The Nieman Fellowships: Reflections From the First Two Women
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Special Issue on Women and Journalism
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Editorial

Tenney K. Lehman

A Focus on WOMEN AND JOURNALISM

In the media, women enter a domain created by men and well established in the male image. After crossing this threshold, women are not free to progress in routine fashion — their efforts must rival those of men. Their work is judged not on merit, but on how closely it resembles what their male colleagues have accomplished. Locked in this adversary position, women nonetheless continue to function, even as they seek a way to break out of the entrenched hierarchy and evolve a separate identity. For women journalists, reporting the news presents complexities that in themselves are newsworthy.

- Women reporters live with the irony of gathering news that will be disseminated by the same media whose advertisements promote erroneous perceptions of women’s capabilities.
- Women find themselves reporting on events which their colleagues, or others for whom they feel empathy, have generated from within the Women’s Movement.
- Women who have attained high level positions are respected by other women; they serve as role models, a type-casting which brings its own pressures of accountability, expectations, and guilt.
- Women who have been subjected to unfair employment practices seek legal redress.
- Women are engaged in ongoing confrontations arising from conflicts between their home and their career.

The articles for this issue have come from women and men examining some of the facets of change in journalism. Included in these pages are vignettes from the career of Elizabeth Cochrane (Nellie Bly), a pioneer newswoman in the early 1900’s. Among her counterparts today are women who are sports reporters and editors; who hold positions at the management level of the press; who keep scorecards of sex discrimination ratios in employment records, enabling legal action to ensue; who revise a stylebook with usage appropriate for both sexes instead of for just half of the human race. Other writers report on the stresses and demands of the dual role of women.

Behind the table of contents is another story, best described as “networking.” Its meaning became palpable as an increasing number of people responded to the theme of “women and journalism.” Through the support of these authors, NR initiates an uncommon outreach, with a message that confirms the shift of established societal patterns and declares those who think in stereotypes. Here are portents of not a minor revolution.

In this context, to focus one issue of NR solely on “women and journalism” is misleading, as the media are used simply as vehicles to describe what all women experience in their career endeavors. But, in fact, conflict and stress — which go hand in hand with change — have become a way of life not only for women, but also for men in the professions.

In such kinetic circumstances, the Women’s Movement is a misnomer. Its designation implies limits; but central to the success of any revolution is the classic sequence: the oppressed must first free themselves from the oppressors, and next free the oppressors from themselves. This includes everyone — i.e., women and men. Or, put another way, positions of responsibility should be combined with some measure of power. Otherwise exploitation exists.

Women, sensitive to nuances and in the habit of waiting for fruition, bear the double burden of effecting liberation for themselves as well as for men. The news of this revolution may be transmitted by yet unimagined means of technical sophistication, but innovation and custom will blend whenever the women and men who do the reporting embrace journalism’s traditional qualities of intellectual curiosity and fire in the belly.

Tenney Kelley Lehman, editor of Nieman Reports and Executive Director of the Nieman Foundation, has been associated with the Foundation since 1967. She has also worked in college admissions, advertising, and radio.

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This special issue on women and journalism is dedicated to Agnes Wahl Nieman, whose generosity enabled Harvard University forty-one years ago to create the Nieman Fellowship program. At that time the concept of a mid-career sabbatical was innovative; since then many other programs in this country have been patterned on the Nieman idea.

Born in Chicago on January 26, 1862, Agnes Elizabeth Wahl grew up with her two sisters in a family of music lovers and in an atmosphere of graciousness and elegance. Taught at home in their early years by governesses, the young women were sent by their father — as his father previously had sent him — to Europe to complete their formal education.

Agnes attended Madame Mathilde Marchesi's "Ecole de Chant" in Paris and deepened the devotion to music which was to last throughout her life. After her return from abroad, Agnes and her family moved to Milwaukee where Mr. Wahl had built a mansion of red brick. The spacious and luxurious home provided a gathering place for musicians from near and far, and the Wahl family soon became famous for their musical salons.

Agnes Elizabeth Wahl and Lucius Nieman met on Washington's birthday in 1895, an occasion known in the Milwaukee Journal's history as "the day the ladies got out the paper." In an imaginative money-raising project, some women in the city had volunteered to edit and publish the Journal. It turned out to be fifty-six pages, an unheard of size at the time. The women printed extra pages on silk and sold them for $100 to $150 a copy.

Five years later the society pages carried an account of the wedding of Agnes Wahl and Lucius Nieman. It is said that she was his "best friend and almost constant companion, as well as a devoted wife." Her proficiency in German and French was so great that the staff of the Journal regularly sought her advice about foreign matters.

The Niemans had mutual interests in the community — the Art Museum, the Children's Hospital and the Milwaukee Public Library. But the newspaper remained foremost. This was reflected dramatically in later years when it was learned that Agnes Wahl Nieman had bequeathed thousands of dollars to friends, relatives and charities, but reserved the major portion of her estate for a tribute to her husband's memory.

On February 5, 1936, four months after her husband's death, Agnes Nieman died, leaving a will that made journalistic history.
THE NIEMAN FELLOWSHIPS:  
Reflections from the First Two Women

By 1979 — thirty-four years after women were first allowed to par­
ticipate in the Nieman program — a total of thirty-four women (thirty-one Americans; three from abroad) had been appointed Nieman Fellows. We asked the first two women Fellows, Mary Ellen Leary and Charlotte Fitz­Henry, to give us remembrances of their year at Harvard. Their perspec­tive, especially valuable to those women who became Fellows after 1946, illuminates better than any statistics the process of change within society and the Nieman program.

MARY ELLEN LEARY

One would like to report that the experience of being one

of the first women Nieman Fellows at Harvard back in

1945-46 was a kind of Valkyrie role, feminism triumphant,

male student body and faculty alike moved to astonishment,

President James Conant in awe that history was being

made as two females were actually classified students of


of cymbals, beat of drums!

But what comes back to me most is how painfully shy,

scared and diffident I felt. It

was only eight years since I

had left graduate school at Stanford, but I had become

committed since to the tumult and troubles of big-city life,

big-state politics and city room pressures. That step I’d

made. Could I cross now to so lofty an academic world as

Harvard?

The characteristic that most stirs my respect for young

women in professional careers today — and most
distinguishes their era from mine — is their confidence.
They move rightfully. They exhibit a comfortable assurance
in their talent and their opportunity. The world and the time
are ripe for the plucking: they need only to reach out.

In retrospect I recognize that the uncertainty I suffered

a generation ago was the pain of passage from one distinct
epoch in history to another, from post World War I to post
World War II. One factor in this trauma was the searing
experience of the Depression. The comfortable middle-class
world was wrenched apart. Millions of seasoned adults
were abruptly thrown out of work; every young person lived
with anxiety over joblessness. I never ceased to marvel that
I could go to work mornings, and to work that I chose.

But another source of uncertainty was the cultural
rarity of a woman purposefully pursuing a career. This was
not a common pattern, yet never did I consider news
reporting just a comfortable span between adolescence and
marriage, just a way to make money. For that, in my youth,
women became teachers. But to step from a sheltered home
life and private schools to elect a professional career was
still rare enough to startle one’s elders. It wasn’t, I was
often chided, “done.” It wasn’t “ladylike.” In Omaha,
Nebraska, Victorianism thrived even forty years after the
good Queen died. The lifted eyebrows didn’t deter me but
they drove my confidence into the closet.

The third, and perhaps most diminishing, pressure
was journalism’s attitude towards women. We had “token”
status. Although I was told that the St. Louis Post-Dispatch
in that period “had never allowed a woman to step inside
the city room,” most newspapers had finally admitted one
woman to the city-side staff. She was usually locked into
“the woman’s angle” on breaking news. Unfortunately, the
paper on which I found an opening, Scripps-Howard’s San
Francisco News, had two. It was borne in on me through

Mary Ellen Leary, Nieman Fellow ’46, is a California
correspondent for The Economist (London) and a
contributing editor for the Pacific News Service. She is a
member of the 1979-80 Nieman Selection Committee.
three long years while I toiled as “secretary to the city editor” that I had to wait my turn behind both until death, marriage, or some other kind circumstance gave me an opening. No metropolitan daily would presume to maintain a pattern of two women on its city-side staff. When the break finally came — society reporting spurned in the meanwhile — assignments for a long time were slanted solely to feminine aspects: interview the widow, pose as a woman on welfare, write up the opening of school, New Year’s first baby, June’s first bride. But I will credit my colleagues and those capable women before me: eventually the “tokenism” gave way, and women reported on fires, welfare exposés, the advent of public housing, the impact of “war agencies” massed at San Francisco, and the Japanese in War Relocation Centers. Finally World War II forced the press to open the position of political reporter.

A colleague at the San Francisco News, Bob Elliott, was a Nieman Fellow and he prodded Louis Lyons and others at Harvard to take a risk and admit women. Then he came home to egg me on to apply. At Scripps-Howard headquarters in New York the senior editors grumpily advised me, at a stopover en route to Harvard: “This year will ruin you as a reporter.” Except for that put-down every man I worked with gave me encouragement, along with hell for unclear leads.

There was certainly no “women’s movement” in those days, no consciousness-raising about feminism. The goal was to submerge feminism by proving oneself competitively competent with men.

What eased the uncertainties my first day at Harvard was the warm and gentle welcome extended by Professor Arthur Schlesinger, God bless him; he took me to lunch at the Faculty Club. I treasure the memory of that initial introduction, his thoughtfulness and courtesy, the special interest he showed all Nieman Fellows but especially to us, the first women.

The topping on his cordiality was the meal. He introduced me to the Faculty Club’s wartime boast which still survived: horsemeat steak. Robust but good. As I recall those meat-rationed days, a full dinner — soup, a good-sized slab of medium-rare steak, mashed potatoes, salad, dessert and coffee — cost only ninety cents. I lived on it.

In fact my recollection of that whole year is largely fashioned around gastronómical delights, especially the cocktail openers and famous dinners when major journalists bantered their way through Nieman challenges. The one deviation from customary Nieman repasts occurred at the afternoon seminars. I didn’t like beer. I drank tea instead. I couldn’t detect that it made any difference to anyone.

Both Charlotte FitzHenry and I had elbowed our way out of “tokenism” by the time we got to Harvard. Charlotte had acquired solid experience with the Associated Press, had moved from Bloomington, Indiana to the Chicago AP bureau and had recently been covering business news and the Stock Exchange, where her presence on the floor constituted another “first” in breaking the sex barrier. Out in California, I had been the first woman to cover California’s State Legislature — topped by being the first woman allowed on San Quentin’s Death Row. After only one year of experience at the legislature, I came to Harvard still absorbed in mastering the process so that I could comprehend the power moves within it. This interest led me, while a Nieman Fellow, to visit several neighboring legislatures. I went often to the State House in Boston; I took a campaign jaunt with Curley; I journeyed to legislatures in New York, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. I was dumbfounded in Providence to see reporters tediously card-indexing all the bills. Then I learned that the state didn’t bother to print them until they were enacted into law. In other legislatures I found the press banned from floor contact with legislators because of past press corruption; and in some, committee hearings were secret, and reporters were forced to loiter outside the doors to pick up crumbs of news. Learning in the Nieman environment was wider than the campus limits.

But the exhilaration of classes exceeded all expectations. The courses were marvelous — especially the theory of government that lay behind what I had experienced in political reporting. I ate it up. It was the last teaching year there for Professor MacIrwaine; his lectures on political theory were a great experience. He would arrive in class with a precarious pyramid of books from which he read appropriate passages, thus illustrating the value of going directly to original sources by reading in English out of Greek and Latin texts. I took a fine course on constitutional law, Professor Fainsod’s course on the Soviet revolution, a study of European democracies, and Roscoe Pound’s course “Introduction to the Elements of Common Law.” This I found so exciting I persuaded some of the other Fellows to sample it one day, and they said it was the dullest stuff they ever heard. They didn’t have a law professor for a father — but there were enough courses for all tastes.

