore shipyards, first as an apprentice, then as a skilled caulker. During the first eight months of apprenticeship he came to know, through bitter experience, "the conflict of slavery with the interests of the white mechanics and laborers of the South." Forced to compete with slaves, the white workers found it impossible to get decent wages. Consequently they sought to keep slaves out of the trades, and demanded the ousting of all Negro artisans, free as well as slave.

When such a drive got under way at the shipyards of William Gardner on Fell's Point where Douglass was apprenticed, he became the victim of the campaign. Douglass was attacked many times. At one time, he fought his attackers so violently that it required four white apprentices, armed with bricks and heavy hand spikes, to finally lay him low. He was long to remember with bitterness how fifty white mechanics stood about during this brutal attack, some crying, "kill him—kill him—kill the d—d n—r, knock his brains out—he struck a white person." Much later in his life he came to understand that (the southern white worker was almost as much the victim of the slave system as was the Negro.¹⁴)

From Gardner's shipyards Douglass was transferred to a yard of which Hugh Auld was foreman. Here he rapidly became an expert caulker. Within a year, he was earning a dollar and a half a day, the highest wages paid caulkers in Baltimore. At first every penny of his earnings went to his master, but in May, 1838, he was able to persuade Auld to let him work for himself and in return would turn over a weekly payment of three dollars. Douglass bought his own tools and clothes, went about bargaining for his own employment, and every Saturday night handed over three dollars to his master.

In the evenings, after a day's work in the shipyard, Douglass extended his education. He met free Negroes who were well versed in literature, geography, and arithmetic, and he sought to learn from them. As a slave he was not able to join any of the forty benevolent institutions established by the free Negroes of Baltimore, but he was permitted to become a member of the East Baltimore Improvement Society as a special concession.¹⁵ Here he took a prominent part in debates and here, too, he met Anna Murray, who afterward became his wife. Anna was one of twelve children of Bambarra and Mary Murray, slaves, and the first of their five children born in freedom, escaping by one month the fate of her older brothers and sisters born in slavery. At the age of eighteen she had left her parents' home in Denton, Maryland, and had gone to work as housekeeper for a well-to-do family in Baltimore. In the little circle of the East Baltimore Improvement Society she associated with free Negroes, but she was drawn to the slave, Frederick Bailey. They fell in love and planned to marry.

The meeting with Anna Murray intensified Douglass' desire for freedom. It was no longer a desire for himself alone. Freedom, now, would enable him to marry the woman he loved, not as a chattel but as a man.

Anna shared his feelings, encouraged him to escape and gave him her nine years' savings.

A dispute with Auld in the summer of 1838 hastened the day of escape. One Saturday evening, Douglass failed to turn over the three dollars to Hugh Auld and went instead with some friends to a camp meeting about twelve miles from Baltimore. Returning the next evening he was met with a furious outburst: "Now you scoundrel! You have done for yourself," Auld said. "You shall hire your time no longer. The next thing I shall hear of, will be your running away. Bring home your tools and your clothes, at once. I'll teach you how to go off in this way."¹⁶

In retaliation Douglass did not work the next week and on Saturday night there was no money to turn over. A violent quarrel followed which almost ended in blows. Douglass decided that the time had come for him to escape to the North. To allay Auld's suspicions he worked for a few weeks. On Saturday nights, he turned over his earnings to Auld who became so amiable that he returned twenty-five cents of it to Douglass, advising him to make good use of the money.

On Monday, September 3, 1838, Douglass bade farewell to Baltimore and slavery.

To effect his escape Douglass used a method familiar in southern seaport communities. He had had frequent contacts with free Negro sailors in the shipyards and had found them sympathetic to the plight of the slaves. From a sea-faring friend named Stanley who was his height, he borrowed a sailor's suit and a sailor's "protection," a paper listing the physical features of its owner who, as a free American sailor, could move about the country. (The suit was later returned to its owner by mail.) Douglass hopped the last car while a friend, Isaac Rhodes, threw his bundle into the moving train as it left the Baltimore station for Philadelphia. In this way he avoided buying a ticket which would have subjected him to the close scrutiny of the ticket agent who was bound to check the description on the "protection."

Fortunately, the conductor on the train was satisfied with the "protection." Nor did he pursue the matter further when Douglass replied, on being asked for the "free papers" which all free Negroes were required by Maryland law to produce on demand, that his "only pass was an American Eagle." Having passed the conductor's inspection, Douglass' chief worries seemed over, but at Wilmington his heart almost stopped beating. He ran into Frederick Stein, for whom he had once worked, and on a train bound south from Philadelphia, he caught sight of Captain

McGowan of Baltimore whom he knew intimately. But he was so perfectly disguised that neither of the men recognized him.

In the late afternoon of September 3, Douglass arrived in Philadelphia, where he "lived more in one day than in a year of . . . slave life." The next day he was in New York City.¹⁷

Douglass' joy vanished rapidly as he walked the streets of the metropolis which the Abolitionists referred to as "the prolongation of the South," where "ten thousand cords of interests are linked with the Southern Slaveholder."¹⁸ He was lonely and afraid. In New York City a fugitive slave was no safer than in Baltimore. And in the midst of the crisis of 1837, there were few opportunities for a free Negro to earn a livelihood. In desperation, Douglass finally revealed his plight to a passing sailor who introduced him to David Ruggles, the Negro secretary of the New York Vigilance Committee.¹⁹

For several days Douglass remained hidden in Ruggles' home and it was at this time that Anna Murray came North and joined him. On September 15, twelve days after his escape, they were married by the Rev. James W. C. Pennington, who had fled from a Maryland master ten years previously. Two days later they were on their way to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where Ruggles believed Douglass' skill as a caulker would secure him a livelihood. In his pocket the fugitive had his marriage certificate, a five-dollar bill which Ruggles had pressed upon him as the couple departed, and a letter of introduction to a Mr. Shaw in Newport whom they were to approach for funds if they did not have enough to carry them to New Bedford.

They arrived in Newport without funds to continue their trip by coach to New Bedford, but pushed ahead none the less, anxious to get to a place of safety. Their baggage, seized as security by the driver, was redeemed by Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Johnson, the family to whom they had been sent. The newlyweds felt at home immediately with this prosperous Negro family, who took great pains to make them forget their first experiences in the North. It was Johnson, moreover, who gave the name "Douglass" to his guest. In New York Frederick had dropped his two middle names, and changed Bailey to Johnson. As there were a great number of New Bedford Negroes with that name, his benefactor, who had just finished reading Sir Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, suggested the name by which he was soon to be known on both sides of the Atlantic.

With Johnson's encouragement Douglass began his search for work as a free man. His first day's job was loading oil on a sloop bound for

New York, and dirty and back-breaking as it was, he went at it with a pleasure he had never experienced before. No master waited at the end of the day to rob him of his wages. Whatever he earned would be his own. The next day he sought work as a caulker—and made an important discovery. No one would hire him because white caulkers refused to work with Negroes. Forced to accept the fact that prejudice against Negroes was not confined to the South, he put aside his caulking clothes, borrowed a wood-horse and saw from Mr. Johnson and went in search of whatever work would come his way. There was no question of how hard, how dirty, and how menial it might be. For the next three years he sawed wood, shoveled coal, swept chimneys, rolled oil casks, drove a coach, carried the hod, waited on tables. His hands became hard. His earnings averaged only a dollar a day, but the family's scanty income was supplemented by Anna's earnings as a domestic servant. Her cheerful spirit, her thrift and economy helped immeasurably during those early days in New Bedford. The pillows, bed linen, dishes, knives, forks, and spoons, a trunk of clothing and furnishings which Anna had brought from Baltimore made their two rooms on Elm Street overlooking Buzzards Bay a comfortable home. While he worked with saw, buck, and axe, Anna was at the washboard adding her share to the daily earnings. Even after her children came (Rosetta was born in June, 1839, and Lewis sixteen months later), she worked as a domestic whenever she could spare time from her household duties.

The day-to-day task of eking out an existence for a growing family did not afford Douglass many opportunities to satisfy his longing for education. But he applied the same ingenuity that had stood him in good stead as a slave. "Hard work, night and day, over a furnace hot enough to keep metal running like water was more favorable to action than thought," he wrote later, "yet here I often nailed a newspaper to the post near my bellows and read while I was performing the up and down motion of the heavy beam by which the bellows were inflated and discharged."²⁰

Soon after they had settled down in their new home, Douglass began to make himself a part of the Negro community of New Bedford. Having been class leader and choir member of the Sharp Street Methodist Church in Baltimore, he sought to renew his religious contacts. He joined a local Methodist church, but remained there only a short time. He discovered that Negroes were second-class communicants, sitting in a special section of the church. In disgust he walked out of the church,

never to return. He tried other churches in New Bedford with the same result, and finally joined a small sect of his own people, the Zion Methodists, where he soon became a leading member of the congregation and a local preacher.²¹

Before he had left Baltimore Douglass had already heard of the Abolitionists and of their work to end slavery. He had received help from them en route to New Bedford, but actually he knew very little of their activities. Four months after he had come to New England there came into his hands a copy of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*. So deeply was he moved by the paper that despite his poverty he became a regular subscriber. Every week he read the journal avidly, studying its principles and philosophy. "The paper became my meat and my drink," he wrote six years later. "My soul was set all on fire. Its sympathy for my brethren in bonds—its scathing denunciations of slaveholders—its faithful exposures of slavery—and its powerful attacks upon the upholders of the institution—sent a thrill of joy through my soul, such as I had never felt before!"²²

Douglass was not satisfied to sit at home and thrill to the paper. He began to attend the Abolitionist meetings held by the Negro people of New Bedford. The first printed reference to Frederick Douglass appeared in the *Liberator* of March 29, 1839. It reported an anti-colonization meeting of the Negro citizens of New Bedford at the Christian Church on March 12, at which Douglass was one of the speakers in favor of resolutions condemning slavery, commending Garrison "as deserving of our support and confidence," and denouncing the African colonization movement in the following terms:

"That we are *American citizens*, born with natural, inherent and just rights; and that the inordinate and intolerable scheme of the American Colonization Society shall never entice or drive *us* from our native soil."

Douglass became more and more involved in the Abolitionist activities of the New Bedford Negroes. Every fortnight he attended a social meeting at the home of John Baily to discuss anti-slavery principles and events. A white Abolitionist who attended these sessions observed that in the discussions "the colored people acquire the habit of thinking and speaking; a circumstance which may, in a great measure, account for the self-possession of their manners, and the propriety and fluency of their language." Among these New Bedford Abolitionists Douglass was gradually assuming a position of leadership. On June 30, 1841, he was chair-

man at a meeting called to censure the Maryland Colonization Society for "threatening to remove the free colored people out of that state by coercion." The Negroes urged their brethren in Maryland to resist intimidation and condemned an attack on David Ruggles who had been roughly handled for combating segregation on the steamboat operating between New Bedford and Nantucket.²³

On August 9, 1841, Douglass attended the annual meeting of the Bristol Anti-Slavery Society, held in New Bedford. Here in old Liberty Hall, a large, dilapidated building, with doors off their hinges, windows broken by stones thrown to break up Abolition proceedings, Douglass first heard William Lloyd Garrison. It was a red-letter day in the life of the young Negro, barely twenty-four years of age and but three years removed from slavery, because on that day, he saw in the editor of the *Liberator* the mission for his own life. "It may have been due to my having been a slave," he wrote toward the end of his life, "and my intense hatred of slavery, but no face and form ever impressed me with such sentiments as did those of William Lloyd Garrison." Douglass himself entered into the discussion and made a distinct impression upon the Abolitionist leader who reported to his paper that at the meeting were "several talented young men from New Bedford, one of them formerly a slave whose addresses were listened to by large and attentive audiences with deep interest."²⁴

The following day, Douglass took his first vacation. With Garrison and forty other Abolitionists, white and Negro, he attended a convention at Nantucket. The trip was not without incident. Captain Phinney of the steamboat *Telegraph* refused to leave the dock until the Negro passengers aboard agreed to occupy separate quarters. Some of the delegates left, but, after a long delay, a compromise was worked out. All of the delegates went to the upper deck which was set aside for their use. During the sixty-mile voyage, the delegates, with Francis Jackson presiding, held an anti-slavery meeting on deck to protest the segregation practices of the steamship company.²⁵

The next morning, August 12, at the convention in Athenaeum Hall, Douglass was called upon to speak by William C. Coffin, a New Bedford Abolitionist. Douglass, trembling and ill at ease, came forward to the platform and spoke with deep sincerity of his own life as a slave. Greatly stirred, Garrison followed with an exciting address using Douglass' remarks as his text. He asked the audience, "Have we been listening to a thing, a piece of property, or to a man?" "A man! A man!" came from

five hundred voices. Then he asked if they would ever allow Douglass to be carried back to slavery and received a thunderous "No!" in reply. "Will you succor and protect him as a brother man—a resident of the old Bay State?" was the next question. "Yes!" shouted the audience with such vehemence that "the walls and roof of the Athenaeum seemed to shudder."

That evening Douglass spoke again, and, as in the morning, the group was moved by his eloquence. In his report of the convention, the *Anti-Slavery Standard* correspondent devoted special attention to the Negro delegate from New Bedford:

"One, recently from the house of bondage, spoke with great power. Flinty hearts were pierced, and cold ones melted by his eloquence. Our best pleaders for the slave held their breath for fear of interrupting him. Mr. Garrison said his speech would have done honor to Patrick Henry. It seemed almost miraculous how he had been prepared to tell his story with so much power. In the evening, which was to be the last meeting, he was again called forward, and listened to by a multitude with mingled emotions of admiration, pity and honor. . . .

"Then Garrison arose, and burst forth into a more eloquent strain than I had ever heard before. He eulogized, as he deserved, the fugitive who had just spoken and anathematized the system that could crush to the earth such men."²⁶

Before the convention adjourned, John A. Collins, general agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, urged Douglass to become an active lecturer for the organization.²⁷ Douglass was reluctant to accept, doubting his own ability, but finally agreed to work for the society for three months. He was to travel with Stephen S. Foster, and, in addition to lecturing, was to get subscriptions for the *Liberator* and the *Anti-Slavery Standard*. His salary was to be four hundred and fifty dollars a year.

Douglass returned to New Bedford convinced that his usefulness as an Abolitionist agent would not last beyond the three month period. Events were rapidly to show how seriously he had underrated himself, and to prove that this was but the launching of a great career.

Sex Role Stereotyping in the Sunday Comics¹

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The present paper analyzes the contents of four family-oriented comics appearing in the Sunday comic section of a local newspaper for a period of six months. In two, the female characters overtly dominate the male; in two, the females play a passive, subordinate role. This study illustrates that even when overt signs of female dominance are found, traditional sex-role stereotyping persists.

The importance of learned association in the development of sex-role typing and identity has been well established (Maccoby, 1966), and a number of factors influencing sex-role development have been proposed. For example, Kagan (1964) suggests parental role model as a decisive influence, Sears (1965) proposes parental expectations and severity of socialization as crucial factors, and Hartley (1966) indicates handling behaviors and symbol manipulation as possibilities.

More recently, researchers have focused on sex-role stereotyping in literature as an important factor in sex-role socialization. For example, Weitzman, Eiffer, Kokada, and Ross (1972) examined picture books for preschool children and the Central New Jersey Task Force of the National Organization for Women (1972) reviewed sex stereotyping in children's texts. Both studies found rigid sex-role definitions; e.g., males appeared in instrumental roles, females in expressive ones. The present study concentrates on yet another medium, the Sunday comics, and more specifically, those related to marriage and the family. Although a relatively neglected area of study, this particular art form enjoys widespread popularity and warrants serious study (Berger, 1973), particularly with respect to its possible impact on sex-role socialization.

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RATIONALE

The nature of the relationship between life as depicted in comics that focus on family situations and life in the real culture is debatable. Saenger (1963) suggests that although the domestically oriented comics depict men, women, and children in family life situations, they present a distorted view of American family life. He writes (p. 221):

The husband deviates from the ideal image of the strong, self assertive, intelligent man, and assumes the character traits the culture ascribes to women. . . . Likewise the wife departs from the cultural ideal of the weak and more submissive sex.

Thus, in the "comic" culture, males appear weak and immature; females appear aggressive and masterful. Males are often confused; females manifest logic and intelligence.

In contrast, Berger sees the comics as "social records of sorts" (1973, p. 7). Dagwood Bumstead, for example, is not a distortion of the American family man, but "an important archetype. . . the irrelevant male" (p. 103).

Whether they view the comics as a distortion or as a reflection of American culture, both Saenger and Berger agree that the adult female in the Sunday comics plays the dominant role. If this is true, it should follow that traditional sex-role stereotyping would be less apparent or even reversed in the comics. The purpose of the present paper is to illustrate that regardless of overt signs of female dominance, traditional sex-role stereotyping remains in evidence.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Saenger (1963, p. 222) classifies all comics into three major categories: (1) domestic comics, which focus on family relations in a home setting; (2) adventure comics, which center on a hero engaged in an activity such as crime detection or travel; and (3) comedy comics, which include animal cartoons and comics with grossly caricatured humans. Only the first category, domestic comics, was considered pertinent to the present study.

A review of the comics appearing in the local Sunday newspaper revealed twenty cartoons: five domestic, five adventure, and ten comedy. Of the five domestic cartoons, one, "Our Boarding House" by Les Carroll, was eliminated because of its specific orientation to a family-owned boarding house rather than to a nuclear family. The remaining four domestic comics were retained for analysis: "Blondie" by Chic Young, "The Born Loser" by Art Sansom, "Dennis the Menace" by Hank Ketcham, and "Priscilla's Pop" by Al Vermeer. Each centers on father, mother, and child or children; each presents one situation per strip, i.e., a new situation each Sunday.

These comics were clipped weekly from June 2, 1974, to November 24, 1974. The comic section of the July 28 issue was misplaced and could not be retrieved or duplicated; a total of 25 strips of each comic remained. The time span was used to render percentage analysis meaningful and also to correct for "iterative" bias (Berger, 1973).

