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The Progress of  
Women in Educational  
Institutions:

The Saturn's Rings Phenomenon

Mary P. Rowe, Ph. D.

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December, 1973

MIT began discussions of  
sexual harassment in Feb '73  
Wiesner <sup>and Gray</sup> enunciated the first  
policy in '73

The Progress of  
Women in Educational Institutions:

The Saturn's Rings Phenomenon

Mary P. Rowe, Ph. D.

M.I.T. \*

This paper describes the minutiae of sexism in large educational institutions. These minutiae are usually not actionable; most are such petty incidents that they may not even be identified, much less protested. They are however important, like the dust and ice in Saturn's rings, because, taken together, they constitute formidable barriers. As Saturn is partially obscured by its rings, so are good jobs partially obscured for women by "grains of sand": the minutiae of sexism. Saturn's Rings phenomena are briefly discussed in this paper and then a case study is introduced in an effort to illustrate the cumulative effect of many small events.

\* The examples of sexism recounted in this study are all real incidents in the lives of women in educational institutions in New England in 1973. The composite situation described at the end of the study is not meant to reflect life at any one institution, although all the incidents are reported relatively frequently by women around New England. (The author is a kind of ombuds-person at MIT and hears from women all over the area.)

The Progress of  
Women in Educational Institutions:

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Why is Progress So Slow for Women in Educational Institutions?

As we design the 1970's and 1980's, one of the questions we face in educational institutions is "why is it so difficult to provide equal opportunity for all?" An administrator cannot fail to see the statistics.

In the last few years in this country wage gaps have widened between men and women at most educational levels. Only one or two percent of top-policy making positions are held by educational administrators who are women. Painfully few tenured positions are held by women. Painstakingly we authorize salary equity reviews, running five or six regression equations using different criteria - how can we find the salaries of women faculty catching up? We study the analysis of administrative promotions throughout the institution. If we are beginning to succeed we find our women only a few years older than the men, at promotion. If we are beginning to succeed we find that the promoted women are supervising only a few more employees than the men, that only three-quarters of the promoted women had superior educational qualifications. If we are succeeding particularly well we find the wage gap has narrowed, instead of widening, between men and women who are promoted.

But why is affirmative action so slow? Much can be made of high unemployment levels, of budget cutbacks, shifts in demand away from education. There are also other problems. Many women do not want top jobs, (although they want recognition for what they do).

*sounds like  
reverse sexism*

Many men will actively fight the law of the land and try to keep women out of top jobs. Some women still are so ambivalent that they fail to do good work. All these points are important and need thoughtful consideration.

#### Saturn's Rings: The Minutiae of Sexism

In my job I find also another factor at work - a problem which does not lend itself to legal redress or even to improvement in time of economic promise, and which occurs with frequency at the best and most humane of institutions. The minutiae of sexism appear to me a major problem for women in educational institutions. The problem is formidable not least because of the pettiness of the individual events involved, and formidable because there are no individual solutions. Saturn's rings, if one lived inside them, would appear as random encounters with dust and ice. Perhaps the dust and ice would even appear so scattered as not always to deserve defense against them. But the objective eye which observes from a distance will see that many grains of sand taken together obscure the planet, and create formidable barriers ...

#### A Typology of Sexism

Dozens of complaints from men and women come into my office every week. One can make a rough typology of the women's complaints about sexism - working categories which help in deciding what to do. As I think of my job I think of four major categories of sexism:

- 1) Illegal acts of a sexist nature.
- 2) Unconscious slights against women, including the "invisibility" problem.
- 3) Conscious sexism, including harassment, exploitation, provision of poor service to women.
- 4) Psychiatric problems, manifested in sexist behavior, with direct and indirect effects.

Of course these categories overlap in many ways but in general they describe somewhat different problems. Of these, problems in the first category appear to be comparatively rare. In my institution they are not critically important once they have been identified; the administration gives short shrift to illegal discrimination. Problems in the other three categories are however more important in my opinion and it is these I have called Saturn's rings.

Invisibility, harassment and sexist psychiatric problems affect women in educational institutions in many ways. They directly injure professional women, although sometimes very subtly and sometimes without their being very aware of it. They injure all other women around the professional - tilting the atmosphere and creating additional concerns for faculty and administrators to handle. They create barriers that require additional energy to cross, especially for students, and women who start out in entry positions. In addition I believe that in the long-run, such difficulties tend to deprive women of the women mentors, women colleagues and male mentors who would otherwise have been available.

Invisibility And Other Unconscious Sights

A woman may become aware of her invisibility only slowly because it only happens now and then and is hard to identify. We say she is invisible when her name is mysteriously missing from a list. Hers are the announcements and invitations which fail to come, the reservations which were not made, the pages which were not typed, the vacations which were not planned by her boss. It is her work which by mistake was not properly acknowledged, not reviewed, not responded to, not published, her opinion which is not asked for. Women are not alone in being invisible; perhaps the most poignant writing on this subject comes from a distinguished work on racism:

"I am an invisible man. No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allan Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood-movie ectoplasms. I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids-and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodiless heads you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination- indeed, everything and anything except me.

"Nor is my invisibility exactly a matter of a bio-chemical accident to my epidermis. That invisibility to which I refer occurs because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come in contact. A matter of the construction of their inner eyes, those eyes with which they look through their physical eyes upon reality."\*

Invisibility and other unconscious slights are difficult to identify. If it is only you who are addressed by your first name, are you sure it's sexism? How can you be sure your paper was not turned down because it was poor? Is your office space more noisy only by accident? Even if you

\* Ellison, Ralph, Invisible Man, The New American Library, Inc., 1952, page 7.

are sure there was a slight, what is to be done? Imagine you are the only top administrator whose office is not in the main building; you have been given space in the Home Economics Building. Can you protest when you don't believe an insult was intended - and besides there isn't very much space? (And what does one do with unintended insults that are still insulting?) Imagine that a woman professional who was supposed to do a job for a certain department copped out, and now the department somehow simply doesn't consider contracting the job to another woman, even though the subject matter directly concerns women. Do you describe to them what you think is going on?

Conscious Sexism, Including Harassment, Exploitation, Provision of Poor Service to Women

Harassment is not ordinarily actionable. It is the department head who says "if she is given tenure, I will see that she is so miserable that she goes." It is the teacher who refuses to learn a young woman's name or calls her by the name of another blonde, or by his own cute nickname for her. It is the professor who systematically humiliates his female students about their appearance or the department head who loads on extra work to prove a woman can't succeed in that job or because he knows she will not refuse.

If you gently ask a man about harassment, many men will say "But I harass everyone." I believe such a person differentially threatens female staff and students. First, because the "general" harassment often takes specifically sexist form when applied to women: "My God, your analysis sounds just like a housewife!" Second, because most women in this society are socialized more than men to respond to disapproval with excessive dismay,



and loss of self-esteem. Third, in a traditionally male environment there will be so many more men than women that harassing behavior which is sexist, but very common, is less likely to be identified and stopped. Such behavior is in fact very likely to be generally supported, like the telling of dirty jokes to embarrass or get rid of women in a laboratory. In addition, because women are so few, they are very obvious; they cannot be inconspicuously mediocre and are convenient scape goats when there is trouble. And finally, in traditionally male environments, we know from the work of Astin, Bailyn and others, that women have a particular need for male mentors and supportive male colleagues. (There is nothing odd about this. I believe that men in traditionally female environments, like child care centers, also thrive better with female mentors and supportive female colleagues.) Considering all these points together I believe that men who "just harass everybody" in fact create a particular injustice for the women around them.

Conscious exploitation and poor service are frequent. They are not always malicious, just damaging. Such behavior is "conscious" or nearly conscious in the sense that, once pointed out, the person involved will at once recognize the error. Take the Vice-president of a college who basically knows his or her secretary is doing the work of an Assistant to the Vice-president. Would the secretary receive a major promotion if she were a man? Take the foreign student who is the only student on her large research team who is not eligible for Work-Study money and who therefore is not paid. Would the professor make some other arrangement for her if she were a man? A man and a woman come in to similar jobs in a school system. He makes a major fuss about fringe benefits and a rug for his office. She is well-socialized and makes no fuss.

Will she be given the same fringe benefits and rug? A professor has a student who needs some data. Will she work as hard to get data for a woman student as for a man?

Conscious exploitation can be particularly difficult to address where women are being exploited as a class, especially if the exploitation is socially acceptable. Perhaps the most frequent examples occur with respect to pornography. Consider the case of the seminar invitation showing a woman with swaying breasts under water; or the frequent use of pornographic materials and illustrations in medical school and science classes. Poor service also affects women as a class. Probably the most pervasive example has to do with our use of language. For instance, consider the widespread disinclination to change the use of the generic "man" in speech - "Come to the lecture on Technology and Man!" - despite growing research evidence that use of the generic "man" in fact influences our behavior, in ways that leave women out.

#### Psychiatric Problems Manifested in Sexist Behavior

Clearly invisibility, harassment, exploitation and poor service lie on a continuum, shading into one another. At the most anguishing end, the continuum shades into psychiatric problems which in my opinion differentially affect women. Obviously educational institutions have people with psychiatric problems; these problems involve and impinge upon both men and women. But I believe that many of the psychiatric problems of men affect women more than men and it is for the same reasons that I believe "general" harassment hits women harder than men. A very hostile and aggressive man may paw, pinch

and lean against women as he will not do with men; (rape of women is thought to be at least ten times more frequent than rape of men.) Realistic fear of such offense will often constrain women as they consider night-time jobs at good pay or staying late at the office. And one finds men who deliberately use such fears to keep women out of good jobs. As with lesser harassments I believe many women are differentially sensitive to male rage (and depression) with consonant loss of self-confidence. Consider the case of the professor who berated a seventeen-year-old student who came to her first class accompanied by a male student she'd just met. "Young woman," he thundered, "you are seducing him already! Young man, nothing in skirts deserves the attention you should be giving your studies!" I suspect this young woman was probably worse affected than if the situation had been reversed. Had a woman professor thus berated unknown first year students I think she might ~~just~~ have been thought an old witch.

At the very least, to the extent that we are all peculiarly sensitive to psychiatric disorders in the opposite sex, women in traditionally male environments will be differentially affected. This is true simply because there are more men than women in these institutions. Women are therefore more likely to experience psychiatric illness from the opposite sex and are more likely to experience such illness from people with power. Some of these problems spill over onto normal male-female relationships as well. Because some men importune women and betray wives, and because some women are seductive and betray husbands, other men find it difficult to take on women protegees, and other women find it difficult to seek a male mentor or even to seek advice in the same way men do. In the same way, because some men are pathologically afraid of

competition from women - to the extent of serious impotence, pathological denial or aggression - other men may become abnormally sensitive to "normal" competitive behavior in women. They may for example prevent girls from joint athletics with boys or countenance unequal athletic facilities for college women. Because some women are unreasonably disturbed by competition between men and women, they will withdraw from a job ladder or discourage their daughters from positions of influence.

Thus I include psychiatric problems with sexist manifestations into the minutiae of sexism which tilt the atmosphere against women in educational institutions. Although some psychiatric problems are of course major and actionable matters, most sexist psychiatric difficulties simply add to the day-to-day minutiae. Men who expose themselves, who won't take no from an intended date, who threaten and harass obscenely by telephone, who pick on handicapped women, who lie repeatedly to women, who go into rages or withdrawal on apparently little provocation, or who try to arouse a woman's guilt or worry about her care for her family or her femininity, rarely get to court. And most would not be better off if they got to court. They are simply sick in ways which I believe affect women more than men in educational institutions.

#### The Effects of the Minutiae of Sexism

Any comprehensive paper on this subject should look at the matter in broader perspective. What of the minutiae of racism, in some ways similar in form and origin and which affect at least a fifth of women in paid employment in addition to sexism? What of the general depersonalization of work relations

over 200 years of American history? In the course of my work at this job I have come to see almost as many men as women; men also are slighted and ignored and treated in an inhuman fashion. What of the more specific difficulties which are always introduced in power relationships between unequals; how much of petty sexism is really just caused by women being at the bottom of the hierarchy? What about sexism in women which affects both men and women? And finally, what about effects on men as well as women? What happens to men who look at other human beings without seeing them, who harass and exploit and render poor service, or who vent certain kinds of illness differentially on women? All of these questions need sober and serious study and we are just beginning to ask the questions as they relate to the condition of women in educational institutions.

#### The Effects on Women

With respect particularly to women, I believe that the minutiae of sexism constitute a special problem for reasons which apply to all women some of the time, and to some women all of the time:

- 1) Invisibility and treatment only as a "female" arouse self-doubt in women, and sometimes an inability to cope, either as a woman or as a professional. They also interfere with women being seen as promotable. Finally, the treatment of any woman as "just a female" injures all women because they are also female. Thus a sexist slight to a secretary will also injure students and administrators who are female, by the process of (unintended) role-modelling, if the slight was in public, and by reinforcing poor habits in the offender.

2) The forms of sexism and sex-role stereotyping are so specific to each sex that each sex doesn't know what the other faces. This means women are in some ways isolated from men by their experience, as men are also isolated from the experience of women. Communications are always slow and difficult in such circumstances.

3) Many women in educational institutions need to spend disproportionate time and soul on the problems of other women that may not otherwise be attended to. Moreover nurturant behavior is so rare in paid employment, and sufficiently sex-stereotyped, that our rare women faculty and administrators often need to spend a disproportionate amount of time taking care of men as well as women. Few begrudge this time but it constitutes an extra work-load for many women.

4) Women need either to cope with slights against themselves or develop a considerable shield - a "denial" of such experience - both of which processes take energy.

5) Direct exploitation of individuals may mean that that promotion is postponed or denied. Where promotion has been postponed or denied to a woman who was competitively qualified for an available position, she has obviously been wronged. She may also have her time so taken up with routine work that she has no chance to prepare for advancement in the traditional way.

6) Self-doubt, some isolation from men, the need to cope with slights, and exploitation, make it harder to have good judgment about other humans, and contribute to errors ranging from paranoia against men to an inability to hear slights against other women.

What Should Be Done about the Minutiae of Sexism?

I believe that the Saturn's Rings phenomena described in this paper are complex and deeply rooted in our lives. Our first need is to recognize and understand what is going on, in the individual instance and in wider perspective. Easier said than done ... To identify and understand each petty occurrence is wearying and difficult; an understanding of the vested interests involved takes thoughtful, prolonged, and compassionate study.

Women must themselves learn to recognize and analyze the tilted atmosphere - and cope with it. Since denial is often easier, this requirement is not lightly made. The requirement is also in some cosmic way unjust; to require the victim to begin redress of grievance itself constitutes "unequal opportunity." But I think there is no choice.

Coping well with the tilted atmosphere means many things. It means learning to discriminate between behavior from others which is supportive and behavior which is not. It means making visible the invisible, refusing to accept conscious slights, finding medical help for people who need it. It means building support among men and women for each other. This is most effectively done by communicating and fostering those areas where men and women stand to gain by getting rid of sexism. I believe these areas are many.

To encourage men to support and take care of other people clearly benefits everyone, including the men themselves who may uncover delightful capabilities that have been long suppressed. "Seeing" all humans appropriately, regardless of sex and race, means at least doubling the talents available for all tasks. Analysis of harassment nearly always permits a closer consideration of the

reasons why people harass in the first place. Encouraging men and women to provide good service to all humans, regardless of race and sex, breeds further excellence by example - and in just those areas we believe that "education" should be about in the first place. And for women to do these things is particularly important. The experience of standing up for oneself and of taking responsibility for oneself is critical for women, many of whom have been dependent for too long. So I believe there is much to gain by noticing and analyzing and dealing with the minutiae of sexism.

This paper presented the point of view that equal progress for women in educational institutions is very slow and that one reason for this slowness lies in forms of discrimination that lie outside legal redress. These forms, the minutiae of sexism, constitute barriers to advancement for women in the same way that individual grains of sand taken together in Saturn's rings obscure that planet. Invisibility, harassment, exploitation, poor service and deep seated psychological problems of a sexist nature all create special difficulties for women in educational institutions. These patterns must be recognized and seen in perspective in order to cope with them well. In an effort to illustrate the cumulative nature of the subject, this paper concludes with a case study, some experiences of an imaginary Margaret McIntyre, Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences at Worcestershire University. (The incidents recounted are all real incidents in the lives of women in educational institutions in New England in 1973.)



THE SATURN'S RINGS PHENOMENON:

Part Of The Informal Curriculum  
For  
Women and Minorities

Mary P. Rowe, Ph.D. \*

This paper describes some of the informal curriculum for women and minorities in large educational institutions. The atmosphere for many outsiders entering a traditionally white male environment is full of the minutiae of sexism and racism. These incidents are usually not actionable; many are so brief and subtle that they may not even be consciously recognized. Such incidents are however important, like the dust and ice in Saturn's rings, because, taken together, they constitute formidable barriers. As Saturn is partially obscured by its rings, so are educational processes and good jobs partially obscured for women and blacks by "grains of sand": the minutiae of discrimination.

\*The examples of discrimination cited in this study are all real incidents in the lives of women and minority people in educational institutions in the Boston area. The author is an ombudsperson at MIT where she also teaches; many problems and incidents are however referred from people throughout the Boston area.

1973

## THE SATURN'S RINGS PHENOMENON

"Affirmative action" has made startlingly little difference to America's most prestigious universities when progress is measured in absolute terms. For some academic departments the percentage improvement is huge, often infinite, since for example the difference between no women and one woman is an "infinite" percentage increase. But in absolute terms we are moving very slowly in the country's top faculties. Recent studies, including one commissioned by HEW to look at medical education, have concluded that we need careful studies of the ambiance of education and employment, in order to see more clearly why affirmative action is so slow.

In my job of course I see many reasons for slowness. Some women and blacks are poorly prepared, or so ambivalent that they fail to do good work. Some men actively fight the law of the land to maintain illegal discriminatory practices. But in my job I find also another factor at work--a problem which does not lend itself to legal redress or to improvement in time of economic promise, and which occurs with frequency at the best and most humane of institutions. This problem--the minutiae of discrimination--appears to me a major distortion in education. The problem is formidable not least because of the pettiness of individual events, and formidable because there are no adequate individual solutions. Throughout the history of science we have found the importance of seemingly "small" events and things: rockets do not fly with grains of sand in the system, trauma wounds heal better without sand in the sutures.

I deal with dozens of complaints every week of which nearly all are, practically speaking, not actionable. In my institution obviously illegal behavior is very rare and the administration gives short shrift to its perpetrators. Unconscious slights, harassment, exploitation, provision of poor service and psychiatric problems manifested in sexist and racist behavior are however rather common, in institutions all over Boston. Why such problems, which of course also happen to white males, may do disproportionate damage to women and minorities, is discussed in the last sections of this article. Unconscious Slights and Invisibility Problems

One becomes aware of one's invisibility slowly, because it happens only now and then and is difficult to identify. We say we are invisible when our name is mysteriously left off a list--the list of post-doctoral openings or of New Faculty or of those with committee assignments or lab partners. There is a last minute luncheon; only the black professor is not invited. At another luncheon, only the woman professor is not introduced. "I was the only woman on the committee that handled maternity benefits; they never asked me to speak." A study group is set up on Inner-City Family Structures---without minority or female members.

These invisibility <sup>problems</sup> and other unconscious slights are difficult to handle. If it is only you who are addressed by your first name, are you sure it's sexism? How can you be sure your paper was not turned down because it was poor? Is your office space more noisy only by accident? Even if you are sure there was a slight, what is to be done? Imagine you are the only top administrator whose office is not in the main building.

Can you protest when you don't believe an insult was intended - and besides there isn't very much space? (And what does one do with unintended insults that are still insulting?) Imagine that a woman professional who was supposed to do a job for a certain department copped out, and now the department somehow simply doesn't consider another woman, even though the subject matter directly concerns women. Do you describe to them what you think is going on? Sometimes one thinks it isn't worth it to protect. And yet I remember so vividly the face of a black student who came back from his first class in bio-medical statistics. An example given in this class had been the VD experiments in the South which used poor, black men, without informed consent and without proper treatment. This experiment, a longitudinal study, had been cited as a fine example of long-term research.

#### Harassment, Exploitation, Provision of Poor Service

Harassment is not ordinarily actionable. It is the department head who says "if she is given tenure, I will see that she is so miserable that she goes." It is the teacher who refuses to learn a young woman's name or calls her by the name of someone else, or who calls a young black woman by his own cute nickname for her. It is the professor who systematically humiliates his female students about their appearance or the department head who loads on extra work to prove a woman can't succeed in that job or because he knows she will not refuse.

Exploitation of certain kinds is common. The single black professor is asked to serve as a token on endless committees (not always the most important committees). A female graduate student works overtime nights and Sundays with disproportionately little recognition; sometimes, as we have seen, even providing the basic discovery for Nobel Prize research, but without appropriate status or remuneration\* (\* cf Science, July, 1975). Poor service and inadequate support to women and blacks is equally common. Women medical students may miss out on the informal teaching given by a male surgeon while scrubbing for an operation. And I remember the black lab employee who was asked if she was "going to get pregnant soon", when she discussed her plans to apply to the Medical School. She was also told she was a "bitch with no right to quit, who could have a great career as a lab technician if she was 'really' tired of typing for the lab".

#### Psychological Difficulties with Sexist and Racist Manifestations

Many of the incidents reported to our office reflect serious psychological problems of some faculty and staff. I remember the black student who came back from a lab in tears---she'd been told, when she came in with a bad cold, "Chick, what you need is a hot, deep protein infusion!".

I remember the scientist who wrote me, "Despite the fact that women may be even more qualified, I believe we should curtail the admissions of women; they will deter men from doing their best creative work".

There was the black freshman, who came in after someone "jokingly" threatened him with a lynching.

I remember the written reference given for a woman scientist, which I found in the files, "You can hire this woman for your lab if you want to, but I'd rather have her body than her mind".

There are the occasional men who expose themselves, who won't take no from an intended date, who need to seduce women they see as competitive, who pick on handicapped women, who will lie to blacks and women, who deliberately try to arouse a woman's guilt or worry about her family or femininity; who will smilingly say to a woman student, "I believe the only interesting thing about you is between your legs".

#### What Damage Is Done By The Minutiae of Discrimination?

There is as yet no serious study of these micro-inequities, but one can suggest many hypotheses as to why such behavior does damage to women and minorities. Obviously, from my own point of view, I believe these inequities do cause serious damage or I would not label them a major barrier to equal opportunity. I will therefore set forth my hypotheses.

I believe that:

• micro-inequities cause damage in part because they often lead to obviously illegal behavior. Thus over-looking or "seeing through" women and minorities is a habit which may well lead to overlooking the best-qualified (woman and/or black) for promotion, or to underpaying women and blacks.

• micro-inequities cause damage in part because they are a kind of pain which cannot be predicted very well in any functional sense. That is, by and large, they occur in the context of merit, and of striving for excellence, but in my opinion, do not have anything predictably to do with excellence or merit; that is, of course, what makes them "inequities". As an intermittent, unpredictable, reinforcement however, they have peculiar power as a negative learning tool, (unpredictable, intermittent reinforcement being among the more powerful types of reinforcement).

• micro-inequities cause damage in part because they take up time. Sorting out what is happening to one, dealing with one's pain and anger takes time. Extra time is demanded also from many women and minority people to help deal with the pain caused by micro-inequities suffered by others of their kind.

• some micro-inequities cause damage in addition to the direct pain inflicted, because as they occur they prevent better behavior from occurring. If a secretary or graduate student is unreasonably overloaded with routine or personal work for a supervisor, the overloaded person may suffer a loss of self-esteem and may also be prevented from doing the kind of excellent work that prepares one for promotion.

• micro-inequities cause damage in part because they contribute to barriers between men and women, blacks and whites which mean that each group fails to understand what the other faces. The forms of sexism are so specific that men and women are isolated from each other's experience; so also for the forms of racism. Cross-group communications are always

slower and more difficult; cross-group judgments are harder to make well. Thus women and men, blacks and whites, may make errors about each other ranging from paranoia to an inability to hear any criticism against individuals of a different race or sex.

\* micro-inequities are often difficult to detect or be sure about. This means for one thing that these inequities are hard for a victim to turn off. It also means that frequent victims, like women and blacks, may constantly have to range through emotions ranging from legitimate anger (which may or may not have, or appear to have, a constructive outlet) to paranoia. The experience of being uncertain about whether one was insulted or put down, inevitably leads to some displaced and misplaced anger which in turn may anger innocent (or guilty) bystanders. It also leads to ignoring real insults in such a way that they persist.

\* micro-inequities are often not intentional in any conscious or even unconscious way even when objective observers would agree that for sure they exist---that an injury really took place. This is another reason they are hard for a victim to turn off. We are all socialized to believe that intent to injure is an important part of injury, and it is certainly critical to our dealing with injuries at the hands of others. Faced with a micro-aggression, the victim may not be certain of the motives of the aggressor and may be unwilling to start a fight where none was meant. Under conditions of uncertainty about motives most victims are again in the position of sometimes not getting angry when they should (which



perpetuates the injuries and may weaken the victim's self-image), or protesting sometimes when no injury was consciously intended even though it actually occurred. The latter situation may be salutary for all concerned, especially if the aggressor reacts by acknowledging an unconscious intent to injure. But sometimes the aggressor is totally unaware of aggressing, even though observers would agree that injury took place, and he or she may respond with anger, feelings of betrayal, bewilderment or worse.

\* micro-inequities often originate with more powerful people against less powerful people. No one yet knows whether they originate more in this direction than in the reverse. Perhaps power is corrupting; perhaps aggressive underdogs are always eliminated over time or perhaps more powerful people ignore or are not injured by inequities from below. Perhaps the generally higher pay of the more powerful gives adequate recompense. In any case it is generally the less powerful who report inequities the most. Since less powerful people by definition have less influence (and since more of them are female and minority people), it is not hard to see another reason why it is difficult to get rid of micro-aggressors in general, let alone specific individuals who happen to be the victim's own supervisor or advisor.

\* micro-aggressions are petty in a world where redress by the less powerful may often seem heavy handed or too clumsy a tool. Unionization, going to court, even appeal to the President's office may seem

heavy weapons which themselves have high costs. The perceived lack of appropriate weights of redress helps perpetuate micro-aggressions. This is, incidentally, why our offices handle "inquiries" as well as "grievances", and why we are gently trying to make ourselves better known. This is also incidentally why we try to be of no "cost" or low "cost" to those who prove to have been victims, taking on ourselves the onus of redress rather than always requiring victims to suffer not only the pain of injury but the costs of redress.

\* micro-aggressions and inequities grow in mad and infinite variety. One has to get up early in the morning to stay ahead of the proliferation of types, let alone the number of petty injuries. Thus most women and blacks find themselves occasionally fighting the last war rather than the present one---that is to say, fighting inappropriately against some new variety of harassment.

\* micro-aggressions of some types may have a negative Pygmalion quality. That is, the expectation of poor performance, or the lack of expectation of good performance, may by itself do damage because students and employees have a strong tendency to do what is expected of them.

I have alleged that there is no easy way to turn off micro-inequities. In fact traditionally white male environments may even exacerbate certain kinds of discriminatory behavior like the aggressive and humiliating telling of dirty jokes in a lab. Not only does discrim-

inatory behavior itself cause pain, but as we have seen it may constitute for women and minority people a situation they cannot control, evade, or ameliorate (or as we have said women and minorities may see it that way). Continued experience of destructive situations which cannot be improved can start unhappy cycles of behavior ranging from declining self-esteem (which makes one feel still less efficacious in changing the environment) to withdrawal, resignation, poor work, fantasies of violence, and so on. At the very least it either takes a lot of energy to deal with an environment perceived as hostile, or it takes a lot of energy to maintain one's level of denial of difficulties. (I have known many men and women to struggle for days at a time with their profound anger at an apparently "petty" insult).

Do micro-aggressions do more harm to women and blacks  
than to others?

The question is frequently raised whether micro-aggressions do not just "happen to everyone"? Have we not just been describing the general inhumanities of large organizations? Quite frequently I will talk with a professor who openly says, "I harass everybody, Mary. I don't discriminate". Let me raise here hypotheses as to why micro-aggressions might be worse for minority folk and women than for the average white male. Some of the hypotheses as to why micro-inequities may do more damage to women and minorities are analogous to the hypotheses as to why they do damage at all.

The "general" harassment often takes specifically sexist or racist form when applied to women and minorities. Instead of saying to some average white male, "Your work on this experiment has been inexcusably sloppy; you'll never make it that way!", the remark may come out, "My God, you think no better than my wife; go home and have babies!". Or, "That simply won't do; I don't know how we are to make up for the centuries of Southern schools that produced you!". The harassment of blacks and women then has a tendency to pile up as allusions to race and sex instead of being randomly applied, or appropriately focussed on their work. Like the dripping of water, random drops do little damage; endless drops in one place can have profound effects.

Many women and many minority people are socialized to respond disproportionately swiftly to disapproval. Parents have carefully taught most female and many black, Spanish and Indian children to cooperate rather than to compete, especially when they are with white males, and to be very sensitive to anger and criticism from white males. Conversely one can find many white males who were explicitly socialized to expect hard knocks, to compete ferociously and openly even when injured, and to have a very high pain threshold in the first place. It would be hard to prove that either kind of socialization is "right" or "wrong" in absolute terms, but it is easy to see how these two cultural paths run afoul of each other. If a white male professor shouts angrily for five minutes at a young woman, she may not wholly "recover" from the attack for weeks or

months or years. Later, in a discussion with the professor however, one may hear that he's forgotten his "random grouchiness" or thought it was trivial. Thus, behavior that might be trivial or survivable for the model *modal* white male may be quite destructive to minorities and females in a manner that has nothing directly to do with the work at hand.

\* We mentioned before that it is hard for victims to put a stop to micro-aggression. In a traditionally white male atmosphere it may also be harder for bystanders to stop certain kinds of micro-inequities because the slights are so normal that they simply are not noticed. Many white male professors are acutely uncomfortable around black and male secretaries and ignore them or fail to look at and address them--but do not notice it and neither do bystanders notice it. Traditional pornography on walls, and traditionally sexist jokes, and the use of sex in ads and announcements is so ubiquitous that probably most men do not notice them or may even add to them happily. Thus while some general forms of harassment and difficulty may be stopped by bystanders, some racist and/or sexist behavior may be overlooked in some departments because it is so "normal".

\* There is a more acute role-modelling problem for women and blacks with respect to their witnessing micro-inequities against others like themselves. That is, disproportionately more women and minorities see people "like them" put down or ignored or ill-served by their superiors and elders. This point may be clearer when one remembers that the

principal (if unintended), same-race and same-sex role models for minority and female students are clerical workers and hourly workers, who are the groups most frequently reporting micro-inequities.

\* It may be harder for blacks and women to find mentors to help them deal with micro-inequities. There are so few senior minorities and women that junior minority and female members of the community cannot, on the average, find the same amount of high-status, same-race or same-sex mentorship that white males can find. Sometimes the higher-status blacks and women try to compensate by spending extra time as same-race and same-sex mentors. It is however, almost inevitable that the burden of dealing with micro-inequities falls on minorities and women who are already somewhat disproportionately drained of energy by caring for others.

\* There is also sometimes a peculiar difficulty in finding an appropriate mentor when one has been the victim of a racist or sexist micro-aggression. If one goes to a white male, he may or may not understand. If one goes to a same-race, same-sex friend and /or mentor, he or she may be just wonderful in helping one to deal with it or may not be helpful at all. That is, listeners of the same race and sex may be so discouraged and angry, or so full of denial, that they are worse than useless. I believe therefore that it may often be more difficult for minorities and women to find adequate help in dealing with the minutiae of racism and sexism than for average members of the community to deal with "general inhumanities".

\*I believe many women and minority students and employees have a disproportionate need for supportive white male mentorship and are disproportionately injured when an advisor or teacher or supervisor assigned to them is just generally inhuman. Let us take an example, Susie Hernandez who is a student. She has a need for support if only because she will inevitably live through many micro-inequities. She needs someone to advise her about getting ahead in our white male environment because it is foreign to her. She may not be getting much support from Spanish-speaking women at home because she is living a non-traditional life. (She is in other words less well supported by the general society and may be less well supported by her family than if she were a white male.) If her assigned advisor turns out to be just generally inattentive, grouchy and cold, she has been deprived of a needed, positive mentor in circumstances where she needed a mentor probably more than the modal white male student. The situation will be compounded if she is afraid to ask for a new advisor or does not know how to find substitute help.

I believe therefore there are many reasons why the problem of micro-inequities for minorities and women goes beyond the general inhumanities of large organizations. The point may be clearer if you will imagine being a solo, young, white, male, child care worker in a large, conservative, inner-city day care system. The "general harassment" might include sincere questions and snide comments on your sexuality. Other white males might find you odd. Blacks and females might distrust

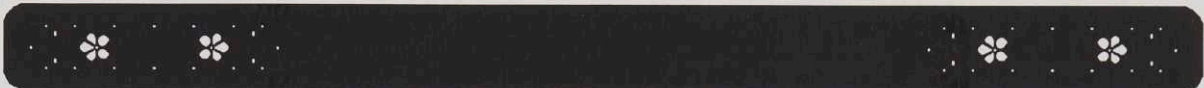
your skills. You might be in fact inept in some ways your first year. You might be very sensitive to the just run-of-the-mill anger from your cross-sex, cross-race supervisor. You might find the constant assumption that women-are-better to be very oppressive--the ads, the jokes, the pictures on the walls, the fathers deprived of custody. You might have no one like yourself to turn to. You might get to hate always being asked to fix things and being asked by visitors why you are there.

My analysis leads to the proposition that micro-inequities are a sad by-product of situations where anyone is functioning in a non-traditional environment, and that they will usually cause more pain for non-traditional members of any community than for traditional members.

This paper presented the point of view that equal progress for minorities and women in educational institutions is very slow and that one reason for this slowness lies in forms of discrimination that lie in general outside legal redress. These forms, the minutiae of racism and sexism, constitute barriers to advancement for minorities and women in the same way that individual grains of sand taken together in Saturn's rings obscure that planet. Invisibility, harassment, exploitation, poor service and deep seated psychological problems of a racist and sexist nature all create special difficulties in educational institutions. These patterns must be recognized and seen in perspective in order to cope with them well.



Gray



## Paul Gray in 1973 some memories

I first met Paul Gray in 1972 and began to work for him in 1973. This seems to me like quite a time ago—although of course I was not really there at the **BEGINNING**—when Paul was working with Pythagoras helping him pull together his theorems—or even later on—when Paul and Wm. Barton Rogers first put their ideas together about inventing MIT.