The atom bomb was the unsettling big news of those years. I have always been grateful to Louis Lyons that as Niemans we had a front-row view of future space explorations. We heard a number of great nuclear scientists who previewed for us the coming space age, including the possibilities for peacetime use of the atom. They gave us a first chapter of what would become debates over the dangers of unleashing the atom. All this rich experience I recollected recently as I was writing about the Venus probe and nuclear protests.

The Oscar Handlin lectures about the impact of
successive immigrant waves on American cities were particularly fascinating to me, and remain relevant background as I write today about Mexican immigrants, legal and illegal. But the focus he took on Boston's conflicts became extremely vivid in a personal way. I found relatives in the area whom I'd never seen before, and ran smack into the hostile Irish Catholic suspicion: "What are you doing hobnobbing around with those uppity Harvard people? They aren't your kind." Coming from a melting-pot city, San Francisco, I was appalled at the divisiveness: it was my introduction to ethnic conflict.

Charlotte, meanwhile, was taking courses in city planning and urban problems, a background she used after her marriage to John Robling and her move to Connecticut.

Were we conspicuous amidst the male population, much of it still in uniform and just easing back to civilian life? Not really, because Harvard had recently opened its doors to Radcliffe students.

The only sex-related rebuff I experienced occurred when I tried to enter the Harvard Law School, just to sample one class. Professor Thomas Reed Powell was famous for a certain flamboyance in the classroom. I had met him. He often came to Nieman functions and was a personable, provocative figure. So I said I planned to show up one day at his class. "You may not," he said firmly. "No woman comes to class at the Harvard Law School.''

"For heavens' sake, why not?" I asked. He weighed his reply. "Well, we don't have the proper toilet facilities in the building," he said finally. "How long is your lecture?" I inquired, and guessed that I could forego a ladies' room for a couple of hours. "That's nonsense. I should like to attend." He was adamant. So was I. One bitter cold morning I set out for an 8 a.m. lecture, booted and bundled against the weather, my head swathed in a wool scarf, mittened hands clutching my green bag. As I plodded through library stacks in the all-male throng en route to the appointed classroom, a door flung open, blocking the narrow passageway — a door labeled on the side thrust towards me, "Men." The emerging figure was Professor Powell and he spotted me. Holding the door open as barricade, he planted himself in my path: "Where do you think you are going?" I didn't have the phrase "male chauvinist" on my tongue in those days, but I was so exasperated by the quiant effort to stem the tide that it made me laugh. I turned on my heel and left. I knew the barriers were falling. Within two years, as I understand it, women students were enrolling at Harvard Law School.

When preparing to read at Widener library it was unsettling to be admonished, "Radcliffe students sit in there!", and directed to a decently segregated alcove where it was thought appropriate to shunt women out of harm's way. "I'm not a Radcliffe student," I had to explain ceaselessly. "I'm a Harvard student." At the librarian's desk long whispered conferences followed my statement. I learned to carry my identification everywhere.

We were all caught up, those days, in tumultuous discussion about how to make the press better: more independent of advertisers and business managers, more free of corporate conservatism. Recent publication of the newspaper PM held bright hope for changing journalistic patterns. I think we augured the underground press in some of those sessions. My colleagues, brilliant science writer Leon Svirsky, combative labor specialist Arthur Hepner, sensible, down-to-earth Frank Kelly, the persistently questioning Bob Manning, all wanted to evolve a model for the Utopian newspaper. We spent hours outlining what it ought to be and ultimately produced a book. Today it is interesting to observe that the complaints we raised then about the press were reiterated in complaints now about television news. We deplored superficiality, the urge to entertain, soft news and sensationalism rather than hard news; the failure of reporters to investigate, to learn background material and to interpret issues.

One touching experience that year seemed to be an important link in the story of women's advancement. Mrs. Schlesinger invited me to address the League of Women Voters. (Her special sensitivity to women breaking free from the cocoon of centuries is most marked by the library established in 1965 in the Schlesinger name at Radcliffe. I am convinced that her interest, combined with that of her husband, also helped push Nieman doors open for women.) I didn't want that talk to dwell only on my own experience, so I sent out a questionnaire to approximately one hundred newspapers, selected for geographic range and size. I asked about women's acceptance on news staffs, how they performed, and how they compared to men. Replies were astounding. They were panegyrics. Editors fell all over themselves to tell their stories: Women were the most faithful on the staff, the hardest working, the sharpest
probers, the most imaginative writers, the best and the brightest. What I sensed earlier had happened: the wartime years opened the gates. Women were moving into newsrooms in great numbers: they were accepted and appreciated — total change had come in less than five years. I have no idea why I didn't have the sense to publish that information. But it cheered the League of Women Voters.

Yet the thing I remember with most excitement from that session is how many, among the grey-haired and plainly dressed, unobtrusive women in that hall, wore tiny gold lapel pins: miniature reproductions of a jail door.

These women had been imprisoned as suffragettes. That was the feminine “first” I encountered at Harvard that mattered the most.

CHARLOTTE FITZHENRY

In his last lecture before retirement, the late Ralph Barton Perry, a favorite of all Nieman Fellows, said he could explain William James’ philosophy in five minutes or five hours — depending on the time he had. I could write a book but I’ll try for a five-minute version of 1945-46, when females became Fellows.

Of course we were apprehensive. Thirty-four years later Mary Ellen Leary and I have confessed to each other that we were scared to death. But apprehension was allayed fast, especially by Louis Lyons and the late Arthur Schlesinger Sr., and by our male counterparts and their wives.

Our arrival had been too well-publicized — our pictures in Time, fan mail; we became uncomfortable interviewees, not interviewers. But once we were in Cambridge, everyone made an extra effort to settle us into the non-routine of the Nieman year as quickly and comfortably as possible.

Discrimination was minimal. Widener Library wanted to hide us with the Radcliffe women, but somehow, without a placard or a march, we soon were sitting in the main reading room with Harvard men. The press box at the football stadium was off-limits to women — I didn’t contest.

But as women, we had special chores, one being to address Mrs. Schlesinger’s club at the Athenaeum, where she introduced us by saying, “Girls, here are our feminists!”

Those women really were feminists, some distinguished in battles won for us before we were born. I’m not sure either of us qualified. It’s true that we had broken several patches of new ground before we came to Harvard. Mary Ellen was the first woman political editor of the San Francisco News. The Daily Pantagraph hadn’t previously employed a woman police reporter or assistant city editor, nor had the Associated Press in Chicago previously put a woman editor on the state or trunk wires.

There were no female quotas then, and even though the war opened many jobs to women there still were men in our offices who could have filled the posts we were given. The assignments came because we had worked hard for them. The work left little time to pursue women’s rights, which were not a high national priority at the time. We had started in this business when the eight-hour day was at the discussion stage and a five-day week (at the Pantagraph, anyway) was unheard of. My starting pay had been $14.10 a week and I was glad to get it.

Mary Ellen, however, has the feminist edge. A year before we were admitted as Niemans, she had written the Foundation asking to apply and was turned down. Obviously, she expedited the admission of women.

The real pioneer, however, was Harvard, willing to take a chance on us. The Nieman Foundation, endowed, after all, by a woman — Agnes Nieman — was less than ten years old when it opened its doors to us. The much older Rhodes Scholarships admitted women for the first time only two years ago — thirty-two years after we came to Harvard.

We came, like other Niemans to learn. My own study plan involved town and urban planning, and included two technical courses at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. And like most other Fellows, I benefited from Schlesinger’s social history and Fred Merk’s history of the westward movement. Carleton Coon and Howard Mumford Jones took special pains with all of us. Alvin Harvey’s economics course left me going down for the third time in a sea of imponderables (until the day he told us to tear up our notes

Charlotte FitzHenry Robling, Nieman Fellow ’46, heads Charlotte Robling and Associates, Public Relations Ltd.
from the previous lecture because he'd explained a complex formula dead backwards — then I decided that if I drowned he'd probably go down with me). Yet Harvey was a frequent and favorite guest at our dinners and seminars.

That year we had a unique extra-curricular project — we wrote a book, *Your Newspaper — Blueprint for a Better Press*. The book dictated many of our dinner-speaker choices that year, and it also brought us together for meetings, endless meetings. Perhaps it was responsible for our unusual togetherness. Niemans, spouses and children, all of us, went off on excursions, saw plays, and heard concerts, together. We learned a lot from each other.

Much that we got from the year was prophetic. I can't read about Three Mile Island without an echo of Dr. Conant's atomic worries. A photo of the Boat People recalls Virginia Hewlett's rescue from a Japanese prison camp. The Israeli-Egyptian treaty requires special thanks to Jimmy Batal for introducing us to Arabs and the Balfour Declaration.

Planning studies and a fascination with local governments, well fortified by Schlesinger, ultimately led me into public relations for local and state governmental agencies, schools and non-profit institutions. I am so tremendously grateful to the Nieman Foundation for giving me the opportunity to gain depth, to open new horizons, and to learn to perceive good and bad, old and new, in the tide of ideas which rises around us.

Are women in journalism better off now than then? Of course. They are a thoughtful, well-trained, exciting group. Even so, there are still too few on editorial boards, writing science, politics or government. I think we've only got our toe in the door. But look to the future: If Chicago can elect a lady mayor (even if Illinois can't pass the ERA) anything can happen!
Nieman Alumnae Respond

Since Agnes Wahl Nieman set in motion the nation's first mid-career fellowships for journalists, 619 Nieman fellowships have been awarded. Women have won thirty-four of them. Thirty-one of the women are American; three are foreign journalists. All but one are still living. [See page 72 for directory of Nieman alumnae.]

How have these women been affected by the fellowship? We decided to poll our colleagues, going back to the first women accepted in the program in 1945.

We sent a questionnaire to the twenty-nine women who have completed a Nieman year. Seventeen responded. Almost all praise the fellowship for giving them increased confidence and prestige, but most are gloomy about the position of women in the news business.

The following excerpts include thoughts of the alumnae on what's wrong and what's right with the program, as well as their musings on the field of journalism as a whole.

--Peggy A. Engel, Nieman Fellow '79


I was the only woman in my Nieman class. Sometimes, because there had been so few women Fellows, I'd be mistaken for a man. I once received a football ticket to the Harvard press box marked "women and children not admitted." Of course I went. I dashed past a ticket taker and ran up to the press box where I received a flustered explanation that women were so distracting and that on this particular day there would be two of us. A woman artist from the Boston Globe was there sketching. I stayed to make my point, but I did not go back.

I am not sure how many women have careers in journalism. I've been a reporter for thirteen years and it seems that I've always backed into things in a haphazard way rather than planned anything coherent. I'd like to see this change. I'd like to see more promising young women reporters put on the "fast track" on newspapers. I'd like to see women singled out for grooming in the same way that young men are singled out for this.

When I started reporting, things were so bad they could only get better. Women at my newspaper were routinely paid less than men, and I was told, point blank, that I was part of a group that was too "unreliable" to promote. I left that paper. In recent years, I have worked for newspapers that are not squeamish about sending a woman on any story. As an observer, however, it seems to me that women reporters are still concentrated in features and soft news. They don't seem to hold the top political reporting or business reporting jobs and there are few (although the few are very good) women foreign correspondents.

It's difficult for young women to imagine a career in journalism because there are so few women we can ever meet as role models, women we can ask what it was like and whether it was worth it, after all, with all the demands this sort of career makes on your psyche and your personal life. I was thirty-three before I even met that sort of woman — and I was so delighted that I sat her down and badgered her with questions for hours. Afterwards, I felt a sense of encouragement and elation that's very, very difficult to describe.

PATRICIA O'BRIEN, 42, national correspondent/columnist for Knight-Ridder Newspapers, Washington, D.C. (NF '73-74)

Quite simply, the Nieman fellowship helped make doors open. I think it is still hard for women journalists to be accepted by editors/management on an equal basis with men — unless their credentials are better.

The Nieman is a nifty credential. Beware, though. It's important to keep a clear idea of what you want to do, otherwise a woman is liable to become Token Woman fodder when she gets back to her job.
I only wish I had felt less awed by Harvard. That changed as the year progressed, but at first I felt like a kid with her thumb in her mouth.