Contents of each comic were analyzed by strip for male-female ratios, role characterizations, major activities of characters, and, finally, for evidence of the traditional symbol of domestication — the apron.

FINDINGS

As mentioned earlier, each of the four selected comics is family oriented, and each illustrates one situation per strip. "Blondie" and "The Born Loser," however, concentrate on adult family members; "Dennis the Menace" and "Priscilla's Pop" focus on the children in each family. This is evidenced by the distribution of strip appearances by character (Table I). The two-to-one male dominance in appearance by sex reported by Berger (1973) in his study of various

Table I. Distribution of Strip Appearances by Character

Characters	Number of strips in which character appears	Percentage of total strips (N = 25)
Blondie		
Blondie	24	96
Dagwood	25	100
Alexander and Cookie	1	4
Daisy	23	92
Mr. Dithers	6	24
The Born Loser		
Gladys	10	40
Brutus	21	84
Wilberforce	7	28
Veeblefester	4	16
Dennis the Menace		
Alice	5	20
Henry	4	16
Dennis	25	100
Ruff	6	24
Priscilla's Pop		
Hazel	6	24
Pop	9	36
Carlyle	7	28
Priscilla	21	84
Oliver	19	76
Mr. Grumley	1	4

types of comics was found only in "The Born Loser." In the other three comics, differences in appearance by sex are slight.

Major differences, however, were found in role characterizations by sex. Blondie and Gladys play dominant/aggressive roles. In husband/wife interactions, the female "wins." For example, Dagwood hides money from Blondie in a dictionary after considering a number of possible hiding places; Blondie finds it immediately. Dagwood gets so excited watching football on television that he falls over a chair; Blondie rescues him. He fails to solve a child's puzzle; Blondie does so instantly. Gladys constantly belittles poor Brutus in size as well as action. She throws a pie at him, depreciates his income-producing ability, watches while his son lights dynamite behind him, orders him to get the car during a storm and, after he has dutifully gone, remembers that the car keys are in her purse. In contrast, Alice and Hazel play roles submissive to their husbands.

These observations do not imply that Henry and Pop are more forceful or competent men than are Dagwood and Brutus. The former are as baffled by life and its crises as the latter. The distinction is that Henry's and Pop's wives share their husbands' confusion; Blondie and Gladys do not. Thus, with respect to the particular overt situation, "Blondie" and "The Born Loser" reflect the "comic" culture as described by Saenger and Berger; "Dennis the Menace" and "Priscilla's Pop" reflect the more traditional ideals.

An analysis of more subtle aspects, however, reveals similar sex-role characterizations across all four comics. Comics were analyzed for frequency distribution of character appearance by location (Table II). If a character appeared

Table II. Character Appearance by Location

Characters	Appears outside home	Remains in home
Blondie	7	17
Percentage of total (N = 24)	29.2	70.8
Dagwood	19	6
Percentage of total (N = 25)	86.0	24.0
Gladys	4	6
Percentage of total (N = 10)	40.0	60.0
Brutus	14	7
Percentage of total (N = 21)	66.7	33.3
Alice	1	4
Percentage of total (N = 5)	20.0	80.0
Henry	1	3
Percentage of total (N = 4)	25.0	75.0
Hazel	2	4
Percentage of total (N = 6)	33.3	66.7
Pop	6	3
Percentage of total (N = 9)	66.7	33.3

outside the home at any time during the strip, that strip appearance was classified "outside." Only character appearances which were restricted to the home for the entire strip were classified "remains in home." This analysis reveals the restricted nature of the adult female's role in the family. Controlling for total number of appearances, the adult female in all four comics remains in the home for the entire strip more often than does her male counterpart.

Comics also were analyzed for major activities of characters. Activities were classified as follows: home care, e.g., cooking, cleaning, and repairing; child care; pursuit of career or job; personal grooming; leisure activities, e.g., reading, playing musical instruments, and sports activities; actively helping spouse; and passive, i.e., no activity could be ascertained. For example, a character might appear in the strip, but only as an onlooker. A frequency distribution by activity (Table III) revealed two major sex differences. First, in all comics, more wives than husbands were shown engaged in home care. Indeed, even when husbands pursued this activity, the type of home care activity differed by sex. Females cooked, washed dishes, cleaned the house, and in one case (Gladys) watered house plants; males repaired, did yard work, and performed heavy cleaning chores.

Table III. Major Activities

Characters	Home care	Child care	Career or job	Personal grooming	Leisure	Helping spouse	Passive
Blondie	6	1	0	1	2	4	11
Percentage of total (N = 24)	25.0	4.2	0.0	4.2	8.3	16.7	45.8
Dagwood	2	1	4	0	9	4	5
Percentage of total (N = 25)	8.0	4.0	16.0	0.0	36.0	16.0	20.0
Gladys	4	1	0	0	1	1	3
Percentage of total (N = 10)	40.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	10.0	30.0
Brutus	0	1	3	0	8	1	8
Percentage of total (N = 21)	0.0	4.8	14.3	0.0	38.1	4.8	38.1
Alice	1	4	0	0	0	0	0
Percentage of total (N = 5)	20.0	80.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Henry	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
Percentage of total (N = 4)	0.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	75.0
Hazel	3	0	0	0	1	1	1
Percentage of total (N = 6)	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	16.7	16.7	16.7
Pop	2	1	0	0	5	0	1
Percentage of total (N = 9)	22.2	11.1	0.0	0.0	55.5	0.0	11.1

Table IV. Evidence of Reading by Characters

Character	Number of strips	Percentage of total
Dagwood (<i>N</i> = 25)	7	24.0
Brutus (<i>N</i> = 21)	2	9.5
Henry (<i>N</i> = 4)	1	25.0
Pop (<i>N</i> = 9)	2	22.2
Mr. Wilson (<i>N</i> = 8)	5	62.5

A second observation is that males were more likely than females to engage in leisure activities. They golfed, watched television, played musical instruments, went to the beach, and read. Evidence of reading was particularly interesting, for it revealed clear sex differences (Table IV). In some situations the male was actively reading; in others he was holding reading materials in his hand. There was no evidence to indicate that females ever read. Even cookbooks were absent. To further this analysis, the appearances of Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, the Mitchell's next door neighbors, were examined. In five of Mr. Wilson's eight appearances, he was reading a newspaper or holding an open newspaper in his hand; although Mrs. Wilson appeared four times, she was never shown with reading material.

Finally, the comics were analyzed for evidence of the traditional symbol of domestication — the apron (Table V). It was reasoned that because, in at least two of the comics examined, the males were dominated by their wives, males would appear at some time in this domestic attire. At no time were males shown wearing an apron or, for that matter, doing menial household chores. In contrast, females across the four comics wore aprons in at least 25% of their appearances.

DISCUSSION

In two of the selected comics, "Blondie" and "The Born Loser," the adult females dominate the adult males; in the other two, "Dennis the Menace" and "Priscilla's Pop," wives are subordinate to husbands. Despite this major difference

Table V. Appearances in Apron by Characters

Character	Number of strips	Percentage of total
Blondie (<i>N</i> = 24)	6	25.0
Gladys (<i>N</i> = 10)	4	40.0
Alice (<i>N</i> = 5)	2	40.0
Hazel (<i>N</i> = 6)	2	33.3

in sex-role characterization, however, traditional sex-role stereotyping appeared across comics. Whether dominant or subordinate, females were more restricted to the home than were males. Further, regardless of the dominance factor, females continued to cook and clean; males rested and played. Females might outwit males, but only males read. Blondie may have to rescue poor bumbling Dagwood, but she is more restricted to the home than he is. Gladys may overpower Brutus physically and verbally, but she cooks while he rests or reads.

Thus, the female may be aggressive, clever, intelligent, or submissive and baffled by a frightening world. It appears to make no difference. In the world of the Sunday comics, as in other art forms, she continues to play the traditional stereotypical female role. Although she may be bigger and/or smarter, the apron remains her trademark.

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THE MEASUREMENT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL ANDROGYN¹

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This article describes the development of a new sex-role inventory that treats masculinity and femininity as two independent dimensions, thereby making it possible to characterize a person as masculine, feminine, or "androgynous" as a function of the difference between his or her endorsement of masculine and feminine personality characteristics. Normative data are presented, as well as the results of various psychometric analyses. The major findings of conceptual interest are: (a) the dimensions of masculinity and femininity are empirically as well as logically independent; (b) the concept of psychological androgyny is a reliable one; and (c) highly sex-typed scores do not reflect a general tendency to respond in a socially desirable direction, but rather a specific tendency to describe oneself in accordance with sex-typed standards of desirable behavior for men and women.

Both in psychology and in society at large, masculinity and femininity have long been conceptualized as bipolar ends of a single continuum; accordingly, a person has had to be either masculine or feminine, but not both. This sex-role dichotomy has served to obscure two very plausible hypotheses: first, that many individuals might be "androgynous"; that is, they might be *both* masculine and feminine, *both* assertive and yielding, *both* instrumental and expressive—depending on the situational appropriateness of these various behaviors; and conversely, that strongly sex-typed individuals might be seriously limited in the range of behaviors available to them as they move from situation to situation. According to both Kagan (1964) and Kohlberg (1966), the highly sex-typed individual is motivated to keep his behavior consistent with an internalized sex-role standard, a goal that he presumably accomplishes by suppressing any behavior that might be considered undesirable or inappropriate for his sex. Thus, whereas a narrowly masculine self-concept might inhibit behaviors that are stereotyped as feminine, and a narrowly feminine self-concept might inhibit behaviors that are stereotyped as masculine, a mixed, or

androgynous, self-concept might allow an individual to freely engage in both "masculine" and "feminine" behaviors.

The current research program is seeking to explore these various hypotheses, as well as to provide construct validation for the concept of androgyny (Bem, 1974). Before the research could be initiated, however, it was first necessary to develop a new type of sex-role inventory, one that would not automatically build in an inverse relationship between masculinity and femininity. This article describes that inventory.

The Bem Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI) contains a number of features that distinguish it from other, commonly used, masculinity-femininity scales, for example, the Masculinity-Femininity scale of the California Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1957). First, it includes both a Masculinity scale and a Femininity scale, each of which contains 20 personality characteristics. These characteristics are listed in the first and second columns of Table 1, respectively. Second, because the BSRI was founded on a conception of the sex-typed person as someone who has internalized society's sex-typed standards of desirable behavior for men and women, these personality characteristics were selected as masculine or feminine on the basis of sex-typed social desirability and not on the basis of differential endorsement by males and females as most other inventories have done. That is, a characteristic qualified as masculine if it was judged

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TABLE 1
ITEMS ON THE MASCULINITY, FEMININITY, AND SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALES OF THE BSRI

Masculine items	Feminine items	Neutral items
49. Acts as a leader	11. Affectionate	51. Adaptable
46. Aggressive	5. Cheerful	36. Conceited
58. Ambitious	50. Childlike	9. Conscientious
22. Analytical	32. Compassionate	60. Conventional
13. Assertive	53. Does not use harsh language	45. Friendly
10. Athletic	35. Eager to soothe hurt feelings	15. Happy
55. Competitive	20. Feminine	3. Helpful
4. Defends own beliefs	14. Flatterable	48. Inefficient
37. Dominant	59. Gentle	24. Jealous
19. Forceful	47. Gullible	39. Likable
25. Has leadership abilities	56. Loves children	6. Moody
7. Independent	17. Loyal	21. Reliable
52. Individualistic	26. Sensitive to the needs of others	30. Secretive
31. Makes decisions easily	8. Shy	33. Sincere
40. Masculine	38. Soft spoken	42. Solemn
1. Self-reliant	23. Sympathetic	57. Tactful
34. Self-sufficient	44. Tender	12. Theatrical
16. Strong personality	29. Understanding	27. Truthful
43. Willing to take a stand	41. Warm	18. Unpredictable
28. Willing to take risks	2. Yielding	54. Unsystematic

Note. The number preceding each item reflects the position of each adjective as it actually appears on the Inventory.

to be more desirable in American society for a man than for a woman, and it qualified as feminine if it was judged to be more desirable for a woman than for a man. Third, the BSRI characterizes a person as masculine, feminine, or androgynous as a function of the difference between his or her endorsement of masculine and feminine personality characteristics. A person is thus sex typed, whether masculine or feminine, to the extent that this difference score is high, and androgynous, to the extent that this difference score is low. Finally, the BSRI also includes a Social Desirability scale that is completely neutral with respect to sex. This scale now serves primarily to provide a neutral context for the Masculinity and Femininity scales, but it was utilized during the development of the BSRI to insure that the inventory would not simply be tapping a general tendency to endorse socially desirable traits. The 20 characteristics that make up this scale are listed in the third column of Table 1.

ITEM SELECTION

Both historically and cross-culturally, masculinity and femininity seem to have represented two complementary domains of *posi-*

tive traits and behaviors (Barry, Bacon, & Child, 1957; Erikson, 1964; Parsons & Bales, 1955). In general, masculinity has been associated with an instrumental orientation, a cognitive focus on "getting the job done," and femininity has been associated with an expressive orientation, an affective concern for the welfare of others.

Accordingly, as a preliminary to item selection for the Masculinity and Femininity scales, a list was compiled of approximately 200 personality characteristics that seemed to the author and several students to be both positive in value and either masculine or feminine in tone. This list served as the pool from which the masculine and feminine characteristics were ultimately chosen. As a preliminary to item selection for the Social Desirability scale, an additional list was compiled of 200 characteristics that seemed to be neither masculine nor feminine in tone. Of these "neutral" characteristics, half were positive in value and half were negative.

Because the BSRI was designed to measure the extent to which a person divorces himself from those characteristics that might be considered more "appropriate" for the opposite sex, the final items were selected

TABLE 2
MEAN SOCIAL DESIRABILITY RATINGS OF THE MASCULINE, FEMININE, AND NEUTRAL ITEMS

Item	Male judges			Female judges		
	Masculine item	Feminine item	Neutral item	Masculine item	Feminine item	Neutral item
For a man	5.59	3.63	4.00	5.83	3.74	3.94
For a woman	2.90	5.61	4.08	3.46	5.55	3.98
Difference	2.69	1.98	.08	2.37	1.81	.04
<i>t</i>	14.41*	12.13*	.17	10.22*	8.28*	.09

* $p < .001$.

for the Masculinity and Femininity scales if they were judged to be more desirable in American society for one sex than for the other. Specifically, judges were asked to utilize a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 ("Not at all desirable") to 7 ("Extremely desirable"), in order to rate the desirability in American society of each of the approximately 400 personality characteristics mentioned above. (E.g., "In American society, how desirable is it for a man to be truthful?" "In American society, how desirable is it for a woman to be sincere?") Each individual judge was asked to rate the desirability of all 400 personality characteristics either "for a man" or "for a woman." No judge was asked to rate both. The judges consisted of 40 Stanford undergraduates who filled out the questionnaire during the winter of 1972 and an additional 60 who did so the following summer. In both samples, half of the judges were male and half were female.

A personality characteristic qualified as masculine if it was independently judged by both males and females in both samples to be significantly more desirable for a man than for a woman ($p < .05$).³ Similarly, a personality characteristic qualified as feminine if it was independently judged by both males and females in both samples to be significantly more desirable for a woman than for a man ($p < .05$). Of those characteristics that satisfied these criteria, 20 were selected for the Masculinity scale and 20 were selected for the Femininity scale (see the first and second columns of Table 1, respectively).

³All significance levels in this article are based on two-tailed *t* tests.

A personality characteristic qualified as neutral with respect to sex and hence eligible for the Social Desirability scale (a) if it was independently judged by both males and females to be no more desirable for one sex than for the other ($t < 1.2$, $p > .2$) and (b) if male and female judges did not differ significantly in their overall desirability judgments of that trait ($t < 1.2$, $p > .2$). Of those items that satisfied these several criteria, 10 positive and 10 negative personality characteristics were selected for the BSRI Social Desirability scale in accordance with Edwards' (1964) finding that an item must be quite positive or quite negative in tone if it is to evoke a social desirability response set. (The 20 neutral characteristics are shown in the third column of Table 1.)

After all of the individual items had been selected, mean desirability scores were computed for the masculine, feminine, and neutral items for each of the 100 judges. As shown in Table 2, for both males and females, the mean desirability of the masculine and feminine items was significantly higher for the "appropriate" sex than for the "inappropriate" sex, whereas the mean desirability of the neutral items was no higher for one sex than for the other. These results are, of course, a direct consequence of the criteria used for item selection.

Table 3 separates out the desirability ratings of the masculine and feminine items for male and female judges rating their *own* sex. These own-sex ratings seem to best represent the desirability of these various items as perceived by men and women when they are asked to describe *themselves* on the inven-

TABLE 3
MEAN SOCIAL DESIRABILITY RATINGS OF THE
MASCULINE AND FEMININE ITEMS
FOR ONE'S OWN SEX

Item	Male judges for a man	Female judges for a woman
Masculine	5.59	3.46
Feminine	3.63	5.55
Difference	1.96	2.09
<i>t</i>	11.94*	8.88*

* $p < .001$.

tory. That is, the left-hand column of Table 3 represents the phenomenology of male subjects taking the test and the right-hand column represents the phenomenology of female subjects taking the test. As can be seen in Table 3, not only are "sex-appropriate" characteristics more desirable for both males and females than "sex-inappropriate" characteristics, but the phenomenologies of male and female subjects are almost perfectly symmetric: that is, men and women are nearly equal in their perceptions of the desirability of sex-appropriate characteristics, sex-inappropriate characteristics, and the difference between them ($t < 1$ in all three comparisons).

SCORING

The BSRI asks a person to indicate on a 7-point scale how well each of the 60 masculine, feminine, and neutral personality characteristics describes himself. The scale ranges from 1 ("Never or almost never true") to 7 ("Always or almost always true") and is labeled at each point. On the basis of his responses, each person receives three major scores: a Masculinity score, a Femininity score and, most important, an Androgyny score. In addition, a Social Desirability score can also be computed.