Actually some of the things that I remember best, though, do derive from Paul's having been there at the **BEGINNING**. Take for example, his teraflop memory for MIT information. Like, I asked him one day in early 1973 about financial aid data. He told me—off the top of his head—the average financial aid package, year by year, median aid package, aid by family income of student, aid by birthdate of student, aid by gender and race and height of student. It really was awesome. I got these figures from him—we were standing in the hall—from the Renaissance up to modern times—up to about about 1900—in three minutes—before he apologized that he could not complete the data set, because he had to go off to a meeting. Later on he completed the series for me, while waiting for a light to change at Mass Ave. He missed the data for a year or two when he had been away from MIT in some War, but as far as I could tell those were the only years for which he did not have full and complete data on everything related to the Institute. I remember later being blown away by a two-hour speech about the intricacies of the MIT budget, all presented to eight significant figures, without notes. But it was his rendition of financial aid over the centuries that I will always remember most fondly, because at that time I had never heard him do it before.

I remember also the first time I crossed the campus with Paul Gray. It was winter. We had been upstairs in Building 3. Paul descended four levels to the Dungeons and Dragons tunnels. At a dead run, we raced past miners and moles, past sewers and trolls, until we emerged somewhere else entirely. I must have looked impressed. Paul mentioned happily that in the Late Sixties, the administration had actually won most skirmishes just by knowing their way around the Institute better than anyone else. This is how I learned that he had actually probably built all of those buildings, and had hooked them together in obscure ways, probably helped by Bill Dickson. By the way, if you do not believe me, climb with Paul some time into the back wall of the Grier room, or in the ceilings over the Engineering Library or Lobby 7.

Then there were the early events of Affirmative Action. As I understand it, many good people had been working very hard in 1972 on an AA Plan. However, I was pretty dismayed one day just after I first came. I discovered that everyone who mattered at all disagreed with everyone else about how the Plan should finally be written. Paul did not seem at all worried. He just took it home one night. He came back in the morning, I think with 14 Dictaphone Tapes. There it was—laid out on tablets like the Ten Commandments. The people who had disagreed with each other all signed on. Awesome, I thought. Awesome. Not only did everyone sign on, but the 1973 Plan had the nation's first delegation of responsibility for AA to Department level. Much the same thing happened with sexual harassment.

In February 1973, I came to talk with Gray about sexual propositions, faculty to student, that seemed to me to be harassment. Paul said, "If it is harassment, it is not acceptable." Thus was born one of the nation's earliest—probably the first—sexual harassment policy, five words

GORDON Y BILLARD AWARD

JUNE 10, 1977

IT IS MY PLEASURE TO AGAIN PRESENT THE GORDON  
Y BILLARD AWARD.

BEFORE BESTOWING THE GORDON Y BILLARD AWARD,  
I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS FIRST OPPORTUNITY TO WELCOME  
ALL OF YOU TO THE M. I. T. CAMPUS. WE HOPE THAT YOU HAVE BEEN  
ENJOYING THE FESTIVITIES AS WELL AS THE INTELLECTUAL FARE.  
I LOOK FORWARD TO SPEAKING WITH YOU ONCE AGAIN IN A FEW  
MOMENTS AS PART OF THE CLASS GIFTS PRESENTATION, BUT NOW  
I SHOULD TURN TO MY PLEASANT ASSIGNMENT OF THE MOMENT.

THE GORDON Y BILLARD AWARD IS GIVEN ANNUALLY TO A  
MEMBER OF THE FACULTY OR THE NON-FACULTY STAFF FOR SPECIAL  
SERVICE OF OUTSTANDING MERIT PERFORMED FOR THE INSTITUTE.

ONE OF THE JOYS OF SERVING AS PRESIDENT IS THE  
OCCASIONAL OPPORTUNITY TO SINGLE OUT MEMBERS OF THE M. I. T.  
STAFF AND FACULTY FOR SPECIAL RECOGNITION. MR. BILLARD

part may be sold, loaned, copied, or published without the express permission of the Institute Archives - M.I.T.

PROPERLY RECOGNIZED THE DIFFICULTY OF CHOOSING AMONG SO  
MANY EXTRAORDINARY PEOPLE WHO DAILY INVEST THEIR LIVES IN  
M.I.T. HE KNEW HOW RISKY IT WOULD BE FOR ANYONE TO TRY TO  
MAKE A MEANINGFUL SELECTION AMONG DOZENS WHO MIGHT QUALIFY.  
SO HE DID THE NATURAL THING. HE LEFT IT TO THE PRESIDENT TO  
DECIDE!

FOR OUR PART, WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT THE MOST  
MEANINGFUL WAY IN WHICH WE COULD LIVE UP TO THE PROVISION THAT  
"THE RECIPIENT OF THIS ANNUAL AWARD SHALL BE DULY HONORED  
ON SOME SUITABLE OCCASION COMMENSURATE WITH THE HONOR"  
WOULD BE TO MAKE THE AWARD ON THE DAY OF EACH YEAR WHEN THE  
LARGEST NUMBER OF OUR ALUMNI ARE PRESENT TO SEE IT.

AGAIN THIS YEAR WE HAD A BIT OF INDECISION AND COULD NOT  
CHOOSE BETWEEN THE SEMI-FINALISTS, SO TODAY WE HONOR TWO

MEMBERS OF THE M. I. T. FAMILY.

GORDON BILLARD IS HERE TODAY PARTICIPATING IN OUR CELEBRATIONS AND SO I TAKE SPECIAL PLEASURE IN PRESENTING THOSE AWARDS, ESTABLISHED IN HONOR OF HIS MOTHER. I WILL NOW PRESENT THE CITATIONS AND THE TANGIBLE AWARDS -- CHECKS FOR \$500.00. TO: DR. MARY POTTER ROWE - AND - MR. GEORGE HUTCHINSON DUMMER. WILL THESE HONOREES PLEASE JOIN ME ON THE STAGE.

(over)

42

DR. MARY P. <sup>potter</sup> ROWE - SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND  
CHANCELLOR, FOR WOMEN AND WORK

DR. ROWE HAS BEEN AT M. I. T. SINCE 1973. IN THE SHORT  
TIME SHE HAS BEEN HERE, SHE HAS EARNED A SPECIAL PLACE IN  
THE HEARTS OF THE ENTIRE M. I. T. COMMUNITY. SHE HAPPENS TO  
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OF HER DEDICATION TO THE PEOPLE CONCERNS OF THE INSTITUTE.  
SHE SERVES AS INSTITUTE OMBUDSPERSON AND IS INVOLVED IN THE  
REVIEW OF WORK STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES WITH A VIEW TO  
INSURING THAT THE CONDITIONS OF THE WORKPLACE ARE HUMANE AND  
AS CONDUCTIVE TO HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND PERSONAL FULFILLMENT  
AS THEY CAN BE. IN THIS CAPACITY SHE IS A WOMAN FOR ALL SEASONS  
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TO ALL WHO SEEK HER OUT AND AN INSPIRATION TO THOSE WHO WATCH  
HER WORK HER MAGIC. SHE IS A PROLIFIC WRITER, TEACHER AND  
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ADDRESS

LECTURER: MARY P. ROWE

MICRO-INEQUITIES AND UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITY:  
INVISIBILITY AND ALL THAT

ROUGH-DRAFT

January, 1975

ADDRESS

LECTURER: MARY P. ROWE

MICRO-INEQUITIES AND UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITY:

INVISIBILITY AND ALL THAT

I shall begin by saying that I spent the last several months trying to do a review of the literature on wage gaps between ~~the~~ minorities and non-minorities and between women and men <sup>^</sup> and then decided not to present it here... I have begun to hear more and more from various folk who had been here that they enormously enjoyed the higher philosophy that was being presented here <sup>(smiley)</sup> but where was the relevance to their real world? ~~This personally here at M.I.T.~~ My topic today is the court jester topic for the series. It is an effort in a subjective fashion to bring the questions of unequal opportunity back to the nuts and bolts of the day to day side of it here at M.I.T. and elsewhere in the economy and elsewhere in higher education so that the title then became: Micro-inequities and inequities and unequal opportunity in higher education and elsewhere in the economy.

I would like to talk today about micro-inequities and unequal opportunity for men and women and for minorities and non-minorities. I apologize in advance to those of you who might be puzzled or offended by my mention of minorities as well as women and men. I do this with diffidence because I don't have ~~any~~ first hand experience of what it means to be a minority American. I, nevertheless, would

or  
for that  
matter, a  
man.

like to raise the question of micro-inequities in the minority context as well as in reference to women for several different reasons. First, some fifteen percent of all American women are minority women and half of all minority folk are female. This group naturally, therefore, has been part of my concern, <sup>and personal interests</sup> at M.I.T. as well as part of my <sup>interests as</sup> concern as a labor economist. Indeed, this is a group who, although they have made tremendous gains in the economy during the period 1940 to 1970, are still demonstrably worse off in the economy than either Black men or White women, and therefore, as I shall argue, deserve more than proportional attention with respect to the subject at hand.

Second, the subject I discuss today appears to have been addressed first by minority people, especially by Black men. The work of Ralph Ellison, Dr. Chester Pierce, who is here at the <sup>Medical</sup> Health Department as well as at Harvard, and James Baldwin is, for instance, widely recognized -- that of Dr. Margaret Campbell, Dr. Martha Kent and myself is much more recent. Also, I would like to draw on the experience of minority people as well as on the experience of <sup>white</sup> women. Finally, I believe that in the aggregate and that in the long run, discrimination against all groups in the United States will wax and wane together. If a person believes that he or she has a right to exploit or oppress any other human, it's only a short step to include yet more other humans in that exploitation. I don't believe that any individual will really treat Blacks fairly unless he or she is also prepared to hear women and vice versa. And conversely, I think that all of us who have become sensitized to the exploitation of one kind of human will more readily recognize other kinds of

exploitation. If you meet a Black or a female who is looking out only for his or her own kind, you will know that either that person lacks information or is only self-interested. Either way, he or she will attain only individual advancements, <sup>and</sup> for abolitionment of discrimination in general -- could and should have been the goal. In my first sentence, I referred to micro-inequities and unequal opportunity also for men as well as for women. I think the unequal opportunities for men are of two kinds analogous to two of the problems of minorities and women. That is, men as well as women are systematically eliminated or discouraged in certain branches of occupation and education although obviously in mirror image to those of women. And men as well as women are unfairly affected by the micro-inequities or atmosphere of higher education although again in mirror image ways.

The first set of problems -- that is grossly unequal recruitment and access and promotion for men in certain fields are actionable. <sup>These are</sup> Macro-inequities, if you will, and I will not include a discussion of them here. The second set of problems -- <sup>Discriminatory</sup> elements of the atmosphere for men -- I will <sup>likely</sup> discuss here this afternoon inadequately -- inadequately, obviously, because I am female, because men's liberation concerns are only beginning to be discussed, because I ~~can~~ only learn as fast as men's consciousnesses are raised around me. And because in all this area, there are no experts anyway -- just blind people examining the elephant. That leads me to micro-inequities and unequal opportunity. It will become obvious from what comes next that each person here becomes his or her expert on what constitutes a micro-inequity in the individual instance.

In the aggregate, I would define micro-inequities this way: they are the non-actionable aspects of an environment which reasonable people would agree are unjust toward ~~the~~ individuals by virtue of an individual being irrationally treated in a certain way -- only because of his or her race or sex. Chester Pierce calls many of these micro-inequities -- "micro-aggressions" but I think that <sup>micro-aggressions are</sup> is ~~only~~ a subset <sup>- of hostilities.</sup> -- <sup>planner</sup> Defining this thing in English we would say that a micro-inequity is what does us in without being actually illegal. <sup>Inequities</sup> They <sup>they.</sup> are of a fiendish efficiency in maintaining discrimination because <sup>of air</sup> the air we breathe, the books we read and <sup>They are</sup> woven into all the threads of higher education. <sup>Q</sup> On what basis would I allege unequal opportunity? I would allege unequal opportunity on the basis of grossly unequal representations of women and men, minorities and non-minorities in the various areas of <sup>paid</sup> and <sup>unpaid</sup> employment. I would allege unequal opportunity on the basis of gross wage gaps between these groups and finally on the basis of gross differences in status in the United States between men and women and between minorities and non-minorities. <sup>Q</sup> Consider, for example, the following statistics of unequal occupational opportunity. The proportions of women and minorities with advanced degrees in engineering, physics, economics, surgery etc. let alone national politics, is extremely small--maybe at ~~or~~ above or less than five percent. Spokesmen of many disciplines here at M.I.T. will tell you that there are no competent women or minorities in their field. The bureau of the census, for instance, lists no female physicians in Massachusetts and very few Black civil servants. By the same token, there are very few men in formal child care anywhere in the world, including <sup>in</sup> mainland China. The

bureau of the census in Massachusetts recognizes no male RN's or male librarians in Massachusetts. We know nearly nothing <sup>about</sup> of single parent males except that we know that their numbers are increasing much faster than those of single parent females. Unwed fathers appear to have few or no rights although they do have financial responsibility. <sup>Q</sup> Is all this getting better? In some fields the statistics are changing quite fast but to bring it home to faculty interests here, consider our national progress in university faculties during the great <sup>v</sup> affirmative-action-liberation-movement <sup>11</sup> years of 1968-1974. In 1968, some 19.1 percent of all American faculties were women -- 19.1 percent. In 1974 - twenty percent are women. An average increase of fifteen hundredths of one percent per year. Progress for minorities was only very slightly better during those years.

<sup>Q</sup> Let us consider the M.I.T. faculty inheritance of <sup>mequality</sup> ~~discrimination~~. In an ideal world, we might expect some fifteen percent of our faculty to be minority and about half to be women. We find this year that 2.5 percent are minority, 1.5 percent are Black, 5 percent are women. Our indexes of inherited racism are therefore that we have sixteen percent of the <sup>ideally</sup> expected minorities, twelve percent of the <sup>ideally</sup> expected Blacks, we have ten percent of the expectable faculty women, if women and men <sup>were to have</sup> had equal opportunities in our society. <sup>And,</sup> But if these statistics worry you, consider our inheritance of racism and sexism with respect with Black women on our faculty. If both racism and sexism were operating for Black women here in the proportions that now affect Black men and White women, we would expect twelve percent times ten percent Black women, <sup>T</sup> that is, that 1.2 percent of the total faculty would be Black women, or say, twelve people out of a thousand.

(Infinite because there were 300)

Instead we find none. Mathematically speaking, this is an ~~infinitely~~ greater burden on Black women than on White women or on Black men. If we have on<sup>e</sup> Black woman on ~~a~~<sup>an</sup> faculty by June of this coming year, our inheritance of racism or sexism to Black women will still be about twelve times greater than we would have expected if both racism and sexism had been operating only normally. ~~I~~ I am not suggesting, of course, that M.I.T. is alone, or even very much responsible for this appalling fact. Just that this is our inheritance, ~~-- that we~~ now face micro-inequities, that I will come to discuss here, at M.I.T, with no Black female faculty advisors or frontrunners for our Black female students. ¶ The wage statistics are for most people even more appalling indexes of discrimination. If you consider median full time incomes in 1971, White men were paid \$9,700., Black men \$6,700., White women were paid an average of \$5,600., Black women an average of \$5,000. per year. And the gap between men and women has widened again in the last year according to the March, 1974 statistics. Are these statistics explainable on the basis of education? I ~~would say~~<sup>believe</sup> not, ~~--~~<sup>Some</sup> gaps (are) ~~obtained~~<sup>still here</sup> though not so grossly when you control for education and years of experience. Several studies show that there are gaps left to be explained even when all obvious factors have been taken into account and controlled for, ~~(although several other studies~~<sup>do</sup> ~~can account for all~~<sup>the</sup> ~~reported wage gaps.)~~ Ordinary explanations for these wage gaps differ greatly for Blacks and for women. For women, occupational and wage discrimination are the worst -- that is, we get ourselves in low paying occupations, in those and other occupations, we tend to be paid less for equal work. For Blacks, however, the main problems are getting an education in the first place and gaining status in the society.



Women have, for instance, been well educated for years including single women who have no children and still <sup>wage</sup> gaps <sup>exist</sup> (were) obtained for that latter group. Just getting into M.I.T. won't do the trick for women either. Unemployment rates are higher and wage rates are lower even for women Ph.D.'s, in 1974. In addition, recent studies show that White women have steadily lost ground from 1940 to 1970 with respect to their proportions in the paid labor force who are professional technical and managerial workers relative to all other groups although, absolutely speaking, <sup>white women</sup> ~~we~~ are still much better off than are minority women. ~~Just~~ accounting for gaps in this way, however, is not the same as demonstrating no discrimination. For example, some of the gaps are themselves evidence of prior discrimination. Women, for instance, usually take lower paying jobs, but ~~as has also been recently demonstrated~~ some of the lower pay is because the job is designated for women and not because of lesser responsibility or productivity. <sup>T</sup> That is, job<sup>s</sup> sex stereotyped for women are characterized by low incomes for both men and women in those jobs, relative to years of education and other attained skills. The pay off to women in our society of a year of additional education is about two thirds that for men controlling for an hour's work. For minority men the most serious recent problem has not been getting good jobs and good pay when they have an education but to get the education in the first place. Job discrimination in the sense of being able to get <sup>the job</sup> one if you are qualified for it and wage discrimination in the sense of being paid for equal work are <sup>types</sup> kinds of discrimination disappearing for Black males, if they have an education. But, on the other hand, we are making little or no progress in providing that education in the first place for Black males in our society. Moreover, it seems futile and

profoundly immoral to explain the wage gap between minorities and non-minorities on the grounds of years of education with the Boston and Cambridge school systems as they are. Moreover, <sup>4</sup> a recent study shows that even for comparable <sup>SES parents</sup> parentage and with comparable education, Black females never attain the occupational status of White females. Black males never attain the occupational status of White males in the aggregate. The proportions of Black males relative to their proportions in the <sup>6</sup> payed labor force who are in managerial, technical and professional positions is about point five that is, they are under represented by a factor of two and for Black females - about point four eight that is, they are also under represented in top jobs relative to proportions in the payed labor force by a factor of about 2. <sup>7</sup> Instead of going on belaboring the point, let me assume that you are by now convinced that there is discrimination in the United States society. How does all of this continue over time? Why don't civil rights acts and affirmative actions plans take care of the problem. I submit that, in part, discrimination persists because of early socialization patterns, in larger part because of actionable discrimination that has not yet got acted on <sup>- as</sup> ~~like~~ in the school situation. But I think that it is, in part, because of the grains of sand in the system - the micro-inequities. We all know that rockets don't fly with grains of sand in the system and equal opportunity doesn't fly with it either. Along with actionable problems, the grains of sand are fouling up the process and it's very hard to clean up. It's hard to deal with micro-inequities because each one is trivial, because the victim finds it hard to be sure what happened to him or her, because we are all so used to it that we don't even notice it, because the victims who are Black and/or female are also socialized

not to make a fuss about it less they get lynched, or sacked, or isolated or put down or called sick. Many of you will have read the two papers sent out for this seminar by Dr. Chester Pierce and Dr. Martha Kent. I would like to spend a few minutes talking about micro-inequities and unequal opportunity at M.I.T. in 1974 and at nearby universities. Unless I indicate otherwise all of the examples which follow are from <sup>one or another</sup> a university in the Boston area during the last six months.

In my job here I find micro-inequities very hard to deal with. They are a problem which does not lend itself to legal redress or even to improvement in time of economic promise. They occur with frequency at the best and most humane of institutions. The minutiae of racism and sexism appear to me a major problem for minorities and women in all large organizations in the United States. The problem is formidable not ~~at~~ <sup>because</sup> least of the pettiness of the individual incidents. It's formidable partly because there are no individual solutions. Last year, I nicknamed this fouling of the atmosphere -- Saturn's rings phenomena. Saturn's rings, if you lived inside them, would appear as random encounters with dust and ice. Perhaps the dust and ice would even appear so scattered as not always to deserve defense against it. But the objective eye which could observe from a distance would see that many grains of sand taken together obscure the planet and create formidable barriers. <sup>A</sup> Dozens of complaints <sup>about</sup> in micro-inequities come in every week. One can make a rough typology of these complaints -- working categories which help in deciding what to do with them. As I think of my job, I think of four major categories of discrimination here.

The first are illegal acts of discrimination which <sup>do occur but which</sup> I will not discuss today. The second are unconscious slights against women and Blacks including the invisibility problem. The third is conscious racism and sexism including harassment, exploitation, <sup>and</sup> ~~of~~ the provision of poor service and the fourth are psychiatric problems manifested in racist and sexist behavior with direct and indirect effects. These categories, you'll note, overlap in many ways but in general they describe somewhat different problems. However, <sup>taken together</sup> ~~altogether~~, invisibility, harassment and racist and sexist psychiatric problems affect minorities and women in educational institutions in many ways. They directly damage professional Blacks and women although sometimes very subtly and sometimes without our being very aware of it. They <sup>may</sup> injure all the other women and minority people around the professional. They tilt the atmosphere, creating additional concerns for faculty and administrators to handle. They create barriers that require additional energy to cross especially for students and for those of us who begin in entry positions. And, in addition, I believe that in the long run these difficulties tend to deprive us of mentors who are similar to ourselves and of Black and White, male and female colleagues and mentors who otherwise would have been available. We may become aware of our invisibility as Blacks and women only slowly because it happens only now and then and because it's so hard to identify. We say we are invisible when our name is mysteriously missing from a list. Our's are the announcements and invitations which fail to come, the reservations which were not made, the pages that weren't typed in ~~the~~ typing pool, the vacations that weren't planned by the boss or the department head. It's our work which by mistake which was not properly acknowledged, not reviewed, not

responded to, not published. It's our opinion which wasn't asked. It was we who were not represented on the committees which decide our fate at M.I.T. Perhaps, the most poignant writing on this subject comes from the introductory paragraphs of a distinguished work on racism in which Ralph Ellison says:

I'm an invisible man. I'm not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allen Poe, nor am I one of your movie Hollywood ... I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids and I might even be said to possess a mind. I'm invisible, you understand, simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodyless heads you see sometimes in circus side shows, it is as though I have been surrounded by mirrors or hard and distorted glass. When they approach me, they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their own imagination. Indeed, everything and anything except me. Nor is my invisibility exactly a matter of biochemical accident to my epidermus. That invisibility to which I refer occurs because of a peculiar disposition of the eyes of those with whom I come in contact, the matter of the construction of their inner eyes, those eyes which they look through their physical eyes upon reality.

Invisibility and other unconscious slights are very difficult to identify. If it was only you who was addressed by your first name are you sure it was racism or sexism? How can you be sure your paper was not turned down by a journal because maybe it just wasn't

good enough. Is your office space more noisy only by accident? If you are sure that there's a slight, what is there to be done anyway? Imagine you're the only new faculty person who doesn't get good lab space. Can you protest when you think that an insult was not intended and besides there isn't very much space in your department?

*or quite on point?*

*And what to do?*

I'd like to ~~to~~ I shuffled through folders I keep on these things intending to present incidents, invisibility and unconscious incidents, conscious incidents and psychiatric incidents to Blacks and women here or with relevance to M.I.T. One <sup>example</sup> that gnawed at me in preparing this was that I went through a lot of research on wage gap on Blacks and on women. One distinguished work prepared by members of the M.I.T. community is called: Relative and occupational success of Blacks and Whites. And I read it through three times looking for data on women until I realized that it was only <sup>about</sup> for Black males and White males. The same failure to include women in studies in national accounts <sup>occurs in failure</sup> are to have included Blacks appropriately in studies on national accounts. <sup>These failures</sup> has been documented any number of times.

<sup>The particular one</sup> This just happens to be a recent article with ~~several hundred items~~ <sup>that illustrates</sup> of what is wrong with the census for instance. It's very hard to find out how <sup>women</sup> ~~we~~ are doing in the first place because <sup>enough</sup> this data is not kept <sup>about</sup> upon us. <sup>I will begin with</sup> I remember an incident of a Black woman who came in at my first year here at M.I.T. who was an employee who just said: The atmosphere here is just very cold. I feel very uncomfortable. I can't figure out what's wrong here. I hate it here. I don't want to work here. I think I'm going to leave. We talked for quite a while and she finally said: Well, I think the problem is that nobody ever speaks to me. And I asked her at some length <sup>about her work. How might we demonstrate</sup> if her work

was good. <sup>OS</sup> Was it a problem that she really wasn't doing terribly well? No she thought that <sup>they thought</sup> her work was good. She's been getting raises. <sup>A</sup> I asked her to keep a log for a four week period of times when people spoke to her in the office because we wanted to examine what kinds of <sup>interactions were</sup> ~~concourse~~ was going on with her -- how she was being included? -- was it unpleasant or pleasant? <sup>as she said imagining things or</sup> Was she making it up or was she not. <sup>2</sup> She said she would keep a log and she kept a log for four weeks and <sup>in</sup> there was nothing on it. Nobody spoke to her in a four week period. Nobody said good morning; nobody said anything to her about her work. They just left the work on her desk and they picked it up. She couldn't recall any instance when anybody had spoken to her at all except in the most trivial kind of, somebody barely bumped <sup>into</sup> her kinds of ways. <sup>A</sup> I recall another incident from a nearby university ~~in the last month or two~~ of a Black professor who was at <sup>his</sup> ~~this~~ university for a couple of years here. He was finally invited to a very exclusive, intellectual club dinner here in Cambridge and he was kind of pleased to be able to go, though he thought that if he was White he would have been asked long before, <sup>he</sup> and was <sup>further</sup> somewhat ~~chagrined~~ <sup>the dinner</sup> chagrined when a week before a member of his department stopped by and asked him for a resume and said: "Well I wanted to zerox it and circulate it to the members of this monthly dinner meeting. I just wanted to circulate your resume to the members before you came." This professor was absolutely appalled. He figured that his presence at this intellectual dinner was being justified. <sup>J</sup> There was another incident at a nearby university of a woman professor who came <sup>to Boston</sup> ~~here~~ last year and whose name was left off the faculty lists. She was never included in any faculty functions throughout the university and she assumed that her department head simply was not inviting her to

*her dept head*

them. So she was very angry at ~~him~~ and all manner of trouble ensued, <sup>then</sup> when we found out that the problem was simply that the university didn't know that she existed. She was on the payroll I'm happy to say but she was not included in any faculty lists for anybody. By the same token, another female professor in the area found that she wasn't routinely keeping up with the new books in economics like her colleagues. And she finally asked one of her colleagues in the department -- she'd been there I think about three years when this happened this last year, and he said: "Oh the book salesman comes by. He brings all the new books in economics. I'll tell you when he comes by the next time." And it proved that this guy passed her open door with her name on it every time that he came, every quarter, but he just assumed that she was a secretary. So she had never heard about the <sup>book distributor</sup> system. There are frequent incidents of Black professors and female professors on faculties around who never get invited to informal departmental events or luncheons. That's one of the most frequently reported minutiae that come in. A not very frequent but wonderfully crystal clear incident happened last year in May at a Ph.D. defense of a university here in Boston. <sup>on the faculty was called by the</sup> A woman in a very closely allied department was called up one Friday late in May by the chairman of an allied department saying: Could you come to Suzie Jones' thesis defense on Monday -- by the way I'll rush over a copy of the thesis. So our woman thought that this was a little short notice to turn up on a thesis defense committee but she was rather pleased to be included by the prestigious chairman who called her and she spent the whole week-end (instead of working on a book she's trying to get out,) she spent the whole week-end reading this very long and careful thesis and made very careful notes on it. She spent hours and hours and came into the

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office at 5'o clock on Monday morning before the thesis defense to type her comments. Monday was the thesis defense. She went to the thesis defense and it was a reasonably good one. The woman defendant passed in fact but my informant -- the woman professor<sup>^</sup> said that she was puzzled because nobody ever asked her for her comments after the defense and when the time came for the other professors to go out and discuss whether or not the woman had passed, she was not included. They left her<sup>alone</sup>. And when the whole thing was over - neither was she asked for her written comments on the thesis although she gave them to the woman student<sup>#</sup> and (she had prepared them with such care!) She ran into the department chairman later that night at ~~the Stop and Shop~~<sup>a dinner</sup> and she said: I thought that was a little funny, summoning up all her courage. Here I was called out of the blue. Nobody told me anything about it. I was given no advance notice. I spent the whole damn week-end on this thing. I wrote out my comments and they leave me out completely. What was going on?<sup>uu</sup> Well, said the department chairman: Oh, you should have called me. You shouldn't have done any work on this. That woman student was paranoid. We just had to have a female there. Another glorious incident with an M.I.T. woman professor occurred recently when she discovered that her resume had gotten through one grape vine or another grape vine -- it had apparently been sent to a not very distinguished New York, upper New York state university part of the great New York university system. And she learned about this because she got a letter turning her down for ~~the~~<sup>a</sup> job for which she had not applied. Our woman faculty person came to me and said: What do you think is going on?<sup>?</sup> And I detailed five or six different ways that she could find out. She pursued all of them and she discovered in the course of events that the resume had leaked through

NB  
all incidents  
used w. permission

a grape vine and that it had been "used for affirmative action purposes." <sup>for resume</sup> It obviously never been read and she had been turned down. I say ~~she~~ <sup>the resume</sup> obviously never been <sup>was</sup> read because this is one of our more distinguished woman faculty, <sup>she is a faculty member</sup> of that kind that you know very well no up state New York university would consider turning down if they had read her resume. They obviously simply hadn't looked at it but included it in their files.

Well, what sorts of things happen to men? I recently went to the first annual meeting of men in formal child care - early-childhood-education men, <sup>the meeting</sup> and ~~it~~ was all mirror image stuff. There were the two men who reported that they are joining early childhood education classes in the first <sup>such course</sup> place at Harvard, when the male professor turned to them two years ago, and said: Will you check <sup>your</sup> their course cards? This is an early childhood education class. <sup>!</sup> They were full of all kinds of incidents -- of walking into classrooms and having the director of the school or of the child care center say: "Hurray, now we'll get some carpentry, or what are you here to fix?" <sup>?</sup> Just to add - since it can't very well be left out -- just to add some bits from the Boston scene ... Some of you will have perhaps have noticed a New York Times editorial recently in which a ~~person~~ <sup>person</sup> a Black, who had ~~been through the New York Times~~ -- who had been through the Boston School system wrote a memoir in which his first two paragraphs began: "It was alas close to four decades ago when Miss Mildred Sullivan told her seventh grade art class in Roxbury that they were ready to paint people instead of simply exercises. She explained that <sup>!</sup> people were not really White." They were more orangy. When the class painted people they were supposed to use orange water color. Now she was the only "orange"

person in the classroom. Almost all the boys in the class and in the entire school were Black. But there was no student protest and no outrage. Miss Sullivan's comment simply enforced their life situations. To many in the class, it was a question whether ~~there~~ <sup>they</sup> were people at all. And another clipping that was sent to me -- perhaps nothing better describes the situation of Black people in America than the announcement by Gerald Ford -- aides (of Ford's) after he had fortuitously become president -- that a Black person would not be considered for his vice-president -- the country <sup>is</sup> just isn't ready for it. <sup>^</sup> I have all kinds of incidents. Maybe the most poignant ones are the incidents which show how lonely minority and female folk are here at M.I.T. A woman came in whose husband is living in New York State while she finishes her degree here -- he's working there to support her and commented how bitter she feels when professors are forever putting her down for apparently being here without her husband. Is there something wrong with her marriage? Does she really want to be ~~in~~ <sup>secretly?</sup> Does she think that the reason she isn't really doing so well in thus and such a course, is that she's not with him? and so on. There are lots of variations on this theme -- the theme of being so singular that you stand out. <sup>^</sup> One of the problems is that woman and minorities can't be mediocre because we show up. Another is that we are afraid to appear dumb in classes so we don't ask questions. The worst version of this, I think, is that we get into situations where there is no professional talk around us. Women who are not living in co-ed dorm situations don't get exposed to the same kind of engineering chit-chat and work on problem sets that men do. By the same token, Blacks on the campus are <sup>often</sup> lonely ~~when~~ when it comes to getting into the same kind of professional discussions that

non-minorities consider run of the mill.

Let me go on to conscious discrimination including harassment, exploitation and provision of poor service. Harassment is not ordinarily actionable. It is the department head who said: If that woman is given tenure, I'll see to it that she's so miserable that she goes. Or the <sup>student</sup> ~~man~~ in senior house last year who said: If we go co-ed, I'll make every woman student who comes here cry. And who set about to do it. It's the teacher who refuses to learn a <sup>Black</sup> young woman's name or who calls her by the name of another Black woman or by his own cute nick-name for her. It's the professor who systematically humiliates his female students about their appearance or the department head who loads extra work on a Black to prove that he can't succeed in that job or on a woman because he knows that she will not refuse. <sup>Ⓟ</sup> Again, I ~~don't know~~, are you interested in incidents? I have a whole host of conscious harassment incidents -- conscious in a sense that if you point it out to somebody they will realize at once what they were doing. There was a Black male applicant here at M.I.T. for instance last year who applied for a Assn't professorship in answer to an advertisement. And there were many discussions between his thesis advisor and our department that was going to hire him as an Assn't professor and finally when he sat down to talk with the department about the job, it turned out that he was offered a <sup>research</sup> DSR job. And at that point he came in and said "What's going on here?" And we called back in various different ways. And it turned out that indeed it was an Assn't professor job which he <sup>applied for</sup> ~~presumably was offered~~, -- <sup>Ⓟ</sup> ~~that~~ <sup>This</sup> kind of slit of the knife between a job of greater status and lower status -- or between serious recognition and not serious recognition, goes on all time.