(On making the Nieman program more accessible to married women . . .) I don’t think it will happen, no matter how the program is altered, unless at the same time men become more comfortable letting their wives’ careers come first. But at least there could be an effort to encourage husbands, maybe with study grants. It’s a big problem. Sending around the Welcome Wagon will never solve it.

SHERYL FITZGERALD, 36, health specialist, Newsday. (NF ’74-75)

Maybe this is a harsh view, but I don’t believe special conditions should be made to attract women to the Nieman. Of course more women should be selected, but I believe that it’s up to the potential female applicant to decide how badly she wants the thing. What we want, we usually find a way to get. Husbands, children, etc. aren’t insurmountable obstacles. I think the lady with the grit to leap these obstacles and get herself into the attention of the Selection Committee is the sort who will be a dynamite Nieman and a great journalist.

SHIRLEY CHRISTIAN, 40, Chief of Associated Press bureau for Chile and Bolivia (NF ’73-74)

Having been a Nieman has given me more confidence in myself. I feel less intimidated by fellow journalists, public officials, my bosses and news sources in general. I have to admit the prestige of having been a Nieman opens doors. The fact of my Nieman Fellowship was known in the U.S. Embassy in Santiago before I arrived. I have the impression the people there treat me more seriously than they might another woman in the job. This prestige factor — which in effect gave me a place in the old boy circle — is important regardless of whether one learned anything specifically at Harvard.

(Regarding opportunities for women journalists . . .) I think opportunities for more mature women are still very restricted. News executives still look over the heads of the women journalists working around them when they have promotion jobs to fill.

ELLEN GOODMAN, 38, columnist with the Boston Globe (NF ’73-74)

The Nieman year gave me time to think. Not just a pause, but also (forgive the expression) a “growth opportunity.” It also gave me a dose of self-confidence and a respectable credential.

(Regarding women’s opportunities . . .) we’re working our way up. Too slowly, too few, but getting there. There’s still a big lack of women in management. That’s the empty place.

TERU NAKAMURA, 41, of the Kyodo News Service, Tokyo. (NF ’74-75)

In the Japanese journalism world, male journalists regard their job as very prestigious. Therefore, they are reluctant to admit women to the same job. We cannot find any female reporter working in such sections as foreign news, business and economic affairs, political affairs or as news photographers. Almost all of the press companies do not give women a chance to challenge the examination. (We have to go through an exam to get a journalism job.) For many years we have demanded that executives open the door to women. But it is fruitless. The ratio of Japanese female journalists to males is less than two percent. As for promotion, one’s position is decided by seniority. Therefore, it will take me two more years to be appointed to a higher position.

CORNELIA CARRIER, 40, editorial writer and columnist with The Times-Picayune, New Orleans, Louisiana. (NF ’76-77)

Carrier said the fellowship helped “only minimally up until now. I hope it will help me when I get away from the sexist Times-Picayune.” She is “discouraged” about women in journalism “because women are not promoted here.”

CASSANDRA TATE, 33, assistant managing editor, Lewiston (Idaho) Morning Tribune (NF ’75-76)

The Nieman year didn’t help my career so much as change it. I went off to my Nieman year as a confirmed newspaper reporter. I expect to leave my job here in four months and never work for a newspaper again. Why happened? The Nieman year gave me time to read and access to people who wrote books. I began to think and eventually to say out loud that I wanted to be a writer. A real writer. It’s an oft-repeated tale; former Nieman aspires to status as critically acclaimed and commercially successful writer of book, sinks promptly into obscurity. However it turns out, I don’t want to spend the rest of my life thinking that I peaked at age thirty-one when I won the Nieman Fellowship.
(Regarding Harvard's response to her as a woman Nieman... ) I think I felt less discriminated against, less put down as a woman than as an Idahoan. I was always a bit defensive about coming from a small paper in a state people were vaguely aware had something to do with Sun Valley and Hemingway shooting himself. "Idaho!" people would say, as astonished as if it had been Borneo. I suspected I had been selected through affirmative action for outlanders.

(On women's role in journalism... ) Today I'm discouraged. One of our interns, a young, bright female, identified a county commissioner as a "near-by secretary." She saw woman and assumed secretary. This is an example of how pervasive sexism is in our culture. There are so many days when I go home with my stomach charley-horsed because of problems I've had as a woman managing men. It's doubly hard because I don't have any woman in comparable situations to talk with about these things.

(On spouses... ) I believe my husband, Glenn Drosendahl, was the first male spouse to fully participate in the Nieman program. He came to seminars, dinners, luncheons, cocktail parties, etc. He took courses at Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. There were a few events where he had to explain that it was his wife who had the Nieman and he got some weak smiles in return, but for the most part, everything went famously.

(On encouraging more married women to apply... ) The ultimate remedy is to change society to the point where women's work is given the same weight as men's work; where a husband can make the same adjustments in his life as a wife traditionally makes. In the short term, include photos in the Nieman brochure of children at events. Emphasize the childcare reimbursement. Point out that the Foundation holds the lease on rental property in one of the best public school systems in the country.


As an assignment editor on the Times Magazine, I find myself calling professors I met at Harvard to discuss story ideas, especially in more technical areas. I have also assigned articles to a few of the professors. Only a few courses have been "useful," above all, a history of film course at the Carpenter Center for Visual Arts, and one on multinational corporations at the Center for International Affairs. These have provided needed backgroud for articles I assign and edit. The courses I most enjoyed, however, were aesthetics in the philosophy department and a Greek archeology seminar.

ATSUKO CHIBA, 38, correspondent for the Asian Wall Street Journal, Tokyo. (NF '67-68)

The Nieman year helped a lot, particularly since I left my Japanese newspaper and became a freelance for overseas publications. It has given me credibility. Also, one academic year helped improve my English and understanding of Western culture. (Chiba, who studied urban economics at Harvard, said she is "internationally encouraged" about women's role in journalism, but "in Japan, totally discouraged.")

GISELA BOLTE, 42, correspondent, Time-Life, New York. (NF '68-69)

I am sure the Nieman year helped me to get on the New York staff of Time when before I was a correspondent employed locally. [West Germany] (Bolte said she is "encouraged by the fact alone that there are so many more women in journalism today.")

WHITNEY GOULD, 35, environmental writer for The Capital Times, Madison, Wisconsin. (NF '73-74)

In the traditional ways, money, promotions, etc., I don't think the Nieman year has had much effect. In less obvious ways, I think it has been a help, e.g., in deepening my insights into what I've been covering, in giving me a chance to get some perspective on myself and my job. As a result of this, I think (I hope). I am a more thoughtful reporter. In my own case, that year off — to think and learn and figure out where I wanted to go — helped me weather the past year-and-a-half when I was on strike. (The Newspaper Guild and four other unions were involved in a strike against the two Madison papers.)

GLORIA LUBKIN, 45, senior editor, Physics Today. (NF '74-75)

Having worked in a backwater of journalism for many years, namely science writing for scientists, being a Nieman was very broadening for me. I started to feel part of the larger world of journalism. The thrice weekly seminars were probably the best from my point of view, meeting the distinguished guests in an informal way. I also maintained an office at the physics department, where I was treated as a regular member of the department. The trip four other Niemans and I took to Japan that year left a lasting impression on me. It has inspired me to set up my own trip to China soon.
MOLLY SINCLAIR, 37, consumer writer, The Miami Herald. (NF '77-78)

Fellow Niemans were semi-comfortable with the two of us who were women. But on a social level, there definitely was an old boys' club of basketball playing, etc. that was closed to women. At the Nieman seminars, there was a problem sometimes of getting speakers to respond to questions that Alice (Bonner) or I asked. I remember one incident when I posed a question and the speaker kissed it off quickly and superficially. Before I could hit back with a follow-up question and force a better response, one of the men asked my question again. Lo and behold. The speaker smiled and nodded his head and spoke at great length and with much seriousness. It was clear — to me at least — that the speaker considered the question worthy of an answer only when it was asked by a man. I was quite amazed at such an open display of bias.

(Regarding women's role in journalism...) Some days I am encouraged, such as yesterday when my newspaper named a second woman to an editor's job on city desk. But other days are discouraging, particularly when I see how few women are in the upper management jobs on newspapers and how few women are in the really prestige assignment positions. And of course, I'm discouraged when I hear the latest horror story about wage differences for men and women reporters doing about the same work.

(On Nieman arrangements for children...) I never quite hit on an acceptable arrangement to keep my daughter, eleven, occupied after school or in the evening when I had classes or seminars. Since there were only the two of us, with no nearby family or close friends, it was a constant hassle.

REBECCA GROSS, 74, retired, former managing editor of the Lock Haven (Penn.) Express (NF '47-48)

There were two women in the Nieman group the year I was at Harvard, and we were the second pair to get through the screening. They picked two because they were not sure anybody else in Harvard Yard would speak to a female Nieman. The other "lady Nieman" and I quickly became good friends, lived together in an apartment on Garden Street, and survived with a minimum of snubs from any source, most of which we didn't notice anyway until the snubber went out of his way to drive the point home. The only door which was really slammed shut in our faces was that of the Law School; Dr. Powell would have no woman profaning his premises.

My major achievement during that year was the integration of the Boston Harvard Club. We were to have dinner there with John Steinbeck and Robert Capa. Louis (Lyons), the Curator, told us regretfully that no women were allowed. Lois Sager (NF '47-48) went right out and got herself a date to go skiing in New Hampshire or Vermont, and when that news got about, as we were assured would happen, I was called in and told that, while two women would be out of the question, perhaps one could be admitted. So I went by myself, via the ladies' entrance, where I was met by an aproned maid, who told me to sit down and wait for "one of the gentlemen" to come for me. I explained that I was "one of the gentlemen" and anyway, none of the crowd were gentlemen in the sense in which she was speaking. I managed to get upstairs, but the maid stuck around to see that I went out through the right door. As it happened, Steinbeck got a little too much Scotch and the party broke up, late, in some disarray, after the maid gave up and went home. The gentlemen called two cabs, one for Steinbeck, Capa and escorts, and one for me.

MARY ELLEN LEARY, 65, correspondent for the London Economist and free-lance writer. (NF '45-46)

(She said she is "immensely" encouraged about women's role in journalism.) It's unbelievable to one who began when most papers had only one woman per city room. Now there are no limits. True, there is still lingering prejudice, assumptions of limitations and jealousy. But in general, a woman's reach is restricted now only by her own talents — and necessarily qualified by the accommodations that must be made to domestic life, which inherently asks more of women than of men. But society is recognizing and moving to equalize this inequity, too.

CHARLOTTE (FitzHenry) ROBLING, 61, president, Charlotte Robling and Associates, Public Relations Ltd., Chicago. (NF '45-46)

You have to realize that, just to go into the newspaper business then, we had learned to live with a great deal of prejudice and to go ahead in spite of it to do our jobs. We were hardened to it. One time in Chicago, when I was covering an AFL executive committee meeting, the AFL president, a squat, round little man, glared at me and said, "Has the AP come down to this?" And I, being a head taller, said, "You mean has the AP come UP to this?" I had no further trouble with him.

I'm glad that for you women it's different now, though vestiges of the old difficulties remain. It is so strange to think that here in Illinois we can't get the ERA through the General Assembly — but a Jane Byrne can get elected Mayor of Chicago by the biggest plurality in history.

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Yes Virginia, There is an Agnes

JEROME AUMENTE

Real persistence was needed in order to reverse a University tradition that treated the entry of women into the hallowed male halls as somewhat akin to the parting of the Red Sea.

It is 1946, and Mary Ellen Leary sits at the window of her West Coast apartment. A cool sky hangs over a gray city and she studies a strip of fog floating in-between. As she describes this scene, she uses her typewriter to assemble the pieces and the meaning of her Nieman year. The books, the walks up the icy steps of Widener library, the New England countryside, her new Cambridge friends — all splendid. But something far more important runs through her essay.