The Masculinity and Femininity scores indicate the extent to which a person endorses masculine and feminine personality characteristics as self-descriptive. Masculinity equals the mean self-rating for all endorsed masculine items, and Femininity equals the mean self-rating for all endorsed feminine items. Both can range from 1 to 7. It will be recalled that these two scores are logically independent. That is, the structure of the

test does not constrain them in any way, and they are free to vary independently.

The Androgyny score reflects the relative amounts of masculinity and femininity that the person includes in his or her self-description, and, as such, it best characterizes the nature of the person's total sex role. Specifically, the Androgyny score is defined as Student's t ratio for the difference between a person's masculine and feminine self-endorsement; that is, the Androgyny score is the difference between an individual's masculinity and femininity normalized with respect to the standard deviations of his or her masculinity and femininity scores. The use of a t ratio as the index of androgyny—rather than a simple difference score—has two conceptual advantages: first, it allows us to ask whether a person's endorsement of masculine attributes differs significantly from his or her endorsement of feminine attributes and, if it does ($|t| \geq 2.025$, $df = 38$, $p < .05$), to classify that person as significantly sex typed; and second, it allows us to compare different populations in terms of the percentage of significantly sex-typed individuals present within each.⁴

It should be noted that the greater the absolute value of the Androgyny score, the more the person is sex typed or sex reversed, with high positive scores indicating femininity and high negative scores indicating masculinity. A "masculine" sex role thus represents not only the endorsement of masculine attributes but the simultaneous rejection of feminine attributes. Similarly, a "feminine" sex role represents not only the endorsement of feminine attributes but the simultaneous rejection of masculine attributes. In contrast, the closer the Androgyny score is to zero, the more the person is androgynous. An "androg-

⁴A Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) computer program for calculating individual t ratios is available on request from the author. In the absence of computer facilities, one can utilize the simple Androgyny difference score, $Femininity - Masculinity$, as the index of androgyny. Empirically, the two indices are virtually identical ($r = .98$), and one can approximate the t -ratio value by multiplying the Androgyny difference score by 2.322. This conversion factor was derived empirically from our combined normative sample of 917 students at two different colleges.

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The Social Desirability score indicates the extent to which a person describes himself in a socially desirable direction on items that are neutral with respect to sex. It is scored by reversing the self-endorsement ratings for the 10 undesirable items and then calculating the subject's mean endorsement score across all 20 neutral personality characteristics. The Social Desirability score can thus range from 1 to 7, with 1 indicating a strong tendency to describe oneself in a socially undesirable direction and 7 indicating a strong tendency to describe oneself in a socially desirable direction.

PSYCHOMETRIC ANALYSES

Subjects

During the winter and spring of 1973, the BSRI was administered to 444 male and 279 female students in introductory psychology at Stanford University. It was also administered to an additional 117 male and 77 female paid volunteers at Foothill Junior College. The data that these students provided represent the normative data for the BSRI, and, unless explicitly noted, they serve as the basis for all of the analyses that follow.

Internal Consistency

In order to estimate the internal consistency of the BSRI, coefficient alpha was computed separately for the Masculinity, Femininity, and Social Desirability scores of the subjects in each of the two normative samples (Nunnally, 1967). The results showed all three scores to be highly reliable, both in the Stanford sample (Masculinity $\alpha = .86$; Femininity $\alpha = .80$; Social Desirability $\alpha = .75$) and in the Foothill sample (Masculinity $\alpha = .86$; Femininity $\alpha = .82$; Social Desirability $\alpha = .70$). Because the reliability of the Androgyny *t* ratio could not be calculated directly, coefficient alpha was computed for the highly correlated Androgyny difference score, Femininity - Masculinity, using the formula provided by Nunnally (1967) for linear combinations. The reliability of the Androgyny difference score was .85

for the Stanford sample and .86 for the Foothill sample.

Relationship between Masculinity and Femininity

As indicated earlier, the Masculinity and Femininity scores of the BSRI are logically independent. That is, the structure of the test does not constrain them in any way, and they are free to vary independently. The results from the two normative samples reveal them to be empirically independent as well (Stanford male $r = .11$, female $r = -.14$; Foothill male $r = -.02$, female $r = -.07$). This finding vindicates the decision to design an inventory that would not artifactually force a negative correlation between masculinity and femininity.

Social Desirability Response Set

It will be recalled that a person is sex typed on the BSRI to the extent that his or her Androgyny score reflects the greater endorsement of "sex-appropriate" characteristics than of "sex-inappropriate" characteristics. However, because of the fact that the masculine and feminine items are all relatively desirable, even for the "inappropriate" sex, it is important to verify that the Androgyny score is not simply tapping a social desirability response set.

Accordingly, product-moment correlations were computed between the Social Desirability score and the Masculinity, Femininity, and Androgyny scores for the Stanford and Foothill samples separately. They were also computed between the Social Desirability score and the absolute value of the Androgyny score. These correlations are displayed in Table 4. As expected, both Masculinity and Femininity were correlated with Social Desirability. In contrast, the near-zero correlations between Androgyny and Social Desirability confirm that the Androgyny score is not measuring a general tendency to respond in a socially desirable direction. Rather, it is measuring a very specific tendency to describe oneself in accordance with sex-typed standards of desirable behavior for men and women.

TABLE 4
CORRELATION OF MASCULINITY, FEMININITY, AND ANDROGYNITY WITH SOCIAL DESIRABILITY

Sample	Masculinity with social desirability		Femininity with social desirability		Androgyny with social desirability		Androgyny with social desirability	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Stanford	.42	.19	.28	.26	.12	.03	.08	-.10
Foothill	.23	.19	.15	.15	-.07	.06	-.12	-.09
Stanford and Foothill combined	.38	.19	.28	.22	.08	.04	.03	-.10

Test-Retest Reliability

The BSRI was administered for a second time to 28 males and 28 females from the Stanford normative sample. The second administration took place approximately four weeks after the first. During this second administration, subjects were told that we were interested in how their responses on the test might vary over time, and they were explicitly instructed not to try to remember how they had responded previously. Product-moment correlations were computed between the first and second administrations for the Masculinity, Femininity, Androgyny, and Social Desirability scores. All four scores proved to be highly reliable over the four-week interval (Masculinity $r = .90$; Femininity $r = .90$; Androgyny $r = .93$; Social Desirability $r = .89$).

TABLE 5
CORRELATION OF THE MASCULINITY-FEMININITY SCALES OF THE CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY (CPI) AND GUILFORD-ZIMMERMAN SCALE WITH THE MASCULINITY, FEMININITY, AND ANDROGYNITY SCALES OF THE BSRI

Scale	CPI		Guilford-Zimmerman	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
BSRI Masculinity	-.42	-.25	.11	.15
BSRI Femininity	.27	.25	.04	-.06
BSRI Androgyny	.50	.30	-.04	-.06

Note. The CPI scale is keyed in the feminine direction, whereas the Guilford-Zimmerman scale is keyed in the masculine direction.

Correlations with Other Measures of Masculinity-Femininity

During the second administration of the BSRI, subjects were also asked to fill out the Masculinity-Femininity scales of the California Psychological Inventory and the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey, both of which have been utilized rather frequently in previous research on sex roles. Table 5 presents the correlations between these two scales and the Masculinity, Femininity, and Androgyny scales of the BSRI. As can be seen in the table, the Guilford-Zimmerman scale is not at all correlated with any of the three scales of the BSRI, whereas the California Psychological Inventory is moderately correlated with all three. It is not clear why the BSRI should be more highly correlated with the CPI than with the Guilford-Zimmerman scale, but the fact that none of the correlations is particularly high indicates that the BSRI is measuring an aspect of sex roles which is not directly tapped by either of these two scales.

NORMS

Table 6 presents the mean Masculinity, Femininity, and Social Desirability scores separately by sex for both the Stanford and the Foothill normative samples. It also presents means for both the Androgyny t ratio and the Androgyny difference score. As can be seen in the table, males scored significantly higher than females on the Masculinity scale, and females scored significantly higher than males on the Femininity scale in both samples. On the two measures of androgyny, males scored on the masculine side of zero

TABLE 6
SEX DIFFERENCES ON THE BSRI

Scale score	Stanford University			Foothill Junior College		
	Males (n = 444)	Females (n = 279)	t	Males (n = 117)	Females (n = 77)	t
Masculinity						
M	4.97	4.57		4.96	4.55	
SD	.67	.69	7.62*	.71	.75	3.86*
Femininity						
M	4.44	5.01		4.62	5.08	
SD	.55	.52	13.88*	.64	.58	5.02*
Social Desirability						
M	4.91	5.08		4.88	4.89	
SD	.50	.50	4.40*	.50	.53	ns
Androgyny t ratio						
M	-1.28	1.10		-.80	1.23	
SD	1.99	2.29	14.33*	2.23	2.42	5.98*
Androgyny Difference score						
M	-0.53	.43		-.34	.53	
SD	.82	.93	14.28*	.97	.97	6.08*

* $p < .001$.

and females scored on the feminine side of zero. This difference is significant in both samples and for both measures. On the Social Desirability scale, females scored significantly higher than males at Stanford but not at Foothill. It should be noted that the size of this sex difference is quite small, however, even in the Stanford sample.

Table 7 presents the percentage of subjects within each of the two normative samples who qualified as masculine, feminine, or androgynous as a function of the Androgyny t ratio. Subjects are classified as sex typed, whether masculine or feminine, if the Androgyny t ratio reaches statistical significance

($|t| \geq 2.025$, $df = 38$, $p < .05$), and they are classified as androgynous if the absolute value of the t ratio is less than or equal to one. Table 7 also indicates the percentage of subjects who fall between these various cutoff points. It should be noted that these cutoff points are somewhat arbitrary and that other investigators should feel free to adjust them in accordance with the characteristics of their particular subject populations.

CONCLUDING COMMENT

It is hoped that the development of the BSRI will encourage investigators in the areas of sex differences and sex roles to ques-

TABLE 7
PERCENTAGE OF SUBJECTS IN THE NORMATIVE SAMPLES CLASSIFIED AS MASCULINE, FEMININE, OR ANDROGYNOUS

Item	Stanford University		Foothill Junior College	
	Males (n = 444)	Females (n = 279)	Males (n = 117)	Females (n = 77)
C_c feminine ($t \geq 2.025$)	6	24	9	40
C_c near feminine ($1 < t < 2.025$)	5	20	9	8
C_c androgynous ($-1 \leq t \leq +1$)	34	27	44	38
C_c near-masculine ($-2.025 < t < -1$)	19	12	17	7
C_c masculine ($t \leq -2.025$)	36	8	22	8

tion the traditional assumption that it is the sex-typed individual who typifies mental health and to begin focusing on the behavioral and societal consequences of more flexible sex-role self-concepts. In a society where rigid sex-role differentiation has already outlived its utility, perhaps the androgynous person will come to define a more human standard of psychological health.

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Commentary
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He Said, She Said

Leslie H. Farber

IN ITS efforts to redress sexual, social, political, economic, artistic, and religious inequalities, the new feminism has thrown into question all those institutions under whose auspices men and women through the centuries have sought to combine their lots or join their fates. Marriage, the family, child-bearing and child-rearing, even the man-woman thing itself, are being subjected to such harsh scrutiny and challenge that it is now difficult for some people to take for granted anything about life between the sexes. At the heart of the dissension, I believe, is a failure of dialogue between man and woman—a failure that to some degree, with notable exceptions, has always existed, and now, with our present self-consciousness, is being experienced with greater anguish. I shall not use the term “dialogue” again—for the reason that the word has become so debased in the last few years that it is used to identify almost any public or private babble. Instead I shall talk about talk—real talk—between a particular man and a particular woman. Be it contentious or amicable, playful or serious, such man/woman talk requires a forthrightness on each side that represents the experience of each, and at the same time is addressed to the experience of the other without duplicity or evasion. Its medium is language, a problematical medium that may obscure as much as it may reveal; yet no other medium will serve.

Man/woman talk has been neglected, even disparaged, in philosophy and psychology, largely because it was deemed inferior to the friendly talk between two people of the same sex—usually male, in the writings of the past, more recently female in the urgings of the new feminism. Because of the commonality of their past experience and the relative absence of erotic strivings, two friends, it was held, could achieve a purer, more honest, more illuminating back and forth. The implication of such notions was that friend-

ship was impossible between men and women, or, if this seemed too bleak, it could be said that men and women had *something* together, by no means inferior to friendship, but still something different—a something which replaced the necessity of talk with a shared domestic and sexual world. The logic of this replacement stemmed from the premise that all real talk between a man and a woman, no matter how carefully disguised, was sexually flirtatious, and if an ongoing sexual life together were agreed upon, talk was no longer necessary except for the exchange of factual information about their shared world. Should the hunger for man/woman talk now arise, men and women both must seek their flirtatious satisfactions outside their life together, and for talk turn to friends of the same sex.

What is flirtatious talk? According to the Oxford English Dictionary definition, and according to our modern understanding, flirtatious talk is a contradiction in terms, if by *talk* we mean something forthright between equals. The OED speaks of “playing at courtship,” still a relatively bland description compared to our modern pejorative view, wherein flirtation is a form of double-talk, all seeming subject matter being bent to the possibility or actuality of sexual union through seduction, real or imagined. “Courtship” is by now an old-fashioned, if not obsolete, form of life between a man and a woman; at best it represented a rather stylized manner in which two people could come to know each other before sex and/or marriage. A young man and a young woman today are more apt to begin with sex, and for the kind of knowing which follows between them we have no ready word. Clearly, “courtship” is not it.

The problem with the term “flirtation,” as I see it, is that either it must be restricted to describe seductive double-talk, in which sex itself is the overriding object, or else it must be enlarged to include talk where sexuality is present in the sense of acknowledged attraction between a man and a woman, without the intervention of actual sex as motive or compulsion. Unfortunately, even “sexuality” is apt to be reductive in the latter description, in that it suggests merely an instinctual magnetism. Certainly it would be foolish to disown this portion of the attraction,

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yet equally important, perhaps more important, in real man/woman talk, is the exciting possibility of receiving and offering a range of perception and sensibility whose otherness can be uniquely and surprisingly illuminating. Because playfulness and frivolity are thought to belong to flirtation in the reductive sense, I want to stress that man/woman talk of the order I am attempting to describe, and regardless of how seldom it may be achieved in these times, is not necessarily a somber, soul-searching affair. So long as equality and honesty prevail, and so long as each person tries to imagine the other's reality without dishonoring his own, the manner or mood of such talk can be various: humorous, serious, philosophical, concrete, abstract, gossipy, and so on. Employing Martin Buber's terminology, and at the same time shifting its focus from friendship between people of the same sex, I would maintain that such talk contains the supreme potentiality of confirming the other, not only as a particular human being, but as a particular man or woman, and, of course, of being confirmed in the same way.

There are basically three different male-female contexts or modes within which this real talk may take place. In each one the experience of sexual attraction, the quality of it, the acknowledgment of it, will be different. In the first mode, the man and woman talking have a current, on-going sexual commitment to each other. A common or traditional shorthand term for this arrangement is "marriage," although needless to say it does exist without marriage, and, conversely, there is nothing about the marriage ceremony itself which automatically confers these verbal pleasures on its celebrants. In these committed relationships, the issue of sex having already been settled, as it were, the specter of sex will, ironically, be normally less present than in other categories of encounter, since the couple know that, convenience apart, the conversation can at any point be interrupted—or climaxed or celebrated—in bed, and then, or later, resumed.

In the second mode, the man and woman talking are both sexually committed, but not to each other. (I am aware that the whole idea of sexual commitment—always a fragile reality, often an embattled principle—has undergone some strenuous challenges lately; but neither these challenges nor any defensive responses I might offer are to the point in my effort here. I am speaking about a way of life in which commitment, fidelity, temptation, and betrayal are all real possibilities.) In this second mode, then, both conversationalists have sexual loyalties elsewhere, and do not wish or intend to betray them. Still, a lively ingredient of the talk between them will be an awareness of—and appreciation of—the "otherness" of the other: each will respond to, and take pleasure in, the "otherly" attractiveness of the

other, which may in fairness be called sexual attraction, so long as it is understood that it does not focus on—or aim at—an explicit sexual conclusion.

In the third mode, the talkers are not—quite yet, or, only just—involved in a sexual relation; their talk, in addition to its subject matter, has another—usually quite pleasant if not intoxicating—burden to bear, namely that of exploring the sexual possibilities that may lie before them. Should these two not be committed to others, this adventure may most delightfully combine the pleasures of real talk with the pleasures of real flirtation, without disservice to either. When the outcome of these explorations would result in the betrayal of a third or fourth person, however, I think that the issue of bad faith constitutes a threat to the honor and forthrightness demanded by real talk.

One of the risks I run in choosing to talk about talk between men and women is that I may be thought to be describing conversation between beings with vocal cords and ears but without bodies, just as someone talking about sex may seem to be describing beings with sexual organs but without voice and hearing. Let me say as quickly as possible there is no sex without talk, although pornography is a male venture one of whose purposes would seem to be to render the woman speechless, except for certain obligatory cries of gratitude and admiration. And, on the other side, my talkers are blessed with bodies, clothed and unclothed, assisting, questioning, or contradicting what is said. Most of us, I imagine, can recall the times when we talked rather than had the sex we wanted, such talk concealing our true desires, and, in the same spirit, the times when the poverty of real talk provoked us into sexual consolation—or, to put the matter simply, when the lust for talk was obligingly transformed into sexual lust. Even the most unregenerate seducer cherishes the secret hope of real talk with his conquest, although that is precisely what he cannot abide, what he knows would most compromise his entire career as seducer.

MY EARLY discussion, which must have seemed utopian, of the privileges of real man/woman talk must now give way to a consideration of the failure—the reasons for the failure.