✓ micro aggressions  
✓

There was another Black male who came here applying for an assn't-ship position. When we investigated to find out what was going on in his process we discovered that nobody had read any of the work -- that nobody in the department had read any of the work that he had submitted for review. Now there <sup>can be</sup> ~~are~~ all kinds of mysterious lags in this system -- in establishing services ~~here~~ for minorities or finding any space for a new professor's office. There's a Black professor who can't get decent lab space, <sup>And</sup> ~~or~~ I remember the case of a woman professor who came last year who wasn't going to be given any office space. ~~And~~ <sup>S</sup> she protested and protested and she was finally given a little hole <sup>of a room</sup> that was all full of junk -- that was the departmental <sup>debris</sup> ~~debris~~ for years and years. So she cleaned it out with tremendous care and energy all in one week-end. She got it all cleaned up. She asked to have a telephone installed and she came back two or three days later from a consulting trip to find that the telephone had been removed and that she had been reassigned to <sup>share</sup> another office.   
 ~~Incidents~~ All these <sup>incidents</sup> may be happening steadily to all the White males ~~around here~~ too but the tendency for a Black or a woman is to wonder whether it's completely an accident. A couple of days ago an administrative staff person came into my office and recounted the following incident. After sitting up all of one night setting up <sup>technical</sup> tables for a departmental ~~problem~~ <sup>analysis</sup> ~~problem~~ that she was working on with the committee - she came in in the morning to the committee working on it and she said: Dead silence greeted her as she came in. And she ~~kind of laid~~ <sup>laid</sup> out the work she had done the night before and the committee chairman said: Hey, that's pretty technical stuff for you. We'll call you when we have all the tables done and then you can come in and talk with us <sup>about</sup> ~~them~~ not even noticing that she had already done the work and assuming that she

wasn't capable of it in the first place. Another incident with a female <sup>research associate</sup> ~~faculty~~ person here went like this. This is again within the last month. We are having a staff meeting on Monday but I don't think it's terribly important -- we're having a faculty meeting but I don't think you'll find it very important. Oh she said: I'd love to come. The head of the department said: Well, you know, I don't think you'll really find the subject matter very interesting to you and there's a kind of line beyond which you shouldn't go in the departmental business. If there's ever a meeting in which your area is going to be discussed, of course, I'll let you know about it but really you shouldn't really get involved in everybody's business here. <sup>u</sup> But I want to go, <sup>u</sup> said this determined lady. To which the reply was completely out of the blue: <sup>u</sup> You know, I'm in charge of salaries here. <sup>u</sup> And then they continued further discussion. She said that she walked home and it took her about half an hour to realize what the conversation had been about, ~~and she~~ <sup>S</sup> doesn't think that this guy really meant to be threatening her either ~~in~~ the obvious sense... but

We've talked about inequities and inequities and the ambiance around M.I.T. that afflict men as well as women. In my stumbling <sup>way</sup> ~~say~~, I've tried to make some <sup>sense track</sup> - to ~~tract~~ some of these. Then, ~~for instance~~, <sup>For example, there is</sup> ~~would be~~ the assumption that men in <sup>said</sup> ~~payed~~ employment will be tough. That they will not back down under public attack if their work is being subject to review. I see this all the time in the top administration if there is a major criticism of what is going on in the administration. The ordinary stance, the ordinary first stance and this isn't Grey and Weisner but <sup>others</sup> ~~it's~~ ~~nearly everybody else under them~~, ... the <sup>oops</sup> ~~ordinary~~ first stance is not: ~~My God~~, what did we do wrong <sup>?</sup> but how <sup>Common</sup>

could anybody challenge our authority, which I think <sup>maybe</sup> is a peculiarly male kind of way of looking at criticism, as though the men here may feel that it's also a female - it's also a presumption about females' lives. <sup>An assumption</sup> One that bothers me more is the presumption that the male graduate students, teaching assistants, and faculty don't need any rest, that obviously an 80 or a 100 hour week is a reasonable way to advance you ~~or~~, I think, that this <sup>presumption</sup> hits men harder than women and I think that by in large if offered options, most men would not <sup>prefer this mode</sup> like it.

<sup>E.g. at HMS</sup> I call to mind the fact that part time internships and residencies have been reestablished by many medical schools and many hospitals around the United States in the last two years ostensibly to help women get through medicine. But men in huge disproportions are using those part-time internships and residencies. A comparable sexist assumption is I think one which afflicts men -- is that, of course, they have a wife who will take care of the kids at home, that they won't need maternity leave. I've had ~~any number of ugly~~ arguments with departmental administrators about whether they would permit the men in their departments to take paternity leave if the guy wanted it. <sup>There's</sup> a widespread assumption that any kind of reverse recruitment is a humorous topic -- that is, looking for male secretaries, male librarians, male nurses, and so on ... the ribaldry that greets any attempt to get rid of that kind of sexism is, I think, affects <sup>ing</sup> those men ~~in those positions~~ who might take those jobs here as well as everywhere else. And finally on my list is the tacit permission for women to grieve if they have lost a spouse for instance, or a child, -- to <sup>Permission is given to</sup> take care of other people, to decorate their offices, to get tired, to give comfort to their colleagues -- I see around me ~~any number of~~ incidents where women are permitted human behavior where the assumption

*sad or growing*

*Another*  
*Other*  
*is a*

if it were men, ~~would be that their~~ behavior was a little odd. ~~Other~~ *kind* incidents of conscious discrimination around here would ~~be one~~ very pervasive one -- ~~is~~ lack of feedback to Black employees and to Black students. A Black employee or a student whose work performance is not up to par~~t~~ in some area, is, I think, much less likely to hear about it soon enough than a non-minority employee. I think of the Black student who came to see me last year because he had been assigned to a tutor who plainly hated him -- a most unfortunate situation and the department just said but: Oh, but that tutor is so good. And my protest that the personality conflicts were such between this tutor and tutee the situation was plainly hopeless -- could not be redressed.

*Q*

I think of the recent formal announcement by the ~~M.I.T.~~ administration where only the Black *person* on a long list was listed by her nickname. One of the ugliest forms of discrimination, ~~the~~ one that bites me very hard, was pointed out to me by Walter Leonard at Harvard is that the woman institutions in this area have few or no minority women on their staff or faculty -- that organized women have notably failed everywhere in this area to make a comparable effort for minority women to the efforts that they make for non-minority women. *Q* Another incident

here at M.I.T., a woman *was* brought in for a colloquium being considered for an assistant professor job for which she was ... recruited -- the colloquium was very poorly attended ~~but~~ *and* the department head apparently came very late -- the rest of the committee kind of trickled in. *At*

*at*

the end of the colloquium ... *(after she* came in for a job interview) *Finally,* for the interview for the job -- she was told that they had already offered it. Indeed, they had offered it to a White male who is a spectacular recruit, and whom we *like* should have chosen, but the process seems to be plainly out of line.

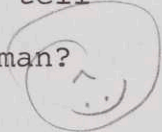


Finally  
If you gently ask about harassment anywhere at M.I.T., you'll often be told by the person who harasses that, really they don't discriminate -- they harass everybody.

In the analysis - in the next few minutes of the analysis -- this analysis speaks to the question of harassment of women -- I don't feel that I have <sup>a</sup> ~~any~~ comparable understanding of what harassment may mean for minority <sup>colleagues</sup> ~~folk~~. So what I will say applies to women though it may also apply to minority <sup>colleagues</sup> ~~folk~~. I believe that somebody who harasses everybody, differentially threatens female staff and students first because the so-called general harassment often takes <sup>a</sup> ~~the~~ sexist form when applied to women as in: O my God, you sound just like my wife. <sup>n</sup> Second, because most women in this society are socialized more than men to respond to disapproval with dismay and loss of self esteem. Thirdly, because in this traditional male environment, there are so many more men than women that harassing behavior which is sexist but which is also common will not be identified and stopped. Such behavior is very likely to be supported like -- the telling of dirty jokes in the laboratory. In addition, because women are few, we are very obvious. We can't be inconspicuously mediocre. We are convenient scapegoats in time of trouble. (Obviously, this also is a situation that afflicts minorities.) And finally in a traditional male environment -- we know from the work of Aston, Lotte Bailyn, and others women have a particular need for male mentors and supportive male colleagues. Conscious exploitation <sup>and</sup> ~~of~~ poor service are very frequent. They are not always malicious; they are just damaging. Take the vice-president of a college who basically knows that his or her secretary is doing the work of an assistant to a vice-president. Would the secretary receive a promotion if she were a man? The answer at M.I.T.

was no in the 1960's when our department<sup>s</sup> shifted over to the administrative officer system. <sup>Many of the</sup> The female executive secretaries who have been doing the work <sup>were</sup> almost ~~to a person~~ deprived of their functions and those jobs <sup>were</sup> ~~were~~ almost to a person given to younger White males. I'd like to go on to, well, let me go on one more thing on conscious exploitation -- conscious exploitation can be particularly difficult to address when minorities and women are being exploited as a class especially if the exploitation is socially acceptable. Some frequent examples occur with respect to pornography. Walter Rosenblith, for instance, sent me the advertisement for a new book in physics called The Black Hole which shows a ~~Black~~ Black woman in an obvious state of undress. There's another one which sells technical machines sent to me with a beautiful, sexy White woman kind of displayed half nude across this technical machine being sold to an engineer here and on the second page there's the same ad<sup>d</sup> -- only it's a Black woman with a caption saying: We even have it in different colors. <sup>ff</sup> Poor service also affects Blacks and women as a class. Probably, the most pervasive example has to do with our use of language. For instance, consider the widespread disinclination to change the use of the generic man in speech. We have this <sup>discussion</sup> ~~terrible fight~~ with John Crocker about the title of <sup>this</sup> ~~the~~ lecture: Come to the lecture on Technology and Man. ... or the demeaning words using Black in a negative sense in fact, even the word denegration means to blacken -- or that ~~wonderful~~ ~~derful~~ setup in the phrase when we refer to Blacks or women as if Black women don't exist. ~~Of the sort of conscious ... of incidents~~ ~~that~~ I remember in the last few months in the universities around here -- I think the worst had to do with an ad hoc committee and tenure committee at a nearby university -- the woman was coming up for tenure

and an ad hoc committee was designated and as normally as is the case -- this ~~tenure~~<sup>committee</sup> had sent out letters soliciting letters of reference for this woman asking, in effect, was she good enough to be on a tenured faculty of this ~~mighty~~ university. The ~~lady~~<sup>colleague</sup> came to see me a couple of months ago bringing with her a reference that had been sent to the university and it was as is often the case, she had been sent a copy of the reference by her referee because she's so good, -- as you sometimes will send a reference to somebody if it's absolutely outstanding. ~~P~~ But she was very upset about this particular reference -- because while it described her in the most glowing possible language there were these phrases which said: Josephine is the most distinguished lady in her field. She is without doubt the best woman in her discipline anywhere in the world. Yes we believe that she will in the coming two decades be the most outstanding woman in the world in her field. And Josephine said: I'm ticked off about it -- I've been working with these men for years. How could they have given me such a reference? So I said: You can't let it go by, Josephine. You have got to write to your referee and ask him why he did such a ~~big~~ thing. So she wrote back to the referee and he said: "Well, I was just responding to the request that I got." And he enclosed a copy -- which was the standard copy where in every case the word man had been stricken and the word woman substituted. So that if he had been asked for a reference which said: Is she the outstanding woman in her field? Will she in the coming two decades be likely to contribute more than any other woman in her field to this discipline? And it ended with a truly wonderful paragraph which said: Would you be willing to tell us in detail about the nature of your association with this woman?



Psychiatric problems manifested in racist and sexist behavior -- that's, by the way, a true 1974 incident in the most prestigious department of its kind anywhere in the country. Clearly invisibility, harrassment and exploitation and poor service lie on a continuum shading into one another. At the most anguishing end - the continuum shades in psychiatric problems which in my opinion differentially affect at least women and probably minorities as well. Obviously, all educational institutions have people with psychiatric problems. These problems involve and impinge upon both men and women, minorities and non-minorities. But, I think, that they hit women harder for the samekind of reasons that general harrasment hit women harder and I think it's probably also true for minorities. A very hostile and aggressive man may paw, pinch or lean against women as he will not do with men. I remember, for instance, a top administrator at M.I.T. who was very angry with a position that I had espoused at an open meeting who during the coffee break came up and put his arm very roughly around me, grabbing me very hard around the ribs and marched me all the way around this huge lounge twice in a kind of brisk and aggressive way telling me without any apparent withdrawal of breath everything that was wrong with my position. I didn't like being touched that way by a very aggressive and angry male and maybe he would have done it also with a guy but I know that it bugged me, ~~as it would not have bugged~~ a woman. It's on its way to other kinds of grabbing behavior. .... (It bugged you in the way it would not have bugged... <sup>a man?</sup>) that I think it would have not have bugged men -- because it was on the way to ... I couldn't get away from it and I kept trying to sort of shrug off his shoulders -- <sup>grabbing</sup> grabbing behavior of this kind is ~~absolutely~~ <sup>however</sup> fascinating.   
How does it happen?

~~Moreover~~ <sup>P</sup> realistic fears of offenses like rape often constrain women as they consider night-time jobs at good pay or staying late at the office. I've had this reported ~~any number of~~ <sup>many</sup> times. A woman psychiatrist <sup>from NY</sup> came in yesterday saying she can't do her private practice in her home because "... with men?" I asked her -- did she take men patients? She said: Yes, but not at home, and ~~so on~~. I have ~~all kinds of hor-~~ <sup>heard</sup> ~~rible,~~ sick incidents. There was a Black student who came in last week who reported a ~~curious and~~ horrible incident in which he had been asked if he had signed up for the use of certain equipment in ~~the~~ <sup>a</sup> big laboratory. Actually he wasn't asked, a professor came in and asked: "You do sign up," and the guy said: "But, I did." And the man said: You're lying and the Black student said: I really did sign up. There's a new system and <sup>the proof is that</sup> the sheet is now being typed by the departmental secretary instead of over by the machine, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> I wondered whether a non-minority student would have been attacked in such an aggressive way? <sup>A</sup> By the same token, there is the case of ~~this last month~~ of a turn over situation where a man who had succeeded here in a position for/ where the secretary that he has inherited along with his managerial office is the top secretary who has been here for years -- a distinguished and very widely respected woman -- he was away on a business trip and called back a couple of weeks ago and said: Josephine where were you? And I called you a half of an hour ago and you weren't in the office! Where were you? And Josephine said: Well, I was out xeroxing remember you sent me this tremendous pile of things to get out for the class tomorrow. He called back within five minutes to a receptionist in the department who had been at M.I.T. only a few weeks and said: Where in fact was Josephine? I submit again, that that's a kind of ~~sick~~ <sup>unbalanced</sup> behavior,

which has an under lying sexism.

Another horrible case<sup>1</sup> <sup>nearby</sup> was the case of a bio-statistics class where, if you can believe it in the beginning of the year, the first subject matter brought up to illustrate the use of bio-statistics -- was the VD experiment on Black males in the South where all the Third World students got up and walked out. <sup>From</sup> From the men working in early childhood came a whole host of incidents -- a guy with two years of experience working with three year olds who applied for a job at an early childhood educational center was told that men could not be hired for work with children under the fourth grade because it wasn't suitable which I submitted again is a kind of <sup>unhealthy</sup> ~~sick~~ sexist behavior -- it's implication that men would do damage to little kids. And another of a different guy from the same school. He said: Oh, at the group he said, you went to that place, well, let me tell you what happened to me he said: I went for a long interview and he recounted a very distinguished background in early childhood education and lot of experience and they were supposed to hire him and they said: What age would you like to teach next year? And he said: <sup>his</sup> ~~the alternative~~ experience was with four and five year olds but he would be interested in going one year younger to teach three, four, five year olds. He came back in to teach the following month and found that he was signed to teach third, fourth and fifth grade.

But, in a way, the nastiest incident of this that I recall from those male-sexism <sup>concerns</sup> ~~lists~~ was the case of a Black male in Boston -- this was last year -- who applied again with experience, who applied for work at a large early childhood -- a large child care system and

he sat down for a very unpleasant and aggressive interview with a White woman who said: What kind of male image do you think you are going to be presenting to the Black children in the system? ~~And~~ I had to <sup>play that over to myself</sup> ~~hear that~~ a couple of times before I realised -- to my shame -- it took me a while to realize what the question meant. How subtle and ugly this kind of sexism and racism can be. Another comes from an academic male in an unnamed local institution in 1974 who said and I quote: "Not everybody acts on their fantasies. We may after all often daydream of raping someone, of rich desserts, or even of hitting somebody. We don't have to act on our fantasies." The lady who heard this said: <sup>to me</sup> raping someone, rich desserts or even hitting somebody ...<sup>??</sup> Another one from a professor here at M.I.T. ~~to me this is a first hand one~~ ... commenting on how we were lowering quality by bringing in minority students. Would you really want a Black as your surgeon if you were going into the hospital? Another to a women in a laboratory last spring: "Suzie Q what you need is a good hot injection. That will cure you." The humanities professor at M.I.T. who requested the one female student to transfer <sup>away</sup> from his section because she cramped his style. That was last year. The metallurgy professor who wouldn't recognize the raised hand of a female student. (I went to this guy and he has since changed his mind.) ~~That's the women student saying that she went to him.~~ There's another instance of an administrator who said to his newly assigned female colleague: What do you mean we want to be friends. We can't be friends -- you're a woman! and he then went on to proposition her steadily for a couple of months and finally said: Look, if you want to know me baby it's got to be all the way.

And yet another incident from a couple of weeks ago in which it was assumed that a theft from a laboratory was <sup>by</sup> the one Black in the class.

Just to wind up -- I include psychiatric problems with racist and sexist manifestations and the minutiae of discrimination which tilt the atmosphere against women and minorities in educational institutions. Although some psychiatric problems are, of course, major and actionable matters, most racist and sexist psychiatric difficulties will simply add to the day to day minutiae. Men who expose themselves, who will not take no from an intended student date, who threaten and harass obscenely by telephone, who pick on handicapped women, who lie repeatedly to the women around them, who go into rages of withdrawal on apparently little provocation, or who try to arouse a woman's guilt or worry about her care for her family or her femininity <sup>only</sup> ~~will~~ rarely get to court. By the same token Whites who refuse to interview Blacks for lab jobs here - who will never have any kind of social or human contact with the Blacks around them here, who systematically forget Black budget items, who continually council <sup>sel</sup> Blacks into undemanding jobs and undemanding careers ~~among their M.I.T. students~~, the Whites in Boston who defy the courts in Boston or who beat up Blacks in jail as police people -- these people also obviously <sup>do</sup> ~~will~~ <sup>usually</sup> not go <sup>seem</sup> to court. And yet they ~~are~~ "sick" in ways that differentially change the atmosphere for us. Obviously any comprehensive paper on this subject should look at the matter in broader perspective. What of the general depersonalization of American work structure over two hundred years of American history? What of the more specific difficulties always introduced in power relationships

NSB (Chat Pierce) thesis that racism is a mental health issue in the US.



between unequals -- how much of our difficulties of petty sexism and racism are just caused by the fact that women and Blacks are at the bottom of <sup>so many</sup> ~~most~~ ladders. What about sexism in women which affects both men and women and the racism in Blacks, and finally what about the effects <sup>of behavior of</sup> ~~on~~ non-minorities towards minorities, on men as well as on women? What happens to people who look at other human beings without seeing them, who harass and exploit and render poor service or who vent certain kinds of illness differentially on Blacks and women. All of these questions, of course, need sober and serious study and we are just beginning to ask the questions as they relate to discrimination. I have written a good deal more about what I think the effects on us are and why they occur. Why they <sup>seem</sup> ~~are~~ so subtle; why they are so hard to get rid of; what I think that women and Blacks ought to do in this situation. But, I think, I've run over long as it is. I think I will just summarize it by saying that I think that the laws of the country <sup>have not made</sup> ~~don't make~~ much difference and have had <sup>little</sup> ~~no~~ demonstrable impact over the last few years on <sup>the numbers of non traditional</sup> ~~number of bodies and~~ <sup>people</sup> ~~and~~ faculties in the United States, on the wage gaps between men and women and on the relative status achieved by minorities in <sup>id</sup> ~~paid~~ employment. ~~And that~~ I think that a lot of it has to do not with <sup>easily</sup> ~~readily~~ actionable problems but with all of the grains of sand.

Saturn's Rings: Grains of Sand and Bits of Ice

( A case study)

1973

Margaret McIntyre came early into the office to call a would-be transfer student she'd been trying hard to get long-distance. "This is Dr. Margaret McIntyre" she said to the operator, "person-to-person to Everett Snow." "Margaret McIntyre with a call for Dr. Snow," said the operator to the student's roommate. As she waited, she thumbed through the day's mail.

Dr. M. P. McIntyre  
Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences  
Worcestershire University ...

Dear Sir:

We believe that a man in your distinguished position ...

She dropped the form letter into her waste basket. Another letter inviting "graduate students and their wives" to a picnic. Alas - what of all the graduate students and their husbands? A note from the Women's Association that they'd been told the year's budget could not handle lockers needed for the newly-formed women's crew. Women would have to dress in their rooms, race 1/2 mile to the rapidly chilling riverbank, work out, and then run back to change before classes. Or else use the men's lockers - but that just isn't thinkable. "Those poor kids," she thought. "Already they can't use the pool in prime hours, play mixed squash, get to the trainer's quarters through the men's locker room. And somehow we need to find money for new women's bathing suits; the men have them." Margaret leafed through a new issue of her professional journal wishing she had time to keep up. An ad leapt out at her: a full-page nude with

a caption "Product X doesn't lie down under pressure." Another caught her eye - a picture of a naked woman wearing a Viking helmet and holding a shield over her torso with the caption "protection for vital parts." A familiar ripple of hurt rolled over her, mixed with anger. Time spent writing protests was time away from keeping up with her academic duties. Yet someone needed to point out that science and engineering journals would be improved by pictures of professional women, rather than ... well, what would be the word? ... "prostituted women," she whispered softly to herself.

Everett Snow's roommate seemed to have forgotten the call. After 10 minutes Margaret hung up. Nearly nine o'clock. If she was to get to her first meeting on time she'd have to hurry the several minutes it took to get to the nearest women's room in this formerly male institution. Funny. She'd just accepted this small annoyance. Until that group of students in physics complained of five-hour exams on the third floor of Stotter Hall, where the only women's room was three flights and two long halls away, and they weren't permitted to use the nearby men's rooms ...

Margaret pulled her stockings up smooth. This morning had been windy and the offices were at 62<sup>o</sup>; she wished she dared wear a warm pants-suit. But the meeting with the trustees was important to everyone. No use setting the old Chairman to wondering about her sex-life. He had seemed so relieved that she was married and had children, when he interviewed her. There and then she'd instructed herself to stay in skirts. Let's see, drop by Vice President Browne's office to see his assistant Merrilee Werth, for the meeting's agenda.

As she came in, Dean Jones poked his head in. "Hello, Merrillee Browne!" and then, "Wow!" He stopped, staring at Merrillee's legs. "I haven't seen you in a skirt before," he faltered, continuing to stare as he backed out, half pretending to leer, half-leering. The door closed. Merrillee turned speechless to Margaret. "I've asked him over and over to call me by my own name," said Merrillee, "and, dammit, I wear skirts a lot, just haven't done for several weeks since the weather turned cold. And what business is it of his?" Margaret knew the young women's feminism and shook her head in sympathy. She noticed a new name plate on Merrillee's desk - Mrs. Werth. "Merrillee? - Not Ms. Werth?" Merrillee shook her head. "Mr. Browne had it made for me. I blocked out the "r" but he got very angry. Hey, here's the agenda. I'll be to the meeting in a moment."

Margaret hastened to the meeting room, already full of trustees, many of them new. She felt a twinge of anger that the new trustees were all men but to whom could one complain? They'd graciously thanked her for all her recommendations ... She glanced around, curious to meet Nobel Laureate Platz who had just been named, and surely that was his famous face right by the door? Platz turned to her as she came in. "Oh good" he said, "Now we'll get some coffee." She paused and took a breath, ignore it? get some coffee? Just then Robert Browne came in with Merrillee Werth and began introductions. "Dr. Platz," he said, "Dean Smythe, Professor Cabot, Dr. Lyman, Dr. Margaret McIntyre." "Oh and Merrillee. You know all the others." Margaret just looked at Merrillee. She wondered how she could bring up the matter of names. It was especially difficult because she liked and admired

Robert Browne and knew that he was making huge efforts to support equal opportunity for women and minorities.

The meeting progressed. After an hour on academic policy, Platz turned to Margaret. "Before we finish, Dr. McIntyre, do you want to add the woman's point of view?" She shook her head wincing inside at "the woman's point of view." Be quiet, she told herself, be polite, the next issue was more important; she had to present the need for a woman gynecologist. But oops, what was that? After all, she decided to speak out on the academic policy problem - there was a serious budget implication the newer men had not known of. There was a pause for her to speak ... then the men's conversation swirled on without acknowledging her point. Just as she wondered if she'd have to raise it again, Browne summarized the discussion and said "But gentlemen we must in fact consider the vital budgetary implications that Cabot mentioned." Margaret felt her familiar sense of the surreal as she wondered about Cabot sitting silently next to her. Did he notice that her budget point had been attributed to him? She was real, she reminded herself. Just now and then invisible.

She presented the need for a woman OB-GYN specialist. Student complaints... the young woman with infection following an IUD perforation who was told she couldn't leave the infirmary for the evening "because she was not yet ready to go out and screw." The men looked puzzled and concerned. "But if she had a VD infection, surely she was not ready to have relations?" asked Dr. Wright. Margaret drew breath. How to explain that the student had wanted to go to the Library ... and that there seemed to

have been too many IUD perforations ... and that it was not VD, and that the women just wanted a woman gynecologist, who by the way, might speak to them without the rough familiarity of the man now there.

At the end of the meeting the men hastened off to the Faculty Club grouping themselves into lunch companions. Margaret returned to her office feeling both left out and glad to be alone. She was not up to the flirting of Dean Smythe for one thing. Ever since their turfs had begun to collide a little she had remarked an increasing tendency for him to sexualize their relationship. Worse yet, she easily identified in herself a reciprocal tendency to re-establish ordinary male-female dominance patterns whenever she found herself in competitive situations with men. She knew she found it easy to flirt with Smythe and was annoyed with herself. This was after all a remarkably good institution for women professionals and she had an obligation to keep her mind on her job and do it really well.

A shy woman poked her head in. "I'm Linda" she began, and stopped. Margaret was used to the occasional anonymous caller, and nodded warmly to the chair beside her. Secretaries, programmers, waitresses - all the women in the university sought her out. Over the following hour Linda's story tumbled out. She had been a secretary here for many years. In the neighboring library worked a computer specialist whose work often brought him past her cubicle. He was exposing himself, she had once complained to his supervisor, it had stopped, then started again in 1960. "This has been going on since 1960?" Yes, and she had finally come to the Dean of

Arts and Sciences because now the man was getting bolder and Linda was afraid to go to a male administrator and there were no other female administrators.

Later on in the Medical office, talking with the chief psychiatrist on Linda's case, Margaret was assured they would call in the computer man. "But remember, it's probably just her fantasy. After all, since 1960 ... wouldn't the woman have done something about this?" Margaret mused on this question. Was it that the doctor couldn't handle aggression against women or that once again a woman had failed to stand up for her rights? Or both? Or maybe the doctor was wisely seeing both sides? Or maybe the woman had known nothing would be done?

It was easy to believe any or all of these explanations. Margaret remembered the Self-Defense Handbook just distributed by campus police to the women. The police were exceptionally good here; the booklet wasn't really bad. Yet it was illustrated with diagrams of smiling women considering the rise in crime statistics; it abjured women against "provoking rape" by wearing "conspicuous clothing in dark areas" - what man got raped for wearing conspicuous clothing in dark areas? It recommended shouting and scratching - kicking a rapist in the groin with intent to injure was not included in this polite booklet. She reminded herself that many men have a hard time dealing with aggression against women.

But, she thought, what about Linda? An hour later, with a call from Psychiatry confirming Linda's story, Margaret wondered again about the

extent to which women will simply take abuse. If Linda had stated her feelings earlier, would someone have listened? Musing, she opened a letter from Mary White, yet another secretary who had come in about dealing with a man, in this case her boss. She sighed over this latest letter, remembering the first two:

Letter One

This morning I gently asked my boss how he would feel if I said that I would like to be addressed as Miss White by those whom I feel I must call by their title and last name - that he had never invited me to call him by his first name and I had not felt I could request it - (polite silence) - that I had come to realize I felt hurt and demeaned - (oh?) - and would he mind if I tried to be called Miss White by the faculty with whom I deal.

Letter Two

The gist of his answer: no, I don't mind, but I really think there's going to be difficulty with this - we have so many cultures meeting here among the group, that some people may resist this. He agreed I have the right to feel this way, and to try to amend it, but he did not offer or agree to do anything about it himself.

Letter Three

... it (the request) apparently had a zero, even negative, effect, because he has been very clearly calling me Mary ever since. My feeling is that he was mightily embarrassed, and therefore somewhat angry - and that if I press it further I will be penalized if not eased out. I am reluctant to press. And, as I think I mentioned, this is a very complex person who I don't think means to hurt.



As she put the letters away, Margaret realized that many women do try to change matters, but often without results.

What was she to do with the grains of sand? Painters propositioning students, employment agency people "accidentally" ignoring her requests for part-time help, the alumni up in arms about the increase in numbers of women students. She winced thinking of the alumni - and the alumnae. The alumni office was upset at the thought of more women students because alumni give more money than alumnae. A problem worth considering all right. But she wasn't sure she yet knew the dimensions of the problem since she'd just learned that wife's gifts were always registered in their husband's names, and many of the women graduates had married men graduates.

She considered again her last week. A woman protesting that only men could participate in the diet experiments - once again the medical "norms" would be male medical norms. Three students came in alleging that women were graded lower than men by a professor in the Divinity School. How would she sort out that one? Grading examinations identified by number would be hard to sell to the faculty she thought ... and would further impersonalize the school.

Was she spending too much time thinking about all this? Maybe it was hopeless anyway. She remembered the professor with whom she spent two hours of her finest tact, who left after graciously discussing his recent behavior with women students saying, "But it is a man's world - they might as well get used to it." The nearby university president who said to her last night at dinner, "But university finances are stretched beyond belief and we can get

faculty wives as assistant professors without having to pay them as much as we pay breadwinners. Should we just go with the market?"

You can't fight on everything she said to herself. As a younger woman she had thought she had just ignored all this. Competence will make its own way she had thought and we all have plenty of serious professional work, without taking on petty things. I want to be a first-class Dean, not a first-class woman Dean, with the "woman's point of view." If I'm not careful, soon I'll just be inventing slights when none are meant. On the other hand ...

WHAT TO DO IF YOU FEEL HARASSED? TALK IT OVER:

1970's

PLEASE TELL SOMEBODY

Mary P. Rowe, Ph.D.  
Special Assistant to the President

Q. Where Can I Go? Should I Really Bother Anyone Else?

If you feel harassed and offended, it nearly always helps to talk it over with some responsible person at MIT. If you "bottle it up," you may begin to blame yourself unreasonably, your work may become less effective; you may oscillate between hating the offender and hating yourself. If you talk it over with some responsible person here, you will probably feel better, you may learn how to handle the problem; MIT may be able to help stop the harassment and prevent its recurrence. There are lots of people to help.

Consider peer resources. They can be especially useful if you are wondering what really happened. ("Did I see it right?") If someone you trust is right there, a fellow student may help a lot in working through whether you should be "tolerating diversity" or protesting offensive behavior. Student resources also include Nightline (253-7840) which operates from 7 p.m. to 7 a.m. on a confidential basis; the Minority Student Group (253- ), Association of Women Students (253- ), GAMIT (253-5440). In student dorms consider student government officers and judicial committee members. To see if your department presently has an organized group of women and/or minority students, check with the department secretary, or Deans Jeanne Richard and John Turner.

Carefully consider faculty resources. Often your advisor, housemasters, tutors or other friendly instructors will be very helpful. Department Heads are usually exceptionally helpful for graduate students and for undergraduates in a class or lab setting. The UROP, ESG and Concourse offices, course heads, graduate student officers in each department, and lab directors are all appropriate for relevant complaints and concerns.

Various support services will also help you. (Students who feel harassed and upset may wish to check in with one or more offices.) The Dean for Student Affairs staff, the Graduate School Office, Campus Patrol, the nurses, physicians, psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers of the Medical Department, and the religious counsellors are all supportive. If you are in any doubt about where to go, contact one of the Special Assistants to the President. Each handles many

cases of harassment.

If you feel very confused and upset it may help first to talk with some trusted person from home: a parent, spouse, teacher or religious counsellor. We hope in addition you will seek out responsible people at MIT. Ordinarily we can find some way to help you without unduly compromising your privacy or the rights of others. Feel free to come in with an MIT colleague if you wish.

Q. What Is MIT's Attitude With Respect To Harassment Complaints?

Any MIT office you approach has several interests: to help the offended person, to protect the rights of everyone who may be involved, to prevent harassment and in other ways foster the welfare of the MIT community. Ordinarily this will mean either supporting you to take action, or MIT's taking some agreed-on action, but we recognize that you may want just to talk a problem over in confidence and then forget it.

We care very much about your privacy. We also try to hold to conventional standards of proof in protecting the rights of alleged offenders. Sometimes these constraints make it appear difficult to act since in most harassment complaints the offended person wants privacy and since there is usually no conclusive proof of the offense. Indeed the fact that most offended persons fear there is no possible useful action keeps many people from reporting harassment in the first place. Over time however we have found that there is often something that can be done, to stop harassment and to prevent future harassment, that does not infringe on privacy and on the rights of others. We believe therefore that it is always worthwhile to discuss your concern with some responsible person here.

Q. What Will Happen When I Come Into An MIT Office?

Most people begin with an informal visit on a confidential basis. If you then wish to lodge a formal complaint, the person you go to will help you to do so. Student to student complaints within a living group may go formally to a house meeting, a judicial committee, to tutors and housemasters, to the Dean's Office, to the Committee on Discipline, to Campus Patrol or to one of the Special Assistants to the President. Formal student to student complaints outside the living groups could go as relevant also through other channels; your best advisors would be the Dean's Office, the Graduate School Office or a Special Assistant. Formal student-faculty or student-employee complaints go through the line of supervision of the alleged offender.

Formal complaints would nearly always be in writing and would be conveyed to the alleged offender. If after due process the relevant hearing officers feel action is warranted, the responsibility is theirs to decide action and carry it out.

Nearly all harassment complaints are handled within MIT on an informal basis. This approach appears to work most of the time, probably for many reasons. First, a great many concerns arise from different perceptions and different values. Each of us has grown up within only one given gender and race and cultural history; all of us find it extremely difficult at times to understand how responsible people can behave really differently from ourselves. So discussion of different behavior patterns and what they mean iron out many problems. Second, most people will stop offensive behavior, if directly asked to do so, whether or not they altogether understand the offense. Informal warnings nearly always work and are therefore often worth trying. Third, MIT can often take a generic approach to sensitizing people. For example, a department head or housemaster may invite a speaker or a film to help provoke discussion in a given area.