Mary Ellen Leary, along with Charlotte L. FitzHenry, were the first two women admitted as Nieman Fellows. This was in 1945 and today, until one looks at the time and the context, it seems odd even to note such an occurrence as something special.

Two institutional mountains had to be climbed, journalism and academia. Men dominated the newspaper world in World War II days although the field was beginning to open up — albeit hesitantly — to women. Harvard was still an all-male domain and women were not given Nieman Fellowships. If they did apply, they were politely told that women could not be Fellows.

Ironically, the funds to establish the program came from a woman, Agnes Wahl Nieman who, because of her sex, would have been ineligible for a place in the program. Real persistence was needed in order to reverse a University tradition that treated the entry of women into the hallowed male halls as somewhat akin to the parting of the Red Sea.

Louis M. Lyons, as Nieman Curator, continually struggled against the ban on women from the program. His correspondence with the University administration in the early 1940’s shows that he was frankly puzzled by its adamant position prohibiting women applicants. Eventually this musty, ill-defined tradition would fall to dust and brittle pieces when given a good shaking, but someone had to rattle it.

Lyons was not overly optimistic. In a letter to The New Republic’s Bruce Bliven as late as 1943 — five years after the start of the program — he showed his pessimism. While recommending people for possible jobs at the magazine, he included a list of qualified women, “If this sounds as if I am in a strong feminist mood,” Lyons writes, “I am. I tried to break down the Nieman guards to admit women candidates this year and got my ears pinned back by J.B. Conant. I have a feeling that we are going to need more Anne O’Hare McCormicks and Dorothy Thompsons in journalism in the future. But I guess we aren’t going to bring them to Harvard. I don’t know why The New Republic shouldn’t do something about it.”

About the same time, Lyons corresponded with the Secretary of the Harvard Corporation, Calvert Smith, and
enlisted his help in finding an opening for women to enter the Nieman program. Lyons wrote that the "nub of the question is whether now that Harvard is opening up to women in so many branches we ought to go on denying that opportunity to women in the field that opened to them so early and in which they have come to have so large a place in newspapering."

Believe it or not, there were some doubts in the Harvard community about having women at Nieman dinners, where, God forbid, alcohol was served and cigars were passed around after dessert. I have found letters Lyons wrote to the administration in which he offered to work out arrangements for turning the dinners into leisurely Saturday afternoon lunches if the University really believed that the evening, alcohol-tainted dinners would endanger women.

Calvert Smith agreed and wrote that "Fellowship" is indeed a loose term for a scholarship that can be awarded to either sex and that, in fact, Littauer had opened up its fellowships to women. Just a matter of time remained before the Corporation reviewed the sex bias question and allowed women in the Nieman program.

But Arthur Schlesinger Sr., supported by his ardently feminist wife Marion, provided the battering ram of his academic power and prestige. In Reporting the News, Lyons included a history of the Nieman program and recalled the event. Conant was still fending off the angry alumni who opposed even talk of merging Radcliffe and Harvard. The Medical School had admitted women for the first time; and women had become fellows at the Littauer Center for Public Administration.

When Lyons asked Conant about admitting women to the Nieman program, he recalled the president’s answer: "Why, you serve whiskey at these Nieman dinners, don't you? Let's not complicate it. It's going all right, isn't it?"

Conant had a crystal ball in his office with "No" painted on the bottom, which he consulted when approached on dubious projects. But Professor Schlesinger and Curator Lyons were not impressed. They hammered away until the president yielded with a parting admonition to Lyons: "The blood be on your head."

Mary Ellen Leary was used to hesitation about letting women into traditionally stag domains. She was an experienced political reporter for the San Francisco News when she applied to the Nieman program. Frank Clarvoe, editor of the News, nominated her for the Fellowship in 1943, and Lyons wrote back that he was greatly interested in the application and pleaded for time to check whether there was "an attitude against women as Fellows or a deep-rooted policy that really prevents their being considered."

Ironically, the funds to establish the program came from a woman, Agnes Wahl Nieman who, because of her sex, would have been ineligible for a place in the program.

The cover of the March 12, 1948 issue of Fortnight, a California news magazine, depicted Mary Ellen Leary at her typewriter with her coffee cup nearby and her desk piled high with paper debris. In the magazine's press section was a long story with a one column cut and the cutline: "A fine girl — except that she is a woman." (I leave that for 1979 readers to puzzle over.)

The column began:

"The boys in Sacramento were pretty skeptical when the San Francisco News sent a woman to cover the 1945 Legislature. But last week, as she returned for her third legislative session they recognized that the only woman political editor of a major daily paper in California knew her job."

The article continued to describe Ms. Leary as "tireless...but deceptively frail. Her toughness, even her brass, surprise those who have not seen her in action. Yet when she enters a press conference late the boys all rise as though the queen herself had just stepped in. Such chivalry bespeaks respect plus a touch of ingrown, male envy."

And those whiskey-ridden stag dinners came up again. It seems that the capitol press association gave an annual stag dinner at the Governor's mansion. Mary Ellen Leary had not been invited. The president of the association received forthwith a searing note from her: "As representative of the News I expect to be invited to every party, but as a woman I don't intend to go to any of them."

The magazine reported that she won the battle, was invited, and later on even attended a few dinners.

In a long and thoughtful review of her 1945-46 Nieman year Mary Ellen Leary recalls the advice of Virginia Woolf, who wrote in 1929 that if a woman wanted to write fiction she needed, at minimum, a room and $500 pounds per year.

Mary Ellen writes: "I would add, as a symbol of a new step in feminine recognition, this nearly twenty years later (1946), that for real equality now a woman must also have
the right, or the possibility at least, of admission to Harvard...

...Curiously enough, Mrs. Woolf's essay opens as though she had anticipated this very year of Nieman's first acceptance of women. Her charming essay, 'A Room of One's Own,' on women's limited opportunities through history, takes flight at the very point when she is barred from admission to the library of a famous English university."

Virginia Woolf described her attempt to enter the library: "...(the) door was blocked by a guardian angel barring the way with a flutter of black gown instead of white wings, a deprecating, silvery, kindly gentleman who regretted in a low voice as he waved me back that ladies are only admitted to the library accompanied by a Fellow of the college or furnished with a letter of introduction...

Mary Ellen Leary realizes the significance of her own admittance — as a Nieman fellow — to the main reading room of Widener.

"Whatever distress this caused the patient puzzled clerks at the desk and whatever exceedingly small distraction it may have offered students of the other sex, the damage is adequately offset, I think, by the gain for women in all time, all kinds of activity, all future efforts at self-development and self-expression.

"Because Charlotte and I were Niemans, sloshing in quite ordinary fashion through Harvard Yard and up the icy library steps to enter Widener cloaked in every 'privilege of the University,' every other door becomes just a little easier for women to enter. I think we sensed this, while we defied anyone taking note of it," Leary writes.

Charlotte L. FitzHenry (now Mrs. John Robling) was then night trunk editor at the Associated Press in Chicago. In her mid-twenties she was one of the first women to break the Nieman sex barrier. Before going to work for the AP she had been a reporter, photographer and women's editor on the Daily Pantagraph in Bloomington, Illinois.

One letter recommending her for the Fellowship included the following comment by an AP editor: "Miss FitzHenry was the only woman in this blue ribbon congregation of the press (talking about a postwar planning conference) and I learned, in checking back later, she more than held her own and made a few converts among newspapermen who had believed their business was not for women."

During the last year, I have been traveling around the United States reviewing short and long term study programs for print and broadcast journalists. For a few months I did research as an associate in the Nieman program, and experienced a coming home after my own Nieman Fellowship year in 1968.

I have interviewed dozens of fellowship holders from the United States and other countries. These journalists were in residence at Harvard, Stanford, the East-West Center in Hawaii, the University of Michigan, Princeton or Columbia. In addition I reviewed shorter term programs such as those sponsored by the American Press Institute, the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association and the Washington Journalism Center. The results will be analyzed after a few more sites are visited and a survey of all previous Nieman Fellows is completed.

These mid-career study experiences have had important positive effects on the skills with which journalists approach their future work. But of additional value is the growth in self-worth that any participant, male or female, undergoes. Also the prestige attached to awards like the Nieman Fellowship provides further strength for those who want to digress from traditional journalism.

In a male-dominated field women are still involved in the struggle for recognition. Women and other minorities in the media see fellowships as important in helping them to attain professional goals.

Mary Ellen Leary knew all this even in 1946, when, at the end of her Fellowship she wrote: "In review, the remarkable privilege of the Nieman year seems to cry for more appreciation than I know how to express. I think for decades after it has been forgotten how poorly I represented them or even who I was, newspaperwomen, and indeed all women, will be thanking Harvard and the Nieman Committee that in 1945-46 women were admitted to the Fellowship as equals with men."
Nellie Bly: Lady Journalist

EDWARD C. NORTON

Nellie Bly was an innovation in newspaper publishing in 1893. When she walked into the city room of The New York World that first day, half the derbies there must have swiveled to follow her voyage through the big, dusty, disheveled news factory.

Every few feet there were spittoons, targets for the cigar smokers and tobacco chewers. According to reliable historical reports it was not unknown for reporters and editors to swig a bit of whiskey while they worked in their all-male domain. The bottle was as much part of the trade as a wad of folded copy paper shoved into a reporter’s coat.

But here was this young woman: she had checked and noticed that no receptionist barred entry to the newsroom. Publishers in 1887 didn’t see any merit in paying someone just to sit outside the editorial department. The idea then was to lure news through the portals, but not necessarily in the form of a young lady.

The lass was fair-skinned, dark-haired and had a most straightforward pair of brown eyes. She wore a Paris dress, the best she could afford. She was on a most serious mission. She wanted Joseph Pulitzer to hire her as a reporter, and let her cover a balloon flight.

Elizabeth Cochrane, twenty-two, of Pittsburgh, was politely ushered out of the newsroom that first day, and was asked to put her request for a job in writing to Pulitzer. A few days later she received a note rejecting her application. The World did not know Miss Cochrane, then. Donning another expensive dress, and realizing that she had to succeed this time because she had lost her purse with most of her savings, the young woman walked into The World’s newsroom a second time, and barged into a meeting being conducted by the ailing, and noise-sensitive Pulitzer. A batch of stunned rewritemen and copy editors tried to bar her way, but it was impossible for them to give the bum’s rush to a young lady.

Finally, an editor knocked at the press magnate’s door, and told him he had an unannounced visitor. “The lady’s name is Nellie Bly. She says she’s a newspaperwoman and a good one. Maybe she is. She doesn’t give up easy, I’ll say that.”

Pulitzer and his managing editor spoke with the attractive applicant. She plunked a batch of newspaper clippings on the desk before them. The clips were of stories she had covered in Pittsburgh and in Mexico. She had written about tenement life, millworkers and their families. In Mexico she wrote about peons, prisons and corruption in government.

Miss Bly — the name she chose in Pittsburgh to mask her real identity — was not one of the few women newspaper workers whose specialties were recipes or poetry. She was an honest-to-God street reporter who had covered mayhem in a tough American city, and in a neighboring nation where the sound of gunfire was common.

The young Pennsylvanian was hired. She suggested that her first assignment be an investigation of conditions in the New York City insane asylum on Blackwell’s Island. She

Edward C. Norton, Nieman Fellow ’73, is the father of two daughters.
would pretend to be insane and have herself committed as a destitute patient.

And that’s what happened. Within three months Nellie Bly was a household name among New York newspaper readers. Within two years she became a worldwide figure for besting Jules Verne’s fictional eighty-day circumnavigation by actually going around the world in seventy-two days.

Miss Bly knocked ‘em dead, in an age when young women were expected to be “ladies” (the demarcation line was sharp), to be married by twenty-five and to be mothers, in that order. Any deviation from the program was not appreciated. And, while women could write discrete novels, their efforts were not expected or welcomed in the hurly-burly world of journalism. Like most other facets of late nineteenth century American life, newspapers were strictly a male preserve.

Nellie Bly single-handedly changed that.