Allowing for all exceptions to the contrary, I nevertheless have the impression that women generally are more disposed to talk than men, that men for the most part are more guarded and secretive in their talk with women. This disparity is epitomized by a scene enacted daily in all areas and at all levels of our society. It comes in several versions. Two will give the idea. Version A: He comes home. She is making dinner, diapering the baby, and so on. He greets her affectionately, asks

her casually, How's it going?, or Well, what's new?—and she tells him. She talks about the children, appreciating, deploring, concern about Bobby's this, delight at Billy's that, she recounts her entertaining—or boring or outrageous—experiences at the supermarket, she does not omit mention of the malfunctioning vacuum cleaner, and, stirring away at the soup, wiping children's faces and spilled desserts, she discusses her response to an item of general public interest she saw on TV. She also recalls the few free moments in which she read an article called "Radical New Approaches to Being a Woman," and more speculation, philosophy, and self-scrutiny flow freely until, the children more or less bedded down, or banished to homework and/or TV, dinner cleared away, and a quiet moment descending over the last cup of coffee, she turns to him, flushed, expectant, as one who has unstintingly contributed her full share of the sharing, and says, Well? How was your day? Does he start off with who called him first thing at the office that morning, and how that call caused him to doubt a decision he'd made the day before, and does he pursue momentarily the problematic nature of the kind of decision-making he's required to do and his capacity or incapacity for it, does he respond to her notions about the TV event or engage her reactions to the article she read, being reminded of something *he* read on that most recently well-publicized of subjects and his response to it, does he. . . . But why pursue this? Once in a while he does. More often he does not. Perhaps he says, Oh, nothing much happened, just the usual rat-race. Perhaps he recites some dry, factual resumé of his activities. Perhaps he grasps at some domestic thread she dangled and addresses himself to an issue concerning her or the children, or even the vacuum cleaner. Perhaps he shrugs and is silent. In any case, more often than she cares to think about, she asks with some bitterness why there must be this inequality, why she is open about her life, her thoughts, and he remains closed.

Version B. He comes home. Pretty soon she comes home. The housekeeper is seeing to the children and making dinner. He (or possibly she) fixes a couple of cocktails and they share a quiet interlude before a family (or possibly a solitary adult) dinner. Well, he says, how did it go today?—and she tells him. She talks about her secretary, or co-editor, or senior research assistant, or cameraman, she appreciates, deplores, analyzes, questions, wonders about the nature of her work, of her place and performance in it, tells of other, more private thoughts and concerns that popped in and out of her day. Eventually she pauses . . . and asks . . . and does he. . . .? Well, once in a while he does. More often he does not. He does something else. And more often than she cares to think about, she asks with some bitterness why there must be this inequality, why she is open

about her life, her thoughts, and he remains closed.

In whatever setting this scene occurs, his reply to her complaint may be that there isn't much to be said, that nothing interesting happened, that she is more articulate and more observant than he, but beyond or beneath his talk about not talking there has to be some uneasy recognition of his inclination toward reticence. There may be no deliberate concealment: all he may experience may be a familiar blankness following her invitation or demand that he talk. He can stand on his right to have nothing to say, or he can willfully invent a facsimile of talk, but in either case he is left with the aftertaste of an old inferiority in the realm of real talk with a woman.

IN ORDER to pursue the nature of this reticence, I shall turn to an old memory of my own. During the Depression, when I was in my late teens, my college roommate and I spent a Saturday evening prowling around the Tenderloin district of San Francisco, searching for sexual distraction of some sort. An actual sexual adventure was what we most wished for, but for reasons of timidity and poverty such a culmination seemed most unlikely. As physical fatigue began to set in, my friend mentioned, no doubt in desperation, that he had heard of a display of rubber goods at a drugstore in the heart of the district, where, on the pretense of being potential customers, we would be allowed to examine a rare and extensive collection of erotic and/or contraceptive rubber devices. Very shortly we were standing in a back room of the drugstore, staring into a large glass case, containing each specimen with name and price beneath. My recollection is that we both tried to assume the demeanor of the casual museumgoer as we inspected the display, while hoping the clerk would not badger us into making a purchase. In fact, I remember our attempt at sophisticated detachment more than I remember what was contained in the case. Except for one item called a French Tickler. This was a rubber condom to which was attached a filigree of thin rubber strands that stood out from the surface of the condom like the bristles of a hairbrush.

From my present perspective I wish to make two different, though related, points about that occasion. First, about our plight. There are a number of common expressions that could identify our condition that evening, but all I know of, though splendidly concrete, lack generalizing power. I shall therefore characterize our state by a term I first found in an article by Midge Decter, namely *undifferentiated lust*. By undifferentiated lust I mean the surgings of sexual excitement—usually chronic, often acute—that first begin to possess the young man in his adolescence. In terms of the world about him, this excitement seems to come from everywhere and

nowhere, and to be directed at everyone and no one, as it presses for bodily release. Obviously there is pleasure, or at least the possibility of pleasure, in this lust, but just as often it is experienced as an affliction in its obsessive claims on both the body and the imagination. In time the nonspecific, unfocused nature of this lust may give way to differentiation, as actual relations with actual women develop, the attendant discriminations depending critically on real talk in these relations. But such a passage is a shaky one, for undifferentiated lust can never be wholly banished; it may be transcended, or, more often, deliberately withstood. Every man knows he can be subject, if he so chooses, to undifferentiated sexual arousal, and it should be noted that there is a pornography industry dedicated to the arousal of this undifferentiated impulse.

To return to the subject of man's inclination toward reticence. It is when undifferentiated lust begins to capture the adolescent young man that he perceives a radical difference in terms of sexual urgings between himself and a young woman. He comes to know in his own heart that this form of lust is his, not hers. And how can there be frank talk, given this difference? To admit simply that he is driven by a sexual hunger for anyone or everyone would, he believes, deprive him of release with a woman who does not share this extreme hunger. Of course, with the help of the equalitarian fiat bestowed by the sexual revolution, he may convince her or she may convince herself there is no difference: undifferentiated lust is not only the lot, but the right, of both of them. But more often, he will develop the *habit of disavowal*, pretending differentiation when there is none. Needless to say, in this simulation of real talk, he may be as deceived as she about the nature of their tie together. At first, before there can be said to be a habit, the disavowal is relatively uncomplicated. The lust that constitutes an overwhelmingly important portion of the young man's experience must, so he believes, be concealed or dissembled in his dealings with women. But if disavowal persists and remains uncorrected it soon spreads, almost by contagion, to include all manner of experience, both pleasurable and painful, that has little to do with undifferentiated lust. At this point there may be said to be a *habit of disavowal*. It is frequently misconstrued by both man and woman as his special need for privacy, his need to handle whatever is important in his life by himself. If he asserts that talk will only interfere with his concentration on what is pressing, he in effect resorts to his earlier conviction that talk about his lust would deprive him of the satisfaction he desires. Lest I be misunderstood, I am not questioning the legitimate need for privacy that both men and women have, but rather the illegitimate claim to privacy which is not privacy but rather disavowal, and which stands as enemy to real talk.

THE second point I want to consider in relation to the episode in the San Francisco drugstore concerns the rubber object in the glass case, the French Tickler. My response to this object at the time was no doubt a mixture of embarrassment and fascination, but this hardly explains why it remains in my memory. It remains, I think, because it was and is constitutive of an inferiority that man feels before woman. What I am saying is that there was something in me that found this object not remarkable but *unremarkable*. I seemed to accept without question its assertion that man in his nakedness is simply not enough to contend with a woman. And the French Tickler in its complicated manufacture metaphorically represented the proliferating web of measures he would adopt to redress his insufficiency and prove he was enough. With this image we are brought to that aspect of the man/woman problem that has received the bulk of attention in the press. Which words are used to designate the issue will depend on the sympathy or outrage of the individual writer. Without exhausting the list, I might mention the male ego (intransigent or wobbly), male chauvinism, machismo, male fragility or vulnerability. But let me return at this point to the seeming inferiority represented by the French Tickler. However much my democratic prejudices may be offended by this sensation of inequality, I still believe it to be a fact in every man's experience of himself. So I must ask the question, How did it come about? I ask the question, knowing it is baffling and knowing there are many theories, cultural and psychological, that address themselves to it. With what is to follow, I do no more than add my own theory to the lot of explanations, without, however, dissipating my own bafflement. Though the French Tickler seems literally to refer to that later period in man's life when he is sexually active, I prefer to see the object as a constitutive symbol. This is to say that I believe the feeling of inferiority much precedes puberty, going back to a time when the male child first perceives his mother to be a different order of sexual being from himself. Were I to be more literal here I would refer to incestuous strivings and their attendant castration anxieties as my causative theory. Such strivings may or may not occur, but I do not believe them crucial so far as the issue of inferiority is concerned. I am more inclined to think of them as early attempts to alleviate the experience of inequality through some sort of vain and crude wish for sexual or bodily fusion. With his early apprehension of the difference between himself and his mother, the little boy tries to comprehend a mysterious and awesome complexity having to do with both sexuality and child-bearing that is, by its very nature, hidden from him. Since his own sexuality (and that of all males, including his father) is external, vis-

ible, objective, circumscribed, he cannot comprehend a sexuality whose most formidable powers are concealed. What he cannot know, in his way of knowing, impresses and attracts him—and at the same time frightens him. Comparing his explicit sexuality with his mother's, he finds his own body wanting. Envy and fear conspire to tempt him to exalt the female body and devalue his own, although it will not be long before the same conspiracy will tempt him to exalt his own sexuality at the expense of the female body. Yet even if he tries to settle for the latter, he will never wholly obliterate his feeling of inferiority. Actually, over the course of his life, both temptations will nag him, each suggesting an inequality he fears and yet believes he does not deserve. Envy is no stranger to the human condition, be it male or female. But Freud, because of a misunderstanding of the nature of envy, was wrong, I believe, in his famous formulation of envy between the sexes. It is not literally the body or any specific part of the body that either man or woman envies in the other, in the sense of wishing to possess it as part of his or her physical nature. The primary experience of man before woman is awe, which in turn leads him to envy her mysterious inner complexity. And insofar as women envy men, and I think they do, they do not envy man his penis. Barring the occasional morbidly literal-minded exception, what women envy are the prerogatives and privileges of manhood that they believe or suspect are superior to those of womanhood.

OUT of the background I have described, man comes to dread that in his life with women he will be found wanting. The irony is that whatever devices his will or history's will may contrive to protect him from exposure, these devices paradoxically serve to enforce his apprehension. In the light of this predicament it is understandable why the male ego remains vulnerable to all manner of womanly challenge. To the degree that a man regards his inferiority as a constitutional or physical fact, rather than a feeling or apprehension, real talk will elude him, for real talk can exist only between equals. Without it he will fall subject to those domineering and apologetic maneuverings, both institutionalized and personal, with which we are so familiar.

To recapitulate, I have stressed two aspects of man's experience that are obstacles to talk with women. When the habit of disavowal associated with undifferentiated lust is joined to the apprehension of inferiority, forthright talk with a woman can be seen as perhaps the most perilous venture known to man. Still, like other ontological necessities, this venture would be refused only by a fool or madman on the ground that it is not his birthright or will not yield to easy prescription.

Though I suggested earlier that women generally are more disposed to talk than men, this disposition is more questionable and more double-edged than is immediately apparent from the example of the man who cannot respond in kind to the woman's talk about her day. To begin to describe woman's disabilities in the realm of talk, let me return to the matter of man's vulnerability stemming from his habit of disavowal and his feeling of inferiority. While it is true that his vulnerability is, so to speak, of his own making, it nevertheless finds its fruition in his life with women who, in a sense I shall presently describe, choose to exploit this condition rather than engage it honestly and imaginatively. To judge from the current indignation over the male ego, with its weaknesses and excesses, we might be inclined to think we were witnessing a revolutionary new discovery about the nature of man. Not so. Consciously or unconsciously, explicitly or implicitly, women have always known in their bones about male vulnerability. In the failure of real talk between man and woman, she is guilty, too, although her complicity is of a different kind. When real talk is failed, guilt is incurred, in that there is an injury to the human order. When guilt is not acknowledged—and such acknowledgment being indeed painful, it often is not—the guilty one is tempted to seek refuge in contempt for the other. Since both parties can be guilty for the failure of talk, it is easy to see how men and women come to have contempt for each other that is otherwise undeserved.

To return to the nature of woman's complicity, take the issue of man's undifferentiated lust. Are his attentions, in their mixture of blandishment and obfuscation, so convincing that she is blind to the particular demon driving him? Hardly. She is, I believe, as aware of her difference in this regard as he is of his. What she experiences that corresponds to some degree to his undifferentiated lust is an undifferentiated desire to be desired by anyone and everyone. Although lust may be one of its consequences, this desire of hers is not to be confused with his undifferentiated lust, nor does she make this confusion. She knows that he is driven in a way she is not, and it is this perception that gives her an edge in the negotiation that may, she hopes, support the achievement of her own aims, whatever they may be. Gradually, or even suddenly, in a manner that has little to do with who she thinks she is or what she thinks she is entitled to, she realizes she is the object of a consuming hunger that may be complied with, opposed, or manipulated, depending upon her own needs and wishes. In other words, she senses, dimly or not, that her sexuality is not only a source of pleasure for herself as well as procreation, but also a negotiable item in her own endeavors in this world—with the provision that its negotiability

will depend on the deceit of non-negotiability. Compared to the deviousness necessary to this enterprise, prostitution is a fairly simpleminded, frank business arrangement in which payment is made for services rendered. At any rate, to the extent this power of negotiation predominates in a woman's dealings, she assists in the sexual objectification of herself that is already the perceptual form of his undifferentiated lust.

Despite her recognition that his physical and verbal overtures are at the mercy of his undifferentiated lust, she may, because she is flattered or excited or encouraged in her own designs, pretend there is a differentiation to his lust that there simply is not. When rather than terminate the negotiation she instead protests, "All you want is my body!" she is being disingenuous, for she knows how eagerly he will, with his capacity for disavowal, lend elaborate support to her pretending. On the other hand, if her response is seemingly more emancipated, such as "Well, why not?" she still dissembles her own experience with its difference from the man's in favor of easy agreement. All this negotiating and dissembling on both parts is ruinous to real talk, since, romantic prejudices notwithstanding, sex, like housework, is to some degree subject to negotiation. Talk is not.

As I have already mentioned, man's recurrent fear that he will be found wanting makes him peculiarly vulnerable to challenge. And that fear, as life proceeds, becomes vague and amorphous in his experience, imposing its painful claim not only on sexual performance itself but also on intellectual, emotional, and even spiritual realms. In his compulsion to allay, rather than contend with, this fear, his gestures will be, in a general way, either self-assertive or self-negating or both. The woman who heeds her imaginative sense of the origin of these gestures will be less inclined to take them literally. But should she fail that heeding, should she see no more than the gestures themselves, she thereby grants herself her own license for self-assertion or self-expression—a license extending to all seasons. If she need fear no real talk from the man that might limit her license, her self-confidence can reach such outrageous proportions that she need no longer attend to any response.

There is a potential background for such an unhappy turn of confidence, having to do with her own relation to her inner mystery that eludes man's objective searchings. Her recognition of essential difference, like the man's, begins in childhood, and with puberty she has intimations of how vast that difference is. For her there is a rush of a hugely complicated intermingling of sexual and procreative possibility, of which she will be periodically reminded for most of her

adult life. Though her experience of this possibility will widen and deepen with time, as will her discriminations about her experience, still she will not be a knowledgeable master of her own mystery, in that it will persist as an enigma to her, and, needless to say, to man too. Nevertheless, she will come to appreciate the scope of this enigma. And in this light, man's nature may seem simplicity itself when compared to the unfathomable variety of her own nature. Besides its appearance of simplicity, man's nature can seem almost peripheral to her fulfillment. The danger for her lies in the manner in which she deals with her own enigma: unless she respects what must remain enigmatic she will be tempted to assume more than she knows. This is not to say that she will merely give in to the arrogant assumption of superiority, for that conceit spares no one. Her hazard is worse than that—namely, that she will mistakenly assume for herself a completeness, sufficient unto itself. As I have said, man's vulnerability stems from his fear of being found wanting. Woman may fear she will be unwanted, but not that her inner parts will be wanting. Her parts, indeed, are Nature's marvel. She is, literally, the embodiment of the miracle of life. What is conferred on her is no less than—and also no more than—the distinction of being Nature's vehicle for the eternal renewal of life. That this distinction is also a privilege, and also a burden, and also a mystery—that she is the vehicle of creation, not the Creator—these realities may blur as she yields to her besetting, in some ways overweening, temptation to experience her own physical nature as somehow primary, inviolable, complete. She is of course vulnerable in many ways, but not in the particular ways I have indicated for man. Her prideful temptation is toward a belief in her completeness—a completeness to which man can make no more than an incidental contribution, reduced to a mere footnote to her existence. Her sense of completeness begins with a misreading of the enigma of her physical possibility, but if she indulges—and is indulged in—this delusion, completeness will soon include far more than physical possibility.

Let me be childishly explicit about this extreme situation: completeness is complete, meaning that intervention is not only not needed but will no longer be tolerated. At this stage, man's failure to speak his mind, which has already collaborated in her sense of completeness, is now met by her repudiation of the need for further talk.

Man's sense of inferiority and woman's sense of completeness—both may be regarded as the particular vulnerabilities each brings to the occasion of the possibility of real talk between them, each vulnerability implying in its nature the different ways the two people may betray the occasion. For, in truth, man is not inferior to woman, and woman is not complete.

MY CONCENTRATION on the difficulties of man/woman talk should not be interpreted to mean that man/man and woman/woman talk are not without their own dangers. Although the latter form of talk has not been my subject in this essay, let me say briefly that the commonality of experience between man and man and between woman and woman yields, in the realm of talk, both advantages and disadvantages. Because the talkers have their gender in common, and therefore much of the nature of their experience, they begin with a kind of agreement that facilitates a probing of this shared experience, so that there seems to be almost a shorthand for covering issues quickly and yet incisively. On the other hand, such commonality entails the risk, simply because it is never confronted by a wholly other response, that insofar as the speakers confirm one another, what they confirm are simply previously held presumptions and prejudices.