Which approach you may choose may vary with the situation; you can work this out in the office you decide to visit. The major point is this: Harassment is an unacceptable distortion of the MIT environment. If you feel harassed, and upset, we hope you will talk it over with a responsible person here.

Wiesner and Gray have  
said since 1973:

Mary P. Rowe  
DRAFT  
Sept. 26, 1979

Getting Qualified Black (and Female) Candidates Hired and Promoted

Getting qualified "non-traditional" candidates hired and promoted is a very subtle process. This process, ideally, should happen with non-traditional candidates as it does normally, (via an open network of well-informed sponsors and colleagues, who seek out and court first-rate blacks and women).

First, the hiring group (section or department) needs to decide that it actually must and will do something about affirmative action. For moral, legal and/or practical reasons, minority status must come to be valued in and of itself, in addition to scholarly excellence. This may happen in different ways with different people: some will feel an address to our inheritance of racism (and sexism) is morally required. Some will "comply with the law." Some will simply feel that first class education and research in this society requires a significant minority faculty presence among minority and non-minority students and colleagues, and significant numbers of women. Some will find life at MIT more comfortable, in terms<sup>of</sup> the approbation of the senior administration if they comply with AA. Some would like special incentives to hire non-traditional people.

All of these reasons for affirmative action can constitute effective incentives within the community; all need to be laid out

frequently, formally and informally, at every level of administration and within departments.

The search process, to be effective, must overcome two major problems. It must discover qualified minorities\* who are relatively invisible and/or those with unusual but sufficient credentials. And it must be credible to minorities so that they will believe in MIT as a desirable work place. Both goals require a steady-state, active search process engaged in by as many department members as possible: All non-minority faculty and major administrators should be encouraged to introduce themselves to all minority professionals they meet or hear about. These introductions and acquaintanceships serve many purposes:

1) Some whites at MIT may for the first time, this way, meet black peers. Having a Black peer is a major step in reducing racist stereotyping in whites;

2) Some MIT faculty will find minority professionals in this way, who may be appropriate for jobs here;

3) Some minority professionals may come to view us more favorably as a work place for themselves and other colleagues;

4) At the very least each non-minority person here will begin to build her (his) own minority network for use when jobs come open and formal search committees form.

All the reasons above will help bring us credible minority candidates whom someone here notices and cares about and will follow through with--for hiring, promotion, and so on.

\*The following discussion may be taken to apply to affirmative hiring of all "non-traditional" faculty.

At the same time that we encourage a steady-state, one-to-one, minority network-building process, we need to give thought to the composition of once-only search committees.

Effective search committees have a "critical mass" of members who "notice" affirmative action questions at least most of the time. Such persons could be minority scholars from in and outside MIT, the departmental EO officer, and whites who have black colleagues and have really internalized what some of the questions are.

How to be sure search committees have such members? The Academic Council can ask, in the pre-search process, who on the Search Committee is prepared to give special attention to AA. Senior officers may sometimes be able personally to help recruit possible candidates. Visiting committee members may help—and nudge—search committees, if we see to it that visiting committees have adequate numbers of non-traditional members. Department heads, Deans and other members of the senior administration may be able in a friendly way to keep EO issues alive as a search progresses.

*Wiesner  
example*

Possibly some searches could be noted by the department or Academic Council members as particularly likely or important for a special affirmative action push. This might happen in the wake of known slipups or when a department head or senior officer feels special incentives are appropriate. For example, MIT might contribute the first year of salary for new minority professors and/or set aside a larger pool of salary



funds for visiting professors who are minorities. And successful departments could be especially rewarded.

Several department heads suggest the importance of defining "turf" as widely as possible for each search. Conversely the Academic Council should at least query any pre-search proposal which specifies a turf very tightly. Several department heads and others suggest that each section develop comprehensive lists of minority men and women around the world. These lists should include very young scholars all the way through superstars. Periodically a section head might review the list with the President, and other relevant section and department heads here (or even at Harvard), with a view toward generating invitations, honors, contacts of all kinds.

Another specific suggestion is that MIT departments which have led the nation in graduating some of the first black Ph.D.s in their fields might waive the tradition of our not hiring our own. (If we waited for other schools to catch up to us in every area of accomplishment.....)

Finally, we would like to raise the suggestion that search committees consider proposing several black candidates for given jobs, where appropriate. Where a final selection is made among several on a short list, it may help to have a choice of minority candidates on the short list. For whites who have never known a black peer it can help swiftly to overcome the credibility gap, to meet simultaneously several fully qualified non-traditional people.

With respect to promotion and tenure there can be no substitute for support within the department. Each junior, "non-traditional" faculty member should be watched over by her (his) department head. The head should be certain that junior faculty members have mentors. Each junior person, in turn, should be counselled and encouraged to seek multiple helping relationships among sponsors here at MIT and also elsewhere. These guides and mentors will help with standards of excellence, help with contacts and grant proposals, counsel, commiserate, comfort and befriend.

The best mentors, of course, are likely to arise amongst those doing steady state, active recruitment among minority scholars elsewhere. We might even help to break down invisibility barriers beyond MIT if we all participated? Suppose each one of us made a personal commitment, now, to find and get to know, one new minority colleague every year.....?

Further Notes on Type 3 Phenomena

(Mary P. Rowe)

1979  
for AC  
members

Type 3 phenomena span a very wide range, from sexually-oriented jokes and occurrences that genuinely appear not to bother anyone, to apparently "petty" problems which are quite controversial. It is obvious, of course, that sexual harassment lies in the eye of the beholder. For example, a professor who uses a nude woman <sup>slide</sup> in his otherwise technical slide presentation has "crossed the line" for most women in this community, though perhaps not for most men.

In imagining a "Type 3" at all, I am deliberately classing together problems about which our society has no consensus, no common view, and which do not appear to have caused immediate, serious damage. Taken together, Type 3 phenomena clearly do however "tilt the atmosphere" for women (or for the group around which they are focussed, for example, blacks). They appear to some extent to maintain sexism (and racism) and to make life harder for our non-traditional colleagues, along the lines set forth in "Saturns Rings."

If a concern brought to my office appears to me to be highly controversial, (i.e., would not bother most people), but has caused a woman to lose a lot of sleep or leave a class, I would call it Type IV. I have no instance of this kind in the 1978-79 group but would feel that in general the alleged victim represents the most valid calibration mechanism.

It can also happen that behavior occurs which nearly everyone would find excessively vulgar and unprofessional, which

appears not to cause much serious damage except in the subtle sense of "tilting the atmosphere." This in fact probably happens a good deal and is simply not reported. An example here would be a man who sometimes exposes himself. The women around him do not ask for him to be punished, they are not particularly shocked anymore, they only report it now and then and only because they are afraid their colleague might be in trouble. They treat his illness with casual compassion, and I would be surprised to hear that his problem is causing any serious damage at MIT to anyone except himself.

It is, thus, difficult to differentiate between Type 3 and Type 4. Type 3 behavior, because it is focussed on gender, amalgamates to some degree of unequal opportunity for women in a traditionally male environment. But the extent of its undesirability is controversial. Type 4 incidents cause damage by themselves, the damage seems "measurable," and probably very few members of the MIT community would condone Type 4 incidents.

I attach a copy of "Saturns Rings" which includes hypotheses about the systematic damage caused by "micro-inequities." The "Rings" analysis differentiates amongst incidents in a different typology from the Types I-IV outlined earlier. The "Rings" analysis differentiates among incidents according to an estimate of the level of intentions of the harasser. How conscious an offense was this? Did the perpetrator of an incident (or the victim) know what was happening? Was injury intended?

The "Rings" paper also discusses many kinds of inhumanities other than sexual harassment. It may therefore be useful to provide a <sup>wider</sup> perspective on what I call sexualization issues.

Where M.I.T. Fits In

2/1980

(Mary P. Rowe)

In the last seven years I have spent a good deal of time listening to concerns brought in by hundreds of women from other universities and corporations. I have consulted widely around the country and also frequently discussed sexual harassment questions with the New England Concerns Committee for Women, a professional association of women administrators in higher education in this region. I have worked together with the local Alliance Against Sexual Coercion, one of the two major groups of its kind in the U.S.

I am persuaded, on the basis of the data I have, that MIT is either no different from most organizations with respect to harassment of women, or somewhat better, but certainly not worse. At the moment our record with respect to criminal incidents seems to be much better than average. We know we are dealing with women's concerns much more frequently and sooner than is the case at most other institutions. We have adopted a wide range of training and "public education programs" about women and men in educational and employment contexts. And the advancement of women at MIT, in terms of numbers of women and promotion, ranks favorably with that in all other comparable institutions I know of. Finally, the very fact that we are "planning for the future" with respect to our gender relations, in a non-crisis context, seems to me a non-trivial symbol of the extent to which MIT can feel proud rather than dismayed by the present CEP concerns with sexual harassment.

My view is that we do have a serious sexual harassment problem, which would almost certainly grow if ignored, which in the aggregate constitutes unequal opportunity for women and inhumanity for many men and women. I also believe we can have a major effect on this problem on our own environment and can, (again) help lead the country, in this area.

In the 70's

lights were off  
on Memorial Drive.

I offered to  
call the Electric  
Company.



*Memorandum from the  
Office of the President*

**MARY P. ROWE, Ph.D.**  
*Special Assistant to the President*

**M.I.T., Room 10-213**

TO MPR

Re: LIGHTS

Memorandum from the Office of the  
PRESIDENT

Special Assistant to the President

M.I.T. 10-213

Dec 12

MARY - HOW WOULD YOU LIKE  
TO TEACH A SECTION OF 6,002  
(I'LL TA).? AND JOU HAS  
ALWAYS SAID EES CAN DO

Dear Paul

I told

my wife was on the  
line for next Tuesday.  
Electric ANYTHING / NOT EVERY  
THING.

I explained my boss  
isn't the normal univer-  
sity president, but an EE.

They laughed when  
I asked about the lamps  
in series. They believe  
these lamps were  
personally installed  
by Thomas Edison,  
using Civil War equip-  
ment.

When the new  $H_2$  or Na  
lamps are put in,

Memorandum from the Office of the  
PRESIDENT

Special Assistant to the President

M.I.T. 10-213

They offer us a look  
at the originals. They  
think <sup>MIT</sup> EE's would  
be truly daunted. I  
said nothing daunts  
an MIT EE; would they  
like a few students  
to help?

They say their pride  
is on the line and  
the crew will be out  
again tomorrow.

Yours, X

McOutage  
her mark

MARY P. ROWE  
Special Assistant to the President

DEC 13 1985

Ref. to  
File

June 27, 1973

Prof. Hale Bradt  
Dean Peter Büttner  
Mr. James Culliton  
Dean Carola Eisenberg  
Dr. Paul Gray  
Prof. Robert Halfman

Dr. Merton Kahne  
Prof. Tom Sheridan  
Mr. Constantine Simonides  
Ms. Nancy Wheatley  
Mr. John Wynne

Notes on the June 27th Counseling Meeting

Dear Friends:

Many thanks for your coming today. I often feel I'm just re-inventing wheels and I'm grateful for advice, and your sense of history, as well as a chance to participate in new planning.

A much-too-brief summary, for your comment and amendment:

I sensed an over-all concern with depersonalization of relationships at the Institute and atomization of process. As a policy consideration it would lead us to avoid any further breakdown of social rituals, dinners, processes, meeting places - and to consider further (re-) institution of personal commitments to individuals and groups, and further rites, rituals or hilarities.

Groups held to be at risk, and/or particularly isolated were: foreign students and faculty, graduate students, students receiving poor grades.

Processes held worthy of review were: the occurrence of student evaluation only at the end of semesters, the position of women at different stages of student careers, the enforced intimacy in some dorms between men and women, the swift development of certain intimacies among today's students, wider and more frequent meetings of those who deal with students, more information provided to those who deal with students.

In addition Carola raised the possibility of liaison between some of the Institute's caring people and dorm floors. And Mert raised the necessity for providing "reasonable redundancy" of contact in our lives so that students have different kinds and locations and styles of support and friendships available. Pete suggested more theoretical modelling of what we believe is going on.

You'll find this summary abruptly short and probably too inaccurate even for an aide-memoire. But can we go on?

For instance it brought to my mind further reconsideration of grading. We mark "wrong" what is wrong, give over-all grades which purposely rank students against each other. Suppose evaluations were used positively. For example we could mark correct answers right. And instead of grades: "You are now ready for Physics IIIb, and you'd be well-advised to re-read Professor Magnet's fine book on Mathematics for Plasma Students." "You are not yet ready for the next semester. Please re-read Booklet Two and return to see me." Would there be any professors willing to try it, or try 2 systems (blind) on randomly-divided classes? Would this kind of positive use of the evaluation system help reduce depression?

Yours,

Mary P. Rowe

MPR:ap

October 29, 1973

Dean Richard A. Lester  
Industrial Relations Section  
Princeton University  
P. O. Box 248  
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Richard Lester:

I have read and re-read your proposal for arbitration of university affirmative action problems. As you know I am in principle very much interested in exploring this possibility. I have a number of comments.

You might wish to consider making explicit your (our) concern that internal university procedures be developed to obviate the necessity for most suits and outside grievance procedures. You might for instance consider making your proposal part of a larger study or demonstration project or recommendation on The Handling of Affirmative Action Concerns in Universities. Other parts of the proposal could be ways of improving feedback from bottom to top on all affirmative action problems and multiple innovations in "equal opportunity" procedures. I am, I guess, uncomfortable about a proposal which addresses only "alternative surgery" without exploring the health hazards that produce the need for surgery.

As you know I am concerned with the problems you lucidly set forth on page one. I would like to add to this list. As presently set up the instruments available to eradicate sexism and racism are gross and costly for women and minorities. The costliness and the grossness are themselves two separate sources of inequality of opportunity.

To the extent that one considers discrimination to be entirely a one-way offense and also immoral, it is unreasonable to require the victims to pay for their relief. Although many people consider that discrimination against women does have some sources in the victims themselves, I feel that by and large women are required to pay more of the real psychic and social costs of suits than would be "just." Many people might feel this point to be a stronger example of inequity with respect to minorities.

The problem of the grossness of our procedures to eradicate discrimination is probably a worse source of inequity. I believe sexism and racism are predominantly Saturn's Ring phenomena (I attach a brief discussion.) That is, the barriers to the planet Saturn look heavy and solid but in fact are (thought to be) predominantly grains of sand and bits of ice. Effective barriers they are, especially to vision, but amenable to bombing they are not. Many women and minorities especially at places like Harvard, believe that the only effective means for change are through the heavy-handed, adversary proceedings of a court, but court proceedings are not suited to our real needs for a variety of informal inquiry and grievance procedures.

This problem constitutes an inequity from sexism or racism to the extent that women and minorities perceive that only suits will move an institution. This is so because a woman or minority person who has a "real" grievance at an imaginary level of, say, 22% must either put up with it (no suit) or go to court, which on my scale is a cost of 100%, in time, money, energy and received hostility. There is a serious inequality of opportunity engendered by our failure to design a more reasonable continuum of procedures to handle the continuum of problems; (white males are not required to choose between accepting sexism or over-paying for its eradication.) As you and I both know moreover, over-kill leads to a whole new succession of problems. Thus I would feel good about noting in the Preamble to your proposal, that one reason to put forward the recommendation (or demonstration project or study) on Handling AA Concerns is that our present reliance on court procedures actually perversely creates inequalities. We need court procedures but we also need other mechanisms.

The question of whether many women and minority people are correct in their perceptions that "only suits work" brings me to another point. I gratefully engage in this dialogue with you, in my own interest, to learn yet more of white male perceptions of affirmative action. But even as I learn from you that I need to know more of white male



feelings, I think your proposal may reflect some unrealistic idealism about how many women see men like Dunlop. Perhaps you meant for the moment only to seek arbitration measures that would work for and be acceptable to top administrations and faculty leaders. Also I don't know Jean McKelvey, who I assume is a woman. But the mention of Dunlop anywhere on the East coast would dismay a great many women. Harvard (and Yale) are seen by many to be rather hostile environments - in distinction for instance to Princeton - and Dunlop has the reputation of being an architect and defender of prejudice. Incidentally I like and admire Cox, having arbitrated a serious women's problem with him, and his image on the East Coast is of course currently excellent. But my point would be that you might consider a long list of mediators including many women and minority people. We also need a just method for choosing them, e. g. one by the institution, one by the woman, one by chance from a list agreed by both the woman and the institution.

I feel I may sound a little ungrateful. You come with a good idea to create another (needed) point on the continuum and I ask you "where are all the other points on the continuum?" and then comment both on your justification and on details. So in general let me thank you for including me in the discussion.

With best wishes for your work I am

Very truly yours,

Mary P. Rowe, Ph. D.

MPR:AP

December 12, 1979

S.M. Miller  
Professor of Sociology  
Boston University  
College of Liberal Arts  
96-100 Cummington Street  
Boston, MA 02215

Dear Mike:

You are peachy to ask. We think the main reasons are:

1. Totally unusual top administration, who've worked personally on this every week, 1-2 hours per week;
2. The scientific atmosphere which means  
-people are less subjectively rated;  
-MIT wants not to understand and defend the past, but to design the future; (this also means a number of professors who would like to rid the library of everything more than 11 months old);
3. The women's network, which touches 1/5-1/4 of our total women's community and has similarly benefitted all pay classifications;
4. An upward-feedback, in-house mediation procedure which carries hundreds of concerns a year upward, swiftly;
5. A widening, 1:1 recruitment system;
6. A formidable, informal "mentoring" system;

*"What went right at MIT"?*

*For some progress if not enough*

*(and brought improvements for men)*

S.M. Miller

-2-

December 12, 1979

7. A terrific "Men's Studies Collection," on reserve;  
(do come see it);
8. A group of wonderful women faculty.

Thank you for asking!

Happy holidays and love to Jean.

Sincerely,

Mary Rowe

MPR:CAB

## Women's Affinity Groups

Made subjects acceptable for serious discussion

Real time I onl talking w. people partly because it was so personal

1. Get everyone involved (find everyone affected)  
(It forged a strong network)
2. Do not put down any other woman → discussion from all

(X) would be willing to talk w. others

3. Cast<sup>all efforts</sup> in terms of minorities as well.

1978

Jerome B. Wiesner, President

Page 2

October 16, 1978

interested in our grievance procedure and "upward feedback" system. Carl Kaysen invited me to join an experimental Sloan Commission--Ford Foundation Dispute Resolution Project (see attached). **October 16, 1978** I would like to be sure you approve and also to seek your advice. May I come in to talk?

With warmest regards,

Jerome B. Wiesner, President

MIT

Room 3-208

Sincerely yours,

Dear Jerry:

Mary Rowe

A number of recent events have made me want to come talk with you, if I may, about the structure of my job here. It will have been obvious to you that MIT women have been doing much better, on the whole, than their counterparts in other leading universities. Obviously we have far still to go, especially in research areas, but progress during your Presidency has been swifter than in any other top institution I know of. I feel particularly pleased about the steady if slow progress with women students, faculty and top middle management, and about the relative lack of "polarization" here.

Quite a number of other major institutions and corporations have been inviting me to talk and consult about what we've done here. I should say that there is a widespread view among my women colleagues around the country that you and Paul and Walter and John should be cloned. In addition, there has been particular interest in our grievance mechanism and its consequences here, our mentoring (both the formal and informal systems), and in others of the hundreds of changes at MIT that have resulted from our twin affirmative action and upward feedback systems. Also, several major corporations have been interested in our "mediation" services and approach, and in our very high ratio of "complaints and concerns" (many thousands a year) vs. successful suits against MIT (zero).

There are many characteristics of our system that I feel no hesitancy in recommending widely. For example, your decision to lodge affirmative action at the department level seems to me very important. I also appreciated your directive, years ago, for me to deal directly and immediately with our major line managers which I have found usually very effective. I am also very pleased at our success in teaching junior women how to find (multiple) mentors, in the context of your having made this possible.

But there are other areas where, if I speak in public, I want to be sure that I do so with your approval. For example, women working with President Saxon and Vice-Chancellor Heyman want very much for the University of California to create offices like mine. Vice-Presidents at AT and T are

Jerome B. Wiesner, President

Page 2

October 16, 1978

interested in our grievance procedure and "upward feedback" system. Carl Kaysen invited me to join an experimental Sloan Commission--Ford Foundation Dispute Resolution Project (see attached). Before I go further in these areas, I would like to be sure you approve and also to seek your advice. May I come in to talk?

With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Mary Rowe

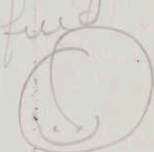
MPR:CAB

American Handbook of Psychiatry  
Volume Two Gerald Caplan, ed.  
Basic Books In NY 1974

2xc

racism?  
cat &  
file

where did  
you find  
it?



CHAPTER 33

# PSYCHIATRIC PROBLEMS OF THE BLACK MINORITY

Chester M. Pierce

Seminal  
work on  
race

Micro  
aggressions

THE MAJOR AND OVERRIDING psychiatric problem of the black minority is the withering effect of racism. Hence the sociocultural and community aim must be to dilute, undercut, and eliminate racism wherever and however it is located. Objective accounts of the results of racism can be found in many places such as Dr. John Norman's<sup>7</sup> book on ghetto medicine. Racism's results can be quantified in terms of statistical comparison between blacks and whites in regard to such indicators as unemployment, mortality rates, longevity, substandard housing, and education level.

Although many problem areas might be selected, this chapter will discuss those problem areas thought to be both most critical and yet least often related to psychological and emotional health. The areas selected include problems concerning mass communication, formal educational channels, demographic patterns, and seeking alternative futures. As each of these areas is discussed a general solution will be suggested in terms of how the black popu-

lation might move to increase its self-esteem, which is the most critical need in America's solving its most pressing domestic issue.

Before addressing these areas, however, a few introductory remarks will be necessary to orient the reader. The reader should know that black psychiatrists may view both the problem areas and their solutions much differently from white colleagues, who in general tend to define the boundaries of psychiatric concern as no larger than those illnesses brought to the attention of the hospital, clinic, or consultation room. Second, the reader should consider that perhaps all that is written about blacks might apply to other nonwhite minorities and maybe even to the white poor. Finally, the reader should realize that since the overall aim of medicine is to help more people live longer and live better, it should not be surprising that the ultimate goal must be for blacks and whites alike to become planetary citizens, who see their province as the entire earth and who function as enlightened cosmopolites. The articulation of this

long-range goal is a problem that has to be kept uppermost in mind while considering the short-term and intermediate goals and the problems that jeopardize their actualization. After defining racism, it will be the latter problem to which we turn.

### The Definition of Racism

Racism in America is the behavior that results from mental attitudes about skin color. In this society all persons, black and white, are barraged by ceaseless efforts that insist that white skin color is superior to black skin color. As a result of this insistence, it is not unusual for any white to be permitted, in terms of unwritten law as well as written law, to exploit, degrade, abuse, humiliate, minimize, terrorize, and tyrannize any black. The mental attitude about skin color, not economic status or social attributes, is what justifies this behavior for the white. Since blacks have been victimized to sustain similar attitudes, all too often they too adopt pro-racist attitudes and behavior in regard to themselves and to whites. Due to pro-racist attitudes in the United States, both blacks and whites do things that permit, promote, encourage, sustain, and insist that whites are superior and blacks inferior.

The fact that this mental attitude cannot be changed even in the face of contrary evidence makes it by definition a delusion. The tragic results of this delusion, afflicting virtually the entire population of this country, has had unsettling effects not only for us in this day but for the entire world now and for some time in the projected future.

A mental illness in which millions have been smitten of course makes racism a public health illness. Similarly, like all public health illnesses, such as smallpox or plague, the medical model would predict that such an illness cannot be treated on a one to one basis, that it would leave in its wake serious sequelae (both in terms of sociocultural and pathophysiological indices), and that it would require large sums of money to eradicate. Naturally, the most effective therapy would be prophylactic

or preventive measures taken before the illness could seize a population. In sum, the society would have to commit itself and its resources to get rid of the pestilence.

Racism so far has been viewed as a mental health and public health problem. Another view that should be glanced at prior to a consideration of the problems of the black minority is that racism is an infectious disease, a perceptual disease, and a lethal disease.

This mental health and public health illness is contagious in the sense that an almost invariable experience is that wherever white Americans gather in concentration, save for exploitation, measures to discriminate and ignore blacks are instituted immediately. On a more commonplace basis, a clinical instance could be cited, such as the relative freedom of racial conflict in a classroom until the arrival of a new child, who presents with vigor his parents' and the societies' actual view of blacks. In such an instance, prolonged and bitter racial conflict ensues. Here old black-white friendships are strained, realigned, and perhaps ruptured, as a class of children in a schoolroom begins to act like the general society, when the only variable presented was the emphatic statements of presumed white superiority over the minority members of the class, who had dark skin. In the private school where this incident occurred, it took literally hours for the black parents to deal with their fifth-grade child as they attempted to aid the child in coping with the vicious dehumanization brought about by this circumstance.

Some things about racism that defy men of good will in coming to grips with the issues are a reflection of perceptual distortion. In almost any instance of a black-white negotiation, the black sees things in one way while the white sees them differently. The white man thinks that to ask a black to consult about a film on blacks after it is made is a grand gesture, and he should be applauded and cheered by a grateful black community. It does not occur to him to utilize such consultation when the film is being written and produced. Nor does it occur to him that blacks should not always have to be grateful.

The most terrible and extreme consequence



of racism is that it kills people—black and white. Black babies starving or being chewed up by rats are an example of a direct and easily visible problem. Less visible but equally fatal are deaths secondary to society's failures, such as those that precipitate drug abuse, the most immediate and pressing biosocial problem of black people. But whites are being killed also by their racism. For instance, a heavy bodily toll must be taken on thousands of whites as they commute back and forth to their outer cities. Much of the motivation for such commuting is to escape living near blacks.

Therefore, as one selects problems of the black minority, one must be aware of the ubiquitous effects of racism, a contagious and lethal mental and public health disease, which is characterized by perceptual distortion and false beliefs about skin color.

### ( Problems of Mass Communication

The mass media more often than not see to it that blacks are portrayed in ways that continue to teach white superiority. The unsophisticated argue how marvelous it is that blacks are now seen regularly in nonmenial as well as menial roles in films and on television. Yet the way blacks are presented on these media, in general, has immeasurable importance in keeping blacks in a reduced status. For instance, a black is more often the server than the served, for example, on a commercial the black pumps the gas while the white drives the car or the black woman is the cab driver while the white man's uncivil remarks give her a headache. The black can be predicted to be less often depicted as a thinking being. For instance, although he is the district attorney in a program, the black solves a case with his fists; an underling, who is a white police lieutenant, uses his brains to solve the same problem. That is, while the district attorney is being beat up, the lieutenant is deploying squad cars, securing laboratory assistance, and reasoning out his next move. Gratuitously,

that is, unnecessarily, the show depicts the lieutenant speaking with a force and an arrogance that would not be tolerated in a real life situation between a district attorney and his subordinate. A public service advertisement tells white and black adults and youths the testimony of white children getting eyeglasses. This resulted in better school grades and increased ability to concentrate. Then one sees a black child testify that getting one's eyes tested is "fun." Thus, the black is seen over and over in such guises as a server and a non-thinking physical creature. Even his own health is attended to only because it is fun and immediate. On the other hand, both whites and blacks are told that whites are clever and far-seeing and attend to their interest because it is intelligent. Further, for all the millions who watch television, essentially it is only a white who controls, decides, and plans.

The black, even while solving his problems at a physical level, is usually shown to be contained, controlled, and inhibited by authority. Often this authority reinforces the true life condition of police control and surveillance of ghettos. At other times, the authority takes improbable forms. For instance, a very popular cartoon show for children, "The Globe-Trotter," shows a group of tractable, handsome black athletes. Yet what the children of the nation see week after week is that such a group of black men are controlled and directed by a small, feisty, white grandmother. Thus, hour after hour, emotional and psychological sets are being molded whereby blacks and whites will accept as usual and routine that even a senescent white woman can boss around, direct, and guide capable black men.

All these and countless other examples show blacks as accommodating, controlled, dependent, and, of course, not creative or original in their thought. However, other mass communications do more of the same. Television is cited first because it happens to use up more of a child's life than school hours. That is, by age sixteen, most children will have spent more hours before a television than in a classroom.

Let us look at other forms of mass media. Movies make similar claims of increased use of

blacks in more dignified roles. As an aside, there can be no solution until blacks can have decision-making input into mass media, instead of merely having increased public exposure. Until this is done, proracist teachings will continue unabated.

As an example of what movies do in terms of the problem under discussion, one can mention a movie entitled *The Landlord*. In this comedy a white man buys a tenement building in a ghetto. Among other adventures he encounters three black women. One woman reaches out and nourishes and protects him, with all the devotion that whites love to recount when they talk about their black "mammies." Another black woman, a beauty, goes to bed with this man the first night she meets him. But it is the third black woman who exemplifies on the screen all the problems we have touched on. She is a black mother. The writers have her initiate an overture to the white hero. When her husband is jailed (significantly, because he was protesting racial ills), she goes to bed with the hero. As a result she is impregnated. When the cuckolded husband returns, he discovers his plight and in justifiable wrath pursues the white. However, even though armed with a weapon, chasing an unarmed man, the black is seen as ineffective. When he finally corners his prey, the mass media producers do not permit the black man to deliver a blow to the white. Instead, this comedy shows the black man paralyzed to act and then immobilized by a straitjacket so he can be carted away in an ambulance. The story does not stop by telling its audiences that blacks, no matter what the provocation, do not resist or cannot give effective resistance to whites. The plot goes on relentlessly, as comedy, to show the white hero living with the black mother while she awaits his child and while her black husband, the political militant, is in a mental institution. Almost all films in movies or on television can be analyzed from such perspectives by blacks. The emotional damage such mass communications do is limitless and unknown.

What the reader must bear in mind is that these assaults to black dignity and black hope are incessant and cumulative. Any single one

may not be gross. In fact, the major vehicle for racism in this country is offenses done to blacks by whites in this sort of gratuitous, never-ending way. These offenses are micro-aggressions. Almost all black-white racial interactions are characterized by white put-downs, done in an automatic, preconscious, or unconscious fashion. These minidisasters accumulate. It is the sum total of multiple microaggressions by whites to blacks that has pervasive effect to the stability and peace of this world.

These offensive maneuvers by whites stem from the mental attitude of presumed superiority. Thus, whites feel they can initiate actions, direct unilateral operations, and control blacks, whom they are told over and over are unthinking, physical creatures dependent and available for entertainment, gratification, and exploitation. Unfortunately, blacks too accept such communications, and by their proracist attitude and behavior they all too often accept the white definition of a black or of a black problem.

Offensive maneuvers are so rampant in this society that one cannot help but witness them each day even in places where the racial component is essentially homogenous. That is, the newspapers, periodicals, radio, and so on all add their weight to the problems emanating from television, movies, films, plays, and musicals. But there are other vehicles that damage, even if no black is a witness.

Whites, for example, would not pause to consider racism in statuary. In liberal and genteel Boston there is a statue of "The Emancipator." An heroic-sized Lincoln wears a beneficent mien and holds a roll of Clio with one hand and extends another hand, as if in a blessing, over a black man on his knees dressed in diapers and wearing chains on his wrists. Since emancipators are common themes in art, one can contrast this statue with renditions of Simon Bolivar seen throughout South America or even in Central Park South in New York or off Canal Street in New Orleans. In these places there is no gratuitous degradation of another human being as homage is given to the subject of the statue. Yet there are on public display few statues or re-

liefs of blacks that do not go to special lengths to assure a viewer that the black is in the inferior role. Even a rendition of a slave, if this is to communicate an historical past, need not show him on his knees in a diaper. Anyone who has viewed the powerful and awesome "Slave" in the square in front of the palace in Port au Prince, Haiti, gets a totally different emotional and psychological impact than from viewing the slave in Boston or the black who walks behind the Teddy Roosevelt equestrian (along with an Indian) in front of the Museum of Natural History in New York.

Space permits only a brief consideration of one more mode of mass communication violence to black people. Again one must not look for the gross and obvious. The subtle, cumulative miniassault is the substance of today's racism. Thus, one must do content analysis of newspapers or periodicals in order to reckon the violence done daily to blacks. Even on sports pages white rookie athletes are hailed as certainties in their professions because they "understand the game" or "can think out a problem." Black rookie athletes are applauded for their vaunted "raw power and speed" or "blinding fast ball." Presumably, white athletes think and black athletes rely only on bodily prowess.

Yet the corrosive influences of biased content are placed more effectively and more constantly on news pages. Here, for instance, an ambiguous caption under a picture of a white woman may give the impression that a black attacked her when in fact her assailant's color is unknown. Or by clever placement, in areas where most readership concentrates, an episode sympathetic to blacks is markedly counterbalanced by an outraged innuendo about a black political figure.

The solution to the problems caused by mass media lies in developing ways for every black American to become expert in the analysis of propaganda. Once this is done blacks will relate at entirely different levels to themselves and to the majority. Every community psychiatrist therefore should inform himself of the fundamentals of propaganda so that he can be in an advisory and educative role in helping masses of blacks understand

and dilute, if not counteract, the ceaseless brainwashing that goes on via mass communications with the conscious as well as unconscious design to keep blacks ineffective, passive, hopeless, and helpless. In addition, psychiatrists must find ways to help blacks eliminate microaggressions used by all mass media and copied in white-black real life encounters.

But that effort only reaches one aspect of the system. Blacks must be more than propaganda analysts and change agents for mass media. They must also act to make the school system fail.

### ( Problems Due to Formal Education Channels

The formal education channels must stop turning out defeated, demoralized, passive, poorly skilled blacks. When this is done, blacks will be able to operate in an effective, cooperative manner that will make useless the debate about whether blacks should integrate or segregate.