Who was she? She was the daughter of an Irish immigrant who pulled himself up by his own work to become a judge. She was a straight-standing, no-nonsense young woman who left scores of stunned young men in her wake.

Nellie Bly went into the insane asylum, taking on faith that Mr. Pulitzer would remember her, and get her out. Nellie Bly found conditions to be scandalous, and even though she acted normally while inside the locked doors, no one paid any attention to her. About the time Nellie felt that she would really lose her mind, a lawyer arrived to spring her from the cage. The subsequent articles were, to use an over-worked word, a sensation.

Afterward Nellie looked around the throbbing city, crowded with daily boatloads of immigrants. For one article she played the role of stage performer. She interviewed the wives of Presidents, and she sought the big story. She was all of twenty-two.

After her escapades in the Blackwell’s Island asylum, Miss Bly had become the story. She was a certain circulation booster for The World. She was fortunate in that the paper was able to use only line drawings of her face and figure. Thus she was able to pursue her stories without fear of being instantly recognized. When she would identify herself, many men and women refused to believe that such a youthful person could be the hard-nosed reporter.

What really put Miss Bly on the map was her trip around the world. She carried all she needed in a satchel, and wore a checkered floor-length coat and a peaked cap which afterward set a fashion. Before she left, on October 10, 1889, along with forty-two year old Thomas A. Edison, she attended the dedication of the new World tower on Park Row. According to a biography of Nellie by Mignon Rittenhouse, the building was demolished in 1956 — its era had passed — and the workmen who tore down the structure found the box which had been set in the cornerstone. It contained a copy of The World for October 9, 1889, and on its front page was another Nellie Bly interview, this time with a murderer in state prison.

Nellie’s trip around the world was a stunt, pure and simple. When she started from a wharf in Hoboken there was much skepticism in the competitive press that she had actually left. Some press people even felt that Pulitzer had hired a squad of male reporters whose combined work was identified as that of Nellie Bly. The public was loyal, however, and wanted to believe in her.

Nellie found that travel in 1889 was hard work: rough ocean crossings, unwanted attention from would-be suitors, and rail and steamship connections that were haphazard at best. She met Jules Verne at his home and charmed him. She rushed off, through the Suez Canal, to Ceylon and on to Japan, the only pleasant stay on her voyage. She arrived home to be greeted with adulation from people, coast to coast, and for the better part of a year afterward she toured the lecture circuit and wrote a book. She was truly a media star and a darling, except that in those days it was “medium” star.

Nellie returned to the newsroom, but as the years rolled by she found the stories repetitive. There wasn’t much difference in interviewing poor folks in the slums of the Lower East Side or the prairie state farmers wrecked by the Panic of 1893. In 1895 she married a seventy-two year old millionaire New York factory owner. Her husband died nine years later, in 1904, leaving her a thirty-seven year old widow with responsibility for a hardware business. She tried, but bad luck and claiming employees pushed the business to bankruptcy. Nellie went to Europe, returned in 1919, a legend in her own time, and in need of a job.

Arthur Brisbane, Hearst’s editor-columnist remembered the pert young woman with whom he had worked on The World. He put her on The Journal, and gave her a column in which she wrote about homeless children. Nellie had done everything but have children. On January 22, 1922 in New York City she died of pneumonia. She received modest obituaries, but The Journal said she was considered to have been the best reporter in America.

After her passing, Nellie left a cliché phrase in the language, and added to journalism jargon. “Who do you think you are? Nellie Bly?” became a regular query to ambitious women editorial workers, and the term “sob-sister” came into the language, based partially on the emotional reportage of the woman who had broken all the rules.

In recent times Nellie has been forgotten by the public. A few years ago the men and women of a New York press club contributed a new headstone for Nellie’s grave, so she is still remembered by some in the news business.
Covering the Women's Movement

PEGGY A. SIMPSON

When the modern women's movement emerged in the early 1960's the bulk of the mass media met it with disbelief and ridicule. Headlines talked about "libbers" and "bra-burners." Nearly every woman in the public eye was asked if she believed in "women's lib" — most denied vehemently any association with the movement.

Despite this opposition, the movement prospered and spread beyond the most extravagant predictions of the Betty Friedans and Gloria Steinems. The story involved what was happening to the family, to schools, to churches and to the entire world of work and government policy, not just what President Carter was doing to Bella Abzug. In other words, despite the scornful views of many editors and reporters, the story became too big to ignore or belittle.

From the first stirrings of feminism, conflicts arose within the journalism profession about how this story of great social change should be handled. The civil rights movement for blacks had caused disputes in newsrooms where the story was ignored; the civil rights movement for women created similar problems. The friction often involved individual women reporters and the virtually all-male management about the assigning, editing and display of stories concerning the women's movement. Newspapers frequently dismissed crusaders for civil rights as outside agitators or communists. Similarly, the leaders of the women's movement were often branded as loonies, lesbians or sex-crazed libbers, and made the butt of crude cartoons and office jokes. Yet in a relatively short span of time, vast changes occurred in attitudes about women and their day-to-day treatment.

How did these changes happen at a time when most editors and news managers thought the movement was a joking matter? How did the message of the demonstrators — and of the conservatively clad but increasingly militant members of professional women's groups — reach the country as a whole? How did the public learn about the first breakthroughs?

At first, most serious news about the conditions underlying the demonstrations appeared on the women's pages, and gradually crowded out the more traditional coverage of society balls and debutantes. Stories appeared about quotas that had excluded qualified women from graduate schools, medical and law programs; about law firms that refused to hire women attorneys, about on-the-job discrimination, about the poverty of families headed by women and about rape and violence toward women.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, however, many newspapers revolutionized their women's pages by replacing spot news with a stylized feature format. Some papers gave more in-depth coverage to issues than to developments concerning women and families. One unforeseen consequence of this change was the disappearance from many papers of much day-to-day coverage of the women's movement. This news was squeezed out of women's pages and was not accepted in the rest of the paper's space allotted to general news. Many veterans of the women's movement credit Elizabeth Shelton of The Washington Post with having written the most comprehensive and thoroughly researched articles on the mid-1960's emergence of the Status of Women commissions and the creation of federal women's commissions in every state in the country. But when the Post dropped its conventional women's pages and led the national move toward a new "Style" section the paper literally abandoned any systematic coverage of the women's movement.

Gradually a small group of national news reporters centered in Washington began to build up expertise in feminist issues. Eileen Shanahan, then an economics reporter with The New York Times (now assistant managing editor of the Washington Star), recalls getting a telephone call from an unknown woman attorney in New York who told her that a major constitutional amendment was scheduled to be voted on before the House of Representatives within a week and that The New York Times had run only one five-paragraph story on it.

Disbelieving at first, Ms. Shanahan checked out the story, and subsequently covered the ERA debate herself. Later that year, 1971, she compiled the first national statistics of women in the law (only 9,103 women lawyers out of 324,818 law school graduates; only four women had

Peggy A. Simpson, Nieman Fellow '79, is a congressional correspondent for the Associated Press, Washington, D.C.
been clerks for Supreme Court justices; many barriers prevented women from entering law school; and did another ground-breaking survey of the many suits women were winning by citing the little-known federal laws that prohibited sex discrimination in employment.

From his perspective as a labor reporter, James Hyatt of The Wall Street Journal, at that time in the newspaper's Cleveland bureau, wrote some of the first comprehensive stories about women and work. Charlotte Salkowski, then a reporter and now chief of the editorial page of The Christian Science Monitor, was another pioneer who covered the women's movement.

Vera Glaser, now a correspondent with Knight-Ridder Newspapers, was one of the first reporters to question a president about the scarcity of women named to high federal positions. In early 1969 Ms. Glaser, then Washington bureau chief of the North American Newspaper Alliance, asked President Nixon at his second news conference "whether we can expect a more equitable recognition of women's abilities or are we going to remain a lost sex?" She noted that he had filled about 200 top-level federal jobs and that only three appointees had been women. The reporters tittered, Nixon looked startled and then said he would name more. Ms. Glaser said that the mail and telephone calls generated by the exchange prompted her New York editor to ask her to write a comprehensive five-part series about the women's movement. The stories, which were used in about fifty newspapers, dealt with women's lack of economic and political power; Supreme Court rulings that held women were not equal under the Constitution; and the emergence of national groups lobbying for changes. Indirectly, the question also prompted the creation of a White House task force on women monitored by Arthur Burns, Nixon's senior counselor.

Other Washington reporters who developed specialties in the women's movement at this pivotal time included Isabelle Shelton of the Washington Star, Frances Lewine of the Associated Press, Barbara Katz with the National Journal, Marlene Cimons of the Los Angeles Times' Washington bureau, Helen Thomas and later Sara Fritz of United Press International and Kay Mills of Newhouse Newspapers.

Most of these reporters covered the women's movement on a volunteer basis, in addition to their regular beats at the Labor Department, the Treasury Department, the White House or Congress. The stories were based on information from sources they had developed within the emerging network of women's groups. Editors rarely assigned the issues mainly because they still didn't see the movement as significant and worthy of serious and continuous coverage. Whatever was printed was the result of the reporters' initiative and conviction.

Around the country, other women reporters — most of them young — were getting stories into their newspapers and having occasional luck in persuading their editors to send them to the first national conventions of the National Organization for Women and the National Women's Political Caucus.

On television, Barbara Walters was not only a featured interviewer on the "Today" show but also she added a half-hour interview show of her own, "Not for Women Only," that NBC syndicated across the country. It treated seriously and in depth issues then surfacing as a result of the women's movement — issues that affected men and society as a whole, not just women.

Marlene Sanders of ABC was a pioneer in producing serious documentaries about health and legal issues involving women.

Sylvia Chase of CBS, at her own request, began to add coverage of women's national political meetings to her regular national reporting beats. Many local shows appeared, some modeled after Mary Catherine Kilday's "Woman Is" production begun in 1973, on WRC in Washington, D.C.

In my own case, I edited a weekly paper in Hondo, Texas, after college, joined the AP in Dallas in 1962 and rotated between that bureau and the state legislative bureau in Austin. In 1968, I was transferred to the Washington AP to cover the Southwest regional beat from the Capitol. At that time I had not reported on any major elements of the early women's liberation marches and had never met anyone who called herself a feminist. I did know a lobbyist from the Texas chapter of Business and Professional Women who was unsuccessfully trying to get a state Equal Rights Amendment passed. She never approached me, during my two terms covering the Texas Legislature, and I never called her, so a persuasive state senator easily assured me that women would be in terrible straits if Texas' protective labor laws and community property laws were altered by the ERA.

Coming from a general news background — and having fought vigorously to avoid the debutante-society pages where most women reporters were isolated — I was irritated, on arriving in Washington, to find that only the women on the AP staff were assigned to stories relating to women. Although a few accounts about the successful breakthroughs of women in various fields were being written, most were about wives of famous men.

In the fall of 1971 I got a call from Deborah Leff, a staff aide at the newly organized National Women's Political Caucus. She urged me to cover a Capitol Hill meeting between some founders of the caucus and Lawrence...

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O'Brien, then chairman of the Democratic National Committee. The caucus was launching its move to use the party’s new reform rules to get more women delegates elected to the national convention. That first story led to many others as presidential candidates, one after another, agreed to put women on their delegate slates, thus altering the make-up of the Democratic convention and moving women onto front-page political stories.

I thought of myself not as a feminist but as a reporter covering a good news story that, for some reason, almost all my male colleagues had ignored. The AP did not at first assign me to the Democratic convention, despite the fact that during the preceding six months dozens of my stories had dealt with the battle by women and minorities for more delegate seats. I was astounded. I was puzzled that a reporter who had become a specialist in an important area was not assigned to follow the story wherever it led — in this case, to the national political conventions. Clearly, my editors and other media executives did not consider the women’s political movement to be a bona fide story meriting continuing and expert coverage.

Other reporters were getting the same signal. Nevertheless, despite the added workload and lack of appreciation from top management some of us continued to write about the women’s movement.

Why? Because the story became progressively better, and led in directions unforeseen a decade before. But editors still did not recognize its significance and, as a result, many of the benchmarks of change in the 1960’s and 1970’s were ignored — even by the self-assigned specialists.