For man and woman there is no such shorthand, nor should there be. Moreover, where there seems to be a previously agreed-upon shorthand, I would suspect it serves evasion more than convenience. Real talk between a man and a woman has a hard-won, even laborious quality when compared to the easy intimacies between friends of the same sex. If I designate the tempo of man/woman talk as *adagio*, I certainly do not mean that less is said, for an *adagio* tempo, though its beat is slow, allows for rapidity and subtlety and a varied texture of expression. The reason for this tempo lies in the fact that for man and woman each is other to the other, no matter how much knowledge they may gain about each other over the course of their relation. And being other to the other, there is an element of startle to the back and forth, of being continually and surprisingly caught off balance. I am of course now talking about talk at its best,

in which honesty, equality, and imagination of one's own and the other's reality prevail. Real talk of this order, I must insist, is no permanent state of bliss: rather does it come and go, scrutiny of its wonders being the surest way to dispel it. But even without such scrutiny it falls back or withers into meaninglessness, so that the ground must be won and rewon. Early in a relation both sex and talk give powerful help to the restoration of meaning when it has been lost. But as the relation endures and the years pass, the balance between sex and talk shifts. Sex may still offer brief reconciliation, but unless meaning is restored through talk as well, the sexual consolation will become increasingly barren, even yielding to bitterness and despair. Language is now of the essence, and real talk assumes a heavier obligation. The words that broke through the last impasse and the impasse before that linger in memory and will no longer serve. Verbal habits have become familiar, and expressions that once carried deep personal meaning repeated use has rendered empty. What is needed now is not mere variety or novelty, but a precision of speech that can be inspired only by a more vigorous, more courageous imagination.

Toward the beginning of this essay I suggested that in real talk men and women could confirm and be confirmed not only as particular human beings, but as the particular man or woman each was meant to be. But this is a rather highflown way of putting the matter, so let me conclude in a more modest fashion that is at the same time more appropriate to my calling. Real talk between a man and a woman offers the supreme privilege of keeping the other sane and being kept sane by the other. As we look about us, it is obvious this privilege is not often fulfilled, and I suspect this has always been true. Nor is it the only way of staying sane. But it will remain, I believe, one of our best hopes.

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THE FEMINIST PRESS

MARY P. ROWE
Special Assistant for Women and Work

JUN 7 1977

Ref. to _____

BOX 334, OLD WESTBURY, NEW YORK 11568 | (516) 997-7660

27 May 1977

Mary P. Rowe
Special Assistant for Women and Work
Office of the President and Chancellor
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Dear Mary Rowe:

The Newsletter committee has read and discussed at length the correspondence and the article that you submitted to us, and we do apologize for what must seem like undue delay. Our recent--and exciting--affiliation with the National Women's Studies Association has taken most of our committee's time since January and we have had to do our utmost to get out our first joint issue.

For a number of reasons, we feel that we cannot use your article. Although we were interested in what was at the heart of your proposal, a course in sex-roles co-taught by a man and a woman, the Newsletter has published a number of articles on team-taught courses and we feel that another one would not be of sufficient interest to our readers at this time. We also missed an exploration of the personal experience of the instructors involved, the issues raised in the course of the class, and the resulting interaction among students and faculty. That is, the "what" and the "how," in addition to the "why." Finally, we felt that our readers would have wanted to know more about the public policy implications of the course.

We do thank you very much for thinking of the Newsletter and appreciate greatly your concern for the balance and relevance of its articles. It is essential for us to hear regularly, in this way, from our readers.

Sincerely yours,



Dora Janeway Odarenko

Educational Projects/Publishing
A nonprofit, tax-exempt organization
located on the campus of State University
of New York, College at Old Westbury

*File with my
short article
on co-teaching
audiography*

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Carlton S. Sedgely
President

Dear Women's Studies Professors:

Ever since THE LIBERATED MAN: Beyond Masculinity, Dr. WARREN FARRELL received review after review similar to UPI's review calling it "the most incisive and iconoclastic piece of social commentary to stun America in more than three decades", many of you have been asking when THE LIBERATED MAN would be available in paperback for your classes.

Bantam Books will release the paperback edition in September for \$1.95 (many courses are already using the Random House edition at \$10.00) and special arrangements have been made with Bantam Books to send the pre-publication edition to you for free in early August (keep it whether or not you use the book in class). Simply check off the enclosed card and return it in an envelope with \$0.50 in check or money order to cover postage and handling.

The response to THE LIBERATED MAN from Professors of Women's Studies and Sex Roles is "finally, when my students say, 'why aren't we reading anything on the male roles?', I have not only an answer but a book that is well written, humorous, logical, interdisciplinary, definitive, original and thought provoking."

Reaction has been particularly favorable to:

...the research from more than 1,000 sources on the problems of masculinity,

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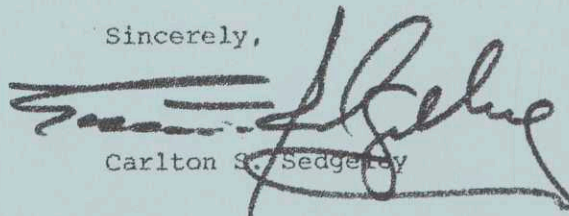
...the way the book gets the students personally involved, both through the ten-page questionnaire and Warren's personal introduction,

...the first program for men's movement offering male students dozens of areas to research as "men's issues", and

...the extensive bibliography of books, films and men's resources.

We will be happy to send you a free copy. And, if you would like, we will also send information (fees and dates available) about the possibility of Dr. FARRELL appearing on your campus. He has forfeited a full-time post at Columbia University to spend two years speaking on men's liberation and starting a men's liberation movement nation-wide. The accompanying brochure describes the type of program he conducts on campuses. Just check off the enclosed postcard for more information on his lectures and a free copy of his book.

Sincerely,



Carlton S. Sedgely

File
Androgyny

Turnabout responses

Memorandum from the Office of the

PRESIDENT AND CHANCELLOR

Special Assistant for Women and Work

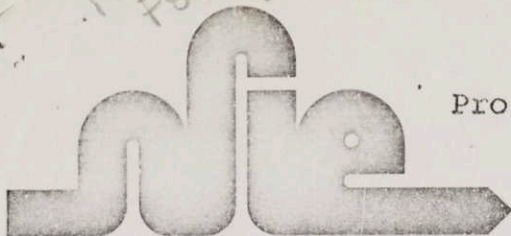
M.I.T.

• Bosses not shown
yelling + screaming

• Single women have it worse

• Object to mention
that men have no trouble

• eg. pay + eg. benefits



Project: Resource Center on Sex Roles in Education

THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION
Suite 918/1156 Fifteenth St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005/202 833-4402

September 16, 1974

CONFIRMED COURSES OUTSIDE OF SCHOOLS OR
DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION (MANY EDUCATION STUDENTS ARE ENROLLED)

CALIFORNIA

University of the Pacific, Raymond College, Stockton 95204
Patricia Blumenthal, Child Development
Psychology of Sex Differences

Holy Names College, Oakland 94619
(Soc) Rosalind Newton, Masculine/Feminine Mystiques

OHIO

Wilmington College, Wilmington 45177
(Lang. & Lit.) Helen Chapin, Women in Literature
(Soc) Cherry Miller, Role of Women

MICHIGAN

Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo 49001
(Gen'l studies) Gilda Greenberg, ~~Gender Studies~~
Counseling to Eliminate
Sex Role Stereotyping

MINNESOTA

Austin Community College, Austin 55912
Esther Holley, Women in American Society

MISSOURI

Notre Dame College, St. Louis 63125
Sister Rita Zeis, Psychology of Women

NEW JERSEY

Georgian Court College, Lakewood 08701
(Eng) Frances McCormick, Women's Studies

NEW YORK

State University College of New York, Geneseo 14454
(Psych) Margaret Matlin, Psychology of Women

State University of New York, Stonybrook 11790
(Psych) Sally Sternglanz, Sex Roles in Day Care

PENNSYLVANIA

Mercyhurst College, Erie 16501
(Eng) Sister Eustace, Women in Literature

California State College, California 15419
(Eng) Norma Maatta, Studies of Women in Literature

TEXAS

St. Edwards University, Austin 78704
James Koch, Modern Woman

WISCONSIN

Mount Senario College, Ladysmith 54848
(Eng) Terry Williams, The Dialogue of Men and Women

Wisconsin, U. of, Eau Clair 54701
(Library Science) Ursala Emery, Child/Adolescent Literature

Wisconsin, U. of, Whitewater 53190
(Eng) Agate Krause, Women in American Culture
Workshop in Women's Studies

CANADA

Durham College of Applied Arts and Technology
Suzanne Grenke, Women's Studies

ADDENDUM

CALIFORNIA

University of California, San Diego 92110

(Extension) Margaret Budd, Sexism in School and Society

MICHIGAN

Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo 49003

(General Studies) Beverly David, Women: Past, Present and Future

Nita Hardie, The Status of Women

Karen Yinger, Alternate Life Styles and Sex Role Portrayals in the Mass Media

MISSOURI

Notre Dame College, St. Louis 63166

(Psych) Sr. Rosemary Hufker, Psychology of Woman

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305

CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON WOMEN
POLYA HALL 106
(415) 497-1994

May 23, 1975

*Androgyny
Course
Respect
for
Women?
or
Stamps?*

Dr. Mary Potter Rowe
Special Assistant for Women and Work
Office of the President and Chancellor
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

MARY P. ROWE
Special Assistant for Women and Work

MAY 28 1975

*Carola E.
CEP*

Ref. to xc (3 pp) to Jane Sauer

File _____ + *ret to me?*
Thanks

Dear Dr. Rowe,

I am sorry to have taken so long to send this material to you. Enclosed is a copy of the "working proposal" which Ms. Miner and Dr. March have used to direct discussion in a seminar this quarter. We are now drafting a complete proposal to begin a study this summer.

We would appreciate any information you have about similar studies which have focused on undergraduate education. We would also like sources which you think are particularly useful in order to include them in a bibliography which we will develop.

I have also enclosed a copy of the Stanford University Center for Research on Women information brochure which describes this Center. The Newsletter is the first one for this year.

Thank you for your help and interest. I'm glad we were able to reach one another. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Cynthia Davis

Cynthia Davis

CD/cld
Enclosures

cc: A. Miner

DIRECTED RESEARCH ON THE UNDERGRADUATE
EDUCATION OF WOMEN AT STANFORD

During the Spring Quarter 1975, Anne S. Miner and James G. March will preside over a research seminar on some aspects of the undergraduate education of women at Stanford. Each participant in the seminar will be expected to write three papers during the quarter and to attend a regular weekly meeting (Tuesdays, 3-5:30). Credit (4 units) for directed research in either sociology, or education will be offered. The seminar will be open to undergraduates, graduate students, and post-doctoral associates. However, admission will be limited and preference will be given to persons able to commit substantial energy to the seminar.

The seminar will be organized around the following questions:

1. What is the sexual structure of formal education at Stanford?
What courses do undergraduate men and women take? Majors? Do patterns change over the four years of attendance for undergraduates? Do the patterns change from one decade to another? What factors are associated with nontraditional choices of undergraduate majors by men and women? What are the patterns in graduate education? Do they change? What factors are associated with such changes.
ka
phy
2. What is the educational experience for men and women at Stanford?
Do men and women have different experiences in seeking advice, enrolling in class, participating in class, studying and seeking evaluation and educational counsel? Is there evidence that such differences, if they exist, affect academic performance, career plans, or behavior after graduation?
3. What do men and women students bring to their Stanford education?
What are their attitudes, competences, styles and expectations? Are they different from those students at other schools? What changes have occurred in the expectations of women and men in the past fifty years, if any? What changes might occur in the next fifty?
301
ES
data
4. What are the styles and attitudes of people whom students meet at Stanford? What are the attitudes and styles of faculty, administrators, residence hall advisors, librarians and police, for example, in reference to sex roles? What kinds of models for successful adult males and females exist (and do not exist) in the environment? Is there evidence that men and women undergraduates receive different kinds of help from the institution in planning their lives? (Different in the amount of help? In the nature of career or family objectives considered appropriate?) Do men and women graduate students receive different levels of support in pursuing their next career objective?

5. What is the relationship between women and masculine subcultures at Stanford? What are the expectations of men and women and vice versa? Where do men and women meet? What are the main features of the meetings? What is the impact of men on women's expectations and behavior?
6. Among women students, what are the various subcultures? What are the ideologies? What are the status structures? Who talks to whom about what? Who are role models? Are there important differences between religious, ethnic or economic subgroups? Is there evidence that the subcultures have changed or are changing with time?
7. What is the impact, if any, of courses designed to provide information about sex roles, or present new options for men or women? Do courses such as assertiveness training for women, the psychology of sex roles, or women's history change attitudes? Change behavior?

These topics will be studied in the context of undergraduate education, graduate education, or both, depending upon the resources and interest of the class itself.

Within each of these domains, three paper assignments will be made: First, we will ask what a review of the relevant literature reporting research done elsewhere says. Second, we will ask what ideas are in the literature, or can be imagined, that might cast theoretical light on the questions. Third, we will ask what research at Stanford might clarify both the unresolved theoretical questions and the special features of the Stanford situation.

If the seminar develops well, we expect the collection of papers will form a basis for series of research studies during the 1975-76 academic year. If it does not develop well, we will try again later.

Students interested in participating in the seminar should contact either Miner (497-3483) or March (497-2105) to arrange an interview.

*Mary - I thought
you might be
interested in
this - Anne Cahill*

45 Middle Street
Lexington, Mass.

June 24, 1974

MARY P. ROWE
Special Assistant for Women and Work

SEP 5 1974

Ref. to _____
File Audioogy

Dear Participant:

Enclosed is an abstract of the Master's thesis "A Study of Women's Liberation in a Suburban Community" in which you participated by answering a questionnaire one year ago. The completed document is available at Boston University's Mugar Library, and we hope to publish an article presenting the results in the near future.

We very much appreciate your cooperation in participating in the study. The results have proved interesting from both feminist and social work perspectives. We feel this thesis is an important contribution to the ongoing effort of making social work practice relevant to people's needs.

If you have questions or would like more information regarding the study, feel free to call any one of us. Thank you again for your help.

Sincerely,

Jane Davis
Margaret Dickerman 491-6547
Patience Sampson 261-3311
Bonnie Jones 862-9506

enc.

Boston University
School of Social Work
Master's Thesis Abstract

A STUDY OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN A
SUBURBAN COMMUNITY: DISTINGUISHING
CHARACTERISTICS OF JOINERS OF THE
WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

A comparative study of suburban mothers was conducted by four graduate students at the Boston University School of Social Work. A sample of 103 members of consciousness raising groups (WLS) in an upper-middle class suburb of Boston was compared to a community sample (CS) of 103 women in the same neighborhoods and age range. Data was collected from a mailed questionnaire in the spring of 1973; the variables included socioeconomic characteristics, role conflict and satisfaction, family background, social supports, attitudes toward conventional and non-conventional roles, self-esteem and political orientation. The return rate for women in groups was 87% (90) and for the community sample 63% (65).

The study shows a highly educated group of women, with the WLS being somewhat more highly educated and coming from a higher socio-economic class as children. The members are also more likely to have had higher grades in high school and college; there is some evidence that the WLS had feelings of isolation until college; that is, they perceived both parents as being "distant" and, in high school, admit to "not having enough friends." The members are more likely to reach out of the nuclear family for satisfaction, sharing of tasks, intimate or close relationships with both men and women, and individual associations. Their social supports are more likely to be those they have developed as individuals, i.e., friends, consciousness raising group, rather than more traditional supports, i.e., in-laws, husband's colleagues and religious institutions.

The WLS members are more likely to rate themselves above average as individuals and place high priority on the individually centered roles of career and friendship rather than in family-related areas of husband's career and children's achievements.

→ Although the majority of both groups want to share household tasks and

breadwinning equally with their husbands, neither group, it seems, has been able to put these changes in attitudes into practice in their own lives. The WLS members are more likely to express extreme dissatisfactions with housekeeping and they are more moderate in expressing satisfactions with motherhood and family relationships. Members are more likely to be aware of conflict between conventional roles and pursuit of their own careers, identity and interests. However, nearly one-half of the community sample also felt conflict between their role of mother and pursuing their own interests. The members are more likely to see alternative family structures to the nuclear family as potentially satisfying. The majority of both groups are politically liberal, reflecting the community, but the members are significantly more likely to be radical or very liberal and to support political movements which favor political solutions to social problems.

Jane Davis
Margaret Dickerman
Bonnie Jones
Patience Sampson

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA 19104

Population Studies Center

3718~~1935~~ LOCUST STREET

August 8, 1974

MARY P. ROWE
Special Assistant for Women and Work

AUG 12 1974

Dr. Mary Rowe
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Office of the President and Chancellor
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Ref. to _____
File Androgyny

Dear Dr. Rowe:

Thank you for your enquiry. I don't have any papers I can send you on my research using the Parnes data but I will be happy to send you such in the future. Basically my research is an analysis of the increased labor force participation of married women with children that has occurred in the post World War II period. I am using a role conflict model and am attempting to identify the ways in which women were able to minimize their home and work requirements and combine both roles.

Yours sincerely,

Julia A. Ericksen

Julia A. Ericksen

mrr

Christian Counseling Service, Inc.

West Coast Affiliate of the American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry
12141 LEWIS STREET • GARDEN GROVE, CALIFORNIA 92640 • (714) 638-1122

January 15, 1974

*File
People interested
in androgyny*

Dr. Mary P. Rowe
Special Assistant for Women and Work
M.I.T.
Boston, Massachusetts

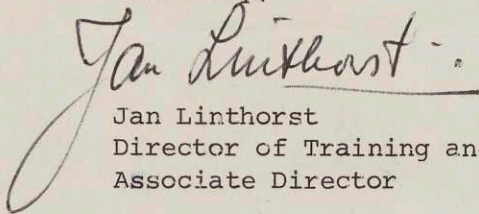
Dear Dr. Rowe:

Thank you for sending me the paper on androgyny.
This was helpful.