Yet at this moment in history we must deal with the reality that most blacks go to segregated, inferior schools that are phenomenally successful in their mission. The mission of a school is to prepare children for their sociocultural and political reality as adults. In this democracy, the sociocultural and political reality is that every black is a disenfranchised, second-class citizen. The schools must be congratulated for meeting this mission with such thorough success. If masses of blacks truly believed the mouthings about democracy that American schools and mass media proclaim to the world, one could not have generation after generation of black masses accepting their second-class disenfranchisement with complacency and accommodation and often even with incredibly good cheer. If the schools had not succeeded in preparing the great mass of blacks to accept their situation and function as passive aggregations, there would already have been a gigantic counterviolence to white violence. But instead, despite the impressions one gains from the mass media, the problem is

not that too many blacks are psychologically militant but on the contrary that, thanks to the schools and the mass media, most blacks are docile and accepting. It is, therefore, of interest and importance to understand how the school system can conduct such a distinctly successful program that masses of blacks are psychologically prepared to accept all sorts of ruthless, antidemocratic practices in a land that has boasted about its democratic practices from its beginnings, when it became the world's leading slave state, to the present, when most of the people on the globe consider it the world's leading aggressor state. It is not without exaggeration to expect that if black Americans can make the school system fail in its mission to them, perhaps the entire world will feel less anxious about the aggressive proclivities of the most powerful nation that has ever existed. To understand this potential contribution to world peace and the vital role that community psychiatrists can play in its actualization, we must first determine what factors have allowed the educational system to work so effectively on the black masses. A case illustration from a Boston junior high school may be illuminating.

In all truth it is more difficult for a visitor to gain entrance to this Boston inner-city school than it is to gain entrance to the U.S. Navy Electronics Laboratory in San Diego, the presumptive repository of our fleets' secrets. The visitor or the school child approaches a formidable structure complete with bars on the windows. The large steel doors on this fortress-like structure are bereft of handles; hence one must pound hard to await someone to open the door from the inside. Once inside, the visitor is questioned gruffly as to his business in the school and as to whether or not the school authorities downtown know of the visit and its purpose. If one passes this inquisition by the white guard, he is free to observe the true method that has resulted in the success of the school system. The point here to remember is that quality education is not the issue so long as the child is subjected to the abuses about to be described in this very obvious prison structure.

Like all successful brainwashing endeavors,

the black student is never permitted to have even the dignity and independence of controlling his vegetative wants. Thus the school system locks the lavatory, and the child is told, explicitly and implicitly, that it is locked because he and his kind are so sick that if they had free access they would pop dope and fight and smoke pot. The locked handleless doors are an occasion to remind the budding black citizen, both explicitly and implicitly, that he and his kind are so sick that if the doors were open, his community would ransack the building, raping and beating teachers.

Still better and more subtle brainwashing is accomplished. One notes that all these prisoner-students are wearing coats despite the warmth of the building. The prisoner-students are told that if hangers were provided, he and his kind are so sick that they would steal one another's garments. Theorizing perfect quality of education, it is difficult to see how such a prisoner-student could grow up to be proud, independent, cooperative, or helpful. He is told over and over, at every occasion possible, that he and his are worthless and valueless and defeated. A good bulk of his conscious hours are spent in actual custody and confinement where he is subjected to sustained deprecation.

If an observer at this school had had any experience working in a true prison setting, it would be apparent immediately that the entire genre was identical to a prison. Here too the inmates test the limits of how much they can do without losing "good time." Here too the inmates are told step by step what to do ("Didn't I tell you to use these stairs . . . stop . . . go that way"), as if the exertion of any independent thought would be molding a youth who might dare to imagine. And as all have known since the days that it was proverbial in ancient Greece, imagination is the friend of terror. Thus, the junior high schooler in this school, which could be replicated all over our nation's ghettos, is made unimaginative, limited, and concrete in his thinking process. It would not do to have blacks dare to imagine, for then they might become friends of terror. At the same time, the black is the victim of a torrent of propagandistic ideation,

which serves to make him accept a reduced status. The youth, even if he worked hard in the school and even if he had a quality education and pleasant surroundings to study in at home, would hardly have esteem and confidence in himself and his group. But then, as if such a school experience is not sufficient, after being in custody all day long the youth returns to the general community, where the television, newspapers, movies, and radio continue the same lesson to the black. He is taught that he is an inferior person toward whom whites can and will take prerogatives they would never consider taking with another white, since it would do violence to their sense of human rights. By syllogism, therefore, the black must be subhuman.

As if this was not enough of a problem to the black minority, there now appears on the horizon an even more pernicious route to disenfranchisement via an education channel. It is pernicious, even though, like the public education system and the mass media, it should and could be looked to as a principal route to banish racism. This particular route is the almost incontestable certainty that within a decade thousands of black (and white) children will be subjected to institutionalized child care in the prekindergarten years of life.

An alarm must be sounded. The large monies to be made available for such child care can be a deliverer or an executioner for the black masses. Since the public school education system has been so effective in pacifying the masses of black citizens, the exact operation and goals of the prekindergarten educational schemes must be very carefully evaluated. If they do more harm than good, black hopes will be almost nonexistent because the two formal education channels will have neutralized blacks between ages zero to fifteen.

The general solution for the problem of the black minority relative to formal education is twofold. On the one hand, while our people are becoming more aware of how to eliminate the negative propaganda heaped on them, they must become much more able to command a knowledge of total systems and how these systems integrate with one another.

Once this is done, the black, whether he is a schoolboy or a taxi driver, will know how to strengthen the formal channels to his own advantage (including constructing alternative channels of formal education) as well as to educate himself and his peers at multiple informal levels. Black cohesiveness, which is synonymous with black pride and black selfhood, depends on knowledge of where and how to exert maximum effort to modify or eliminate racist institutions.

Here too the task for the psychiatrist may seem untraditional. Some readers will be uneasy about whether or not such functions belong to psychiatry. Yet, what a present-day psychiatrist does on Park Avenue or Wilshire Boulevard would be scarcely recognizable to the man who practiced psychiatry in 1900. The society demanded and required, as all through history, that health services be given in a certain manner. Thus the role of the psychiatrist who is serious about these problems of the black inner city must be to assume an educative role so that he can help influence masses of people. Thus, he must bring to bear the knowledge of psychodynamics and psychological interactions as he teaches the value to the black psyche of understanding and neutralizing propaganda and understanding and utilizing systems theory. Yet, here too there are other cognitive inputs that blacks must have gratified in order to be maximally effective, efficient, and happy. One more such set of cognitive needs will be mentioned before we pass on to the equally important area of affective education in the promotion of black mental health.

### ( Problems from Demography

All black children and adults must learn demography. In order to be able to justify one's existence and determine suitably egosyntonic life goals, it is necessary to know where you stand in relation to the rest of the society. The cognitive and quantitative definition of such knowledge constitutes the field of demography.

In America today, blacks are a segregated, urban people. A goodly majority of all black children who are born today will spend a significant portion of their lives in urban, segregated situations. In fact, perhaps only one out of ten will live in multiracial circumstances during childhood. This demographic trend of increasing black clusters in cities makes such an analysis the crucial consideration in planning black-white strategy.

In order to make wise decisions and implement them, blacks must start from this base and consider the myriad advantages and disadvantages that result from the reality that we are essentially (both quantitatively and qualitatively) an urban, segregated people.

The intragroup conflicts that will stall blacks in the coming decade might be greatly reduced if black people would begin to incorporate and utilize a wealth of demographic data in the solutions of problems that require group coordination. For instance, a black response to the separate questions of birth control and population control would require more than sentiment. The decision to be best for the total society, including ourselves, has to be based on data. Further, what is required in one circumstance may not be suitable in another. Blacks, with the help of such experts as community psychiatrists, have to begin to construct desirable alternative plans, based on demographic probability and possibility. A local neighborhood will need to know such things as job markets, housing plans, population migrations, and consumer power in order to bring about positive sociopolitical action.

At a national level, blacks must develop a critical social pathway. That is, utilizing demographic data and the best available communication and systems analysis, a long-range plan should be developed that embraces a black response to all possible white interventions. For example, what steps, in fine detail, would have to be taken if tomorrow white America became truly democratic? Or what steps would be required if tomorrow the homes of blacks (about 90 per cent segregated) were cordoned off as one step toward concentration camp existence? The psychology of leadership and the psychology of life in

extremely stressful, exotic environments is replete with verification that people do best who have anticipated possibilities and rehearsed the use of options and how to develop them. Such planning in itself is psychologically helpful for both the individual participant and the group. The task of community psychiatry must be to use its expertise in encouraging blacks to plan and to believe that they are able and capable of controlling their own lives and their own institutions in a pluralistic society. The task will be made simpler if black children, from the time they can remember, begin to deal with demographic facts about buying power, occupational skills, health services, and political blocs.

There is a regrettable tendency in American society not to permit blacks to be powerful in any manner. Blacks, as a whole, fail to realize strengths, since the system focuses always on black weaknesses. As an example, black mental illness is the focus of concern for psychiatrists rather than the investigation of the factors that permit blacks to endure. If black strengths, especially group strengths (as opposed to individual skills, talents, strengths), were emphasized more, black esteem would be heightened.

Therefore, in a demographic sense blacks must be more conscious of the strength of the nonwhite world, both in terms of numbers and skills. The American black has something precious that could be emphasized and used to help the whole world to peace. Compared to white America, we are bereft of skills. But compared to the rest of the world, white and nonwhite, we have abundant skills. For instance, tomorrow, without any jeopardy to the health services of the nation, black doctors and personnel for an entire first-class medical school could be exported to, say, an African country in temporary distress. In no way would such a school be inferior. In the move toward planetary citizenship in the ever smaller world, American blacks must think more in mass terms in regard to white-nonwhite alignments and contributions. For a psychiatrist in a ghetto to concentrate on a work program training upholsterers, while neglecting to get blacks, particularly black

youth, to have a better cognitive map of who we are and how we can or could relate to the rest of the world, is to be helping to apply a Band-aid in an instance requiring radical surgery.

So far we have considered how blacks think. It follows that how one thinks determines much about how he functions. But mental illness comes about not only from how one thinks and functions but also how one feels and believes. A problem in the black community is to make people feel and believe that they have hope. To do this requires a consideration of providing something that is not now provided.

### ( The Problem of Constructing the Future

Futurologists take the view that we can no longer afford to plan for the future but must plan the future itself. A society of affluence and technology no longer should plan for the welfare of illiterates. It must take steps to plan that there should be no illiteracy. In terms of problems of minority blacks, steps must be taken to ensure help for each black citizen.

For the community psychiatrist, hope might be broken down into psychodynamic components which would include provisions for self-confidence; provisions for feelings of being needed, wanted, and useful; and provisions for feeling satisfied and satisfying. Yet the component parts that will occupy us at present are those that relate to feelings of being loved, feelings of controlling one's own destiny, and feelings that one is aware of multiple, positive options that he may exert.

The emphasis on feelings and motivations must result in blacks taking antiracist, instead of pro-racist, stances in interpersonal interactions. Black people must be ever more sensitive about how and when to take counter-offensive measures against whites. This means, in practice, being aware of our options and feeling we must exercise them in the service of reducing racist behavior. The black would thereby be constructing his future, since all

actions must be devoted to planning not for the effects of racism but for its elimination.

Broadly speaking, there are two sets of options for blacks. On the one hand are those options that must be viewed and selected for action that relate to macroproblems. These are the large and broad issues that engage the race as a group and that demand concerted group action as the group labors to control its own direction. For instance, macroproblems would include such issues as how to combat anti-intellectualism in the inner city, or how to control the police forces in a community, or how to make a viable black economic subsystem that would function to our mutual benefit in the richest land the world has known.

However, it is the set of microproblems that will require our present consideration. These are problems that arise in individual interactions, almost always secondary to a white's offenses, which are initiated and spewed out as microaggressions. These problems are micro only in name, since their very number requires a total effort that is incalculable, even though each single effort might be only a microeffort. The black must be taught to recognize these microaggressions and construct his future by taking appropriate action at each instance of recognition. He must see options for his behavior.

Here is an example witnessed recently in a well-to-do neighborhood, where a black couple and a white man, probably all of similar economic and educational circumstances, stopped at a newspaper machine. Recall that blacks and whites in America take pro-racist positions. Thus, a black is expected to defer to a white, to seek white guidance and advice, to accept white instructions, to laugh at himself in the presence of whites, and to minimize any black in comparison to a white. The white man, operating from presumed superiority, gave instructions, directions, and advice to the black woman as she tried valiantly, but unsuccessfully, to get the machine to operate. While laughing at her ineptitude she dropped a coin. She elected to tell her black companion to pick it up, although all the verbal interaction had been between the white and herself. She

accepted the coin without any response of gratitude for the kindness rendered as he gave her the coin. However, in the same natural and unwitting manner, she extended another coin to its white owner, while dignifying her effort by statements of thanks. The white walked off with more evidence, even if unconscious to him, that blacks extend themselves to please him and that they defer to his judgment, accept instructions, laugh at themselves, and treat their own as inferiors. In this interaction, none of these negative aspects had to be reinforced by the black woman. She could have elected, for instance, to tell the white to pick up the coin or she could have let him reach out and ask for the other coin.

But this brings up the matter of awareness of nonverbal cues as vehicles for racism. To accept such cues forecloses the future for blacks. These cues are kinetic racisms. In a real sense, how skillfully a black comes to recognize and deal with them may determine whether the white world wears him out, as is all too often the case.

A few examples will suffice. A black man stands exactly at the usual place where a bus stops and where the sign says it will stop. A white man, the only other waiting passenger, stands some fifteen feet away. When the bus arrives it stops right in front of the white man. Or a line of people are waiting to get into a movie. People leaving the movie must cut across this line. If a black happens to be in the line, almost surely outgoing patrons will decide to cross in front of him. In crowded hotel lobbies, whites who must find a route through the maze will usually walk as close as possible to a black person, expecting him to yield ground, in order to give them both more space. On a crowded street, such as Fifth Avenue in New York, whites do not waver as they approach a black. Their expectation is that, since their life space is more prized and valuable than the blacks', it should be the black who gives ground, who moves out of the way, who dips his left shoulder and pulls in his arm as they pass each other. In restaurants or stores if a waitress or salesman approaches a group of customers and one happens to be black, there is a case of "ease of selection."

The selection is easy because you know who does not have to be served first. Being black in these United States means that in such routine interactions there is an ease of selection based on ideas of presumed superiority. That blacks can and will be offended is the first law. The second law states that, whenever possible, offend the black, even by kinetic means, so that there will be reinforcement of the ideas of white superiority and black inferiority.

Once a black is aware of these mechanisms and how they determine his and his society's future, he can predict occurrences and take steps to despoil them or at least dilute them.

For instance, a black at a dinner where the table is round can assume, before the fact, that he will be the last served by the waiters as they come in and ladle out food. That is, the service will start with the person next to him.

But suppose, for instance, one was boarding an airplane with assigned seats, and one saw a white cripple at the bottom of the stairs to the plane waving everyone to go ahead of him. Doubtlessly, in these circumstances, most anyone would have let a man on crutches go up the stairs ahead of him. However, if one was the only black in the line and he witnessed this behavior, he would have to be alert for the fact that the cripple would decide to go up the stairs when the black arrived. In this true story, had the black allowed the cripple to go up first he would have reinforced racism and at the same time aggravated himself psychologically and possibly psychosomatically. Thus, when in fact the cripple made his move to cut in front of the black, the black had to use greater mobility and nimbleness to get up the stairs first.

Another true story of anticipating and despoiling racism rooted in kinetics involves an airline hostess serving coffee to three men. She began at the aisle seat, then served the man in the middle and then the man in the window seat. At the next set of seats she was in trouble, because here too were three men (had there been a woman the problem might have resolved differently). Yet, by chance, black men occupied both the aisle and window seats, while a white man was in the middle.



Her dilemma was where to start. If she started on either the aisle or window seat she could not serve the white man first. The black on the aisle was sensitive to her problem. The hostess solved it by saying, "Coffee anyone?" as she stuck her tray under the nose of the white man, so that he could put his cup on first. The aisle black answered politely, "Thank you," as he deftly put his cup on the tray before the white could react. Had the black not been calculating her behavior in this situation there could have been another reinforcement that blacks can and will and should be offended.

A community psychiatrist will see dozens of episodes of microaggressions and kinetic racisms toward blacks. If blacks recognize and react to these in a different fashion, then indeed they are constructing a different future. The psychiatrist with his knowledge of interpersonal dynamics must help blacks to construct such alternative futures.

### ¶ Conclusions

Community psychiatrists are concerned, and properly so, about such questions as the number of first admissions of blacks to state hospitals or whether blacks have special forms of mental illness or whether treatment of a black will have to be different from methods used to treat whites. These are problems and solutions will be sought. For instance, many black psychiatrists feel that traditional, middle-class, white methods of psychotherapy may not suit the needs of many blacks.

Yet the community psychiatrist who is concerned with the whole society should address also other issues in regard to the current black-white problems. An important question, for example, is by what means upper-class (and to some extent also upper-middle-class) white females perpetuate racism. Perhaps studies on the attitude formation of young, white, upper-class females would do far more in understanding racism than all sorts of studies by whites in the ghettos, as they choose to call the inner-city communities. It is the young, upper-class, white female who will become

wife and mother, whose influence as a culture transmitter needs to be studied. It is instructive to think how the white majority has sent white men to study blacks in black communities, but how unsettling it would be to consider sending black men to study white females in white communities. The very uneasiness such a thought promotes indicates how large a problem the community psychiatrist faces. The barriers are tough but hopefully not unyielding.

In the next decade perhaps more community psychiatrists will involve themselves in neighborhoods, schools, homes, mass media offices, and so on in an effort to help make blacks flexible, hopeful, thinking, adventuresome, cooperative citizens who control their own destiny. Much work needs to be done in which psychiatrists work with other specialists in matters ranging from developing curricula and games to producing movies and television (for a global electronics educational system among other usages) to advising government and industrial leaders.

Like Euripides, the community psychiatrist should see the entire world as his province. In this analogy the cities of America constitute the backyard of the community psychiatrist. And before he can go out to engage this wonderful world, he must put out the fire that burns in his backyard and threatens to burn even more. This dangerous fire in his backyard is racism. It must be put out before the whole province is destroyed.

The day may be close at hand when community psychiatrists and other consultants are used by blacks in their effort to decrease group divisiveness and reduce their acceptance of patronizing or condescending behavior from whites. Such blacks may project futures and predict critical pathways by using forecasting techniques such as trend analysis or correlation plotting. Such blacks may understand complex interlocking systems and make group plans while exemplifying deliberate individual behavior, which is regarded as essential in eliminating microaggressions by whites. For instance, they might have been schooled in informal or formal school systems to practice such maneuvers as never arguing

with each other in the presence of whites. These blacks will understand the value of levity control and publicity control. Hence, they will not resort automatically and casually to laughter, jocularity, and cheerfulness when confronting whites in serious negotiations. Nor will they be indiscriminate about revealing or discussing plans with whites before the appropriate occasions and circumstances. Many such blacks will shun and avoid most petitions by whites to publicize them or their ideas. Such blacks will be a force to aid the entire black community to enhance its esteem. And surely these blacks would find other titles more positive to group image and solidarity than "Psychiatric Problems of the Black Minority."

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WHEATON COLLEGE ALUMNAE ASSOCIATION

NORTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02766

MARY P. ROWE

Special Assistant for Women and Work

JUL 18 1974

Ref. to \_\_\_\_\_

File \_\_\_\_\_

July 17, 1974

*Please call collect to say it's coming? Files with letter with 2 speech? Sent collect 7-18-74*

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

Dear Ms. Rowe,

I am writing to request your permission to reprint excerpts of the lecture you gave for the Wheaton Forum on Women in the August issue of Wheaton's Alumnae Magazine.

As I hope you know, your talk on February 28 was extremely well received by Wheaton students, faculty and administrators. The enthusiastic response is an indication, I think, that the Forum achieved its primary goal of raising the community's informational and historical awareness of the women's movement. While Wheaton has its share of women who shy away from feminist rhetoric, there are very few who will argue with statistically supported facts like those contained in your lecture. I would like to share with the Wheaton alumnae some of the knowledge and insights you shared with us on campus in February.

I would be very grateful if you would read the attached article, excerpted from the taped transcript of your lecture, and make corrections wherever I have mistaken or misrepresented your remarks. It would also be very helpful to me if you would respond to this request at your earliest possible convenience, as I am about to go to press. I would be happy to receive a collect call (285-7722, Ext. 250) or to reimburse you for special delivery costs.

I hope that you enjoyed your visit to Wheaton as much as we enjoyed your talk, and that you will consent to my sharing your perspectives with our alumnae. I look forward to hearing from you.

Respectfully,

Meg Halloran

Meg Halloran  
Editor,  
Wheaton College  
Alumnae Magazine

*Mail 190 - Person to Person Collect call*

MH/cs  
Enclosures

File  
~~to~~ MPR

PEG -

Jerry said yes -  
go to dinner (but  
don't drink too much  
said BW). Do you approve?

I wanted you to  
know, and see if  
you are in principle  
interested?

How can one  
commit MIT for  
June ~~1981~~ (!) 1981?  
Is this customary?



OVER

Mary - I agree - go to dinner  
(but don't eat too much).

Given the history it would  
be a shame to miss the chance  
of possessing the untempered.

Paul

- Haya  
- Edith  
- Walter  
- Margaret Conynston

24 Sept 75

Dear Jerry -

The State Department,  
with HEW (OCD) and The  
Johnson Foundation, would like  
to send me to the Soviet  
Union with nine others,  
Nov 29 - Dec 13. This is  
Round One of a series of  
US-Soviet Cultural Exchanges  
on Education; the first is  
Early Childhood. (Higher  
Education is next year).

I would like to go if  
you approve.

Mary

"da!"

XORO CHO"

~~da~~

File  
MPR

~~XORO CHO~~

MARY P. ROWE  
Special Assistant for Women and Work  
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

JUL 7 1975  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139

Ref. to \_\_\_\_\_

MPR

7/3/75

Dear Mary -

I have read Saturnis Rings II. Other than a typo (line 10, p. 25 fell → feel), what can I say. I can say it is great! it is powerful! it should be required reading for every student and employee at the Institute. At very least all faculty and administrative officials should read it. Can that be done? At least it should be sent to all department chairpeople with a note suggesting they encourage all faculty to read it and then circulate it within their research group and office staff.

If such a plan is in the works, I'll hold off, but I would like your permission to give it to \_\_\_\_\_ with just that message. I am certainly willing to wait until it is published or whatever. However, like so much good material, publication or public statement rarely reaches the people who

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139

need it most. I would really like to see it sent to all Faculty in ~~the~~ with a note from me or ~~me~~ saying that no accusation is at all intended but to please read it and do a careful self examination.

As always, I am awed at the gentle way you can say such powerful things. On these subjects I tend to screech + holler! (In private).

My technician ~~and~~ also read it, by the way, and his reaction was similar to mine. It has prompted some good conversation between us on the racism that hits him and the sexism that gets me. He is a really good person - hope you can meet him some time.

Thanks for sending it, but more thanks for writing it.

Love,

~~\_\_\_\_\_~~





# voice for children

~~File Women~~  
~~The Economy~~  
MOR

Additional Copies of VOICE can be purchased at 25c a copy.

VOLUME 7/NUMBER 11

Published Monthly by the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc.  
1012 - 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 638-2316

DECEMBER 1974

## An Interview with Mary Rowe

### Can The Economy Afford Child Care — Or — Can The Economy Afford Not To Have Child Care?

*Editor's Note: The Council has recently been alerted that some child care advocacy efforts are being opposed with arguments like "the economy can't afford child care; it's inflationary; women have no business working when there's a recession", etc. In this article, staff member Peggy Pizzo interviews noted economist Dr. Mary Rowe for her responses on these questions. Special Assistant to the President on Women and Work at MIT, Dr. Rowe is widely known among child care advocates as an articulate analyst of the economics of child care.*

**Q.** Mary, how would you answer the question: Can the economy afford child care?

**A.** The implication behind that question is that women now in the paid labor force can go happily back home and have more babies. The economy would collapse overnight if women, who now hold over 43% of the jobs, went home. The entrance of women into the paid labor force in the 1960's accounts for well over 50% of the increase in GNP in that period. This tremendous increase has been into jobs sex-stereotyped for women — clerical, nursing and household jobs. This is an evidence of discrimination, but proof that women are not generally "taking jobs away from men."

Women are now bringing in nearly 30% of family incomes. Especially in times of rising prices and economic hardship, families must have the income of the mother in paid employment. Obviously, the one out of eight families where a woman is the chief wage-earner needs the mother's income. In 1971, of the 3.9 million two-parent families where the mother was in paid employment, 75% would have had incomes of less than \$10,000 a year without the mother's earnings. Forty percent of those families would have had incomes of less than \$7,000. Contrast this with the Bureau of Labor Statistics figure that an urban family of four needs \$8100 a year in order to feed themselves a nutritionally adequate diet and maintain a *minimum* standard of living. It's easy to see that millions of families would be in desperate straits if women withdrew from the labor force. 1974 is simply nothing like 1946.



**Q.** What would you say further to the argument that women, in a period of rising unemployment, are taking jobs away from men?

**A.** There is no evidence that women in general are taking jobs away from men. Ninety percent of the female labor force is in sex-stereotyped jobs like the ones mentioned above. You just don't find any tremendous increase in the number of men wanting to take clerical jobs. Even in university teaching positions, where there has been affirmative action programs, the <sup>proportion</sup> total number of women <sup>faculty positions held by</sup> in teaching positions increased less than 1% from 1968-1973. So that, while everyone knows of the one terrible case where a clearly unqualified woman was chosen over a qualified man, the statistics in the aggregate do not support the notion that women are taking jobs away from men.

In addition to all this, the average woman still makes 57% of the income of the average man. And this wage gap, which  
*(continued next page)*

was slowly closing in the period 1968-70, appears to have widened again recently.

Also, unemployment rates are higher for women than for men. A good rule of thumb to use is that the unemployment rates in any given population subgroup will be double for women what they are for men. That includes recent PhD's as well as unskilled workers.

**Q.** If the country gets deeper into a recession, will women be pushed out of their jobs as they were in the Great Depression and after World War II?

**A.** No, because the objective conditions — economic, social and legal — are much different now than they were then. There are now more than eight times as many mothers in the labor force as in 1940. Now we have a majority of all ever married women in the labor force. Of employed mothers, 1/10 are single parents. No one wants *them* out of the labor force. In two-parent families, the influx of both parents into the labor force in a time of rising prices has been motivated by a desire to increase income and to stabilize the family income so that if one parent can carry on in the interim. In these two-parent families, men certainly don't want their wives pushed out of the labor force.

Socially, there have been changes in attitudes towards women in paid employment, too. A recent poll by the Roper organization indicated that nearly 2/3 of the men in the United States (more than women) feel that the status of women should be upgraded. This is a considerable increase from four years ago when fewer than half of American men felt that way. In addition, nearly half of the people of marriageable age in this country now report that they believe in the sharing of family tasks such as child care, financial responsibility, etc.

Finally, remind yourself that it is now against the law to discriminate against women in employment practices.

**Q.** What do you foresee then?

**A.** I think that we will see some changes in the work structure, more 30-hour weeks, a guaranteed minimum income, more shared and flexible-hour jobs.



**Q.** Some policymakers are trying to make an argument for cutbacks in child care funding as an antiinflationary measure. How would you respond to that?

**A.** Well, that argument completely ignores what would happen to kids when child care is not available. We've seen how their parents cannot leave paid employment to simply stay home and look after the children. A conservative estimate at present would say that 1/10 of the children aged 2 to 12 of parents in paid employment are now being left alone to fend for themselves on a regular basis. Cutbacks would force an increase in that number. In addition, possibly 1/3 of the parents of children under 6 and maybe more than 1/2 of the two-parent employed families work out their child care arrangements by staggering work-hours. The father works days and the mother works nights, for example. As a day care specialist, I find that whenever I raise this point in public, people will crowd around afterwards to tell horror stories of divorce, parental exhaustion, family disorganization, when parents work staggered hours and never see each other.

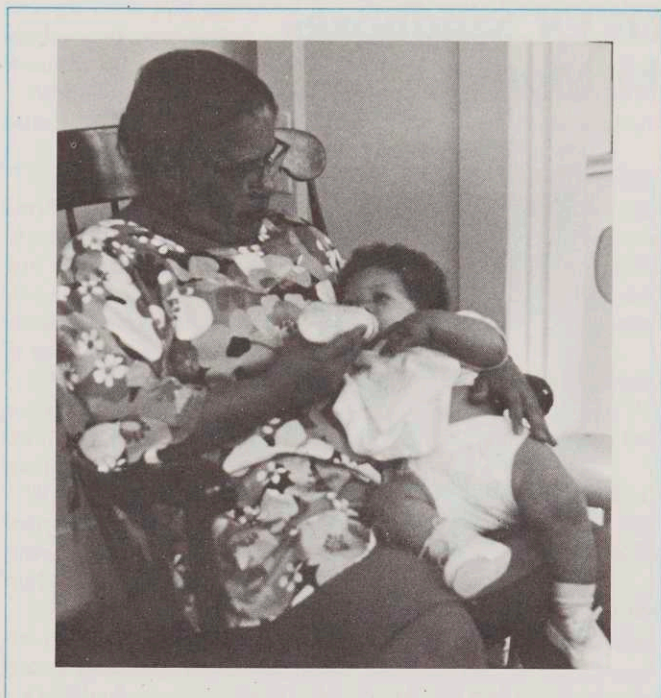
There is a whole generation of Americans in their 40's and 50's who were deeply scarred by frightening childhood experiences of neglect and deprivation during the Great Depression. All their adult lives they have never been able to achieve enough, spend enough, feel safe enough to make up for the remembrances of those lonely childhoods. Cutting back on child care spending now will only promote that kind of childhood scarring, already so common in too many children today.



If one were bitter, one might ask different questions. For instance, we could save money by underfeeding people, too. Or cut out all hernia prevention programs, or reduce the defense budget by 2%.

**Q.** So, we should be pressing for expansion of child care?

**A.** I certainly believe so. Child care has a double beneficial impact on the economy. It released poverty and near-poverty families from unemployment — families who would otherwise be forced onto welfare rolls, a sure inflationary measure. In addition, child care provides jobs for the unemployed. Child care — both formal and informal — is a prime new source of jobs for what the Department of Labor calls "unskilled workers." (I would like to register my strong objection to the notion of child care as unskilled labor, however.) So the expansion of child care would speak direct-



ly to the largest pool of unemployment, which is highest for the young, the old, women and Blacks. These are just the groups that find opportunities in child care jobs.

**Q.** Well, some policymakers would argue that if we have to have child care, it doesn't need to be expensive, quality child care. How do you respond to that?

**A.** Well, I would remind those policymakers that the law of the land makes it illegal to abuse children. OEO analysis of the Westat survey data showed that the median staff-child ratio in inexpensive Type A centers was 1 to 19. The laws of the country in essence define that as dangerous to the health and welfare of the children. No federal legislation condones staff-child ratios in centers wider than 1 adult to every 10 children, 1 adult to every 6 children in family day care (with an additional stipulation that there be no more than two children under 2 in a day care home). State licensing laws, derived from the notion that the states have a responsibility to protect children from abuse, have set minimum floors that are pretty consistent with the ratios above.

Child care advocates can make parallel arguments to the argument for cheap, substandard child care. Why not go back to 1880 standards in hospital services? Why not eliminate the measles and polio vaccines? We could save money in these ways, too, but none of us believe in it.

I'm sure I believe we have a stake in the welfare of our children — they are our only truly irreplaceable national and human resource. "What *father*, when his child shall ask for bread, will give him a stone?" (Italics added)

In the interest of helping people in the infant development and family day care field to get to know one another, the Council is collecting lists and asking VOICE readers to send in names of people and/or programs involved with infant care and development or family day care.

## New National Child Care Statistics

The Senate Committee on Finance has just released a compendium of the latest available statistics on child care in the United States. Here are some of the most important new numbers, with dates of when they were collected.

### Data on Children and Families

Number of children under 18 with working mothers — 26,189,000 (March, 1973)

Number of children under 6 with working mothers — 5,952,000

Number of working mothers with children under 6 — 4.8 million (1973)

Children receiving aid to families with dependent children (0-3) 1,284,477; (3-5) 1,356,669; (6-11) 2,681,578 — (1973)

### Data on Licensed Programs

Number of licensed (or approved) day care centers — 20,319 (1972)

Number of licensed (or approved) family day care homes — 60,967 (1972; total

**81,286**

Capacity of licensed (or approved) day care centers — 805,361 (1972)

Capacity of licensed (or approved) family day care homes — 215,841

Total licensed (approved) capacity — **1,021,202** (1972)

### Data on Auspices

Enrollment in preprimary school programs — 4.2 million (1973)

Public auspices — 2.8 million

Nonpublic auspices — 1.4 million

### Day Care Book Box Program Introduced by Gryphon House

Pre-school and day care programs can now order specially selected Book Boxes of young children's books at a discount from the publisher's list prices. Each Book Box contains nine or ten selected children's books which are often unavailable in bookstores. Special emphasis is placed on books which provide a strong self image for both girls and boys.

The Book Boxes are designed to provide day care programs with a wide choice in books without requiring them to order from many different sources. Each Book Box contains books which will interest children from the "youngest" three-year-old to the "oldest" five-year-old.

For a free brochure describing the first two Book Boxes, write to: Gryphon House, 1333 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036.

## How To Build A Bunch Of Sandboxes Without (Much) Money

by Betsy Browder, Georgia Outreach Project Home Visitor

What is a sandbox? It is more than just a pile of sand contained by boards. Sand has texture and substance; it sticks together or falls apart. It can take on almost any shape your fancy and hands can form. A sandbox is mountains, highways, maps, drawings, cakes, tunnels, bridges, castles, villages, animals — whatever. Sand can trickle through your fingers and fall on your body with a pleasant sensation and sound. It gets in your clothes, in your hair, between your toes and in the carpet when you come in from playing in it. On a hot summer day, sand is warm on top and cool on the bottom, as you discover when you stick your hands and feet deep into it.

Being fully aware of the value of sandboxes, I believe every child should have one. Give a child a lot of sand and a few tools and he is into a variety of new experiences, imaginary and real. Give him some containers of different sizes to pour sand back and forth, and he will learn things about volume and size. Give him some water to go with the sand, and he will find out what happens to sand when it gets wet. It suddenly becomes a building material. Rain makes little spots on it; pouring water in one place makes a big hole. Try making a lake in the landscape. It won't work — now find out why.

I am home visitor in the Georgia Outreach Project (see VOICE, Vol. 7, No. 5, May 1974, for a description of the Georgia Outreach Project) a home-based child development program serving families and children in 13 north Georgia counties. This summer I became determined that each of "my children" have a sandbox, and so I set about to get this accomplished without spending any money, or at least spending as little as possible.