Some of these unreported milestones included the three Supreme Court rulings on cases from Georgia, Indiana and California striking down state laws that, since the early 1920’s, had restricted work opportunities for women. These cases were filed by women on assembly lines who were blocked from better-paying jobs because state laws limited the hours they could work or the weight they could lift. The nullification of these laws had sweeping consequences and opened up whole new worlds of work for women.

During congressional action on the 1964 Civil Rights Act, opponents added a ban on sex discrimination in an unsuccessful attempt to kill the entire bill. The gesture was seen as a political joke — by editors, reporters and news executives as well as by members of Congress. Years passed before the real implications and possibilities of the sex discrimination provision became clear and were analyzed seriously by the media.

Many law professors, like Martha Fields who teaches a "Women and the Law" course at Harvard, contend that courts are using a double standard to measure race and sex discrimination. Many public officials and much of the media suffer from this dual vision. An illustration of this is the furor that ensued after Frances Lewine of the Associated Press asked President Ford a two-part question at a televised news conference. She wondered if he agreed with the guidelines laid down by his administration against federal officials patronizing segregated facilities. After Ford said that he did, she asked why he continued to play golf every week at the exclusive Burning Tree Country Club which no longer barred blacks but still refused to admit women. Ford answered with a caustic quip about golfing and quickly took another question.

According to desk editors at the AP, the New York executives were upset that the question was even asked. Ms. Lewine says her subsequent removal from the AP’s White House staff may have dated back to that query. Ford’s press secretary, Ronald Nessen, in a book about his White House years, called her question “the worst misuse of a question at a presidential news conference to advocate a personal point of view.”

Over the years, it also became clear that reporter specialization in the women’s movement or its many related issues was not as valued by the management as much as expertise in civil rights, labor or environmental issues. National and international political forums about the changing role of women were treated as feature stories, rather than serious news events.

When the United Nations held an international conference on women in Mexico City in 1975, almost none of the major newspapers sent their specialists in the women’s movement — among those absent were Shanahan of the Times, Shelton of the Washington Star, Cimons of the Los Angeles Times, Glaser of Knight-Ridder or Fritz of UPI. Instead, the Times and The Washington Post sent reporters who wrote eminently readable feature stories — but who failed to interpret or underscore the significance of
the events. The television networks sent crews to cover most of the conference but focused on conflicts or featured events. National Public Radio sent a reporter-producer team, Linda Wertheimer and Kathy Primus, who broadcast special wide-ranging reports on women from around the world and their problems.

But I was practically the only reporter sent from Washington who was experienced in covering the U.S. women's movement and who had written on the international status of women. My experiences in Mexico City showed that, despite a commitment by top AP editors in New York to treat the conference as a serious story, everyday pitfalls and problems tended to trivialize the meeting.

When I got there, other AP staff members already had written stories about arriving dignitaries. The stories usually revolved around such questions as to whether or not they liked the title 'Ms.' My own opening day conference story, which was discarded, included background on the scope of women's problems throughout the world and reported Mexican President Luis Echeverria's unusually strong keynote address appealing for equality for women everywhere. In its place, under my by-line, was a flowery feature story picked up from a Mexico City paper about the sex appeal of the Soviet woman cosmonaut who led her country's delegation to the conference.

Ordered to put aside a serious story about the frank admission by the chief Cuban delegate, Vilma Espin, that male chauvinism still was a problem in her revolutionary socialist state, I was assigned instead to interview U.S. sex symbol Bert Reynolds, who was in town promoting a film, about his views on "liberated women."

But the most frustrating incident involved a photograph of half a dozen Mexican and Argentine women struggling over a microphone. The incident had no relevance to the proceedings — but it made a dramatic photo and was circulated around the world with a caption about "women fighting at the International Women's Conference." I first knew of the photo ten hours after its release when New York requested a story to explain the conflict. Since the dispute was extremely parochial — and involved only six women out of six thousand at the conference — there was no story. Unfortunately, that photo was the most widely distributed picture of the conference, and helped to reinforce a stereotype in the minds of many editors and people in general that women can't get along and that they resolve conflict by shouting and pulling hair.

Later, in 1976, at a conference on women at the University of Texas, Australian feminist and former cabinet member Elizabeth Reid described with sarcasm and emotion the expectations of many Australian politicians that she would further her career in government through the use of cosmetics and sex. A UPI story of that speech twisted her bitter recollections into recommendations to women that they use sex and beauty to get ahead. The National News Council ruled foul play — and UPI promised to do better.

In the past decade the coverage of women's new roles in society has changed dramatically. More women are among the previously all-male ranks of economic, political and diplomatic reporters. A few have moved up to become editors and publishers. Most local television news programs have at least one anchorwoman and more women are producing and reporting on network news. Advertisements now are beginning to show women in careers and in charge of more than eradicating "ring around the collar."

In new stylebooks, the AP, UPI, The New York Times and The Washington Post all have adopted far-ranging provisions to eliminate stereotypical and condescending references to women. And that most respected of business newspapers, The Wall Street Journal, recently completed the most thorough series to date on the impact of the women's revolution.

But that is not to say there are not problems ahead. This is partly a problem of success: many editors think the problems are solved, now that there have been a few women in the cabinet, more women named to judgeships, and nearly every level of job has had its "first woman." Many other editors say the women's movement isn't a story anymore because the conflict and drama have diminished. Former White House press secretary to Lady Bird Johnson, Liz Carpenter, who writes a column for Texas papers and campaigns for the ERA, recently told a meeting at the University of Virginia that the shift of the women's movement from the streets to the conference rooms makes it more difficult to cover.

A question remains: Can the movement continue to make its case with the news media, let alone the general public? Can it educate reporters and via the newspapers tell the nation about the inequities that still remain and, in some cases, are worsening? Are the enormous changes throughout society affecting men as strongly as women, or seen as significant enough for editors to assign reporters to monitor them? Are new writers developing the expertise to go beyond personality conflicts between the White House and activists to report on conditions facing women in factories and typing pools, about the resentments of men facing serious challenges for jobs from women, about the anger of millions of women isolated in low-paid, dead-end work ghettos? Are reporters aware of the new frontier facing many women in professional jobs, or concerned about the conflicts between careers and personal relationships?
Many of the journalists who became early experts on the women's movement have left the reporting field, although some now have wider influence as editors. For many who remain, there is increasing tension between the reporters and the feminists they cover, as conflicts develop within the movement over strategies for the future. There are fresh versions of the classic reporter's dilemma: how to be close enough to know what's really happening in a situation without being too close to report it objectively.

My own experiences illustrate this point. Last year, I wrote two stories which earned me considerable enmity from some leaders of major women's groups. One concerned presidential assistant Midge Costanza, who was being eased out of her job as advisor to President Carter about women and other groups outside the power structure. I wrote that she was fired not because she opposed Carter's policies limiting federal funds for abortions for poor women, nor because she criticized Carter's friend Bert Lance, but because she was not competent in her job. A subsequent story told of opposition from Rosalynn Carter and her daughter-in-law Judy Carter to the nomination of Bella Abzug but subsequent events bore out the basic animosity of this administration towards her. In both cases, I was told by leading feminists that I shouldn't have written these stories even if they were true.

Last summer during the lobbying for an extension of time for the ERA, Marlene Cimons of the Los Angeles Times followed a delegation of West Coast women as they talked to members of Congress. She received criticism for her story which reported on the clumsy and arrogant tactics of the group. She had not known the encounters would turn out that way — and in fact told office colleagues about her personal uneasiness, and the contradicting pressures she felt — but she wrote the news as it happened.

Other stories are not being written about the women's movement because reporters are too close to the situation. But most of the important stories are not covered because they would take too much time to develop and editors do not consider the issues to be front-page material.

When the ERA was clearing Congress, there was very little coverage of it, very little consideration of it as a constitutional amendment with potentially important consequences for all society. Now, with the amendment in trouble and the odds stacked against it for approval, the mass media are again reacting apathetically.

There are many stories about the conflicts between the pro-ERA and anti-ERA factions — the rhetoric about unisex toilets and women in combat. But where are the analytical, interpretive stories about what the loss of the ERA might mean for the country and for women, specifically? Where are the evaluations of judges' statements that their rulings on pending court cases will be influenced by the nation's decision on the ERA as to whether or not women should have equal constitutional status?

Some other unreported stories are:
- an analysis of the labor market isolation of women either going to work for the first time, or returning after long absences, to low-paid jobs where wages will be kept down indefinitely because of the surplus of women just like themselves.
- examination of the job-market prospects of millions of women who became pregnant in their early teens, dropped out of high school and, with even few educational credentials, will be competing very soon for work.
- an analysis of the far-right conservative strategy to campaign against the ERA and abortion rights as a fund-raising and organizing maneuver to then use against the overall labor and civil rights movements.
- an exposé of attempts by socialists to take over leading women's groups as part of the continuing factional dispute over ideological goals.

Many similar stories wait to be written, more research must be pursued, many questions have yet to be asked. Someday we hope there will be no need for specialists in the women's movement and the social changes attributed to it. But for now, only experts are able to cover and interpret a story that is still unfolding.
A Change in Style

SARA FRITZ

Just a few years ago, any American newspaper might have carried a story saying: "Margaret Thatcher doesn't look the part, but this glamorous mother of twins has shed her apron for a fling in British politics."

Stories belittling the ambitions of women have since disappeared from the pages of most newspapers — the result of a hard-fought feminist campaign begun in the early 1970's. The change encountered some strong resistance.

Editors were just beginning to respond to these pressures in 1977, when the Associated Press and United Press International issued a new joint stylebook specifically prohibiting such stories. Now many newspapers have adopted a similar policy.

Yet some major issues involving the portrayal of women in newspapers remain unresolved. Alma Graham of McGraw-Hill helped to pioneer nonsexist style rules in book publishing in 1974, and describes newspapers as "the last bastion of male chauvinism — the last in line for change."

She contends that newspapers still demean women, but in more subtle ways. "Journalism is saying that Rosalynn Carter is good, Bella Abzug is bad. The stories continue to condemn the woman in politics, and praise the woman married to a politician. There's a long way yet to go."

Experts say newspapers also continue to violate their own style rules against sexism. "We find many papers are internally inconsistent," says Bobby Ray Miller, who edited the UPI stylebook. "It seems to be left up to the person in charge at any given time."

Miller says most reporters still cannot avoid the temptation to describe the appearance of women, even when they offer no similar description of men. This practice was specifically banned in the AP-UPI stylebook.

Feminists view the news media as an important force in the lives of women. "When women's activities are covered, they are usually segregated, subordinated or ridiculed," the International Women's Year Commission concluded in a 1976 report.

"Media distortion is more than academically interest-

Sara Fritz is an associate editor of U.S. News and World Report, covering labor.
The Washington Press Club proposal would eliminate all courtesy titles, except in obituaries or cases where they are needed for clarity. Unlike some feminist groups, the club opposes the use of Ms. and considers the title to be "unnecessary and uninformative." Two reasons are cited for banning titles: Reporters often are forced to waste valuable time determining the marital status of women. "Frequently," the WPC proposal said, "as in many crime stories, the information is simply unobtainable. In other cases, the very inquiry can often offend a female source. Often the titles are misleading. Because many newsworthy women do not use their husband's last name, "Miss Mary Jones" could be married to Fred Smith.

These arguments appeal to many men and women reporters, who find that determining the marital status of a woman in the news has become increasingly difficult — sometimes downright impossible. Women news sources often echo McGraw-Hill's Graham: "I consider it an outright insult to impose upon a woman a title she doesn't want."

The AP-UPI stylebook decision to retain courtesy titles for women was a big defeat for proponents of this view because most of the nation's newspapers use wire-service style. AP executives, claiming to be more sympathetic to a ban on titles, blamed the AP for the outcome.

Executive Editor Louis Boccardi says the decision was made entirely to suit the preferences of editors who rely on wire-service copy. He adds, "I don't think we have a role to play here in forcing down the throats of editors something they don't want."