Enclosed is a brochure of a seminar where androgyny
is one of the subjects.

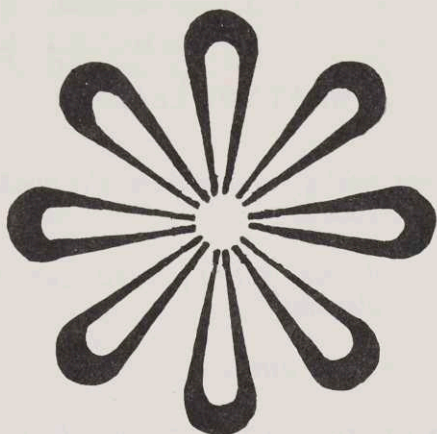
Unfortunately, the local college library does not
have C. Hilbrán's book, but I will continue to
look for it.

Sincerely,


Jan Linthorst
Director of Training and
Associate Director

JL:gj

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- *Save energy; better use of natural resources*
- *Protect the environment; mental and physical health*
- *Appreciate home and family*
- *Value and spiritual aspects of life*
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The instructor, Jan Linthorst, D. Min., is a licensed marriage, family and child counselor and is Associate Director and Director of Training for the Christian Counseling Service, Inc. in Garden Grove.

He is a graduate in pastoral counseling of the American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry in New York City and received a Doctorate of Ministry from Andover Newton Theological School in Massachusetts.

Dr. Linthorst is Editor of the book, *In Quest of Wholeness*, by the New York psychiatrist, Dr. Thomas Hora.

* * *

The Quality of Life Seminar is sponsored by the CHRISTIAN COUNSELING SERVICE, INC., a non-profit, non-sectarian mental health center providing services to the general public.

For further information, please phone (714) 638-1122.

Please register me for the **QUALITY OF LIFE Seminar** for the last weekend in _____
(month)

Enclosed is my check in the amount of \$ _____ (\$40/individual; \$60/couple), payable to the **QUALITY OF LIFE Seminar**. Registrations must be received no later than one week in advance of Seminar.

Name(s) _____
(please print) (phone)

Address _____
(street) (city) (state) (zip)

Main Office
CHRISTIAN COUNSELING SERVICE, INC.
12141 Lewis Street
Garden Grove, California 92640

Robert P. Merkle
Executive Director

Jan Linthorst
Associate Director

comments from participants

"By using these techniques I find harmony within myself and naturally I have become more productive."

Accountant

"In one month my sales volume on the job increased 22%." *Manager*

"Instead of getting involved in an argument, I listened. We talked things over and we drew closer together. I believe we both have been enriched by the Seminar."

Dental Assistant

"The Seminar has re-inspired me to put into action some of the truths about life I have discovered over the years. In effect, Dr. Linthorst is saying, 'Have a happy life, for Heaven's sake!' He is a man who reflects happiness." *Artist*

Mary -
Sorry About
The Lousy Copy.
DVID

Unterüberbacher, H K

The pilchard of South West
zooplankton studies in the water
cial reference to the Copepoda
(Windhoek? South-West Africa

42, (38) p. illus. 25 cm. (Adm
Marine Research Laboratory. Inve

Bibliography: p. 41-42.

1. Zooplankton — Atlantic Ocean
I. Title. II. Title: Zooplankton stu
(Series: Walvis Bay, South-west
Laboratory. Investigational report

QH91.A1W3 no. 11

Library of Congress



*Little Jane Horner,
Read in the corner,
Darwin, Freud, and Scripture:
She learned that each human
Is part man, part woman,
And said, "That's a wonderful mixture!"*

Audio
copy

Department of Psychological Sciences
Purdue University, Fort Wayne Campus
2101 Coliseum Blvd. East
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46805

TO: All members of the Association for Women in Psychology

FROM: Cathryn Adamsky and Norma Shepelak, Conference Coordinators

RE: Association for Women in Psychology Conference on Feminist Research and Theory

You are cordially invited to attend an AWP conference on feminist research and theory which will be held in the Student Union Building at the Indiana-Purdue Regional Campus, Fort Wayne, Indiana. Local Feminists in Fort Wayne have kindly offered assistance to AWP by providing accommodations to those who prefer to stay in private homes and local transportation. Coordinator of accommodations and local transportation is Ms. Cheryl German, a coordinator of the Fort Wayne Feminists.

FORMAT: Those who responded to the initial announcements of the conference have expressed a preference for a very open conference which stresses in-depth discussions of feminist research and theory, and which maximizes opportunities for conversation and small workshop-type interactions. The conference coordinators have tried to implement these ideas. Please add your additional suggestions and preferences on the return form included. If you would like to coordinate or serve as a resource person for a particular workshop, please indicate that on the form also. Friday and Saturday evenings have been set aside for general gatherings in the homes of local feminists, with workshops scheduled for all day Saturday and Sunday morning. A closing session is planned for early Sunday afternoon. Meeting space is available for those who would like to stay on for meetings on Sunday afternoon.

The following workshops have been proposed for the conference. Please indicate your additions and preferences on the form included. Scheduling of workshops will try to accommodate the demand.

Methodology and Design in Feminist Research
Neonatal and Early Childhood Sex Similarities
A Lesson from the Apes: Generalization from Other Species
The Origins and Mechanism of Gender-Awareness
Sex Similarities in Adulthood and Adolescence
The Female Personality...As of Today
Conceptions of Mental Health
Female Sexuality
The Dynamics of Interpersonal Power Relationships Between the Sexes
Attribution Theory-Where Do The Biases Begin?
Sex Discrimination
Changing Attitudes and Behavior
The Traditional Nuclear Family
Constructing Alternate Life Styles
Sex-roles vs. the Human Potential of Individuals
Teaching The Psychology of Women
Frustration and Aggression in Women
Relationships between Ageism and Sexism
Developmental Trends Through Middle Age in Intelligence and Personality
Theories of Feminist Therapy
Funding of Feminist Research
Physiology of Sex Similarities
Achievement Motivation and Fear of Success
Male Personality in a Sexist Society
Sexism: Attitudes Toward Women and Women's Liberation

SCHEDULE OF EVENTS

Friday, October 12 At 2817 Devon Drive:
Registration and Gathering

Saturday, October 13 At the Student Union Building:
8:30 Registration
9:00-10:00 Breakfast
10:00-12:30 Workshops
12:30-2:00 Lunch
2:00-3:30 Workshops
3:30-4:00 Coffee
4:00-5:30 Workshops
5:30-7:00 Dinner

 At 2526 East Drive:
7:00 Gathering

Sunday, October 14 9:00-10:00 Breakfast
10:00-12:30 Workshops
12:30-1:30 Lunch
1:30-2:30 Closing Session
2:30-4:00 Open for Scheduling

TRANSPORTATION: Fort Wayne is located in north east Indiana, and is accessible by plane, train, and bus. The Indiana-Purdue Regional Campus, is located at the junction of U.S. Highway 30 Bypass (Coliseum Blvd.) and Indiana Road 37.

FOOD: Meals will be available in the Student Union Building on a pay-as-you-eat basis. No formal meals are planned.

HOUSING: If you would like us to arrange accomodations in the home of a local feminist, we would be happy to do so. For those who prefer to stay in a hotel or motel, we suggest the following:

Gerber-Haus Motor Hotel, 1011 East Coliseum Blvd., Telephone 219-483-6421.
Single, \$11, Double, \$13.50.

Hospitality Inn (Courtesy Car), 5250 Distribution Drive, Telephone 219-484-9681.
Single, \$17., Double, \$22.00.

Northcrest Motor Inn, 505 (US Highway 30 ByPass) Coliseum Blvd., Telephone
219-748-7161. Single \$13.91, Double, \$21.40.

Hotel Rosemarie (located on The Landing, a restoration area downtown), 119 W.
Columbia, Telephone 219-742-1304. Single, \$6.96, Double, \$8.56.

REGISTRATION: There will be a registration fee of \$2.00. Please make your checks payable to the Association for Women in Psychology.

IN ORDER TO HELP IN THE PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE PLEASE FILL OUT AND RETURN THE FORM ON THE NEXT PAGE.

MAIL THIS

"I plan to come to the AWP conference on feminist research and theory in Fort Wayne, Indiana, October 12-14, 1973"

Name _____

Address _____

_____ ZIP _____

Phone _____

TO: Cathryn Adamsky, Department of Psychological Sciences, Purdue University, 2101 East Coliseum Blvd., Fort Wayne, Indiana 46805.

Please list your workshop preferences:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

Are there additional workshops you would like to see included?

Would you like to coordinate a workshop?

Shall we arrange accomodations for you in the home of a local feminist? YES ___ NO ___

PLEASE INCLUDE REGISTRATION FEE OF \$2.00. MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO THE ASSOCIATION FOR WOMEN IN PSYCHOLOGY.

11-10-77

Reading List
Soc. 522
Thompson 102

SOCIOLOGY OF PARENTHOOD

Reappear
a November
weekend
w.

A. Rossi
Fall 1977
TuTh, 9:30am

Materials for
Androgyny
discussion
w.
Robert

Required Books:

- A. Skolnick & J. Skolnick, FAMILY IN TRANSITION, Little Brown, 2nd edition, 1977.
- S. Callahan, PARENTING: Principles & Politics of Parenthood, Penguin 1974.
- DAEDALUS, Special Issue on The Family, Spring 1977 (Vol. 106(2) American Academy of Arts and Sciences

Symbols: All readings are required, unless preceded by (O), Optional. Graduate students are expected to read the optional as well as required readings. Readings from Skolnick and Skolnick are identified by author and title of essay, with an abbreviated reference to text, i.e. Sk&Sk.

I. THE EVOLVING FAMILY

1. Long term evolutionary change:

R543

- ✓ K. Gough, "The origin of the family," Sk&Sk, 23-41.
- ✓ N. Tanner & A. Zihlman, "Women in evolution: innovation and selection in human origins," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society, Spring 1976, 585-608.
- *✓(O)R. Fox, KINSHIP & MARRIAGE, Chap. 1, Kinship, Family & Descent, Pelican 1967.

2. Industrialization and Family Structure:

- ✓ J. Demos, "American Family in past time," Sk&Sk, 59-77
- ✓ E. Wrigley, "Reflections on history of family," Daedalus, 71-86
- ✓ T. Haraven, "Family time and historical time," Daedalus, 57-70.
- ✓ K. Marx, "On family life under the factory system," Sk&Sk, 42-46.
- ✓(O)N. Davis, "Ghosts, Kin & Progeny," Daedalus, 87-114.

3. Short term historical change: 20th century trends

- ✓ W. Goode, "World revolution and family patterns," Sk&Sk, 47-58.
- ✓ H. Wagatsuma, "Some aspects of contemporary Japanese family," Daedalus, 181-210.
- ✓ B. Whiting, "Changing life styles in Kenya," Daedalus, 211-226.
- ✓ P. Glick, "A demographer looks at American families," Sk&Sk, 90-108.
- RG 65 ✓ A. Rossi, "Family development in a changing world," Amer. Jl. Psychiatry, March 1972, 1057-1966.
- ✓ A. Downs, "Impact of Housing policies on family life in U.S. since WWII," Daedalus, 163-180.

II. GENDER ROLES & FAMILY STRUCTURE

1. General:

- S. Bem, "Beyond androgyny" Sk&Sk, 204-221.
- J. Giele, "Changing sex roles and future of marriage," Sk&Sk, 151-168.
- ✓ M. Hunt, "Marital sex," Sk&Sk, 135-150.
- L. Rubin, "Blue collar marriage and the sexual revolution," Sk&Sk, 151-168.
- ✓ E. LeMasters, "Battle of the Sexes," Sk&Sk, 251-260.

1st - Oct 20th
Nov 17th

2. Women's Roles:

- R. VanDusen & E. Sheldon, "Changing status of American women: a life cycle perspective," Sk&Sk, 169-187.
 K. Mason, J. Czajka, S. Arber, "Changes in US Women's Sex Role Attitudes, 1964-1974," American Sociological Review, 1976, 41(4), 573-596.
 S. Jacoby, "What do I do for the next 20 years," Sk&Sk, 193-203.

3. Men's Roles:

- S.M. Miller, "On men: the making of a confused, middle class husband," Sk&Sk, 241-250.
 M. Komarovsky, "Cultural contradictions and sex roles," Sk&Sk, 229-240.
 J. Balswick & C. Peek, "The inexpressive male: a tragedy of American society," Sk&Sk, 222-228.
 J. Sattel, "The inexpressive male: tragedy or sexual politics?" Social Problems, 23(4) April 1976, 469-477.

III. PARENTING1. General

Read for Thesis

- ✓ A. Rossi, "A biosocial perspective on parenting," Daedalus, 1-32.
 J. Kagan, "Psychological requirements for adult development," Sk&Sk, 400-411
 J. Kagan, "The child in the family," Daedalus, 33-56.
 S. Callahan, PARENTING: Principles & Politics of Parenthood, whole book.

2. Mothering

- A. Rossi, "Transition to Parenthood," Sk&Sk, 351-361.
 R. Wortis, "The acceptance of the concept of maternal role by behavioral scientists," Sk&Sk, 362-377.
 (O) J. Bernard, THE FUTURE OF MOTHERHOOD, Penguin, 1974.
 (O) A. Rich, OF WOMAN BORN, Norton 1976, Bantam 1977 (Not required of grad. student)

3. Fathering

- D. Lynn, "Father and American in transition," Sk&Sk, 378-384.
 M. Lamb, Chapter 1, pp. 1-34, in M. Lamb, THE ROLE OF THE FATHER IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT, Wiley 1976.
 (O) M. West & M. Konner, "The Role of the Father: an anthropological perspective," in Lamb 1976, 185-212.

IV. STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL VARIATIONS IN PARENTHOOD1. Non-parenting

- J. Veevers, "Voluntarily childless Wives," Sk&Sk, 546-554.
 (O) J. Bernard, THE FUTURE OF MOTHERHOOD, Chap. 3, Nonparenthood, 41-52.
 P. Stein, "Singlehood: an alternative to marriage," Sk&Sk, 516-536.

2. Marital Breakup and Single Parenthood

- C. Hill, Z. Rubin, L. Peplau, "Breakups before marriage," Sk&Sk, 313-332.
- R. Weiss, "Erosion of love and persistence of attachment," Sk&Sk, 333-342.
- J. Wallerstein, J. Kelley, "The effects of parental divorce," Sk&Sk, 412-426.
- C. Stack, "Who owns the child? Divorce and child custody decisions in middle class families," Social Problems, April 1976, 505-515.
- (O)H. Ross & I Sawhill, TIME OF TRANSITION: the growth of families headed by women, Urban Institute 1975, esp. chapters 1,2,6,7.

3. Step-parenting

- B. Maddox, "Neither witch nor good fairy," Sk&Sk, 394-399.

4. Cultural Variations

- H. Rodman, "Lower class family behavior," Sk&Sk, 461-464.
- R. Staples, "Toward a sociology of the black family," Sk&Sk, 477-504.
- T. Marciano, "Middle class incomes, working class hearts," Sk&Sk, 465-476.

V. SUPPLEMENTING PARENTS

1. Alternative Family Structures

- B. Berger & B. Hackett, "On the decline of age grading in rural hippie communes," Sk&Sk, 427-440.
- R. Kanter, "Getting it all together: some group issues in communes," Sk&Sk, 564-577.
- (O)R. Kanter, COMMUNES: CREATING AND MANAGING THE COLLECTIVE LIFE, Harper&Row 197

2. Child Care Issues

- R. Baxandall, "Who shall care for our children," Sk&Sk, 441-454
- S. Woolsey, "Pied Piper Politics and the child-care debate," Daedalus 127-146.
- C. Blaydon & C. Stack, "Income support policies and the family," Daedalus 147-1
- (O)P. Roby (ed.) CHILD CARE: WHO CARES? Basic 1973. (Good reference book with details on day care institutions in various countries)

VI. FAMILY AND WORK ROLES

- C. Constantina-Rothschild, "Dual linkages between the occupational and family systems," Sk&Sk, 555-563.
- J. Bernard, THE FUTURE OF MOTHERHOOD, Chap. 9, Professional Mother 157-181 and Chap. 10 Working Mother, 182-195.
- R. Kanter, WORK AND FAMILY IN THE US: A CRITICAL REVIEW, Russell Sage 1977, Undergraduates: pp. 59-81; graduates: whole monograph
- (O)L. Holmstrom, TWO CAREER FAMILIES, Schenkman, 1972
- (O)R. Rapoport & R. Rapoport, DUAL CAREER FAMILIES, Re-examined, Harper 1976 esp. 324-358. (Graduate students: read Either Holmstrom OR Rapoport)

VII. VIOLENCE AND THE FAMILY

- R. Gelles, "Demythologizing child abuse," Sk&Sk, 385-393
- W. Goode, "Force & Violence in the Family," in S. Steinmetz & M. Straus,
VIOLENCE IN THE FAMILY Dodd-Mead 1974, 25-44
- S. Radbill, "A history of child abuse and infanticide," in Steinmetz & Straus,
1974, 173-179.
- D. Gil, "A conceptual model of child abuse and its implications for social
policy," in Steinmetz & Straus, 205-211.
- (O)R. Gelles, THE VIOLENT HOME: A study of physical aggression between Husbands
and Wives, Sage Library of Social Research #13, 1972. Graduate students:
read for impact of marital violence on parent-child relations)

THE WOMEN'S CENTER

*Andro
Course*

Barnard College

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK 10027

September 6, 1973

Ms. Mary P. Rowe
Office of the President and Chancellor
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Dear Ms. Rowe,

Thank you for your inquiry about the Center's non-credit course "Explorations in Feminism." I am enclosing a folder describing the course and giving registration details.