I admit that when I headed for the local lumber yard for donations, I did not have the plan fully mapped out. My first blow was in finding that the man at the lumber yard was not excited about making me a gift of 60 four-foot boards. But . . . "Sand? Yeah, you can have all the sand you can haul." After accepting gratefully, I began to wonder how I would haul enough sand for 15 sandboxes to locations all over the county.

### A Blessing in Disguise

While I was driving down the highway mentally checking a list of possible resources I could scrounge or beg to help me get the sand and materials to the children, one of those "blessings in disguise" happened. My car broke down. Usually this is not a blessing in any guise or under any circumstances, especially in rural Georgia where a car is absolutely necessary to get from one place to another. But an idea began to take shape as I got out of the car to flag help, and I had the solution to my hauling problem.

The garage always loans me a car while mine is being repaired, and this time I insisted that they loan me a pick-up truck instead of a car. (There are about as many pick-up trucks in rural Georgia as there are cars.) I also insisted that there was no hurry about getting my car repaired. Now I had a little more than a week to get the job done.

The limited time put a real push on me, so I got several of my families excited about the sandboxes, and I asked them for help. One volunteered her yard as the construction site



and her father as a helper. Others offered strong interest and strong arms. We set a date and began to work toward having all the materials on hand for the big construction day.

### Hoppity-Hops and Lumber

Next I began to wonder what to do with 10 children while all the able bodied adults were building sandbox frames. My first thought was refreshments; apples, oranges, cold drinks, cookies. But how long can a child be occupied with an apple and a cookie? Not long!

As I looked over my supply of toys, I realized that I needed more than a ball and a hoppity-hop. I called a friend at the local day care center and told her I had to occupy 10 children ages 6 months to 6 years while their parents worked on sandboxes. She suggested that I borrow a couple of tricycles and a wagon on Friday, the day set for building the frames.

In the meantime, I was having no success finding free lumber, so I went again to the lumber yard to ask if they would like to reconsider and donate 60 4-foot boards to my cause. The answer was still *no*, but they did agree to sell me the boards at cost; however, they could not cut the boards until next week. Panic struck. I explained that I only had until Thursday afternoon, and that everyone was coming to the construction site Friday morning to begin the building. They agreed to try. It was time for pleading. It worked.

The boards were ready for me when I arrived on Thursday afternoon. The man asked what size nails I wanted. Not wanting to admit that I had not thought of nails, I asked, "Oh, what would you suggest?" But he already had a sack of nails ready for me. They were free.

Friday morning came and I loaded up with my check list in hand — boards, nails, refreshments, camera, film, flash bulbs (in case of a dark day), hammer, tricycles, wagons, balls and hoppity-hops. I arrived at Jessie Mae's house and was greeted by her four children and two of her friends. We got in the truck and headed for Mary's house. We found her ready with her hammer and her oldest son to help.

### New Worlds in Sand

As we went down the road we passed two of Jessie Mae's fishing buddies who were eager to help do whatever this

strange crew had gathered for. By this time I was counting apples and wondering what I had forgotten — or had not thought of.

When we arrived at Evalean's where the building was to be done, we found that a crowd had gathered for many reasons — invitation, eagerness to help and just plain curiosity.

Mike Orr from the Department of Family and Children's Services had come with his saw and forethought — he had brought an extension cord! His first question was, "How are you going to brace the corners?" Again: "Oh, what would you suggest?" Soon I was on the way back to the lumber yard for a 12" wide board, which we cut into triangles and placed in two corners of each box.

Jessie Mae and I entertained and fed the children, played games and took pictures while Mary, her son, Evalean, the fishing buddies, Evalean's father and Mike sawed and hammered.

Within an hour and a half we had 15 sandboxes ready to loan and deliver. I felt we also had a bunch of kids and grownups who knew a lot more about building and a lot more about working together.

Time for delegating responsibilities was over. I spent the next two Saturdays, with the help of friends, delivering sandboxes and very wet, very heavy sand.

I still had several boxes to deliver when I had to give up the truck, but once again I had a lucky break. Evalean was able to borrow a truck, and she and two of her children and I spent a day delivering the last of the sand and boxes.

On visits since the sandbox party, I have seen children create much more than the highways, mountains and roads I had envisioned. I have been taken to places that I never conceived, with creations not within the sphere of my experience.

Each day I walk by new worlds, freshly built in sand.



**Good Things for Children**

**Child Care '76**

15 inches x 3 3/4 inches — Red, White and Blue  
BUMPER STICKERS

100 for \$20.00 — 3 for \$1.00

Please send        Child Care '76 Bumper Stickers for which I have enclosed \$        to:

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

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Mail Order Form with check enclosed to:

Carl C. Staley, Jr., Chairman  
Steering Committee  
North Carolina Child Care '76  
c/o United Day Care Services  
808 North Elm Street  
Greensboro, North Carolina 27401

Do Good Things For Children

## ATTENTION: FRIENDS OF CHILDREN

The words to the Children's Anthem, "For the Children", embossed on parchment-like paper, suitable for framing, is now available for \$.50 from the Council.

## The Council and AEYC Affiliates

Recently, Council regional offices played a role in statewide conferences of the Association for the Education of Young Children. In Georgia, the Council's Southeastern office, under the leadership of Nancy Travis, co-sponsored a state-wide conference with the Georgia Association for Young Children (GAYC). In Texas, the Council's Southwestern Coordinator, Marie Oser, was asked to conduct a half-day workshop on Child Care '76, at the Texas Association for the Education of Young Children (TAEYC).

The GAYC/DCCDC Conference was held in Atlanta, October 5 and 6, 1974. It featured a full-morning legislative forum chaired by Council President John Niemeyer. Dr. Evangeline Ward, past president, NAEYC, gave the keynote address, and Eugene Howard of Texas and Jule Sugarman of Atlanta also gave presentations. Calvin Cline and Genovis Albright of the Council's Georgia Appalachian Project, performed the Council song "For the Children", which is being acclaimed as the Children's Anthem. Probably the most valuable part of the conference, many participants felt was the bringing together of community organizers, AAUW, League of Women Voters, representatives of Appalachian groups and other child advocates who had never been to a GAYC meeting before, into closer contact with early childhood professionals. "As a long-standing member of AEYC and the Council", said Nancy Travis, "I was delighted that the Council could be helpful in putting local advocacy groups in touch with GAYC, and in offering our legislative public policy and public education information to GAYC members. I firmly believe in that kind of collaboration."

A similar kind of sharing took place almost two weeks later on the campus of Stephen F. Austin University in Nacogdoches, Texas. Under the leadership of Allee Mitchell, President of TAEYC, a conference was planned around the theme "Young Children - Political Pawns or Priorities". Dr. Evangeline Ward also addressed the Texas group, speaking of the myth of America as a child-oriented society, and the reality of the ways we set our priorities. "Will we ever do anything for children just for their sake?", asked Dr. Ward. Bruce Gardner, incoming President of NAEYC and Lt. Gov. William P. Hobby also gave thoughtful speeches. "I think we were able to be helpful in presenting some public policy/child care advocacy issues to TAEYC members" said Marie Oser in summing up the conference, "and it was very useful to us to get TAEYC membership feedback on the Child Care '76 campaign, and on the Council's publications, which were displayed. Students especially gave us their reactions to the Council's materials. Most of them were eager for material on day care in order to write term papers, and they were pleased to discover that the Council had so many publications to offer in this area." Marie, like Nancy, has been active in both the Council and AEYC for quite some time.

## From Cardboard to Classroom: On A Shoe String.

by Sarah S. VanCamp and Carol Vukelich  
College of Education, University of Delaware

...build a classroom for less than \$200? In these days of high costs? "Impossible!" you might say — *but it can be done.* All you need is:

- About 70 sheets of Tri-Wall\* cardboard
- Sabre saws
- Elmer's glue
- Duct tape
- Utility knives
- Measuring instrument (ruler, yardstick, tape)
- Magic markers
- Contact paper
- Cardboard cylinders
- "Goof" paint
- Wallpaper sample books
- Carpet squares

and

### ELBOW GREASE

...the result  
a well equipped preschool classroom complete with a housekeeping corner, with

a "fashioned in the latest model" double-sided sink made with two cylinders, donated by a paper products company, for the base, a tri-wall counter top covered with contact paper for protection during water play/dish washing/baby bathing, and curtains, corner shelves, and, would you believe, even iridescent silver painted tri-wall faucets;<sup>1</sup>

a charmin tissue box model refrigerator;  
a tri-wall stove with four painted black burners, a see-through oven door, and thread spool on-off knobs that really turn;

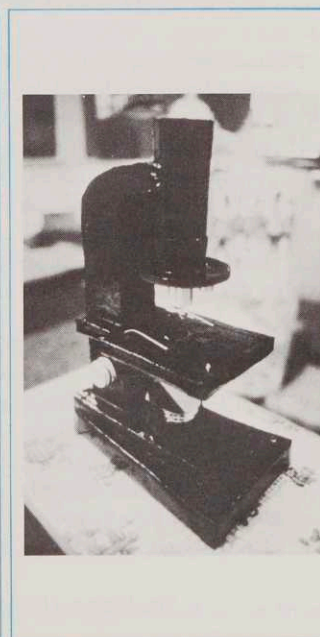
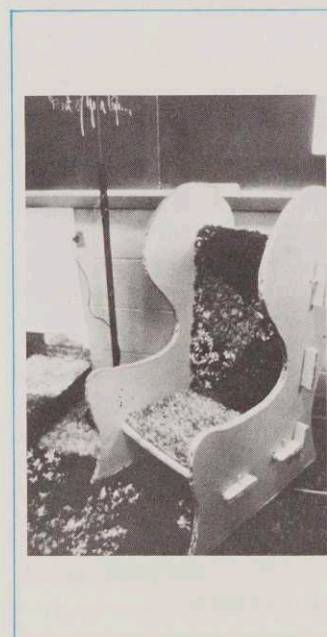
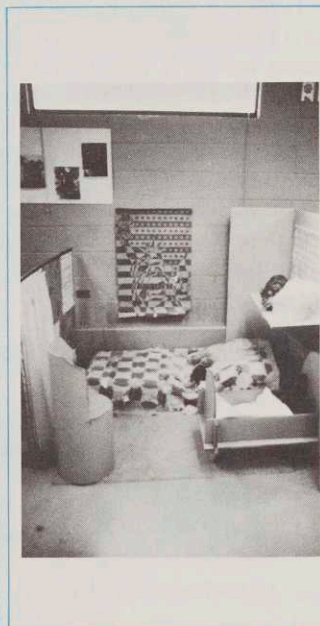
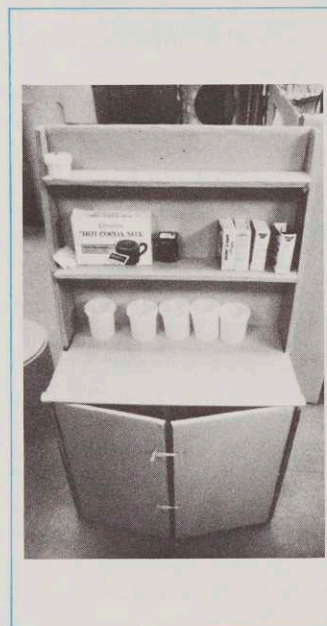
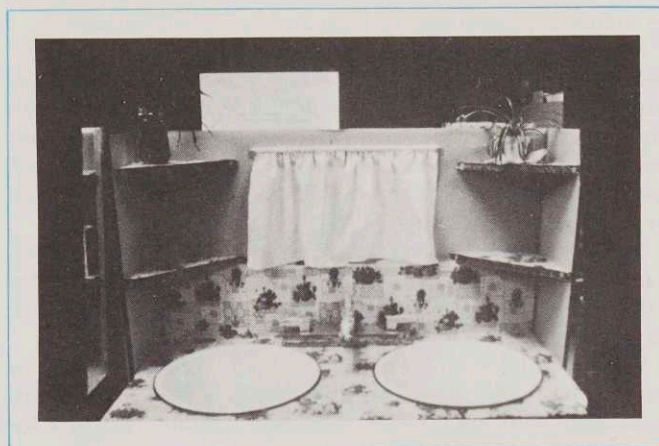
a tri-wall cupboard in the same shape as Mrs. Hubbards;<sup>2</sup>  
a tri-wall table with small chairs fashioned from the cardboard cylinders, some with backs shaped by a power saw and seats made from the cylinder ends covered with carpet samples for beauty and bottom softness. Others made in the shape of a stool from tri-wall or the cut-down cylinders;

and what is a housekeeping corner without babies and baby beds? The tri-wall cradle was modelled from the plans provided by the Educational Development Corporation.\*\*<sup>3</sup>

and some dress-up clothes and the area is ready for children!

a block corner, with  
blocks of varying sizes made from boxes and milk cartons, then covered with paper, and shelves made from tri-wall upon which to store and categorize by size the blocks.

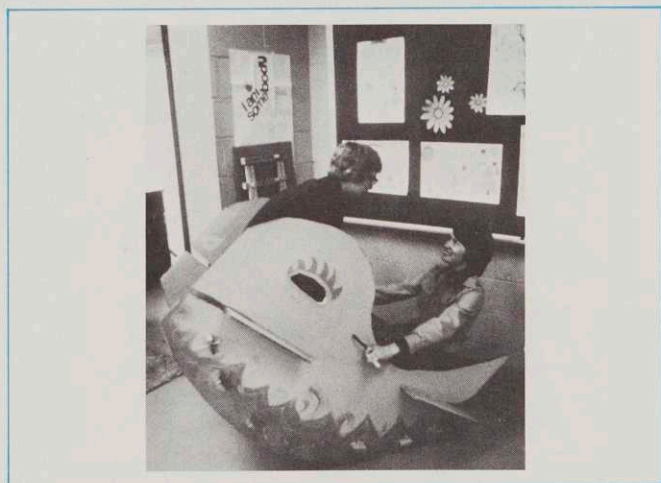
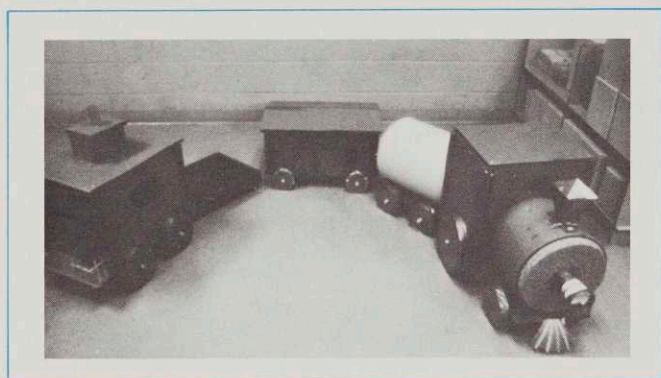
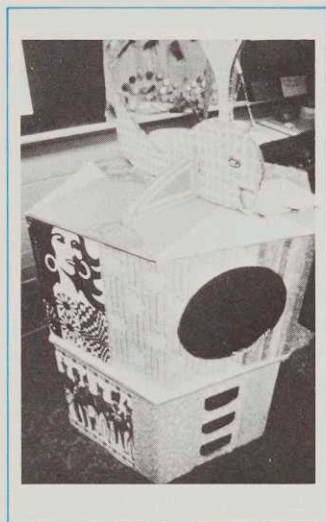
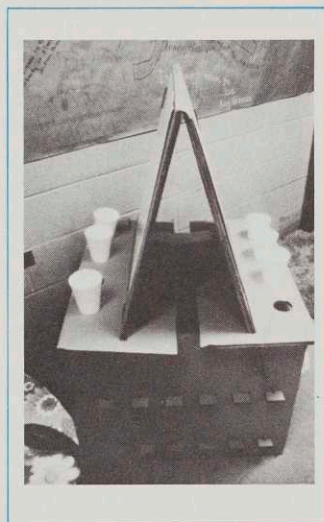
a ready corner, with  
a raised platform, scrounged from a good store and covered in carpet squares donated by a furniture store. Protected by the tri-wall bookshelf and two walls covered with donated wall paper samples from a paint store, the reading corner was an inviting, comfortable, quiet area. Speaking of comfort, the tri-wall wing chair, padded with carpet squares, was just the place to curl up to read a favorite book.<sup>4</sup>



<sup>1</sup>double-sided sink... →

<sup>2</sup>cupboard... <sup>3</sup>cradle...

<sup>4</sup>wing chair... <sup>5</sup>microscope...



a math and science center, with seashells for classifying and counting, a tri-wall microscope that magnified to the second power,<sup>5</sup> a tri-wall balance scale, plants to observe, measure and care for, a donated suit case converted into a sand box, and of course, tri-wall shelves for storage, a tri-wall table for work space and a multicolored square carpeted floor for those children who work best on the floor.

an art activities area with

two oval tri-wall tables covered with contact paper for beauty and table-top protection, an easel modelled from EDC plans,<sup>6</sup> storage tri-wall shelves and paper donated free from the local newspaper office.

a small manipulative games area, with

tri-wall shelves for storage and tri-wall table and chairs for work area; large people and animal puzzles cut from tri-wall and painted or covered with material scraps, shoe box games consisting of matching pictures, of lotto cards from magazine ads, and of same — different teaching games made of poster-board paper and patterned gift wrap pictures, a numbers game fashioned from small milk cartons, converted into garages, with small plastic cars, and a "Feely" board game designed to teach texture by using a six-sided textured dice with corresponding textures on the game board.<sup>7</sup> Many other manipulative teaching games are possible. *Workshops*<sup>\*\*\*</sup> is an excellent resource for creative ideas.

add

a five sided climbing box,<sup>8</sup>

a "choo-choo train,"<sup>9</sup> and

a blue whale all from tri-wall<sup>10</sup>

and you have a preschool classroom built on a shoestring budget.

"Colorless", you say. Visit the Pittsburg Peacock for "goof" paint. In fact, most hardware stores will have paint rejected by customers which can be purchased for a fraction of the cost.

It can be done with the equipment listed above, basic patterns available from EDC, with your additions and modifications, plenty of energy, and lots of ideas!

As the saying goes:

"Try it, you'll like it!"

and so will your children.

\*Tri-wall is available from Tri-Wall Containers, 100 Crossways Park, West Woodbury, NY. It is similar in strength to plywood but infinitely cheaper and easier to work with.

\*\*Plans for many items are available from Educational Development Center, 55 Chapel Street, Newton, Massachusetts.

\*\*\*Mary Barbara Lorton *Workshops*, Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

<sup>7</sup>"Feely" board game...

<sup>6</sup>easel... <sup>8</sup>climbing box...

<sup>9</sup>train...

<sup>10</sup>whale

## Letters On Title XX

Honorable Senator  
Walter F. Mondale  
Old Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Mondale:

Since my last letter to you, I have had a chance to study S4082 more carefully and to participate in another discussion on it. I have one other point to raise and one suggestion to make: namely, these are:

I think in-kind services, materials, or any needed contributions from private or public resources should be recognized as a good match (with estimated dollar value) with Federal dollars., I can think of health, social work, education, legal and other services given by State and private agencies, for which State and United Good Neighbor allocations have already been made. This is equally true of buildings, motor vehicles, foods, etc. Such in-kind contributions would lessen costs of operation of programs and truly make better use for more people of dollars already appropriated from existing local public and private resources.

My second point relates only to a request that you allow some time to meet with representatives of the Day Care and Child Development Council of America, Inc. While I am a member of the National Board, I probably can't come to Washington in the near future for such a meeting. I hope to get a doctor's permission and enough money to get there for next Board meeting. However, there are some Board and staff members in the Washington area who could meet with you and discuss S4082.

Do say hello to Sid Johnson and other staff members I have met.

Sincerely,

Ms. Helen L. Gordon

Dear Senator Mondale:

We are aware that you along with other key senators introduced SB 4082 (Title XX of the Social Security Act) which we feel will go along way in assisting the State of Georgia and local communities in providing service to our citizens.

However, may I point out several areas of concerns in the proposed legislation. These concerns includes a limiting infant child care ratio of two (2) children to one (1) adult which will seriously raise the cost necessary to care for children in this category. As you know, Title IV-A of the Act under which day care is funded, require a local match of twenty-five percent (25%). From our standpoint, the local match is becoming increasingly difficult to secure in our present economic situation.

In addition, the amendment does not allow for the use of in-kind donations as the local match. This would seriously jeopardize programs in the Atlanta area now being carried out by our Public School System and Housing Authority. However, if such in-kind donations could be used as local match, it would provide an opportunity to increase service to a greater proportion of our citizens.

The Day Care and Child Development Council of American (DCCDCA) is very much interested in the Title XX Amendment as well as the Child and Family Service Act of

1974 which you also introduced, along with Senator Javitz and Representative John Brademas earlier this year. We basically support the two pieces of legislation but feel the need to discuss several areas of concerns with you. I am most hopeful that such a meeting can be arranged.

Sincerely,

Davey L. Gibson, Board Member  
Day Care and Child Development  
Council of America

Dear Senator Mondale:

Senate Bill 4082 (Title XX) is a vast improvement over the various revisions of the social service regulations promulgated by H.E.W. last year.

Our members, however, are deeply concerned over the inclusion of the provision stipulating that "for children under 3 years there must be an adult for every 2 children". We, as both professional and day child care advocates, know that this requirement will make it virtually impossible to provide licensed care for infants and toddlers, outside their own homes, because of the cost of such an adult/child ratio.

With present inflationary pressures, thousands of women here are taking any job they can get, while their children are still infants, or only a year or two old. We are just in the process of establishing our first infant care facility in Chicago, which we hope will be a model and a training center for licensed home care-givers. This center is mainly dependent on Title IV A for funding and will be providing a desperately needed service. Yet it will not be able to open, unless it can provide care on a 4 to 1 ratio for infants, and even a 4 or 5 to 1 ratio for toddlers.

It seems incomprehensible to us that anybody in Washington, who deals with the real world, could support or accept a 2 to 1 ratio as a basis for qualifying for federal reimbursement. That standard will virtually eliminate subsidized, low cost developmental child care for low income working families, who must have care for children who are still under 3.

Anything you can do to help amend or eliminate this provision will be deeply appreciated by the day care community of Chicago.

Sincerely yours,

Sylvia Cotton,  
President  
Day Care Crisis Council of the  
Chicago Area





## Guest Editorial

# Articulation — A Question of Awareness

**Dr. Antoinette Marchand**  
**Early Childhood Education**  
**Temple University**

Diversity has provided the strength and weakness inherent in our national culture. The differences of the world's values have reached confrontation within our borders. On the surface we may appear to manage cultural assimilation but when critical issues arise and emotions sharpen, it is apparent that we have never learned to cope with differences. In terms of policy and focus, it appears that the emphasis has been on the perfection of internal systems, rather than articulation between systems.

In the educational arena, we have concentrated on good preschool programs such as Head Start, but rarely examined the problems children might encounter moving from a preschool program to a public school kindergarten.

Problem solving concerning how to put differences together often reflects lack of skill for compromise and mutually supportive brainstorming. Instead, there is a tendency to search for blame with the level of interaction reaching only that of accusation and pleading that the other side do the changing.

### The Bad Marriage

The net effect is analogous to a bad marriage. A couple fails to resolve problems and cannot recognize a better solution in breaking the marriage. The couple maintains the relationship no matter how difficult the situation becomes. Ultimately, the adult's decision effects the children and forces them to reconcile differences on their own. Some children learn coping and transitional skills independently; most do not. Thus, one generation after another fails to provide models of adjustment.

Similarly, we in education have neither provided models nor skills from which our children can learn to cope with differing foci and expectancies both from program to program and from teacher to teacher.

### Signs of Progress

School District No. 1 in the City of Philadelphia moved to address this question in the school year 1973-74. Some of the staff from Head Start, Get Set, Child Care, Kindergartens, and Follow Through were given release time during the school year to meet. During these sessions they defined the goals and differences and some of the strengths and problems of each of the programs. The major questions addressed were: what do you expect either to teach or to do for the children within your program and what do you expect that the children you are receiving in your program should already know or have done for them?

Some very clear differing expectancies and foci became evident almost immediately. Areas investigated were special learning problems, curriculum, parent involvement, goals and objectives and health needs. Recommendations were endorsed by resolution to reserve specific time allotments during the 1974-75 school year for continued efforts to formulate articulation plans. Concrete steps were taken by the administration and staff of some of the schools. Primary school principles took time to observe preschool classrooms and lunch with the staff for the purpose of becoming more



**Dr. Antoinette Marchand**

familiar with the goals, expectancies and daily routines of such programs. Kindergarten, Get Set, Head Start, Day Care and Primary grades staff arranged small group discussions to exchange information about their programs and to explore the effects of transition upon the children. Groups of children visited across programs and, with the guidance of adults, described some of the differences they perceived. Parents were encouraged to visit and discuss goals, expectancies, and children's experiences within each program with the staff and administration of those programs.

### Continuity Important

Information sharing among the adults surrounding a child's life leads to better understanding of the child's needs interests and developmental progress. Parents, teachers, administrators and supportive staff of some of the programs have united in an effort to establish record keeping practices that will benefit the child as he progresses through the system. Records which emphasize successful and workable solutions for each interaction noted can provide an invaluable clue for receiving teacher in reaching a new child.

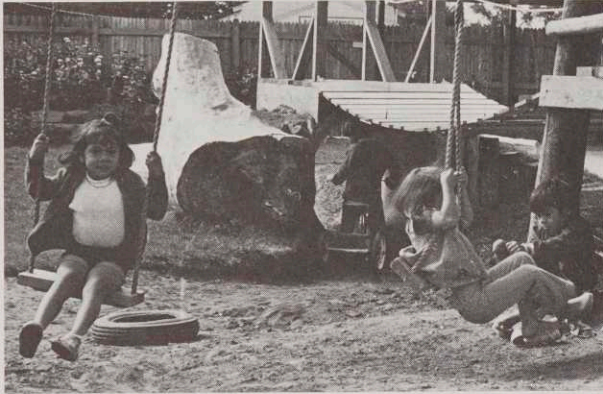
These and many other concrete steps were taken by participants to utilize skills, talents, and leadership in the process of building bridges based on strengths of each program.

Articulation attempts demand mature efforts or they will inevitably fail. Staff and administration must attempt to curtail efforts to fix blame and maximize mutual problem-solving for change. The child should remain the focus of all efforts because his growth is the purpose of the educational endeavor. The adult must recognize that continuity must be established for that child by gradual transition, careful explanation of expectancies, and the use of coping skills and transitional techniques.

School District No. 1 of Philadelphia has begun to recognize this need and has turned the efforts of many talented staff members and parents toward its resolution. Perhaps the biggest step has been already taken — awareness.

*Dr. Antoinette Marchand is a faculty member in Early Childhood Education at Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She has also been a visiting lecturer at the State University of New York at Albany and has eight years of experience teaching children from two through nine years of age. She is the author of "A Comparison of Children's Classification and Seriation Operations in the Physical and Social Domains", Child Study Journal, 1974 and a member of SRCD, AERA, NAEYC, ASCD, and Pi Lambda Theta.*

*Sally Wideroff, DCCDCA Board Member, arranges for Guest Editorials and selects current focus.*



John Griego

## "A Monument to a Man"

Children running, sliding, climbing, crawling, riding, and hanging from their little toes; all this activity happens each day on the Greeley Parent Child Center playground in LaSalle, Colorado. A creative playground of surplus city culverts, a fifteen foot tower, a suspension bridge, old telephone wire spools, and rope swings is more than a playground. It is a monument to a man, a testament to success over the odds.

For years Mrs. Ann Heiman, director of the Center, had a picture in her mind, a dream of the "ideal" playground for children. She could never find anyone who could translate her dream into a reality. Builders were not interested in such a small-scale project. Others could not quite understand exactly what Mrs. Heiman was looking for in a playground.

Finally Mrs. Heiman met Maggie Griego, an energetic woman in her mid-forties attending the local college to complete her art training. The two women complimented each other well. Maggie added dimension to Ann's ideas, added a few ideas of her own, and translated the playground "dream" into workable drawing plans. It was up to John Griego, Maggie's husband, to actually build that dream.

John, a man crippled from birth and handicapped by a weakness for wine, hardly seemed the likely candidate to build a playground for forty-five small children; but build he did. Laboriously the basic ingredients were stockpiled; telephone poles from the Home, Light and Power Co., rail road ties from the Union Pacific Rail Road Co., old tires, scrap lumber, and rocks from the scrap piles of the local stone mason. These materials were transformed into the playground.

John also underwent a transformation. Drinking no longer assumed its importance in John's life. John developed a new feeling of self-worth, a sense of accomplishment, a pride in a job well-done. Now when people come to visit the unique playground John no longer runs for the security of his workroom but rather, he proudly displays his accomplishments and speaks with self-assurance on each piece of equipment.

The playground is indeed a great accomplishment. It provides hours of enjoyment for the children. Moreover, it stands as a symbol of a new life for John Griego. John's job is not over yet. There are many projects that still need his expertise. Repairs and toys will probably keep John busy indefinitely. With each day, faith is renewed with the simple question of a happy, smiling child, "What are we going to build today, John?"

## Intellectual Development of Children

by Edith Edelson

I've often thought, as I worked with the children in my class (not only in kindergarten but in other grades) that the most important gift a parent can give his child is self-confidence. That's more easily said than done. When you consider all the don'ts that children hear as soon as they start crawling and getting into things, when you consider the insecurity and uncertainty that is a part of growth, the fact that they no sooner achieve one stage when they're already entering the next one, when you consider that parents' standards for their children are always somewhere above them for them to reach up to, you can see what a battle it is to make the child confident enough to tackle new problems, secure enough to face mistakes with the assurance that he can learn from them.

How can we instill this confidence in our children? First by being realistic in our expectations of them. This means we have to know a great deal about how children develop physically, emotionally and mentally as a general guide, and more important for the individual child, the sequence of development. We know that not all children begin to talk at the same time, but they all babble before they talk, they walk before they climb, they scribble before they write, etc. That is the sequence that all children follow. If we know that, we won't discourage them from scribbling because it's an important step toward writing, and we'll realize it's just as great an achievement as writing. We won't cut it short by asking the child to make circles or letters before his muscles are ready to do so and before he has developed an interest in making something specific.

There are many more ways to instill confidence in our children, but I'm not going to get into that because I want to talk about how children's minds develop.

### Our Debt to Piaget

We are indebted to a man named Jean Piaget, a biologist and psychologist in Switzerland, who spent many years researching how children think and learn. He said that there are four very important stages in the development of intelligence. Everybody goes through these stages — regardless of their nationality, their background or ability. Some will go through a stage more rapidly than others will, but they can't skip any stage without limiting their mental ability. I will discuss only the first two of these stages.

First, is the sensori-motor stage, from birth to about 18 months. The infant is learning by using his five senses (touch, hearing, sight, taste and smell) and by using his arms, legs and his whole body. He learns by acting upon what is around him. The more he comes in contact with different things around him, the stronger are the roots of his ability to learn. He starts out by not realizing that the milk bottle is something separate from himself and that it is still there whether he sees it or not. You've seen an infant in a carriage drop a toy out of it and not even bother to look for it. That's because he believes that it's not there, since he can't see it. The major achievement of this period is that the child learns that objects don't disappear, that they exist whether he sees them or not, that they are separate from him and vice versa. A favorite game during this stage is the peek-a-boo game. The infant is delighted when the person reappears after hiding from view. Toward the end of this period, the infant can remember or visualize an action without having to do it all over again.

### The Pre-Operational Stage

This is the beginning of the next stage, the pre-operational stage (from 18 months to about 6 or 7 years). The child begins to systematize what he has learned from his actions in the past. This is the beginning of thought. He doesn't have to see the object to think about it, compare it with other things, learn the laws that apply to it. He develops this ability through many varied experiences.

In this stage, the child's thinking is very different from the adult's, so that we can't teach him by explaining our way of thinking. It has no meaning for him.

His logic is based on what he sees. Given a set of four blocks far apart and a set of four blocks close together, he would say that the set of 4 far apart is more than the set of 4 close together. You've seen him break a cracker into little pieces. That's so he'll have more to eat. Don't give him a dime to replace 10 pennies. Even though he knows they're both 10c, he prefers the 10 pennies because they're more. His whole thinking is based on what he sees. He thinks that someone who breaks 5 cups accidentally is more guilty than the one who breaks 1 cup on purpose, because 5 is more than 1. You can see that some of our teachings of right and wrong are confusing because he sees things so differently.

He can think of only one thing at a time. Given a tall, narrow glass with the same volume as a short, wide one, he'll say the tall one has more if he's impressed with the height, or he'll say that the short one has more if the width makes a greater impression on him. One reason for his jealousy of his brother or sister is this inability to deal with more than one thing at a time. He can't believe that his mother can love both him and his brother, and since he sees her spending a lot of time with his sibling, then of course she must love the sibling more. I asked my four-year old grandchild, "Who is your Mother?" She pointed to my daughter Kathy. I asked, "Is she anyone else's Mother?" The answer was "No." But when I asked her who is Eric's Mother, she pointed to Kathy. Thus she knew that Eric's Mother was Kathy and that her Mother was Kathy, but she didn't consider Kathy the mother of both of them.

*(continued next page)*



by Tracy Holt, 3 1/2 years old

Our thanks to Nicolas d'Ombrain of St. John's Child Care and Development Center, Fall River, Mass. for sending us this photo.



### Howdy Doody and Other Points of View

The child in the pre-operational stage doesn't realize that there are points of view different from his. My daughter loved the Howdy-Doody show. We bought her a Howdy-Doody puppet. When my birthday came around, she insisted on buying me a Howdy-Doody puppet. My husband couldn't get her to change her mind. It was unthinkable that I could feel different about Howdy-Doody than she did. A child will often start in the middle when telling you something, or he'll start talking to you regardless of whether you're talking or listening to someone else. Parents often scold the child for being rude. But he's not really rude, he just doesn't think whether you're listening or not; he wants to say something, and that's the only point of view that he's aware of. It's interesting that we often find this trait in adults; they too are unaware at times that there are other points of view.

Another difference is that he can't reverse his thinking. If we made something in arts-and-crafts and you ask him how he made it, he can't work his way backwards to the beginning and tell you all the processes. A first-grade class was having difficulty with equations. They knew that  $2 + 3 = 5$ , but when asked  $2 + ? = 5$ , they couldn't complete the equation, because they couldn't reverse the process.

The pre-operational child has difficulty telling the difference between reality and fantasy. We might think of this when we let our children watch horror films on television.

These are some of the characteristics of the pre-operational child — he judges by what he sees, he can keep only one thing in mind at one time, he doesn't recognize other points of view, he can't reverse his thinking, and he has difficulty separating reality from fantasy.