Boccardi insists that newspapers must provide what their readers want, and he cites national polls showing that a majority of Americans still want women to use Miss and Mrs. He recalls that one newspaper editor wanted the AP to note the marital status of any woman at the bottom of each story if the titles were removed from the copy. Now, he says, editors who oppose titles can simply remove them.

Eileen Shanahan, chairwoman of the Washington Press Club's stylebook subcommittee, rejected this argument: "I think that when Gannett and Copley and Knight can go that route — and they certainly aren't the Eastern Liberal Establishment Press — then the wires' argument that the public won't sit for it just won't wash."

Although the AP and UPI agreed to reconsider this question again in 1979, Boccardi reportedly has told AP employees that he does not want to change the current rule. Boccardi contends that the matter is still under review.

Individual newspapers continue to revise their policies, however. The Los Angeles Times soon will publish a stylebook that abolishes courtesy titles with three exceptions: historical figures, victims of violent crimes and prominent elderly women. "These are transitory exceptions," says Assistant Editor Jean Sharley Taylor. "We are now in a transitory stage."

Almost as hot a debate still rages over titles ending in "man," particularly "chairman." Feminist groups generally support "chairperson" or "chair." But the Washington Press Club, sensitive to the criticism of those who felt that feminists were trying to destroy the language, endorsed the use of chairman and chairwoman. The club felt that these titles are more accurate.

The AP-UPI stylebook adopted this proposal of the Washington Press Club. In addition, the wire-service stylebook decreed: "Women should receive the same treatment as men in all areas of coverage. Physical descriptions, sexist references, demeaning stereotypes and condescending phrases should not be used."

The stylebook said that wire-service copy should not assume "maleness" when both sexes are involved, express surprise that attractive women are accomplished professionals or gratuitously mention family relationships. The word "newsman" also was banned in favor of reporter.

These rules were widely hailed as a victory for feminists, but Boccardi emphasizes that the wire services did not go "overboard" by banning one particular word: mankind. Of course, no group ever advocated such a ban.

Although The New York Times and many other newspapers also have adopted policies requiring equal treatment, women claim that sexist stories still are being published. Carol Richards, national reporter for Gannett News Service, sees evidence of "backsliding" by the newspapers.

For example, Richards notes, the National Association of Parliamentarians has endorsed "chairman" for all presiding officers. Also, she adds, the National Press Club published a recent help-wanted ad for a "rewriteman." Says Richards: "I think it's time for renewed vigilance. All our hard-fought gains are being lost."

Bella Abzug, the outspoken former congresswoman from New York, is most often mentioned by feminists as a victim of continued sexism in the press. Kathy Bonk, spokeswoman for the National Commission on Working Women, says Abzug got "devastating" coverage when she was dismissed from a federal advisory job by President Carter.

Yet Bonk asserts that women have made considerable progress in the media over the past decade. She notes that newspapers normally treat Margaret Thatcher the same as any other politician. Few American reporters even know that Thatcher is a mother of twins.

"Over the past decade," says Bonk, "the coverage of women has moved from the trivial to the sensational — the battle of the sexes — into a more serious vein. Women's issues are being taken more seriously now."
Who Watches the Watchers?

BETTY ANNE WILLIAMS

How do you think of the news media? As simply a dispenser of information? As a guard of the public interest? As a national common denominator linking Americans who otherwise have few symbols of their collective nationhood? How about as a business with many of the quirks, foibles and failings of other industries?

Anyone tackling the question of discrimination in the news media must consider this last characterization. The shield of the First Amendment, which accounts for a large measure of the media’s independence, adds another element to be considered.

The news is big business and great quantities of money and power are at stake in those discrimination cases. Take newspapers as an example. The Newspaper Guild checked the financial reports of nineteen major publishing operations and found that their profits were up 25.4 percent last year compared to 1977 levels. Their after-tax profits came to $776.94 million.

By comparison, the Commerce Department reported that United States corporate profits rose sixteen percent after taxes last year and twenty-four percent in the final quarter of 1978.

The Guild figures include The New York Times and the Tribune Company, publishers of two New York City dailies which underwent eighty-eight day strikes last year.

The industry’s total receipts in 1978 reached $14.8 billion, an increase of nearly twelve percent over 1977. Newspapers had a 14.4 percent increase in advertising revenues last year, amounting to $12.7 billion. They continued to claim just under one-third of all advertising expenditures in the nation.

Many of the prominent national news outlets have been called to account for their employment practices. The Washington Post and the Associated Press are among those with pending cases. The New York Times, NBC, Newsweek and Reader’s Digest are part of a group which has settled discrimination cases.

Yet changes in media employment patterns have been slow in coming. Measurements of those changes are uneven and difficult to obtain.

Data from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on the U.S. newspaper industry’s white-collar workforce for 1975 (the latest available year) shows it was sixty percent male and forty percent female. Minorities held 6.8 percent of these jobs. A Newspaper Guild survey showed that members of minority groups accounted for 7.7 percent of the journalists on newspapers under the union’s jurisdiction. One-third of the 117 daily and Sunday newspapers in the Guild survey had no minority employees. The Guild’s 1978 officers’ report indicates that this ratio is the same as it was seven years ago when the union’s first national conference on minority employment was held.

The guild-covered workforce is sixty-six percent male and thirty-three percent female. About 40,000 employees are within Guild jurisdiction.

Another study prepared by the Frank E. Gannett Urban Journalism Center, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, collected the responses of 1,038 of the nation’s 1,762 general circulation daily newspapers.

The results show that while minority persons are seventeen percent of the nation’s population, they make up only four percent of the journalists working on dailies. Two-thirds of the nation’s dailies employ no minority journalists, the study found. It concludes that in general, minorities are underutilized and underrepresented in newspaper management; ninety-nine percent of the editors of dailies are white.

While the major attention in minority employment
During the past decade has focused on blacks, the study said that all other minority groups have fared better than blacks in obtaining non-reporting, professional jobs in the newsroom.

In 1968, about 400 minority journalists were employed by daily newspapers. The study, which was prepared for the American Society of Newspaper Editors, estimated that there are now about 1,700 minority journalists on daily newspapers.

Some 1,357 of them were identified in this study. Thirty-eight percent of that number are employed on only thirty-four newspapers.

Christine Ogan and David H. Weaver of Indiana University's school of journalism conducted research on women in newspaper management. Their results show that all daily newspapers, regardless of circulation size, average about one women manager each. Only about 2.4 percent of the top-level managers in the daily press are women.

About one-third of the weekly newspaper editors were women, the survey found. Women formed the majority of employees on weekly newspapers overall. The study concluded that prospects for change are not great and noted that from 1976 to 1978 the average number of women managers in the daily press increased from 1.1 percent to 1.2 percent.

Another reason for pessimism, the researchers found, was that eighty percent of the persons in management training programs at newspapers participating in the survey were male. This means that the number of women with newspaper management skills will continue to remain small. With figures like these, the concept of women in newspaper management is "a contradiction in terms."

The picture for broadcasting is, on the surface, somewhat less bleak. The Federal Communications Commission, which has since 1971 required all license holders to provide annual employment data if they have five or more employees, lists 164,726 persons in broadcasting. Some 49,656 or 30.1 percent are women and 14.3 percent are from minority groups.

Every year the United Church of Christ's Office of Communication puts together a profile of television station's employment patterns based on data submitted to the FCC. Its most recent edition covers 1977 and notes that for the first time since 1971, there was no increase in the percentage of full-time minority employees in the television labor force. Their number held steady at fourteen percent.

The percentage of women increased from twenty-six percent in 1976 to twenty-eight percent in 1977. Minorities held seven percent of the top four job categories.

The proportion of minority group employees at 157 non-commercial stations rose from twelve percent in 1976 to thirteen percent in 1977. Minorities held seven percent of the upper level jobs in 1971 and ten percent in 1976 and 1977.

Women held thirty-four percent of the full-time jobs at non-commercial stations in 1977 compared to thirty-three percent in 1976. Their representation in the upper level job categories rose from thirteen percent in 1971 to twenty-one percent in 1976 and twenty-three percent in 1977.

Why has a national press crops which chronicles the shortcomings of others not put its own house in order?

Ralph M. Jennings, deputy director of the United Church of Christ's Office of Communications and author of the annual television survey, offers some reasons which probably apply to all media.
With figures like these, the concept of women in newspaper management is a contradiction in terms.

"First of all we have to say that broadcasters are in business to make money. Doing good doesn’t always flow from making money.

"They are also conservative. If they’re making money one way, they are reluctant to try a new trick."

And, Jennings adds: “It’s only through regulation or the threat of some sort of punitive action that they are willing to change.

“‘All things being equal, it’s probably easier to go out and hire a seasoned white male to do every job. That’s the way it’s always been done.’"

Few formal avenues are open to those who want to challenge a news media operation’s employment practices.

Employees of print and broadcast media who feel they have been discriminated against may file complaints with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (This option is not limited to news media employees.)

If EEOC’s attempts at conciliation fail, the complaint could lead to a court case. It could be granted class action status, making any remedies applicable to the group of persons in the class. Complaints of employment discrimination are based on Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

To date, none of the Title VII cases of race or sex discrimination against news media entities have gone to trial. A settlement was reached in each case, yielding promotions, back pay, front pay and the like for the name plaintiffs, and goals and timetables and programming changes for the class and the public. In broadcasting, there is another option — filing substantial objections or petitions to deny a license with the FCC.

The number of complaints in these two categories has multiplied from two petitions affecting two stations in 1969 to ninety-seven petitions affecting 130 stations in 1978.

The FCC’s Glenn Wolff said that since 1971, at least eighty percent of these cases have involved complaints about a lack of equal employment opportunity.

A 1964 Jackson, Mississippi case eventually led to WLBT-TV’s loss of its license. But the license was ordered vacated by the U.S. Court of Appeals, not by the FCC. The license challenge was presented by the United Church of Christ and local citizens because of the station’s racial and religious discrimination and excessive commercialism. It was this landmark case which established the right of public interest groups to intervene in licensing proceedings in the public’s behalf.

The FCC has been reluctant to deny a station a renewal. But this type of proceeding can bring results in employment practices and in programming.

As Kathy Bonk, chair of the National Organization for Women’s Media Reform Committee put it: “You lose at the commission level. But there is immediate improvement.”

NOW has been an active participant in many of the broadcast challenges brought to date. Ms. Bonk said the original strategy was to hit the networks because they employed the largest number of persons and commanded the greatest amount of visibility.

But NOW also recognizes that there must be a pool of experienced personnel from which the larger news organizations can draw. A new strategy calls for analyzing statewide systems, which often provide entry-level jobs, to make sure they offer equal employment opportunities.

There seems to be no way of measuring the precise impact which EEO suits have had on the industry. But many people involved with them agree that there has been progress.

“My guess is that the potential for lawsuits has had a lot of impact,” said Christy Bulkeley, who has followed the suits from a vantage point as publisher of the Danville (Illinois) Commercial-News.

Diane Zimmerman, one of the plaintiffs in the 1968 Newsweek lawsuit, and now an assistant law professor at New York University, recalls that their case occurred about the time that the Washington Post Company acquired the magazine.

“It was perfectly clear that the Washington Post Company wanted to get rid of the deadwood from the old regime and it was determined that it was not going to replace that deadwood with women,” she said. “There was no effort to hide it whatsoever.” People who were appalled by racial prejudice “seemed to think it was just fine if the prejudice was directed against a woman.”

If nothing else, it is harder to build a discrimination case now, Ms. Zimmerman speculated. New personnel, whether female or minority, are no longer told as she was when she was hired that there is no chance of advancing from researcher to reporter-writer, Ms. Zimmerman said.

One reason change has been slow in coming to the news media is that there has been too little oversight from outside, according to Ms. Zimmerman. “Who watches the watchers?”

The United Church of Christ’s Ralph Jennings agreed. “The press can topple a Nixon regime, but they won’t look at themselves,” he said.