Barnard does not offer a course in the area of androgyny, but you may find it helpful to contact Wendy Martin at Queens' College, Department of English, Flushing, New York 11367, who has been doing work in this area. Of course you have seen Carolyn Heilbrun's recent book TOWARD A RECOGNITION OF ANDROGYNY. I am enclosing a list of Barnard Women's studies courses; please contact the instructors for individual course material.

Sincerely,

Mary Elizabeth Wexford
Mary Elizabeth Wexford
Administrative Coordinator

WOMEN'S STUDIES
BARNARD COLLEGE
1973-1974

Economics 10 - SEX DISCRIMINATION AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR (spring, Tu 2:10-4:00)
Prerequisite: Introductory Economics 2
Topics to be discussed include the extent of women's education; labor force participation by women; economic factors affecting marriage, divorce, and fertility; economic discrimination against women; effect of government policy on women's position; and international and historical comparisons.
Professor Cynthia Lloyd.

English 40y(V) - SEXUALITY IN LITERATURE (spring, M W F 10:00-10:50)
Sexual roles and the place of woman as represented in the Bible and in works by Shakespeare, Jane Austen, D.H. Lawrence, Doris Lessing, and others.
Professor Catharine R. Stimpson.

French 20(I) - FEMALE AND FEMINISM (spring, M W F 10:00-10:50; conducted in French)
The mythic image of the female, the dilemma of the modern woman, and the rise of feminism in nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature. Authors include George Sand, Baudelaire, Flaubert, Becque, Colette, Breton, Mauriac, Montherlant, Beauvoir, Sarraute, Rochefort, and Leduc.
Professor Donna Stanton.

French 43 - FRENCH WOMEN WRITERS (fall, Tu Th 10:35-11:50; conducted in French; prerequisite: an advanced literature course or permission of the instructor)
A literary and cultural study of poets, prose writers, and influential groups, with emphasis on: Marguerite de Navarre, Louise Labé, the "Précieuses," Madame de Sévigné, Madame de LaFayette, the eighteenth-century Salons, Madame de Staël, Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, George Sand, Colette, Beauvoir, Duras, Rochefort, Sarrazin.
Professor Tatiana Greene.

German 61 - COLLOQUIUM: WOMEN WRITERS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY (not given 1973-74)
A study of the works, prose and poetry, of Ilse Aichinger, Ingeborg Bachmann, Hilde Domin, Nelly Sachs, Anna Seghers, Gabriele Wohmann, Christa Wolf.
Professor Brigitte Bradley.

History 6 - THE HISTORY OF WOMEN IN THE LATE ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE MIDDLE AGES (spring, Tu 3:35-5:25)
The origins of the legal and social position of women in mediaeval society as reflected in patristic writings, Roman and Germanic codes. The contributions of women in the high and late Middle Ages to feudal and urban society, courtly love, monasticism, mysticism, medicine, and literature; studies through primary and secondary sources. Colloquium.
Professor Suzanne Wemple.

History 66 - HISTORY OF WOMEN IN ACADEME (spring, M 2:10-4:00; prerequisite: permission of the instructor)
A study of the experience of American women in higher education: the acceptance of women into colleges and universities; the movement for coeducation; the recent efforts to achieve greater opportunities for women in academe; comparisons with European educational practice.
Professor Patricia Albjerg Graham.

History 81 - HISTORY OF WOMEN IN AMERICA TO 1890 (fall, Tu 2:10-4:00)
An examination of important historical and literary sources for the study of American women from colonial times to 1890. Colloquium.
Professor Annette Baxter.

History 82 - HISTORY OF WOMEN IN AMERICA SINCE 1890 (spring, Tu 2:10-4:00)
An examination of important historical and literary sources for the study of American women from 1890 to today. Colloquium.
Professor Annette Baxter.

Interdepartmental Course 1y - FEMALE AND MALE: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH (spring, Tu Th 10:35-11:50)
Evolutionary, genetic, and physiological bases of sex: factors determining sex differences, hormones and behavior, pregnancy and motherhood, sex roles strategies in the animal kingdom. Cultural definitions of sex roles in comparative perspective: ranges of variability and the significance of the constants. Psychological development of feminine and masculine sex roles: Freud and Erikson. Current problems in sexual, familial, and economic aspects of female-male relationships and in the status of women. Projection for the future and direction of social policy.

OVER...

Interdepartmental Course ly - continued
Professor Mirra Komarovsky, chairperson, and
representatives of the departments of Bio-
logical Sciences, Anthropology, and Psy-
chology.

Interdepartmental Course 4 - DETERMINANTS
OF SEXUALITY (not given 1973-74)

The course explores the biological and psy-
chological factors which define maleness and
femaleness. An introductory lecture series
on reproductive anatomy, embryology, gene-
tics and hormonal physiology will be followed
by discussion of experimental observations
on the biological and psychological aspects
of sexual differentiation. The second third
of the course will consider traditional psy-
choanalytical and alternative views of so-
called normal male and female psychosexual
development, patterns of sexual behavior,
sexual deviancy (or alternatives) and ex-
perimental and clinical research data
relevant to these topics. Lastly, the
accumulated foundation will be utilized to
evaluate the possibility/probability of
cultural factors modifying the sexual dif-
ferentiation process.

Doctors Harriette Mogul and Zira DeFries.

Oriental Studies V3379x. READINGS IN ORI-
ENTAL STUDIES: COLLOQUIUM ON MAJOR PROBLEMS
OF ASIAN CIVILIZATIONS. FOCUS FOR 1971-72:
THE RELATIVE ROLES OF MALE AND FEMALE
(not given 1973-74)

An examination, through literary and histor-
ical sources, of the principal relation-
ships of men and women -- as lovers and
companions, wives and husbands, mothers and
fathers, and in their special roles in
religious and mundane life; in traditional
and modern India, China, and Japan.

Professors John Meskill and Barbara Miller.

Psychology 42 - CHILDREARING: A SURVEY OF
ALTERNATIVE PRACTICES (spring, Tu Th 10:35-
11:50; prerequisite: Introduction to Psy-
chology or permission of the Instructor)
Past and current theories, methods, and
implications of child-rearing practices
examined through studies of parent-child
relationships, family structures, sex-role
differentiation, and school and community
influence.

Professor Susan Sacks.

Sociology 50x - FEMALE AND MALE: A SOCIOLOGI-
CAL PERSPECTIVE (fall, T Th 10:35-11:50)
Economic, demographic and cultural changes
modifying the traditional conceptions of
masculinity and femininity. Stresses in
female-male relationships at various stages
of the life cycle and in the family, occupa-
tional world, and other institutional settings.
Class and race differences in social roles of
the sexes. Social policies leading to the
alleviation of current problems.
Professor Mirra Komarovsky.

Spanish lly(I) - WOMAN AS CHARACTER AND AS
AUTHOR (not given 1973-74)

A study of female characters portrayed by
Galdos, Unamuno, and García Lorca and of
major Hispanic women writers including Santa
Teresa, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, E. Pardo
Bazán.

Professor Marcia Welles.

Studies in the Humanities 5 - WOMEN IN ANTI-
QUITY (fall, Tu Th 2:10-3:25)

A study of the role of women in ancient Greece
and Rome. Selected readings from historical,
philosophical, literary, and epigraphical
materials and examination of archaeological
sources. The legal, economic, and social
status of women; matriarchy and patriarchy;
misogyny; female divinities; literary types
and prejudices.

Professor Ann C. Sheffield.

Columbia Course:

History W3851x - WOMAN AS INTELLECTUAL IN
MODERN EUROPE (fall, M 3:10-5:00)

Professor John A. Toews.

explorations in feminism

women's history through biography and autobiography

Explorations in Feminism is a non-credit evening course in women's studies offered by the Barnard College Women's Center. This year the course will approach women's history through biography and autobiography, documenting individual lives and their social context.

The course will once again be taught by Martha Gershun, a free lance writer and teacher who has been active in the women's movement for several years. She is now serving as Coordinating Editor for Biographies at the Feminist Press and is working on a biography of Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

The course is open to all women; there are no educational prerequisites. It will meet at Barnard on Thursdays from 6:00 to 8:00 p.m., from September 20th to December 20th. Tuition for the course is \$50. Class size is limited and registration forms will be accepted in order of receipt.

For further information, write or call the Women's Center, Barnard College, New York, New York 10027. 212-280-2067.

REGISTRATION FORM

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE _____ (days) _____ (evenings)

Please return this form to:

The Women's Center
Barnard College
New York City 10027

____ Enclosed is \$50 course fee. (Please make check
or money order payable to Barnard Women's Center.)

The Women's Center
Barnard College
New York, New York 10027

Prof. Chall did not know what study this would be. She suggested that Jerome Kagan has or is doing international studies on sex differences.

would you
ask Jerry?

He knows me well (!?!)

4:30

495-3870

Mary-

Prof. Kagan said that
This was a "non-replicable
finding." One researcher
may have found it to be the
case, but it is not
validated + is nonsense!

Marvelous!
Please file
Androgyny?

FROM EDUCATORS NEWSLETTER
National Research Bureau, Inc.
Burlington, Iowa
April 1971

There are signs that the old segregation of men from nursery and elementary schools is ending.

One of the reasons for the growing influx of men is the influence of child development research.

Psychologists have stressed the importance of male role models as well as female for young children.

Education researchers have shown that the sex differences in learning - girls traditionally excel over boys in the early grades - disappear when there are male as well as female teachers.

Earlier rejection of men as teachers "reflected the attitude that the early grades were an extension of maternal care and there wasn't a lot of learning going on," says one male teacher. "Now, we know differently."

At this age, boys are beginning to form ideas about what's appropriate for them as males. But many never see any men all day long until their fathers come home.

And they never see any males who value such things as reading. No wonder there are 6 times as many boys with reading problems as girls.

Ann. Can you call Prof. 3521
Jeanne Chalk -
She knows me - and
ask what study this
would be?
Howard G.S. of
Education.

non replicable
finding -
not validated

October 30, 1973

Honorable Walter Mondale
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Mondale:

I have recently received a copy of your "Hearings on 'American Families: Trends and Pressures'" in the Congressional Record of 26 September, 1973, which I read with great interest. Might it be possible for you to send me 15 copies of the statements printed in the Congressional Record for use in my work at MIT? Also would you place me on your mailing list so I may receive a copy of the fall report and any other material you develop on families in America.

In my view, you do us all a great service by focussing attention on the plights and possibilities of family life in America. I look forward to following and supporting your efforts.

Thank you very much.

Very truly,

Mary P. Rowe, Ph. D.

MPR:AP

sent, however. Ladies Home Journal
Aug '73

Husbands and Food Shopping

My husband insists on "helping" me do the weekly food shopping; unfortunately he's an incurable impulse buyer, which is absolute murder on my food budget. When I try to discourage him from joining me he takes the attitude that food shopping should be a joint husband-wife effort, since both eat the food. What do you think of this form of togetherness—from a financial point of view? File: Androgyny

Study after study has implicated the husband as an inflationary force on food bills. You might point out to him the high cost of his presence and maybe even suggest that if going along is that important to him, you both should recalculate your food budget.

Another point you might mention to your husband is that, according to a "Customer Profile Study" by *Supermarket News*, only one in three husbands accompanies his wife on major food shopping trips.

300 6/15
cat & file
cat
"Androgyny"

NEW MEANING FOR PARENTHOOD

John D. DeFrain

Child and Family Studies
School of Family Resources
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Draft of a Paper

To Be Presented at Session VI,
Behavioral Analysis of Alternate Family Systems,
Sixth Banff International Conference on Behavior Modification,
Banff, Alberta, Canada, March 31 - April 4, 1974

Not for quotation or citation without author's permission.

Abstract

Fifteen married couples, who, by their definitions, share parenting responsibilities, were interviewed. The most frequently cited reason for this practice was that the wife was dissatisfied with the limiting role of homemaker and wanted to be outside of the home and away from the children part of the time, in order to pursue a career or add variety to her life. With the wife's role expanded into the community, husbands took up more of the child-rearing burden and much of the housework. The couples noted the benefits and problems of such an alternative parenting system, and offered thoughts on how society could change to accommodate such patterns. Thoughts on how professionals in health and behavioral sciences can be of service to couples interested in beginning or maintaining such a child-rearing style are presented.

NEW MEANING FOR PARENTHOOD

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Introduction

Fred Davis* is a normal enough guy. He grew up on a small family farm in Illinois, and was a member of the local 4-H Club. After graduation from the University of Illinois with a degree in agriculture, he taught high school, served with the Peace Corps in Cyprus and Washington, D.C., married, picked up a Master's degree at the University of California--Davis, and worked in agricultural development under the Rockefeller Foundation in Mexico.

Now he's finishing up a Ph.D. in development studies in the University of Wisconsin College of Agriculture. His story is not particularly unique, especially in Madison. Agricultural activity, travel, and education are relatively common occurrences for residents of this Midwestern university city of 200,000, nestled in the heart of "America's Dairyland."

But one curious thing about Fred: his two-year-old daughter, Amy, calls him "Mommy."

Sally Davis grew up in suburban Chicago. She graduated from tiny Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, served with the Peace Corps in Liberia and Washington, D.C. (where she met Fred), got a Master's degree in political science at Davis, and cared for young son Jack while in Mexico.

Now her vocation is as a half-time editor for a state mental health agency house organ; her avocation is in feminist politics--counseling, leading discussion groups, pushing for legislation on various issues.

*All names in this paper are fictional.

And, make no bones about it, daughter Amy calls Sally "Mommy," too.

The Davises explain that "Mommy," in Amy's language, is the name for the parent who takes care of her. Since Fred and Sally equally share the responsibility and work of caring for their two children, both have been accorded the honor of the title, "Mommy."

Tradition, and, possibly necessity in industrial America dictated a strict segregation of role responsibilities for parents. Mothers took care of children, and fathers were breadwinners. Many men are quite happy with this type of relationship:

A sample of tycoons, for example, did admit... that they preferred to spend their time on their job than to spend it with their families. And B.F. Skinner... said on a television program that he had told his daughters that if he had to choose between saving his work and saving them, he would save his work. No hard feelings, he assured them, just a matter of priorities (Bernard, 1972, p. 204).

There is evidence, however, that traditional fatherhood is much more satisfying than traditional motherhood. Countless articles and personal testimonies from the voices of what has come to be called the Feminist Movement bear witness to the contention that "to live for one's children"--essentially what is demanded of many mothers--is too heavy a burden.

This paper is an initial report of a continuing investigation of non-traditional nuclear family child-rearing patterns. It will be argued that parents who more equally share "the joys and sorrows of parenthood" are practicing a viable, healthy, and satisfying alternative to traditional nuclear family child-rearing practices.

an-drog-y-ny, n. from the Greek roots, andr- and gynos, rearing "male" and "female"; a condition under which the characteristics of the sexes--and the human impulses expressed by men and women--are not rigidly assigned (Rosenstein, 1973, p. 32).

An Androgyne, then, is "a creature for whom... anatomy is not destiny; for whom the capacities to respond and make and be are irrelevant

of gender (Rosenstein, 1973, p. 38)." There has been discussion of androgyny as a life style (Osofsky & Osofsky, 1972); a society without sex role differentiation is seen as an option for many individuals in the near future.

The Study

I interviewed fifteen couples recently who to greater or lesser degree, self-consciously or unconsciously, are moving in the direction of androgyny. In all cases, both members of the couple have active lives outside the home, and, also, are vital participants inside the home. These couples segregate few aspects of their lives, if any, on the basis of sex. "So nothing is done in your family strictly because of one's sex," I said to one couple. "Right," the husband, an accomplished gourmet cook replied. Not even sex: "Even in sex we flop around. I'm not on top all the time!"

When the study was begun six months ago, it was not known how difficult or easy it would be to find subjects. The criterion: couples, who, by their own definition, are sharing child-rearing. Surprisingly, such androgynous parents are relatively easy to find in Madison, and, by word-of-mouth, in a few weeks 100 parents were found. This number proved to be more than enough. Since the interview designed for the study takes between two-and-a-half and four hours to administer, I soon had 45 hours of cassette tapes to analyze.

The interview is an effort to find out how people share parenting, why, the problems they encounter, the benefits they realize, how society needs to change in order to better accommodate persons who share or wish to share parenting responsibilities, and what professionals in behavioral sciences can do to help.

The Results: People Who Share Parenting

Since education is a major industry in Madison, one would expect to find

many people in any sample population to be connected with the University of Wisconsin or the city's two smaller colleges. This sample was gathered simply by asking people if they knew anyone who shared parenting responsibilities. The first person contacted happened to be in the university community and gave the names of a handful of couples, who also were in the university community. How a case can be made that university people never associate with persons outside of academia, and that is why the search found so few who were not connected in some way with higher education. But it is hard to imagine such insularity being the only contributing factor to such a strangely skewed sample: 20 out of 30 parents interviewed were either students, faculty, or staff of one of Madison's higher educational institutions. The formal educational level was extremely high: 14 doctorates or doctoral candidates (2 of the 14 are women); 8 post-graduate degree holders (7 of 8 are women); 5 bachelor's degree holders (3 out of 5 are women); and 3 high-school graduates, all women working on a college degree. Only two families had neither parent connected with the university or a college. And, of the total sample of 100 persons, nearly 90% were from families with a member associated with academia.

And so, it is reasonable to argue that university people do not speak with those outside the institution; but, it also is reasonable that there is something intrinsic to university life that makes sharing parenting responsibilities less difficult. That something, which came up time after time in the interviews, is flexibility. Though all the people in the sample put in long hours--at least 40 hours per week, and in most cases 55 to 60--in general, the more flexible the work schedule of both parents, the more sharing occurred.

All 30 parents described themselves as liberal to radical in political philosophy on a spectrum ranging from conservative to revolutionary. And, interestingly enough, though the couples are engaging in child-rearing practices

that many might consider to have revolutionary implications for society, hardly any of the parents were "politically active." Only one woman considers herself an active member of the Feminist Movement. Two other women had attended an occasional women's rap group. Most parents, however, saw themselves as relatively apolitical--interested but not involved. An occasional Ms. Magazine on a coffee table was the greatest connection with politics most of the women have. One woman leads a group of Brownie Scouts; another is a foster parent with her husband. There is also a member of the Audobon Society, and a woman formerly active in the League of Women Voters. Generally, these parents are too busy in home and job responsibilities to do much else.