Now the interesting thing is we can't convince him otherwise. He has to learn from his own experience, from acting upon his environment by using all his senses, rather than from our explanation or from memorizing what we tell him.

### The Problem of the Match

I've said that different children develop at different rates. How then do we match the teaching to the individual child? It's hard to know at what point a child is ready for a given concept. But if we provide many different materials in the environment and give the child a choice as to what he will do with them, each child will pick out what has meaning for him and will use it in his own way. The job of the teacher or the parent is to observe the child's action; this will give a clue to what he is capable of learning. For example, when my grandchild, age 4, saw two shopping bags with things in them, she picked them up, walked with them and said, "This one is heavy; this one is not heavy." I knew then that she was ready to compare weights. So I said, "You're right. This one is heavier and this one is lighter." She was delighted with the new words and with having been right. Then we went on to compare the weight of other things in the room. That's how learning takes place in the classroom too. If there's a balance scale in the room and objects that can be put on either side, some children will put different things on either side of the balance and watch to see which side will go up and which will go down. The teacher presents the question, "Which is heavier and which is lighter?" and those that are ready for it will feel challenged to find the answer, and those that are not, will continue to shift things from one side to the other, and that will give them a sense of accomplishment because they too are learning.

In summary, we should bear in mind that the young child thinks very differently from us, that ideas grow out of the child's experiences and not out of language, and that teaching is not telling; it is providing the appropriate materials for learning and asking the right question at the right time.

*Edith Edelson is a retired kindergarten teacher in the New Brunswick, New Jersey Public Schools.*

## The Children's Fund

The Children's Fund is a part of Community Coordinated Child Care For Central Florida, Inc. As part of the 4C, the Children's Fund is a non-profit, tax exempt organization. Contributions to it are tax deductible.

It is guarded by a committee of community leaders, whose responsibility is to approve any expenditures from the Fund. Expenditures which may be approved by the Children's Fund Committee include:

- a. Quarterly transfers to the 4C Scholarship Project which assists young families who are eligible for help in their purchase of child care.
- b. Special loans, or grants, to child care centers or other children's services for worthy projects which are of benefit to needy children and the community.

The fund was begun by a \$25,000.00 allocation from the Edyth Bush Charitable Foundation in June, 1974. This may be used to match, dollar for dollar, other contributions to the Fund.

Plans for its future include:

Seeking a State matching grant which would match donations to the fund made by businesses in behalf of the young women they employ.

Seeking Federal grants for development of materials and specifically films and brochures which tell of the economics of child care and explain its cost and its importance to the young family.

Seeking continued Foundation and Church support, as well as individual donations such as "support the care of one child for one year".

Voice is grateful to Phoebe Carpenter and Carl Staley for sharing this information with us. We would be interested in hearing any ideas readers might have about projects similar to The Children's Fund.

### A Christmas Card To Our Readers

'Twas the month before Christmas, the deadline was due,  
the VOICES were stirring, the staff members too;  
all waiting to hear how Capitol Hill  
greeted the new social services bill,  
for its Title is XX; its author — the poor,  
and free to more poor than ever before.  
It has the support of NWRO,  
NCG, CSA, AFL-CIO.

The Council endorses the bill even though  
the infant care, staff-child ratio is low.,  
See, forces have grown in the day care field  
and finally realize the power they wield.  
The growth is in age, as well as in size  
and started when '71 gave a surprise:  
a long veto message; a call to debate -  
Another few years that the children must wait.  
So, we gathered our people and mapped out our plans  
to make our democracy meet our demands.  
We learned all too quickly political games;  
picked out our leaders and knew all their names:  
On Brademas! Mondale! Javitz! and Quie!  
Kennedy! Steelman! Abzug! and Reid!  
We need licensing laws so we can be fair  
and see that our standards give quality care;  
We must reach the homeless, neglected, abused  
by seeing all 2 1/2 billion is used;  
Resolve that the state must revenue share;  
match federal dollars to provide child care  
for the bi-lingual, handicapped, latch-key, and lone  
in centers, and co-ops, and family care homes.  
Constituencies grow; represent a broad mix,  
all marching to Child Care '76 -  
the national public education campaign  
upon whose parade it never will rain,  
For the voices of advocacy echo as one —  
"Our work for the children has just begun."  
And so our friends, faith climbs to new heights,  
as the Council wishes peace in the New Year, -  
to every child - his rights. . .

by Dana Friedman  
Council Information Specialist



## The Money Column

### Loans For Child Care Programs

Why would a child care program need a loan? Is there any hope of getting one? Several ideas about loans have been sent in to the MONEY COLUMN. Following up on them indicates that day care programs seek loans for start up costs (construction and/or equipment) and cash-flow problems (erratic and/or late arrival of income from grants, social services reimbursements, etc. causing problems in meeting the payroll and paying the bills on time.)

### Difficulties

Day Care programs, of course, have certain universal difficulties when applying for loans. Many centers have one-year operating agreements. Unable to offer lending institutions solid evidence that they will be in operation next year, programs like these have difficulty in securing loans for more than a few months at a time. In general, child care programs have difficulty in proving their "credit worthiness." From a lender's point of view, the programs who are the best credit risks have been operating for several years and have a stable source of income (like parents' fees or an endowment which meets the cost of care). The few "good credit risks" among child care programs, however, often need loans less than their many poorer cousins.

Also nearly all day care programs have difficulty in paying interest rates. A \$4000 loan for one year at 12% would carry an interest charge of \$480 — almost an individual's monthly salary in some programs. In addition, some federally funded programs are not allowed to pay interest with federal money. Getting interest-free loans (which we will discuss later) is an important consideration.

Finally, most new administrators, trained in child development or a related field, have a general lack of knowledge about securing loans. We hope this article will provide some ideas in this regard. Sources of ongoing technical assistance in local communities might be found in Schools of Business Administration, especially departments of finance or accounting (a faculty member or graduate student); the Junior Chamber of Commerce; and financial advisors for church groups.

All of these obstacles point up the fact that child care programs need a national system offering direct or guaranteed, low (or no) interest loans, and the necessary technical assistance to both secure and repay loans. The Council staff has been giving some thought to this problem, and we would be interested in your ideas and experience.

In the meantime, what are the present sources of loans? And how should a child care program approach a lending institution?

### Finding Loans

One of the first things to do is to define why the loan (and what kind of loan) is needed. Instead of going through several loan applications, for example, a child care program plagued by unreliable arrival of social services reimbursement would do better to ask the local bank for a "line of credit" — an account which the program could draw on (and quickly repay) during those times when reimbursements arrive two weeks after payroll must be met.

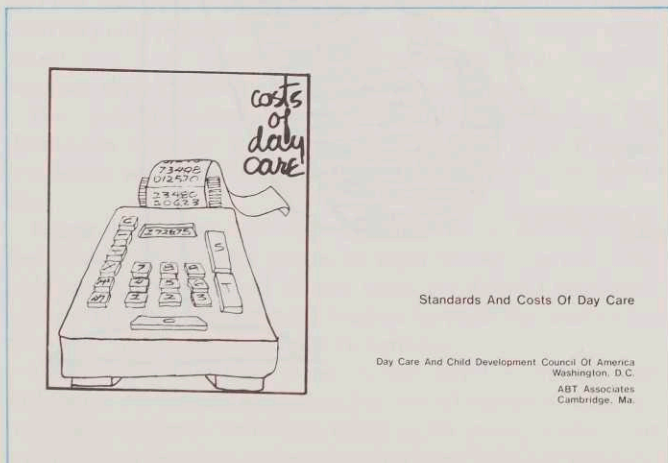
Long-term loans (such as construction loans) are scarce. Sources are, to our knowledge, limited to loans guaranteed by the Small Business Administration, which are not available to nonprofit institutions. The proprietor of a small day care center, however, might find helpful the information in the SMALL BUSINESS REPORTER issue on "Proprietary Day Care," Vol II, No. 8, 1973 (available from Bank of America, Marketing Publications, Dept. 3120, P. O. Box 37000, San Francisco, CA.). Many cities have local offices of the SBA where further information about guaranteed loans (long and short-term) can be sought.

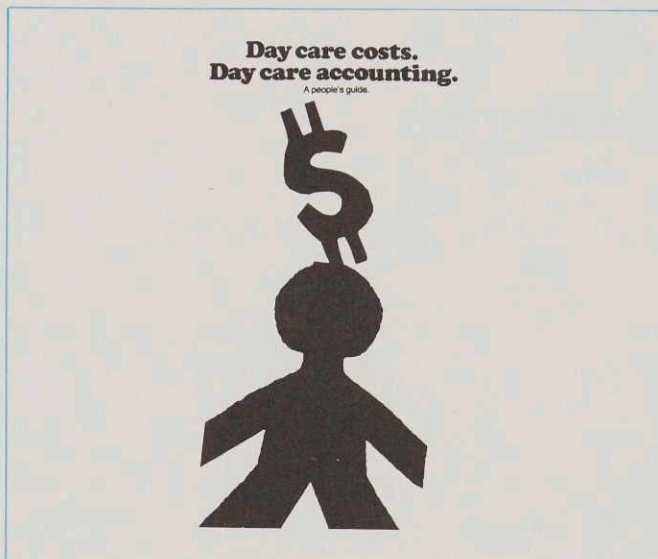
Sources for short-term loans include universities, industries, church groups, banks, life insurance companies and thrift institutions. Universities are good sources for loans because most big universities keep enough cash reserves that \$10,000 wouldn't make a lot of difference. The children's Center at Stanford University, a self-supporting program, has a \$10,000 interest free loan from the office of the Dean of Student Affairs to equip their new buildings (offered by the University as replacement for the old building, torn down to make room for faculty housing).

The best approach for a program serving all university-related children is to ask the university to completely fund the program, as their responsibility to their employees and students. If they refuse, ask for a gift. If that gets turned down, ask for an interest free loan. The same approach can be made to an industry (or industrial group) when the day care program primarily serves that industry's employees. Remind the industry that money contributed to construction or renovation of facilities for employee-related child care can be written off their taxes.

Money contributed for operating purposes of any nonprofit child care program can be taken as a charitable contribution. Since industries are taxed at a 50% rate, they will in essence get back 50c on every dollar they give the day care program.

Neighborhood-based day care programs could also ask local universities, industries and church groups for direct, interest-free loans, as a community service. It helps if neighborhood programs assess what percentage of graduate students or employees or parishioners they serve. A child care program with a 25% enrollment of graduate students, for example can make the argument that it is providing a service that directly benefits the university's graduate programs, and therefore a gift or interest free loan to the program benefits the university, too. If a direct loan is refused, however, neighborhood programs could ask these institutions to help them negotiate loans with local banks and pick up the *interest* themselves. Once again, for industries, this will cost them only 50c out of every dollar of interest they pay.





In approaching a bank or other lending institution for a loan, it helps enormously if a few businesspeople, especially banking people, are on your board of directors. Retired businesspeople are a good resource. Bankers' spouses might be another. The elected officers of the board should also examine their own financial credibility, since the lending institution is likely to check on them. They will also need to make sure the program's lease covers the period for which the loan is asked.

The presentation to the bank should be businesslike. Take your ledger or account book with you. You should also bring a monthly income statement or summary of your average monthly income and expenses. Show them your projections of the income that will enable you to repay the loan. Any written assurances from funding sources will also be helpful in indicating your "credit worthiness." The bank will tell you what "spread" of time for repayment seems advisable.

If you receive most of your income from parents' fees, you will need to show that this is a dependable, not erratic, source of income for your program. Special problems should be discussed. If you expect that one month either your expenses will be high or your income will fall off, discuss this with the lender. Perhaps an arrangement to pay only the interest and not the principal that month can be made. If you are asking for a one-year loan to purchase outdoor equipment and you know that your income, primarily social services, subsidy, arrives erratically each month, you will need to show when it usually comes, the earliest and the latest it has arrived in the past. You will need to pick the "safest" date for monthly payments. The bank must rely on getting that payment by a certain date, as it is bound by law to keep at all times a certain cash reserve in ratio to money loaned out.

Banks are concerned about "credit worthiness" in part because they can be sued by their own stockholders for making ill-advised loans to folks with no assets and uncertain income. Some banks, however, set aside part of their lending resources expressly for community services. They are much more likely to offer loans to "poor credit risks." In addition, even "risky" child care programs can get loans if they find an established, respectable board member, church group, university or industry to cosign the loan. This means that the cosigner accepts liability for the loan if the child care program fails to make payment.

There is a difference of opinion, VOICE has learned in interviewing people for this column, as to asking a bank for

reduced or no-interest rates. Some feel that banks immediately equate you with a "handout mentality" when you start asking for lower interest rates. Banks will suspect your ability to repay the loan. Others feel that it is perfectly legitimate to ask the bank as part of their contribution to the quality of life in that community to reduce or eliminate their interest rates for a child care loan. Supporters of this approach point out that banks, who pay taxes, will be able to deduct this as a charitable contribution. It is better, however, before asking for a reduction in interest rates, to be sure that your program *could* make repayment of the loan at standard rates.

### Revolving Funds

In order to expedite loans for child care, programs in local communities might explore the possibility of setting up a revolving fund for this purpose. In a revolving fund, the total amount stays the same and participating programs can borrow interest free. Local child care and other human services programs could apply to a foundation, church, industry or university for the necessary core funding. A centralized source of scholarship aid (such as the Children's Fund described elsewhere in this issue) combined with a revolving fund as a secondary purpose might be quite successful in attracting donors, since two different ways of using the same set of money is offered.

Thanks for the information presented in this article goes to:

*Geraldine Alexis, graduate student in Business Administration, Northwestern University.*

*Marcus Alexis, professor of Urban Economics, Northwestern University.*

*Phyllis Craig, Consultant on Child Care to the Dean of Student Affairs, Stanford University.*

*Michele Garden, Applied Resources, New York City (a group that offers technical assistance on financing to child care programs).*

*Joe Perreault, Kentucky Youth Research Center.*

-----  
clip here and send

### HELP KEEP THE MONEY COLUMN GOING!!!

Send an idea about sources of \$\$\$ for child care

YOUR IDEA

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August 10, 1977

I think, by the way, that the nationwide picture on minority women may look particularly bleak in relation to the "available pools." That is, if one analyzes educational preparation of women and men, minorities and non-minorities, we would expect minority women to be slightly, disproportionately, better off than minority men or white women in relation to the whole population. Instead, I think it is true that minority women are disproportionately worse off on all counts. That is, they may be in worse case than if racism and sexism were operating only "normally."

August 10, 1977

Dean Frances Holloway  
Yale University  
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Dear Frances Holloway:

Thank you for your letter. I look forward to coming on the 28th of September, including the meeting at Mory's.

Topics: I will be glad to do Topic A. I consider C the most important of the optional topics. I am not very knowledgeable about the 1977 statistics on minority women nationwide, but would certainly prefer to try to pull something together rather than not have it discussed. If Thomasine would prefer to do this one--obviously she knows more than I--I would be glad to offer her the (dismal) MIT statistics on minority women, which I would in any case have planned to present under Topic A.

My guess is that the nationwide picture on minority women in higher education is so worrisome that we should consider:

- . asking everyone to pull out their minority women statistics separately under Topic A;
- . making "minority women" an explicit part also of topics D, E and F.

August 10, 1977

I think, by the way, that the nationwide picture on minority women may look particularly bleak in relation to the "available pools." That is, if one analyzes educational preparation of women and men, minorities and non-minorities, we would expect minority women to be slightly, disproportionately, better off than minority men or white women in relation to the whole population. Instead, I think it is true that minority women are disproportionately worse off on all counts. That is, they may be in worse case than if both racism and sexism were operating only "normally."

If Topic C is covered by someone better than I, then I'd be willing to do E. Actually, I'd like to talk about subtle discrimination under Topic F. I am nearly unspeakable (sic) about Topic D, but would do it if I had to.

I'll send you our statistics as soon as I've had a chance to talk with Pat Garrison.

Warmly,

Mary P. Rowe

MPR:CAB



OFFICE OF THE  
PRESIDENT AND CHANCELLOR

SPECIAL ASSISTANT  
FOR WOMEN AND WORK

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139

February 16, 1977


Adam and Maureen Yagodka  
Building E18  
Room 320

Dear Adam and Maureen,

Just a note about a possible agenda item when we meet? Could we go systematically over the bones of EO--recruitment (posting/search), hiring, salary equity, performance evaluation, firing, subtle discrimination? Could we outline just how we think they apply to Lincoln Lab. and just what we'd hope each supervisor would learn about our expectations as to their behavior?

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

  
Mary P. Rowe

MPR/RH

*For "Charm School"*

Keyword  
Affinity  
Groups

April 20, 1977

Clelia Steele  
PEER  
1029 Vermont Avenue, N.W.  
Suite 800  
Washington, D. C. 20005

Dear Clelia Steele:

First let me take the chance to thank you for PEER, which is a super newsletter. I have mountains of paperwork and your newsletter is one of the few things in the In basket that I really enjoy.

You ask for comments for the national kit on Title IX. Maybe the enclosed draft is precisely not responsive to your Title IX question, since it discusses non-actionable discrimination rather than Title IX--suable problems. But possibly the last few pages on informal women's groups would be of interest. We have maybe a fifth or more of the women of the M. I. T. community loosely affiliated in a network of informal and formal women's groups. They have been one principal cause of change here, ranging from relatively swift increases in numbers of female faculty and students to many dozens of changes in policies and procedures.

If you are interested in subtle discrimination, I would be glad. I am now convinced that large organizations can become essentially law-abiding, in the sense of being nearly free of "illegal" racism and sexism, without, *alas,* bringing about any basic change in environment. I also believe that changing the subtleties of the environment enormously enhances affirmative action. In any case, if you can use this, you are very welcome.

Happy Spring!

Sincerely,

Mary P. Rowe

August 19, 1977

Dr. H. B. Schoepp-Schilling  
Aspen Institute Berlin  
Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies  
Inselstrasse 10  
1000 Berlin 38  
GERMANY

Dear Dr. Schoepp-Schilling:

Thank you for your letter of August 9. And, good for you for building a seminar on Men and Women and Work!

There are several different levels of interest on the topic you mention. If you are interested in equality for women (and others), you may be interested in any or all of the following:

1. preventing discrimination against women (and others), which rests in this country on a wide variety of laws;
2. affirmative recruitment and support for women (and others), which is a limited concept and which stems in this country mainly from one Executive Order;
3. research and practical work on rectifying subtle discrimination, which stems from a moral commitment but has no legal basis or mandate.

At MIT we do our best not to discriminate, also affirmatively to support and also to work on subtle problems. I am sending you an item in each area. The Federal Laws and Regulations deal with the first and second

M. D. Schoepp-Schilling  
August 19, 1977  
Page 2

sets of concerns. (You may wish to write the Office of Civil Rights (see the chart) for a copy of Executive Order 11246, which mandates the second set of concerns). The enclosed MIT Affirmative Action Plan is an example of (our) compliance with that Order. My paper presents some hypothesis and thinking with respect to the third set of concerns.

You will note from the Affirmative Action Plan and my paper, that we intend to act affirmatively toward women and also toward minorities. To these groups have now been added, also, the handicapped. I, naturally, share your concern for women but wished to point out also that we have an equal concern for specified other groups.

With warmest good wishes for your work, I am.

Very truly yours,

Mary P. Rowe, Ph.D.

MPR:CAB  
Enclosure

By happenstance and individual circumstance I have come to several other views of such work:

a) It must be confidential. In practice I nearly always ask people's permission to tell a really bad story to the President and Chancellor or Personnel Director or Personnel Officer--but will always keep information confidential if requested to do so (of course this may mean I can't help). I cannot remember a time when I've been bugged about this in any direct way. I do feel some discomfort though in trying to explain my job, or in trying to illuminate some particular inhumanity in a disguised story. And I have been chided for that kind of indirectness in public speaking on my job.

b) One must not protect the system or its managers too much. The President has recently suggested to Clarence Williams and me that we be careful to let top supervisors know of problems in their departments rather than going exclusively to supervisors involved in a given concern. In the cases of Wiesner and Gray, moreover, they also want to know of major problems. It is my guess however, that many university presidents basically want to be protected--and you should weight this fact heavily in your job design depending on your own institutional practices.

c) An important consequence of being a mediator and ombudsperson is that one cannot be much of an "advocate" with respect to grievances. That is, if Josephine Jones complains of Harold Howe's behavior, the ombudsperson must protect both Harold's civil rights and Josephine's. I think it's good to have a handicapped, aged, black, Jewish woman as your ombudsperson, if possible, since she will be considered more approachable by more of your employees and students who are handicapped, aged, etc. But the fact is, she/he has to be objective. This means if your ombudsperson is doing her/his work right, a lot of people feel he/she is a fink and lots think she/he is a radical. This may tend to make the person feel lonely.

d) Partly because of c above, and partly because of the extra-ordinary and bizarre transference behavior that attaches to such jobs, it's easier to keep a very low profile. This is another reason why you should not expect your ombudsperson to be any kind of flaming advocate.

e) Your ombudsperson must trust and be trusted by your Dean or President; (the procedure used here was for Wiesner and Gray and Women's Forum to interview candidates. In my case they also allowed several long weeks for me to get to know them too). I cannot overstress this point. I cannot think of another job in which the medium is so much the message--an ombudsperson succeeds to the extent that she/he can build one-to-one trust relationships and that has to begin at the top.

f) I think it helps to have a universal ombudsperson. In my case, each pay classification (except, of course, unionized employees) generates about a proportionate number of calls to the office (students are disproportionately served by the Dean of Student Affairs Office). Often where we have a serious problem, it is complex, involving many different people and/or needed resources. It is helpful to see problems in the real-life web in which they actually occur.

Our jobs here are now under various kinds of review. I believe some of the recent comments on our structure would be helpful to you.

Many people here do not know we exist. There seems to be no substitute for quarterly announcements, posters on walls etc.

Some people feel Clarence and I are seriously too conservative, and too punctilious about tying into Department Heads and Personnel. I think social change is always going to seem very slow to many, including myself, but have no good answer here. I do feel good that the investigating agencies and courts have so far found "no cause" on cases taken beyond our offices.

Another important recent suggestion is that we should bounce more of the public health side of the work, and more of the most anguishing problems, into Academic Council laps. (You can imagine our enthusiasm.) This kind of support will be critical to your ombudsperson. Without this kind of backing, it isn't worth taking on the job.

In conclusion, let me add a final word. There is hardly a more interesting job in all the world. Although it is full of anguish, it is also full of enormous joy and a fair measure of humor. (There was the day after we announced a Savings Bond drive when an employee objected because we would not let her buy Bonds unless she checked off "Mrs" or "Miss". Can you imagine the wonderful headline "MIT refuses to let female employee buy Savings Bonds"?) I do, very much, consider it a worthwhile job, and I wish you well in your deliberations.

Sincerely,

*Mary Rowe*

Mary P. Rowe

MPR/RH



The Carnegie grant  
that funded

10 July 1972

Dresselhaus, Potter

+ Widnall

Ms. Florence Andersen  
Carnegie Corporation of New York  
437 Madison Avenue  
New York, New York 10022

Dear Florence Andersen:

I am writing this letter at the suggestion of Adele Simmons and Dorothy Zinberg, to request funds for a five month period, to write a proposal to the Carnegie Foundation on behalf of women in higher education. The work would be done from July through November (with a two-week period in early November for your staff to review the draft proposal, prior to a final two weeks' work by me and my colleagues).

We are requesting \$10,000 to write a proposal for a grant in the neighborhood of \$100,000 to \$200,000 per year. This grant money would be used to pay half the salaries for a year of 8 to 12 Carnegie Fellows: senior women faculty members at different colleges and universities. In addition, during the proposal period we would plan to study the merits and feasibility of a Carnegie Intern program, whereby part of the grant money would be used to support a period of work by each of 40 woman students. The Carnegie Fellows would be expected to work actively for the advancement of women on their respective campuses. The Carnegie Interns would be expected to "apprentice" themselves to senior persons in their fields.\*

Funds to write the proposal are requested for two major purposes:

- to consider the various theoretical and philosophic issues related to the grant;
- to establish the feasibility, and administrative mechanisms for the Fellow and Intern programs, and for the formative and summative evaluation of these programs.

In the first category would fall such questions as the justification for a Carnegie Foundation grant in this area. Why should Carnegie fund "women" in 1973, and why in the field of higher education? We propose a brief review of recent relevant literature on role models and modelling behavior, and on the politics and processes of change in universities and university governance. We would hope from such a review to design a program which would for instance add to our knowledge of the relative effectiveness of male and female role models for women, and of the effect on women of having enough peers so they feel "normal" rather than exceptional.

\*For a further discussion of these ideas, may I refer you to the letter of 17 May 1972 from Adele Simmons and Dorothy Zinberg to Mr. Pifer.

10 July 1972

Of wide interest also are the theoretical questions to be considered in designing the evaluation of this kind of program, and in generalizing from its results. As you may know, evaluators of social service programs are now increasingly interested in formative evaluation, in conjunction with more traditional, summative evaluation. We propose to design an evaluation which may indicate negative as well as positive, unexpected as well as expected results. Such consequences of social change need careful, innovative tracking, if we are to learn of them systematically in a way permitting us to generalize from one program to others.

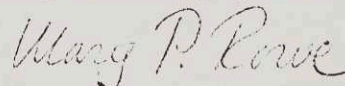
Discussion of philosophic issues will naturally lead to review of feasibility and of administrative mechanisms. Are senior women faculty available for such a program? Would their institutions cooperate? Can and should these women all be tenured, and what other criteria should be used in their selection? For how many months and years should the program be envisaged? What would be the relations and work proceedings among Fellows, among Interns, if any, and between Fellows and Interns?

How would we select institutions? Do we know enough about the psychology and politics of a "critical mass" to suggest funding more than one Fellow (and/or Intern) in one institution? To suggest funding several institutions in one geographic area? To suggest trying the program in institutions of certain kinds and sizes? And how will funds be channeled and tracked within each institution and with respect to evaluation?

In writing this brief letter we cannot touch on all the issues which may be expected to come up. It seems likely that in monthly discussions with Carnegie staff, and that during a November review of the proposal additional questions may also appear.

We enclose a tentative proposal budget, and hope that you will approve the staff proposed: Adele Simmons, Dorothy Zinberg, Elga Wasserman, possibly others from the Committee for the Concerns of Women in New England Colleges and Universities, and myself. With thanks for your attention, and our eager interest in an early reply, I am

Very sincerely yours,



Mary P. Rowe, Ph.D.  
Consultant Economist

MPR/iuf

xc: Alan Pifer  
David Robinson  
Richard Sullivan  
The Members of the Committee for the Concerns of Women

Planning grant for Fellow and Intern Program for  
Women in Higher Education;

Budget Proposal to the Carnegie Foundation from  
Mary P. Rowe

Senior consultant time (Simmons, Zinberg, Wasserman, Rowe, etc.)

55 days @ \$100 per day \$ 5500

Administrative Assistant

25 days @ \$50 per day 1250

Secretarial Assistance

1000

Total Personnel \$ 7750

Travel

11 Trips to NYC @ \$50 \$ 550

15 Trips to universities @ \$25-350 1000 - 3000\*

\$ 1550 - 3550

Phone & Supplies

\$ 500

Total \$ 9800 - \$11,800

plus 10% overhead 980 1180

Grand Total \$ 10,780 - \$12,980

\*This item probably should be on an expenses-reimbursable basis.

## Research Interests

Mary P. Rowe, Ph.D

To summarize my long-term research interests, I am interested in why women take and keep low-paying jobs\*, and/or jobs for which they are "over-qualified", in terms of supply and demand, under circumstances where, with more options, they might choose to make different career decisions. My thinking has run along four avenues: the genetic and hormonal differences between men and women which might "predispose" one or the other sex into seeking, achieving and advancing primarily in certain lines of work; cultural and familial factors affecting women's motivations, expectations, self-image, and sense of competence; the structural problems of society which beset mothers seeking paid work (especially the mobility of husbands and the need for child care arrangements); the existence of legal and social discrimination against women which lies outside their direct, personal influence. Except for trying to keep up with the first area, (reading Harlow, Rossi, Kagan, Erikson, Bardwick, etc.) I have not done any work on genetic and hormonal differences. My competence lies in other areas and in any case, the Law of Parsimony appears to me to suggest that work on environmental factors affecting women is of prior concern to those seeking reasons for differential behavior between men and women. Likewise in the fourth area, although I try to keep up with the literature on legal and social discriminatory practices, I have done little except for equal employment opportunity consulting for various employers.

With respect to the broad subject of women's self-image and motivation, dozens of writers have contributed, Rosenkrantz and Horner being among the most important to me. I have myself been working and writing

---

\*The disparity between men's and women's incomes in the U.S. has recently widened, whereas the black-white disparity is narrowing. Moreover, the men-women disparity is much wider than the black-white disparity and applies to all ages and educational categories.

on the meaning and concept of "work" and on self-evaluation of American girls and women. The importance of such analysis maybe suggested by the following examples. Adult homemakers often refer to themselves as "not working", middle-aged mothers frequently tell me they have "no training for any kind of work, now my children are grown." A male writer discussing the American family in 1972 was able to say, "American adults are almost entirely isolated from children during their working lives." "Work" is however, a chief characteristic of adulthood and of maturity in our society. I believe that many women do not see themselves as fully adult, to the extent that they accept our cultural mores and language about work, and that women (and men) are generally not seen as fully adult to the extent that they are principally engaged in activities not commonly spoken of as "work".

It is, however, probably not strictly the activity which defines whether we call an occupation "work," but whether (and to what extent) it is paid for in cash. Money is only one of our yardsticks of value, but it is very deeply ingrained as a yardstick. This is for many reasons; two in particular are that money permits one to evaluate strange persons and objects (it is our only truly ubiquitous value proxy), and it is an absolutely necessary yardstick for a constructive adult in his or her daily life (no sane adult in modern society can eschew money). I believe that the fact that traditional women's work is not cash-paid is a problem in self-evaluation for all American women whether or not they work for cash. This is because we evaluate resources and human effort in large part in terms of "opportunity cost" (the price or wages or outoput which would have been earned by a resource or person in the "next best" situation available). Many women see their "next best" occupation to be homemaking, which is usually paid zero wages. Accustomed to "earning nothing", such women are ill-prepared to evaluate themselves in our most ubiquitous coinage. I believe that an inner sense of one's opportunity cost is critical to human occupational aspirations and that the non-monetization of homemaking therefore to some degree undermines the self-images of many American women (in and out of the world of paid work).

In working to formulate questions in this area, I have been watching

children, (especially girls), in child care centers, and listening to their teachers. I have worked with several groups analyzing sexism in children's books and on television, analyzed letters to the Chat in the Boston Globe, charted my conversations with my children over time.

I am hoping to help a group prepare an injunction to the Bureau of Labor Statistics to define traditional women's activities as "work", for the national accounts (G.N.P., et.al.).

My present questions with regard to children and sexism are still broad and philosophic:

- How can we provide children (and families) with options while still supporting individual choice? (Many parents and growing children would not choose diversity or options unless gently "educated" about their choices.)
- In what ways do children appear to evaluate human activity? Where, how and when does money enter a child's thinking as a yardstick of human or adult worth? What happens to other yardsticks (I'm the best because I can climb that tree; I feel good because Richard wants to play with me; look at me, I can stack 16 blocks)? What are the implications for children (especially girls) of the fact that family life is usually organized around parental work outside the home, and school?
- What is the relationship between children's play and their present and future conceptions of work and adulthood? How does this change over time and throughout a person's life?
- What are the implications for public policy of our conclusions?

With respect to social structures which inhibit men's and women's free choice of work in and out of home, I have worked the last several years principally on child care -- on various aspects of Federal and state legislation which affect child care arrangements (see resume) -- and have worked on and consulted regularly with groups setting up child care systems. This work very much overlaps with the research on self-image: what kinds of child care do we wish to support in what manner, in and out of home? I naturally hope that work on these questions will help to change the picture of women taking and keeping low-paying jobs without having experienced adequate options.

Berelson 9-19-72 - Why have children?

Sissela Bok, Ph.D., Fellow in Program on Medical Ethics, Harvard  
Matina Horner, Ph.D., President, Radcliffe College

Harvard  
Seminar on  
Raising  
children  
→ a book

Moynihan 10-3-72 - What are the present pitfalls between idealized planning for the quality of life for children and the pragmatic implementation of these plans?

Lee Rainwater, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology, Member, Faculty of Public Administration, Harvard  
Edward Zigler, Ph.D., Yale University

Barnes 10-17-72 - What kinds of factors limit the number of people that our planet can support indefinitely in a manner sufficiently satisfactory to make life worth living?

Nathan Keyfitz, Ph.D. - Andelot Professor of Demography and Sociology, member Center for Population Studies, Harvard  
Roger Reville, Ph.D. - Richard Saltonstall Professor of Population Policy, Director of Center for Population Studies in School of Public Health  
Harold Thomas, Ph.D. - Gordon McKay Professor of Civil and Sanitary Engineering, member, Center for Population Studies

Segal 10-31-72 - What does it take to implement family planning, birth control, abortion, and sterilization policies today?

Hilton Selhanick, M.D. - Frederick Lee Hisaw Professor of Reproductive Physiology, Head of Department of Population Sciences, Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Harvard Medical School, Harvard School of Public Health

Bok 11-14-72 - What ethical factors must be considered in deciding for or against preventing the birth of malformed or unwanted children?

Arthur Dyck, Ph.D. - Mary B. Saltonstall Professor of Population Ethics, Member of Center for Population Studies in School of Public Health, Member of the Faculty of Divinity  
Paul Freund, Ph.D. - Carl M. Loeb University Professor, Member, Faculty of Arts and Sciences  
John Littlefield, M.D. - Professor of Pediatrics, Chief, Genetics Unit, Mass. General Hospital

Lowe 11-28-72 - How can children be provided with essential physical nourishment and health care?

Robert Ebert, M.D., Dean, Harvard Medical School  
Howard Hiatt, M.D., Dean, Harvard School of Public Health

NB Mostly men  
Au white?

Kagan 12-12-72 - The role of experience in early development.

-

-

Bronfenbrenner 1-9-73 - What forms of family structure are compatible with adequate child care and nurturance? How can children be made to feel useful in the modern world?

-

-

Rowe, M. 1-23-73 - What are the pros and cons of mothers 'mothering' vs. mothers working, viewed socially and economically?

Sissela Bok, Ph.D., Fellow in Program on Medical Ethics, Harvard  
Matina Horner, Ph.D., President, Radcliffe College

Patterson 2-6-73 - How can one overcome the burdens of being born a disadvantaged child?