The Results: What They Do

Though the study focuses on androgynous child-rearing patterns, data on household labor and occupational labor was also gathered to gain some notion of how completely sex roles had been altered from the traditional patterns. The parents, seated together in their homes, were asked not only about various parenting tasks and the percentage of the chore during the week each took, but also about the percentage of the time the father did housework, and the percentage of the time the mother worked outside the home. For example, a couple would be asked to estimate the percentage each did of the total dishwashing; a mock-heated and good-humored debate on each category invariably would ensue as to who worked the hardest, and how much harder.

It was found that the husbands in these fifteen families did 30% of the total care of the children in three cases, and 40% to 50% of the child care in the other twelve cases. (Child care task categories estimated during the interview by the couple included: putting the children to bed, caring for them when they are ill, brushing teeth, combing hair, bathing, taking them

to school and other places, playing, teaching, and disciplining them.)

In three of the families the husbands did between 20% and 35% of the total housework. The other twelve husbands did between 40% and 50% of the housework. (Household tasks estimated in the interview included cooking, dishwashing, cleaning, servicing the car, paying bills, grocery and other shopping, laundering, letter writing, ironing, taking out the garbage, repairing household items, lawn and garden work, and exterior maintenance of the residence.)

In one family the mother did not work outside the home, but had other interests outside of homemaking; in four families the mothers did between 20% and 33% of this total occupational labor; in six families the mothers did between 40% and 45% of the total occupational labor; and, in four families the mothers did between 50% and 60% of the work outside the home.

Though the lives of these parents are complex and fragmented, a relatively easy-going, almost ho-hum attitude pervades most. Scheduling problems are great in families with both parents working outside the home; and, as the number of children and their ages increase, these difficulties are compounded. But only three couples had a written schedule for their labors--the general attitude being that such formalities "cramp our style," or are "unrealistic and unworkable." Two women, noting there was no schedule in their household, added it might be helpful until the husband learned all of his responsibilities to have them written down.

(Only one couple had a formal contract, and it was my great pleasure to act as arbitrator in a conference when the two renegotiated the terms of the agreement. It seems that after six months on the present contract, schedules and workloads had changed considerably, and alterations had to be made. So, the husband, a physicist, the wife, a senior law student in labor relations, and I sat down one evening at the bargaining table. About fifty work categories

were listed; then, the debate began:

Husband: Now, wait a minute! Cleaning up the dishes after meals is worth at least forty-five minutes each night.

Wife: Oh, baloney! It takes me no more than fifteen minutes and you know it.

Husband: I know, but you cheated on cleaning. It doesn't take you that long. You padded it. Now I'll tell you what I'll do...

And so it continued, padding and repadding until each had more hours of work listed on the schedule than he or she had hours in the week. After one and a half rollicking but earnest hours the tasks were divided, and the husband to my surprise pulled out a handy pocket computer. He totalled the work up and announced proudly that he had four more hours of work than his wife, and she would have the honor of picking two hours more from his list. Another thirty minutes of bargaining ensued until the contract was finally agreed upon, signed, witnessed, and sealed with a handshake.

The Results: Why They Share

Fourteen of the fifteen couples, when asked for the major reason they share parenting, responded, in essence: the wife was dissatisfied with the limiting role of homemaker, and wanted to be outside of the home and away from the children part of the time, in order to pursue a career or add variety to her life. For five couples this was the only reason they gave for sharing. A few relevant quotes follow:

Wife: My needs to do some things for myself put some stress on the system in our home. I was very depressed. I couldn't depend on my husband to be my whole life outside the home. He would walk in the door and I'd expect him to give me the whole rundown. He would have to be the U.S. News and World Report. But this didn't work for either of us. I couldn't live vicariously.

Wife: I wanted to go to law school, and I refused to do all the work.

Husband: Yeah, I'd just as soon she did all the work around

the house and take care of the kids. I'd like to have a slave.

Wife: From the day we were married I was miserable being a housewife.

Husband: She was a terrible housewife.

Wife: I had growing hostility toward my husband and my life. I harangued. I blamed him. He encouraged me to go back to school.

Wife: We had to share. There was no other way if I was to do the things I want to do.

Husband: Well, I think it's because we share most of the things we do.

Wife: It's because I didn't want to get stuck raising a kid! That's all. I don't want to be stuck at home raising a child. That's not my idea of what my future was about. I didn't want to have children unless it could be a shared kind of thing.

Husband: Yeah.

Wife: Neither of us wants to do it all. It's fairer this way.

Husband: Survival of the marriage. You can't keep 'em down on the farm.

Wife: Personal fulfillment.

Wife: It's extremely frustrating to stay home.

Husband: You do it for self-preservation.

Wife: To get away from home. He understands what it's like to have Alex all day.

Husband: Oh, God, yes!

One couple did not list the wife's escape from total immersion in the home as the major reason for sharing. They explained that the first three of their five children were born within fourteen months of each other. The mother needed help with the children, and the husband's university position "made it possible" for him to be very actively involved.

Other secondary reasons for sharing mentioned during the interviews were: the wife felt it would be beneficial to the children if the husband were involved with them more (three times); the husband felt it would be beneficial to the children if he were more involved with them (once); and the husband felt it would be beneficial to him if he were more involved

with the children (three times).

The Results: Problems

The couples were asked what factors made it difficult to share child-rearing. The key to this whole issue appears to be jobs. If the parents have flexible work hours, such as those of a university professor or student, they "can afford the luxury of shared parenting," as one said. A major question yet to be answered then is: do people share because their job schedules are flexible? or do they share parenting because something about their personalities makes them want to do this, and they seek jobs that make sharing possible? This attitudes vs. economics question may be somewhat of a chicken-and-egg problem. But it can be attacked from at least two angles: by asking parents who don't share child-rearing responsibilities whether they would like to share but simply can't because of inflexible job schedules; and, by trying to find personality differences between parents who do share and parents who don't share. Both approaches will be used in a follow-up study, for there is evidence that both personality and work situation are contributing factors.

Couples who completely share child-rearing in order for the wife to pursue a career or go to school are confronted by the problem of three full-time jobs with only two adults to perform them. Child-care and housekeeping are one full-time job, and two occupations outside the home bring the total to three.

Adequate professional child-care, then, can be a great help to these couples; lack of it can be a burden, and this is the couples' second most difficult problem. All eight couples with children in nursery schools or day care centers expressed general satisfaction with the care the children received. The search for adequate professional child-care for their young

children proved to be difficult in several cases, but successful in all. Madison, however, may be unique in that there are several well-equipped and competently-staffed early childhood education centers. But these centers cost the parents money. Given adequate care for their children, the parents suffer little guilt in sending the young off to "strangers" five days a week. One woman argued, "the kids are happier now than they were being cooped up alone with me all day."

Though there was unanimous satisfaction with child care for preschool-aged children, dismay with the public school system was voiced (by five of the twelve couples with school-aged children). "The schools operate on the assumption that in a normal family a woman will be home all day to make lunches for children, be free to help in the classroom, bake cookies for P.T.A.," one mother said. A number of examples of alleged sexist attitudes of school faculty and staff were brought up, also.

Personality and attitudinal problems within the home contribute to these parents' difficulties. Husbands are sometimes thought to be somewhat lacking in skill in child-rearing and housekeeping. A few mothers expressed guilt that they may be causing their husbands some difficulty by asking for more help. "At first, I tried to make my new career not change his life," one woman said, explaining that she tried to single-handedly go to school, care for the children, and keep house. "But, it was too much. I couldn't." And, a few husbands expressed some concern that new responsibilities at home made them somewhat guilty that they were not working hard enough on their careers. "But, I guess I've felt I could work harder," one father said.

Generally, the mother experiences a somewhat extended period of discomfort and dissatisfaction with her life before the change is made. This lasts between one and three years. When she finally realizes she wants to have some time outside the home, the husbands are unanimously supportive of this move. In

several cases, in fact, the husbands saw the solution to the problem before the wives, and literally pushed the women from the home.

After these internal struggles are resolved and the wife is seeking a new direction, the greatest problems the couple are confronted by are not personal ones inside the family--such as differing views on child-rearing and housekeeping. Instead, social/economic factors outside the family--predominately jobs and child-care--make shared parenting difficult.

The Results: Benefits

Husband: It's never going to happen that I come home, sit down and read the paper, get up and eat, sit back down and read the paper, and go up and say good night to the kids. It's just never going to happen. That's just inconceivable.

In evaluating marital satisfaction of the parents before and after the changes in role responsibilities were made, all parents were positive.

Women, now stimulated by outside interests, were especially enthusiastic. "I now feel neither boredom nor depression," one woman said, who, incidently, is beginning a thesis on depression at the University of Wisconsin. Maternal relations with children were judged to be much stronger or stronger in all cases but two (in which they were estimated to be of about the same strength).

Two men noted that the costs to them in time were not trivial, and that housework was not "overwhelmingly exciting." Another man noted pleasure, however, in his new independence: "It made me feel really great when she went to Europe for two weeks and I could take complete care of the children." All in all, the benefits greatly outweigh the costs. All thirty parents reported better relations with their partners. All men noted stronger relationships with the children. And one man said his sex life was more satisfying (presumably with his wife).

"I have struck a saner balance in my life," one father said, explaining

that a demanding job once had him feeling "like a boarder" in his own home. With increased freedom in his new position at the university, "we began to build back the connections."

"It's almost as if formerly I were a guest, and now I really live here," another father said.

One couple noted they had more in common to talk about now. Another, that their relationship is "more intimate, more meaningful."

Perhaps the most dramatic story is that of the husband who had been an extremely successful student in a high-powered university, entered academia at Wisconsin and quickly rose in the ranks to become a full professor at a young age. As his successful career spiralled upward, his wife's satisfaction with life plummeted with each year she lived totally for her family. Then, he said:

I have a brother who had kidney failure two years ago. His condition is deteriorating. He's on dialysis and doing okay on that, but he's got bone problems, and so on. And, we've had some deaths in the neighborhood, and I've just gotten a slightly different sort of appreciation for life.

I can get more into the kids because of that. Less concern for the professional thing. Thinking a little bit more about death and life, and what one can enjoy while one is here.

Confronted with these crises, he re-evaluated the priorities of his life, and turned them around. The family became first, to his wife's benefit, and, as it turned out, to his.

The Results: What Needs to be Done

If more parents are to have the freedom to choose such an apparently successful child-rearing style, many changes are necessary in our society. "I can't think of one single institution which helps make our way easier," one father said, arguing that society is designed to trap women in the home and trap men on the job.

The vast majority of jobs are designed to fit the needs of the

the industrial system, and not the needs of families. There must be many more part-time jobs for people, with equitable pay. It was argued that part-time workers probably are much more efficient than full-time workers: "Hour-for-hour," a part-timer declared, "my boss gets much more out of me."

"Careerism," then, the notion that one's job is more important than one's family, is overwhelmingly the greatest barrier to a satisfying life, according to these parents.

Adequate and reasonably-priced child-care was also cited by the couples as essential.

The Results: Can the "Helping Professions" Help?

Finally, the parents were asked if members of the so-called "helping professions" can be of support to couples interested in trying or maintaining a new parenting style.

More than half of the couples had at least one member of the helping professions in it. Interestingly enough, the professionals felt more negative about the effects of their work than the non-professionals. Three-fourths of the professionals offered spontaneous criticism, compared to only one-fourth of the non-professionals in the fields of psychology, psychiatry, social work, child development and family relations, medicine, education and related areas. Criticism focuses upon the notion that many in these professions are insensitive to the needs of non-traditional families. The professionals, however, could effect many changes in counseling situations by making couples aware of the alternatives to traditional child-rearing and role patterns that exist. These alternatives can also be mentioned in educational settings. More research is needed on this and related subjects, many parents said. And, one mother argued that "most of the books written on child-rearing assume that only

mothers rear children."

The helping professions focus their efforts on individuals. It is apparent, however, that the greatest obstacles to those who wish to share parenting responsibilities come from the macro-society. Cognizant of this, professionals within each individual discipline can work to expand the freedom of parents who seek new approaches to child-rearing.

I had been a big success in my career line, and I could re-evaluate, 'Well, do I want just more and more and more of this, or what do I want out of life?' And, I decided I really didn't need to keep playing the game of prestige and fame, and that there are really a lot of other things that are more important.

Like having a happy and fulfilled wife, and knowing how to relate to one's kids, as this father went on to explain.

But dramatic changes in one's way of life come hard, and those in the helping professions will be as resistant to change as anyone else. Time and again the mind conjures the image of the dogged male physician, psychologist, teacher, social worker, putting in impossibly long hours to help those in need, while his wife struggles alone at home to raise children that have become virtual strangers to him. The irony of this picture strikes deep. Charity, it seems, does not begin at home.

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Build Options, Reassess Norms • Free Roles through Educational Equity

Project BORN FREE: Career Development Training Models to Reduce Sex-Role Stereotyping in Educational Institutions

Abstract

Both women and men are seriously limited in their career development by the sex biases and sex-role stereotyping that characterize our society. Far too often, the social concepts of sex roles are reflected in the biased explicit and/or implicit direction that is given to students in our schools, colleges, and universities.

Project BORN FREE, a training and development grant from the Women's Educational Equity Act Program, U.S. Office of Education, is designed to broaden the range of career opportunities for both women and men. It provides for the creation of career development training materials for educators and parents, that will help to reduce sex biases and stereotyping at all educational levels, K-post high. The shortened title of the project, BORN FREE, is an acronym that expresses exactly what the project is about: to Build Options, Reassess Norms, Free Roles through Educational Equity.

Project BORN FREE is funded by the U.S. Office of Education, Women's Educational Equity Act Program, U.S.O.E., for \$174,000 for the first year, award amount to be negotiated for the second year. Dr. L. Sunny Hansen, Professor and Program Coordinator, Counseling and Student Personnel Psychology, is Project Director, and Linda J. Jones, doctoral student, Counseling and Student Personnel Psychology, is Assistant Project Director. Coordinators are Dr. Chester W. Oden, Assistant Professor in Social, Philosophical and Psychological Foundations of Education, Dr. Paul Pedersen, Associate Professor in International Student Advising Office, and Diane A. Johnson, doctoral student, Counseling and Student Personnel Psychology and counselor, Metropolitan Community College.

The eight schools and post-secondary institutions participating in the project are the St. Paul School System, White Bear Lake School System, Hopkins School System, Lakewood Community College, Normandale Community College, Special Intermediate School District #916, CLA Career Planning Office (University of Minnesota) and Augsburg College.

PURPOSE: The purpose of the project is to enable a group of elementary, secondary and post-secondary educational institutions to collaborate on the development of transportable training models and multi-media training modules which will help reduce career-related and sex-role stereotyping. Major focus

is on examining the relationship between sex-role socialization and career socialization and on creating interventions through which educational institutions can (1) examine and modify those practices which inhibit career development and limit options and (2) identify and adapt those practices which facilitate career development. The unique characteristics of the plan are (a) the focus on both women and men, (b) the emphasis on career development and career options, (c) the creation of 10 training video tapes, (d) the developmental approach that includes elementary, secondary and post-high institutions, (e) the considerable attention that is given to the change process as well as the content, and (f) the collaborative teams of both theoreticians and practitioners who are involved in the planning, development, field testing, implementation and evaluation of the multi-media training materials.

RATIONALE: The rationale for Project BORN FREE is drawn from a preliminary review of the literature on sex differences, career development of women and men, and obstacles to career development. The task is seen as one of opening up possibilities for new roles and combinations of roles, stemming from an understanding that choice and decision-making are human problems, requiring individuals to learn new strategies to function in a changing world.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS: There are four basic assumptions of the project:

1. If progress is to be made in expanding career options for both women and men, efforts in educational institutions must be directed to both at all developmental levels.
2. Inasmuch as men both affect and are affected by female career decisions, they must be integrally involved in providing and receiving training in sex-role socialization and stereotyping.
3. Inhibitors and facilitators of career development occur at every stage of development and can be identified. A training model can be developed to change the behavior of educators in significant ways, providing it attends to both content of career and sex-role socialization and the process by which change is effected in educational settings.
4. The training models must be experientially based to bring about the greatest amount of change in participants' behavior.

OBJECTIVES AND PLAN OF OPERATION: The objectives of the project become the plan of operation, based on a two-year time period as follows:

1. To identify educational institutions and individuals within those institutions willing to contribute to the development of the training models. This has been done, using the three cities of White Bear Lake, Hopkins, and St. Paul. In each location, schools at all levels have been identified - elementary, secondary (junior and senior high) and post-high (community colleges, vocational technical institute, four year private liberal arts college, state university college of liberal arts).

2. To organize a staff of faculty and graduate students from counseling psychology and other disciplines to work at developmental levels with a counselor, instructor and administrator from each institution. Additional staff consists of evaluators, media and resource specialists, administrative assistants and secretarial help.
3. To search the literature to determine the best conceptual and theoretical framework for the program.
4. To conduct needs assessment and systems diagnosis at each institution and developmental level.
5. To develop collaborative training models with process and content components to reduce sex-role stereotyping that is related to career options at participating field site educational institutions.
6. To develop a series of 10 color video cassettes, 30 minutes each, with viewer's guides to stimulate awareness of career socialization.
7. To create a parent module at elementary and secondary level, because parents still have the greatest influence on their children's career development.
8. To pilot test models and modules in a summer training workshop attended by 40 members of field site schools.
9. To obtain both formative and summative evaluation on the training models, modules, cassettes, and training workshops.
10. To conduct one national training workshop for selected teachers, counselors, and administrators to field test the modules.
11. To disseminate the training modules in a variety of ways, such as educational television and inservice workshops under the auspices of Women's Educational Equity Act Program.

Work on Project BORN FREE will be completed by August, 1978.