-

-

Sugarman 2-20-73 - What forms of social structure are compatible with adequate child care and nurturance per day care centers, foster homes, half-way houses, schools, etc.?

-

-

White, S. 3-6-73 - What should be the goals of child socialization and education efforts and how can these be implemented?

-

-

Lesser 3-20-72 - What are the potential assets and liabilities of mass media in respect to education and life enrichment?

-

-



White, L.E. 4-3-73 - What forms of urban design are compatible with healthy living for children?

-

-

Kohlberg 4-17-73 - What are children's perceptions about what is important as prompted by the value systems represented by parents, business, advertisements, TV, etc.?

-

-

Edelman 5-15-73 - What should be the rights of children?

-

-

*Handwritten notes:*  
- planning  
- design  
- will be done  
- public  
- and other

- status quo  
last century  
needs of children

- needs of parents

modern society

1973



UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA • GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION  
P. O. BOX 3607 CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA 22903

May 7, 1973

OFFICE OF THE  
PRESIDENT AND CHANCELLOR  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR WOMEN AND WORK  
  
MAY 9 1973  
  
REF. TO \_\_\_\_\_  
FILE \_\_\_\_\_

Dr. Mary P. Rowe  
Room 3-207  
Mass. Institute Of Technology  
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

Dear Mary Rowe,

As you know from Dr. Weisner's letter of April 6 to you, he sent yours of April 2 with attachment to me. It must have come by pony express because it just arrived last week.

I have read these with care and I have reflected considerably on what my experience has to contribute. As you know, I feel very much that I am the creature of my generation on this matter of women and men competing on equal terms everywhere. I am not aware that the assumptions underlying this move have been carefully examined. And I am not at all sure that, if we should achieve it, it will make as good a society as we now have, or that many will want the result, either men or women. There may be a better social structure in this regard than we now have; but I do not know what it is. It is worth searching for. All of this, however, is beside the point. We seem destined to try to achieve equal competitive opportunity as quickly as we can and I will turn my mind to some of the questions you raise.

Until a new generation comes along in which opportunities for women and men have been equalized from early childhood in such things as athletic competition and preparation for and participation in military combat, my guess is that women competing equally with men in areas like executive leadership of major institutions is going to seem a bit artificial. Even in businesses like department stores where there has been a long tradition of women being in equal competition with men at the level of buyer, an important post in a large store, very few women have risen to the top. I can recall only one.

You put your finger on the key problem, in my judgment, in the second paragraph of your letter, "if senior administrators are sure about the potential and acceptability of an individual woman." Since men have to make this judgment, as matters now stand, until they grow up with women as competitors as I have suggested above, they are unlikely to be nearly as sure in judging a woman as in judging a man who might have the same potential and acceptability. Consequently, if they are to be asked to make these judgments now or in the near future without taking what appear to them to be inordinate risks, some new basis to support these judgments will have to be introduced.

The future of our major institutions, once they become going

concerns, rests, more than on anything else, on selecting the persons and devising the working arrangements among the top executive team. And if an inordinate risk is introduced into that process, the future of the enterprise may hang on the outcome of that decision. It may be that women will run these institutions better than men when they get the chance. I am not arguing that point. But making a judgment on a particular woman when the judgment has to be made by men who have not learned to judge women (and they err enough in judging men) presents a special problem that we have to resolve. You may say that men created this situation and it is up to them to resolve it. But if you have the good of the total society at heart, and I think you do, then I believe that the primary initiative to resolve it rests with you.

I agree with your statement in the next to last paragraph on page 2, "our problem is to produce women and men administrators with sufficient common experience that they can communicate," when we can't, as you say, hire "a woman administrator whose experience has been overly like that of men." Consequently I see little point in a special program for women administrators, like that proposed at Michigan. In fact, having participated in a great deal of school training for managers, my belief is that it is difficult to prove that it makes any difference when people who are tagged as "high potential" are selected to attend. Most of it is justified for morale reasons, or, as you suggest, to "cross-fertilize", or to give a person a change of pace. However, it does have value for assessment, both for the individual and for the employing institution. But there is resistance to this, even here in this business school where students don't want class rankings given to prospective employers. And I note that you object to it. This poses one of the dilemmas of our time. People are pressing to be judged on merit and they are against discrimination. At the same time they want to close one of the available channels for judging merit: how they perform in school. I don't believe that the Michigan program as it is set up gives a very good basis for assessment. However, an educational program could be designed that would give a good basis for assessment- especially if it had both men and women in it as participants. At least it would be possible to learn something about their ability to communicate with each other. Valuable as it might be if well done, though, I can't quite see bringing it off because it requires more tough mindedness than is likely to be summoned to deal with the issues that equal opportunity, pressed to the limit, present.

I feel the same about the assessment center concept. This idea was first developed in this country by Dr. Henry Murray at Harvard for use in selecting espionage agents for the Office of Strategic Services (forerunner of CIA) in World War II. This was a two week affair at a remote spot down here in Virginia where candidates were put through a series of tests, some of them bizarre, under close observation. After the war we at AT&T made a one-week adaptation of the OSS model for the initial data gathering in a longitudinal study we started then on a group of several hundred young men then entering the business. In a few years we found that this procedure proved to be exceedingly reliable in predicting management potential, so we then adapted it for use in management selection- at both entering positions and at fairly high levels. Since then its use has spread to other large industries. I don't know what their experience has been in using it with women, or

with mixed groups, but if you are interested and ask Dr. Douglas W. Bray, Director of Personnel Research, I think you will get the full story.

I am confident that a similar procedure could be designed for joint participation by men and women who were candidates for high administrative posts in universities, and that it would give, in a week, a good measure of some dimensions of their potential that are difficult to assess in any other way- even in an actual administrative assignment. But, again, I don't see the mechanism for doing this. It is something that one of the large foundations could help with, but I do not believe that they are now disposed to take this kind of initiative.

So I come back to your initial question, "if senior administrators are sure about the potential and acceptability of an individual woman." This is where I am hung up because I don't believe that our universities- the men and women involved- are prepared, they simply are not strong enough, to use the means we know about to build this sureness- either the kind of short range measures I have mentioned above or to help society to take the long range course of raising women and men from infancy to compete on equal terms (although Israel does seem to be doing some of it)

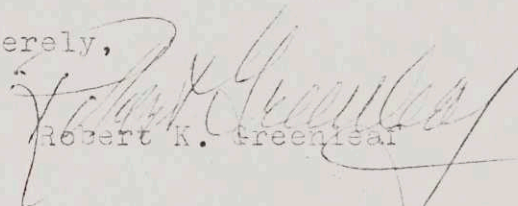
In the meantime, something will no doubt be accomplished with pressure. Whether the result will be more than tokenism it is hard yet to tell. This is a cultural problem and cultures have their inscrutable ways.

The above discourse suggests why my major interest has come to be the building of strength in our major institutions. The revolution of expectations is pressing them beyond their capacity to perform and their administrators, as they are now structured, to endure. Some one of these days the straw may be added that breaks the camel's back, and yours may be the one- who knows? Since I know that people are going to continue to add straws, I have chosen the mission of helping to strengthen the camel's back before the straw that does it lands.

I am not too hopeful about short run changes in the culture; but I do believe that strength can be built to withstand cultural shock. And it can be built fast!

My best to you in your work,

Sincerely,

  
Robert K. Greenleaf

PS-I have seen a great deal of high level administrative training. The most powerful, in terms of value influence, is described in the attached memo. I have seen it done only with men. It would be fascinating to see it done with women and men. I believe the result would be "good"

Copy to: Dr Paul E Gray, Mr. Constantine B. Simonides, Dr. Jerome B. Weisner

## A Course in the Language and Literature of Decision

In the decade of the 1960's at Dartmouth College in Hanover, N.H., I taught a course entitled The Language and Literature of Decision as a part of an intensive eight-week program in Management Objectives for executives of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Sponsored by the company and staffed by Bell System officers and by faculty members of the College, the program offered its participants, both faculty and students, an opportunity for experiment and discovery in the field of advanced management training. The following notes are an attempt to describe briefly the course I taught:

General Aim: The general aim of the course was to bring to bear the training, experience, and insights of a teacher of language and literature upon the problems of business leadership. As the title of the course suggests, it had a double concern: with the study, both theoretical and practical, of language--semantics, rhetoric, and composition--; and with the study of certain great works of literature, ancient and modern, with the practical view to discovering that in them which was immediately useful and valuable to the business executive. These concerns were pervasive, and the two kinds of study were pursued concurrently throughout the course.

The Study of Language: I felt it essential to base the study of language always upon actual business writing. Our first exercise, therefore, was the close analysis of samples of company style as contained in actual business letters, memoranda, policy statements, advertisements, etc. This evidence yielded disturbing results. The writing was blurred and confused, wordy and flaccid. The rhetoric was cliché-ridden and evasive; the metaphors were weary and repetitive; and the style was generally lacking in persuasive energy. As the course progressed the writing of the students themselves (they were required to write constantly) served as further material for analysis. Under the pressure of such scrutiny, the men's writing improved. In lectures and class discussions, such matters as the following were explored:

Words: Etymology proved useful as a way to rediscover the natural imaginative energy in even the most familiar words. Students were impressed to note that the stem of management was the Latin manus, and that the word contained the metaphor of the rider's hand upon the reins. Economy, etymologically considered, yielded through the

Greek oikos the image of house-keeping. Company took us back to bread in the Latin stem panis. And advertising revealed its strange kinship through common ancestry to such words as vertigo, vertex, weird, divorce, and verse.

Denotation and connotation: Without going beyond elementary semantics, the discussion of how language works was valuable. The denotative and connotative functions of language proved a useful tool, especially in the testing of business situations in which one function or the other was more appropriate.

The Meanings of Grammar: A return to a consideration of grammar raised interesting psychological considerations. When an advertising writer uses weak and colorless verbs overlaid with a flatulent supply of adjectives, his claims for his product become doubtful. When business executives invariably revert to the passive voice, one suspects that they are reluctant to admit responsibility for what they are doing. The absence of the first person singular pronoun in business writing may be symptomatic of the dehumanized conditions prevailing in the world of business. Thus considered, one's grammar becomes psychologically revealing, often embarrassingly so. This, we discovered, is one way in which a body of company writing can be analyzed to produce a 'psychograph' of the company's entire operation.

Structure of the Sentence and the Paragraph: We discussed both these units of composition to note their organic nature. One sentence, for example, is vigorous and telling, whereas another, containing the same elements but in a different order, is weak and blurred. And the organization of one paragraph makes it strong and persuasive, while another is weak and inconclusive.

Precision, Directness, and Force: In exploring these matters, the engineering training of several of the men in the course was pertinent. They were delighted to find that language may be engineered, with the aims of precision and economy, and that we may demand the same things of good writing that we demand of good industrial design.

Rhetoric: Here, I think, the most rewarding line of attack was through the study of metaphoric language. Business leaders are not accustomed to examine the implications of their metaphors, and are astonished when they do. Often the overtones of the very metaphors they cherish turn out to be defeatist, or destructive, or at best irrelevant to their purposes.

The Study of Literature: Here again, we proceeded from a basic premise. It was that great literature is great, not only because of its formal excellence or for other belletristic considerations, but also because its authors had a rare knowledge of, and insight into human beings. They are great and write greatly because they know us so deeply and can impart their knowledge to us. Thus it is not impertinent to ask what Shakespeare can tell us about leadership, or the setting of goals, or the management of people. Homer and Sophocles understood many of the central aspects of the corporate undertaking. And the authors of the Old Testament share with Melville, Dickens, or Hemingway profound knowledge of the strengths and weakness of human individuals, and of the ways they interact to further or destroy their common undertakings. Such a pragmatic approach to literature may shock the traditional academic, but it can be freshly challenging and revealing. I hope it is not heretical to suggest that business men can teach literary men things about Hamlet and Richard II, or that literature can teach business men things about running a corporation.

Shakespeare's History Plays: Our most extensive and rewarding experiment in bringing literature to bear upon business was a study of Shakespeare's Henriad tetralogy, Richard II, the First and Second Parts of Henry IV, and Henry V. In these plays one finds profound and searching studies of a large gallery of leaders, the weak and vacillating, the determined and ruthless, the drab and the charismatic, the successes and the failures. As we dug deeper into these plays, we found almost nothing that was irrelevant to the concerns of the students. The men themselves discovered patterns and problems they had already encountered in their careers, newly illuminated by Shakespeare's wisdom. The great literature of decision of the past shed light upon the predicaments of decision today.

Melville: Moby Dick is not often recognized as America's great industrial novel; yet it proves to be exactly that. The whaling industry is here imaginatively recreated and studied, and the ship Pequod becomes a model and a warning for corporate endeavor. Again questions of the setting and communication



of goals, the prerogatives and responsibilities of leadership, and the organization of men to achieve their ends become crucial. Captain Ahab is a case study in destructive leadership.

The Modern Novel: Shakespeare and Melville are cited above as examples of specific literary figures who may be studied by business for practical and pragmatic reasons. Obviously many modern novels can also be of immediate value. One clear advantage they offer is that their world is ours. One quality they lack is perspective, the long view of the human condition one finds in great works of the past. Probably the best program would employ both kinds of literary materials.

Modern Drama: If I were to offer the course again, I should like to experiment with certain modern dramatists. The objectivity and immediacy of the form might, I think, make it peculiarly effective. Plays dealing directly with business problems, Ibsen's Enemy of the People and John Gabriel Borkman or Arthur Miller's All My Sons and Death of A Salesman are obvious possibilities. Chekhov's Cherry Orchard, Pirandello's Six Characters in Search of an Author or Henry IV, and O'Neill's Long Day's Journey Into Night or Marco Millions might prove more subtly relevant.<sup>1</sup>

Relation of Literature to Language: By running the two components of the course concurrently one gains the advantage of a constant supply of ready examples in the literature of the things studied in the language component. The stylistic economy of Ernest Hemingway, for example, can demonstrate language working triumphantly without waste. And Shakespeare's splendid texture of metaphors for kingship can stimulate a search for modern metaphors for leadership. One reads, among other reasons, to learn to write.

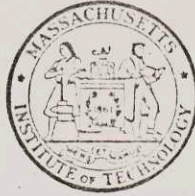
The Search for a New Rhetoric for Business: However one puts it, -- stylus virum arguit, "our style betrays us," le style est l'homme meme, -- the truth emerges that an individual or a business will be judged by its language. The concerns of language are finally moral concerns, a fact hinted

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<sup>1</sup> In the summer of 1970, in a four-week Management Program conducted by Marine Midland Bank at the University of Rochester, I offered a compressed version of this course. I experimented then with modern plays and found that, as I expected, they did serve my purposes admirably.

at by the old-fashioned term 'a man of his word,' and underlined by the morally uncomfortable modern phenomenon of the 'ghost writer.' If business finds itself today in a crisis of confidence, witnessed by the scornful rejection of business on the part of many young people, a contributing reason may lie in the language of business. Perhaps a new rhetoric, cleaner and more honest, more precise and more eloquent, is actually a pressing and practical need of the business world. It was the intent of this course at least to raise this possibility and consider it.

John Finch  
Chairman, Drama Department  
Professor of English



File

OFFICE OF THE  
PRESIDENT AND CHANCELLOR

SPECIAL ASSISTANT  
FOR WOMEN AND WORK

April 2, 1973

Dr. J. B. Wiesner  
Room 3-208

Dear Jerry Wiesner:

In reply to your query about the proposed Michigan Institute for Women Administrators, I like the basic plan. It is true that there are few women Ph. D.'s with substantial administrative experience and that affirmative action requires training. I can think of several recent gaffes and mistakes on the part of women administrators in Massachusetts which might have been averted through experience and training--and women frequently have access to neither.

With specific relevance to this program, I think deliberate, on-site management training is probably generally superior if senior administrators are sure about the potential and acceptability of an individual woman. That is, the protégé system and the junior colleague system permit learning through mistakes and permit the kind of welding of administrative styles which you and Paul exemplify. I see no substitutes for long-term meshing of individuals in a given administration as a way to build trust and strive for efficiency. M. I. T. has plenty of "cases" to bring women into, to see how they work, cases that can be learned here in depth and over time and with relevance to real-life individuals. Our cases might also be different from those of a mid-Western, state-supported institution.

With respect to the substantive information sessions proposed at Michigan, if we have working women administrators who could benefit from learning computer simulation or PPBS systems, we could arrange for them to take courses at Sloan or elsewhere. It is true we need more resident legal knowledge on AAP's (but in this case I'll do my best to acquire it). I can see every reason for providing specific administrative training and exposure to women you already trust and respect. I am not

Dr. J. B. Wiesner

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April 2, 1973

clear that six weeks potpourri training and exposure will substantially improve your respect for women about whom you know so little that you'd want Michigan's proposed "assessment" of them.

I basically dislike part of the "assessment" feature of this program, by the way. Michigan proposes that at least some of the assessment be confidential back to the home institution. My feeling is that the home institution would only want to participate if it already "approved" the individual woman, and that one enormous potential benefit of such a program would have been an entirely honest feedback from strangers to a woman who need never see them again. I think honest feedback is often lacking in administrations in general and that in particular many women have difficulty in accepting criticism. If it were me, I would clearly want all the comments to go back (at least first) to me.

There would be much to be gained for some women in training-group interactions and possible role modeling. This matter is undeniably important--women just do not have the experience of knowing women administrators. However, in the case of this particular program, role models are restricted to fellow trainees because only one of the trainers is female and hers is a substantive, staff role (she's a lawyer teaching law). If an M.I. T. woman is basically going to learn from male models, why not from you and Gray? (My own recent--Carnegie--survey of higher education administrators does not quickly lead me to the hypothesis that Michigan's administrators would offer more than our own...)

One classic reason for training sessions of this sort for male managers has been to "cross-fertilize" homogeneous, in-bred administrations. Again, there is little chance of hiring a woman administrator whose experience has been overly like that of the men. I think the reverse is often true; our problem is to produce women and men administrators with sufficient common experience that they can communicate. It is possible that the Michigan course might help here; I'm not sure.

I don't want to disparage ventures like this since we certainly need to break set on the question. If organized "apprenticeship" to middle and senior administrators here is too difficult and if you know a promising woman who needs eclectic training and who can go away for six weeks, then it makes sense to me. I think the course outline is decently good.

Dr. J. B. Wiesner  
Page 3  
April 2, 1973

Or maybe we should talk first about alternatives and see what is the "opportunity cost" of our participation in this training program?

Sincerely,

*Mary*

Mary P. Rowe

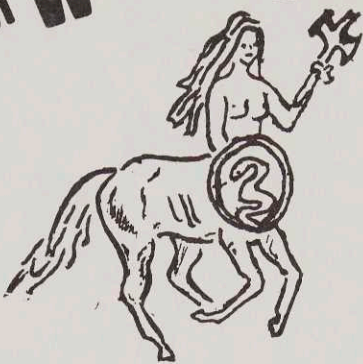
MPR:NJC  
Enclosure

PS. I've happened just to talk with PEG, CBS,  
and Greenleaf about this sort of thing. If  
you see fit please feel free to carbon Xerox  
this for them -  
M.

Center Office  
908 "F" Street  
San Diego, CA. 92101  
(714) 239-8335

# Center for Womens Studies & Services

CWSS Storefront  
805 9th Street  
San Diego, CA. 92105  
(714) 233-3088



Mary P. Rowe, Ph.D.  
Asst. to the President  
and Chancellor  
Mass. Inst. of Technology  
77 Massachusetts Ave  
Boston, Mass. 02139

April 18, 1975

MARY P. ROWE  
Special Assistant for Women and Work

APR 23 1975

Ref. to \_\_\_\_\_  
File \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Ms. Rowe:

I am returning your manuscript. We will not be able to use it in a publication because we did not receive enough quality material to constitute what we feel would be a really worthwhile anthology.

However, regarding your particular work, my main concern is that it may be somewhat dated. Not from the standpoint that the problems cited have been resolved, just that they have been cited before.

I do feel however, that you ~~do~~ have a good writing style and I would encourage you to keep at it. Please keep sending us your material, I would like to note your progress as well as keep an eye open for where we might be able to use it.

Sincerely,

Lisa Cobbs  
CWSS Publications  
Coordinator

June 29, 1973

Mr. Bertrand C. Barrois  
Mr. Michael R. Dornbrook  
4023 S. 52nd Street  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53220

Gentlemen:

I apologize for this late reply - perhaps it is too late - but May was swamped. Please forgive me.

I came first to M. I. T. on 1 February 1973 in my present position. The job was created in 1972 in response to Women's Forum request. When I asked Paul Gray what "success" might be, he suggested "a heightened awareness of the position and possibilities for equal opportunity for women." So I suppose my duty is to enhance that awareness. In fact I see both men and women who have any sort of ombuds-type complaint, question or suggestion about life at M. I. T.

I see students, past, present and potential, perhaps 25-30% of the time. Faculty about 15-20%. Administrative meetings perhaps 10%. Outsiders about 10% (some are potential M. I. T. people.) I work alone about 10% and see employees perhaps 25-30%. (These don't add because proportions change depending on the month.) I am dismayed you didn't include a category for employees - but alot of people miss that category, alas.

Purposes? To build bridges, assuage terrible pain, alleviate frustration... mostly to help people deal with each other as people rather than resources. Sometimes I am a court jester for Emperor's Clothes questions.

*even*  
Relations with others? With Gray, warm and open. I respect him <sup>x</sup>more than before I came, which you'll understand is very rare for a person in my odd potentially conflict-of-interest position. Wiesner is a good man - unambiguous in a crunch. The V-P's are very gracious albeit somewhat puzzled, some of them. My research assistant is a peach and our relations are chiefly hilarious - (look at the subject matter, some of it is gallous humor.) I'm just getting to know a new secretary; maybe she's appalled - maybe she'll comment here? (You can't help getting along with Mary; she is completely thoughtful ... and fun. A. P.)

Paul Gray, Constantine Simonides, John Wynne, Jim Allison, Jim Culliton, 87 Equal Opportunity officers, the EO Committee and all the women have related responsibilities. So far I haven't met anyone in this group I do not like and respect in some area.

Sincerely,

Mary P. Rowe

MPR:AP



File

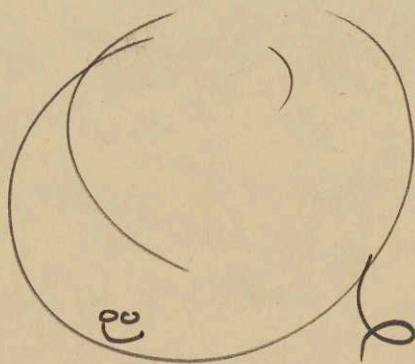
TO MPR

N 1976  
Correspondence

Paul -

Could we, should we  
send 30 xc of our  
AAP to the State Board  
of Higher Education? They  
are drawing up a  
Guide. And your/our  
Plan is now famous.

I think yes but I  
don't know how famous  
you want to be?



It's the  
notoriety of  
worry about

AAP = affirmative action plan  
(He said YES!)

TO MPR from PEG

Memorandum from the Office of the  
PRESIDENT AND CHANCELLOR  
Special Assistant for Women and Work  
M.I.T.

12 Aug

PEG -

I don't know  
if I sent you this  
draft... I thought  
you'd also be  
interested in Pat  
Garrison's comments.



Many, Thank you for sending  
this along. I'm most interested in  
both. Is ST going to publish? Change?



MARY P. ROWE  
Special Assistant for Women and Work

AUG 8 1974

Ref. to \_\_\_\_\_  
File \_\_\_\_\_  
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02139

OFFICE OF THE  
PRESIDENT AND CHANCELLOR  
  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT  
FOR WOMEN AND WORK

July 18, 1974

Barbara B. Reagan  
Professor of Economics  
Southern Methodist University  
Dallas, Texas 75275

Dear Barbara Reagan--

It was lovely to see you last month. The AAUP editor has not yet acknowledged; I am following up.

Conditions for AA change in an educational institution? Let me answer anecdotally, from my experience in this (The Boston) area. I believe real change requires:

. a committed (meaning honorable, well-integrated and morally committed) top administration including at least the top budget people and the two top Personnel people;

*WITHOUT A well organized personnel system AA will fail!*

. the active participation of heavyweight women (and minority) faculty. They must be tenured, outspoken, widely respected, persistent, committed to maintaining standards and more than one. They must also be willing to deal with, and on behalf of, students, staff and employees.

*I found that many faculty feel that what's not academic... is no concern of theirs*

. a critical mass of science, engineering and management men (law school and divinity school people sometimes help). The s, e and m men are needed because they are accustomed to objective measurement of merit and of institutional change, because they are accustomed to leading (or at worst accepting) rapid changes in their fields, and because they are more dependent on outside grants and contracts. These points mean that excellence in the field is less likely to be ignored, that no-change will be noticed, that

*I very important! Faculty don't get involved!*

*yes*

*ALL OF THE ABOVE MEN... AS LONG AS they're WASP... AND TENURED faculty or top managers... CAN only be an asset if they support AAP in theory & PRACTICE.*

(Particularly  
scientist)  
"MIT TYPE"

the men are dedicated to the future rather than to inheriting and protecting the past, and that the external sanctions bite them hard if need be. (Obviously there are many exceptions---some humanities people are powerful allies; some s, e and m men are dinosaurs.)

This critical mass of men is necessary to back up what will be a beleaguered top administration and to serve as supportive male colleagues and mentors to female staff and students. It is my personal opinion that if one had to choose between supportive men (who will work with their fellow men) and "female role models", one should concentrate on the former. Good men will, after all, find women; an ace women can't do much on her own. And obviously we need both men and women.

. the critical mass of men (and the women) must be appealing to, outside or faster than normal channels. An EO Committee, ombudspeople, sympathetic personnel people, first rate medical people or all of the above, must in some organized way be prepared to welcome inquiries and short-circuit the typical molasses-slow grievance procedures. I say this because AA complaints (and many are in fact simply reasonable inquiries which are not at all difficult to respond to and settle) have a horrible tendency to polarize and destroy if left unattended; I agree

. well-organized, on-going Women's Coalition(s), or Women's Forum(s) or Women's Something(s). There isn't any substitute for grass-roots groups raising consciousness, bringing in speakers and discussing generic improvements in the system. I've also noticed, as our smaller, functional and geographical women's groups have organized (e.g. bi-weekly employee women; information processing women) that they set <sup>an</sup> instant floor under abuse. Magically, although no outsider knows what these groups are doing or who they are, the grossest kinds of harassment, petty exploitation, bottom-pinning, calendars and invisibility at salary time seem to disappear. (Dwell a moment on the concept of the disappearing invisibility---that may be our appropriate logo?). Another critical point about such groups is that they give support to and enfranchise people of very different political persuasions and very different perceived problems---something that no one office like mine can do properly, by itself;

I still believe  
role models has  
greater impact.  
WHITE males  
don't want to  
Glossy/Terrific  
Women/and Blacks  
LOOK AT THE # of  
BUT REQUEST  
Assoc/Asst AT MIT.

YES!

77. ← e.g. Dyllis Wallace

• several people around who understand the theoretical (e.g. labor economic) structure of discrimination and why one might want to get rid of it;

• some central location (libraries?) for serious stuff on men's lives, women's lives, minority lives etc. Likewise there needs to be some academic noise and illumination about minority education, women's issues etc. These last three points serve to communicate and help with people who think only about traditional academe during working hours, as well as to advance our knowledge and understanding of the issues at hand. (As in - "I'm an engineer why should I do anything about this?" This person needs to know that equal opportunity is a serious academic matter - what is equality? What happens if labor markets are segmented along ascriptive ~~lives?~~ etc.)  
lines

FALLERS WOTE  
"LESS THAN"  
1970 ←

• a system whereby responsibility for AA lies at the locus of hiring and promotion and graduate student selection etc. This usually means that AA will only work when the Department head is held accountable. Conversely - not needed in my opinion, are central minions eager to supply recruitment pool data for department AA plans. Department heads need to do their own recruitment sleuthing -- to find the sources, to guard against charges that the central minions are threatening the academic freedom of the department, and because the medium is the message in the first place.

Sincerely,

Mary  
Mary Rowe

MR/RH

Good analysis  
Mary - P.S.

Pat Garrison was our superb Aft/EO. Later Sloan Fellow + very successful booker

Mary,

5/29

At A/C 5/24 GMB commented on NIX/CONG. interest in DB et al. Someone asked: Have there ever been cases of serious academic fraud at MIT?

I said: not to my knowledge.

KRS observed that there have (has?) been cases of plagiarism in faculty writings. I did not have an opportunity to pursue it with him.

You may wish to ask him about this

Paul

late 70's?

(I was asking for a policy on Academic Misconduct, I ultimately was asked to take a draft to N 30 Dtt + Gh at WH + we got a policy)



PARK HYATT WASHINGTON, DC.

24TH AT M STREET, NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20037 USA

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THE SEMINAR ON TECHNOLOGY AND CULTURE AT M.I.T.

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MARY P. ROWE  
Special Assistant for Women and Work

312 Memorial Drive  
Cambridge, Mass. 02139  
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JAN 16 1975

Ref. to \_\_\_\_\_

File \_\_\_\_\_ January 15, 1975

*Inequities  
status of  
page 9*

Dr. Mary P. Rowe  
Special Assistant to the  
President and Chancellor for Women  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
10 - 215  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Dear Mary;

Enclosed is a rough transcript of your talk. Could you edit it and then send it back to me at your convenience; the sooner the better. Don't bother to do any retyping; just try to make your editing legible. We can make as many copies of this as you wish available to you.

You did a superb job and this document ought to receive wide distribution within the M.I.T. community.

As you know, I want to get together with you again to talk about what the Technology and Culture Seminar might be able to do to be helpful in connection with your interests here at the Institute.

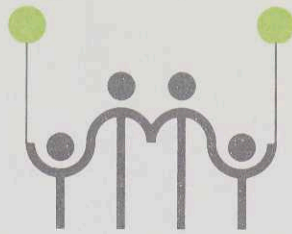
All the best, and thanks. *(if anything!)*

Sincerely,

*John*  
John Crocker, Jr.

JC:p  
Encl.

*This speech occurred at the beginning of my third year at MIT. A great many small changes were happening but I was plainly impressed by how difficult a problem discrimination is. I did not publish this, I think.*



GROVES CONFERENCE  
ON MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

MARY P. ROWE  
Special Assistant for Women and Work

MAY 28 1974

Ref. to \_\_\_\_\_  
File for Robert

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Charles Figley

May 22, 1974

Ms. Mary Rowe  
77 Massachusetts Avenue  
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Dear Mary:

I want to thank you for the excellent job you did as a member of the "Man's" panel at the recent Groves Conference. In my opinion it was one of the highlights of the Conference. On the other hand, I am sorry that we didn't get a more formal presentation from you. I always want my cake whether I eat it or not.

As you know, I am preparing a book of readings and would like to include something from you. Is there a possibility you could send me something?

Cordially,

*Harold*  
Harold Feldman  
President

HF/sr

*Rosa please send w/ June 2 speech*



MPR

Mary

Thanks for the party. Find MIT so much nicer than Radcliffe, again & again. Saw Jeanne Westheimer, who's a sort of Dean at Harvrd Grad School & whom I've known for years. She confessed she didn't really belong at Rdcliffe Grad. Society awards dinner, having ~~always~~ been a Harvard employee before merger. I said that's what's wrong at Radcliffe: it doesn't provide a home or act as advocate for all Harvard academic women.

Horror stories do not stop w. tenure & advanced age, though they become more subtle. There is a special kind of invisibility. Having experienced it lately & complained about it to a few friends, I've learned that it's quite widespread:

Examples, composite:

Male colleague, sort of a friend, knows your work, has praised it (if patronizingly), writes a paper, sends you copy, thanks for your help, asks for comments--seems to be expecting a pat on head for being so kind as to have given you 3 citations--but what are they? Just trivial examples, bits of data ("Ou est mon chapeau?" Mary McNoodle cites this example from Voltaire.) This is worse than not being cited at all, for it suggests tht the person knows your work but found nothing worth while in it except these examples. The paper also draws on your real work, or is similar (more or less independently discovered) but fails to mention or credit, credits others who ~~have done~~ what you did a year or so after you did (as the author well knows), or else does a slapdash job, sweeping under the rug some important problems you have worked on & pretends they don't exist. You see your name in the bibliog. Look back & see that instead of referring to your theoretical contribution, there is just "I borrow an example from Nellie Jones (1975)."

I wrote a squib in 1972, which was acclaimed as v. good--It was 200 words. Submitted to Linguistic Inquiry (~~██████████~~); after a year of hemming & hawing, it was turned down. Some years later, new squibs ed., & <sup>at</sup> urging of some grad students, I resubmitted, again, suppressed for ~~some~~ crazy reasons. Last week I went to a party & Haj Ross says I really ought to publish that squib (which is still circulating around) & told assembled people how clever it was ... (For all I know he may be one of the readers who quashed it in 1972...) It made a little mild fun of some of the literary devices in the prose of linguists & their approach to "explanation" vs. that of e.g. physicists --linguists were too defensive to allow such things to be said by an "outsider"--now Haj tells me it's still (or finally?) timely ... Shit! 200 words!!

It's really amazing that we women manage to do as much as we do & get published in spite of all--the obstacles seem even worse in retrospect.

You're looking absolutely gorgeous. Great haircut. Have a great summer. We're off across Canada by train, then to Hawaii, will see our respective sisters, a daughter, & I'll give a talk <sup>seattle</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>two</sup> <sup>Hawaii</sup>, so some of expenses will be deductible.

~~██████████~~

MARY P. ROWE  
Special Assistant for Women and Work

JUN 13 1978

Ref. to \_\_\_\_\_  
File \_\_\_\_\_

PEG

1973?

Free  
Paul  
Gray

FYEO?

Supposing a professor here made a joint international proposal, with colleagues in other countries, to do research which will result in knowledge plus a product, who passing the proposal thru Dept HQ, CIIC, Dean, Provost or OSP. Suppose this proposal is in the range of \$100K. How seriously would you be concerned?

No problem until proposal approved


Depends on circumstances

Not too likable

Come see me

Surely you jest, Mary

Other

(Remarks about retirement not accepted here )

Mary. If this was a proposal for which MIT was solely the legal entity doing the work and responsible for it, I would be very concerned and inclined to require withdrawal of the proposal.

If it was a proposal for personal consulting, I'd want to inquire about use of MIT name  
Shaw tell me more.

Shaw