“Whenever anyone raises an eyebrow, the shield of the First Amendment is pulled down to cover all manner of things.”
Women in the “Bullpen”

CHRISTY BARBEE

Robin Herman had the right, or maybe more importantly the permission, to be there; yet she was still jittery about being in the locker room of the New York Rangers. New to The New York Times’ Rangers beat, she operated on what she called tunnel vision — she didn’t let her eyes stray right or left or drop below face level.

“I’ll tell you how I got over that. I covered the Rangers two or three times. Then in Detroit I was standing in the locker room and I felt someone tap me on the shoulder. I thought, ‘Oh, great. I’m gonna get punched in the face.’ I turned around and it was Pat Hickey. He was holding out his wrist.”

The player’s wrist was taped. He looked at her blankly, then asked her to cut the tape off. He handed her some scissors, and she obliged. “Then he said, ‘thank you’ and walked away. That was it. That’s when I first felt that I belonged there.”

For five and one-half years, right after college, Herman moved through the Times sports department from clerk and trainee to a National Hockey League beat, then to a National Basketball Association assignment. She was one of the best known female sportswriters in the country when, early this year, she switched to general assignment, the news side at the Times.

“I’d gotten tired of sports writing because it was no longer challenging. I’d felt all the emotions,” she says.

But she didn’t leave sports because she felt out of her element. The hockey fans among New York’s cab drivers miss her, I am sure. I have lost count of how many late-night rides home I spent listening to their praises of the Times’ hockey coverage. They all knew she was a woman, too.

Herman was a principal in the fight for hockey locker room access. With several other women she won the acceptance of players, coaches and sportswriters.

But sports writing for women still is life in a fishbowl. There are few of us; many papers employ more than one woman on their sports staffs and plenty have no women at all. For all of the success any of us has had, sports writing still makes a woman a curiosity. Women are asked, “How did you get into that?”; male sportswriters hear, “Gee, what a great job.” The locker room issue has claimed most of the ink but really has very little to do with the daily concerns — professional and personal — of female sportswriters.

When I took on the task of examining the lot of female sportswriters, I realized how very isolated I am. I am the only woman who writes and edits sports regularly for the AP. I go weeks, sometimes months, without seeing a woman who does what I do. I cover tennis, a traditional province for female writers, but we continue to be outnumbered, and I still see more women covering women’s tennis than I do at men’s tournaments.

Perhaps I shouldn’t have been surprised, but I was. Every woman I talked to around the country was willing, even eager, to tell me how much her career, however enjoyable, fouls up her social, romantic and family goals. The conflict is common to most career women and certainly to other female journalists with crazy schedules. But there are some special problems for women covering sports. We are practically assured of schedules that have us at work when others are at play — nights and weekends. And while men and their wives have long accepted the fact that covering a sports beat sometimes entails long periods away from home, women with romantic, marital and family commitments still are uncomfortable with the necessity of travel.

All of us are wary that we are in the public eye. That can be fun. It can also produce a lot of anxiety and create unusual pressure on us in our work and in our relationships.

MARRIAGE, ROMANCE AND FRIENDSHIP

“I’m not married,” volunteers Tracy Dodds of the Milwaukee Journal. “And that’s probably the fault of the job. Yes, specifically sports. Very much so.”

It is hard for her to meet men she feels comfortable dating. When her timetable permits, she goes to parties. She is the center of attention for an hour, she says. Men stand in awe of her grasp of sports, and of her acquaintance with athletes. “But when the party’s over, they all want their little ladies hanging on their arms. They want someone who is in awe of them.”

Christy Barbee, a graduate of Florida International University, has worked for the Associated Press in Miami and Los Angeles. She has been working the New York City sports beat for AP for the past two years.
Anita Martini is forty and has covered sports in Houston for twelve years, the last seven for KPRC radio and television. She has been divorced for sixteen years after being married for four. During the marriage and shortly afterwards she was a secretary. Her second career has been more rewarding, but not conducive to a second marriage.

"Men say they like my being a sportswriter, but in the long run they are intimidated... It's doubly worse being in radio and TV, which is so visual. Most guys are star-struck. I go out with a guy who blows forty dollars on dinner, the maitre d' comes over and says, 'Oh Miss Martini, it's such an honor...' My date is just under the table. Maybe he's an insurance agent. He feels anonymous. He feels that he can't compete."

Many think that sports writing must be a great entree, a terrific conversation starter.

"Sometimes I feel as if I'm doing 'Sports Feedback' (her radio call-in show). I don't care," says Martini. "Doctors don't want to talk about their operations. Sports isn't the only thing I can talk about. I find myself spending whole evenings talking about it. Then the guy says to himself, 'I don't want to take her out again. She can only talk about sports.'"

"It gets easier not to go."

Needs change through life, Martini notes, and now romance must takes its place with other objectives, not above them.

"I'm not going to miss a very important NBA game because some guy wants me to meet him at a bar at seven o'clock so he can put the moves on me."

Martini has had to make emotional compromises. She is enthusiastic about her job — more than a forty-hour-a-week undertaking. "Instead of thinking all week about a Saturday night date, I live for Sunday when I can clean my house, do my laundry and wash my hair."

Pohla Smith of UPI sympathizes, although she was married before switching from general news to sports almost five years ago. Now a regional sports editor based in Pittsburgh, she is excited and optimistic about a job she wasn't sure she wanted at first. She teaches journalism at the University of Pittsburgh and takes gymnastics and weight training courses. Life in the press boxes was lonely when she started covering football and the Pittsburgh Steelers; she felt cut off from other women. But her wide range of outside activities and satisfaction in her work have changed her life.

Her marriage to a free-lance writer is solid, she says, but "weeks go by when we literally do not have time to do anything but kiss each other good-bye in the morning and kiss each other good-night."

Melissa Ludtke Lincoln, whose name became well-known last year when she sued the New York Yankees for access to their locker room, recently married an editor on The New York Times sports desk. Eric Lincoln was reporting when they met.

"Being married to a journalist can go either way," she says. "On the one hand, it's good that he understands the world I work in. But there are still problems."

Travel is a big one, she says, and although her work for Sports Illustrated allows her to arrange her own schedule, she notes that other women, particularly newspaper reporters, don't have that leverage.

"With men, it's something that wouldn't be harped on... women haven't worked that out yet."

For several reasons the sports world itself does not provide a suitable pool of prospects.

"Meeting interesting men is impossible," says Nora McCabe of the Toronto Globe and Mail. "Sportswriters are the most conservative, most uninvestigative men I've ever met. They take everything as it's given. They don't want to make anybody mad... So you're not going to be attracted to the men you work with. It doesn't make sense to be fooling around with the coaches and players you meet. Besides I'm thirty-eight. I don't want to be hopping into bed with twenty-four-year-old guys. And you know damn well they'd put the word out if you did."

Mary Garber is our dean. She is sixty-three and has been with the Winston-Salem (N.C.) Journal for forty-four years. She has never been married and says she is not likely to be.

"Social life? This job ruins it. This is something young women going into sports writing ought to know. It's really tough," she says. Her advice: "You must balance your life. You have to have other interests besides what you're doing in your job."

I think Ludtke hit upon the heart of the problem.

"It applies across the board to women with careers," she says. "They plan for their careers, they're so gung ho about them. But they do not plan for their personal lives."

Most female writers have personal rules about not dating athletes and coaches. Stephanie Salter, who covers baseball and the Oakland A's for the San Francisco Examiner, lives with a man and says she is glad she has that restriction.

"I think it would be awfully hard to keep myself from going out with some of the more intelligent men that I'm really attracted to if I didn't have the commitment. I'm grateful I don't have to walk that tightrope."

Even if she were not committed to one man, she says, she would try to avoid involvement with the men she covers.

Honest attractions do develop. "But I like to think in that case I would have the courage to ask to be taken off the
beat. But first I’d try not to let it get to that point. That’s just a really terrible thing to have to face. It’s like having an affair in the office.”

As in any area in which women compete with men, the sports world buzzes with murmurs about reporters using feminine wiles to get what they want. I don’t doubt that has happened, but have never known anyone to produce evidence, other than hearsay, to support their accusations. It isn’t difficult to discern where this anxiety comes from, whether it’s a man or another woman doing the murmuring.

“It’s obviously professional jealousy, a way to dismiss someone who’s got a good story,” says Salter.

Robin Herman wrote an incisive character study of the Montreal Canadiens’ Guy Lafleur. No one had ever produced such good stuff about him. Immediately other reporters started in with the nervous jokes about her methods. She had taken Lafleur to a bar, alone, and he had talked freely about his family, his values and feelings. Envious writers suggested she must have plied him with drink.

“What happened was that I got him away from his teammates, out of the spotlight. . . . He said, ‘Whenever anyone asks me a question in the locker room they stick a mike in my face.’” He was always having to assume the posture expected of him by his teammates and the writers.

But, continued the skeptics, Lafleur must not have known or else had forgotten that she was a reporter. Herman had anticipated that. She said she had moved her notebook conspicuously from her lap and placed it between them on the table, but the words did not stop flowing.

Anita Martini is one of the few women who told me she did not have a hard and fast rule about dating sports figures. “My head and my heart are my rules,” she says.

“In all of the time I’ve been doing this, I’ve dated maybe six athletes . . . It depends on the athlete. But I don’t seek that out. I’m friends with all the athletes.”

On the job, she says, she is friendly, not familiar. She’ll go out with an athlete if she thinks she’ll enjoy the date and if she thinks he can handle it maturely.

“But I’m not gonna be ‘Anita, the Houston girl’ for any man. I see that a lot. Yes, a lot. But I don’t want that.”

“CHILDREN”

Anita Martini remembers panicking at about age thirty when she realized she was living away her child-bearing years. “‘But that passed me by a long time ago. The funny thing is that my goal in high school was to have eight children.’”

Again, she has compromised. She joined the Big Brother, Big Sister organization, in which adults sign on to spend time with disadvantaged children.

“I’m the only woman in Houston they have ever allowed to befriend a boy,” she says. She tries to spend one night or day a week with the child. She has nieces and nephews she adores; she lets other people’s children absorb her maternal leanings.

“I’m not sure I’m really gutsy enough to get married and have a baby. Ten years from now it may matter to me that I never had children but it doesn’t matter at all now.”

Pohla Smith, who is twenty-seven, discovered her maternal instincts when she began teaching. She has developed a caretaker attitude about the advancement of women. When she introduced sports writing guidelines into her basic journalism courses, she was pleased that middle-aged women thanked her for having taught them how to appreciate sports.

“My students fill some of my need to nurture,” says Smith. “And the young athletes help to get rid of some of my maternal instincts.”

But she must be careful, she says, not to lavish attention on the athletes she covers most often. Smith says she cannot yet picture herself quitting work to raise children — which she insists that she or her husband would have to do in order to care properly for a pre-school child.

“Meanwhile we’re suckers for homeless animals.”

Toronto’s Nora McCabe, who is divorced, has a daughter age seventeen and a son fifteen. She purposely has avoided taking on a beat which would require travel. She writes lengthy profiles instead and covers random assignments close to home.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

A widespread and frequently well-founded assumption — by men and women — is that female reporters carry certain advantages into the locker rooms, coaches’ offices and playing fields. Some of us have even learned to play dumb in order to capitalize on a common belief — that women don’t know as much about sports as their male colleagues because they never played them. Most women I talked to said that coaches and players were willing to spend extra time explaining details.

Women have some advantages in their offices as well. Many of us started in sports because editors believed that women are more openly sensitive, and therefore better equipped to get the story behind the statistics and play-by-play. Many papers have looked for women without sports expertise. Editors believe that such women provide good human interest material without the trappings of sports jargon and male clubbiness. In a highly visible industry, which monitors the state of minorities in other sectors, sports editors are very image conscious.

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Unquestionably women have been awarded plum assignments before learning the ropes, before taking drudge duty. That is the single most apparent reason for resentment of women by male colleagues, although there are more fundamental, deep-seated causes, too. But the conscientious among us do not love being on display in a showcase.

"I have trouble with jealousy," says Tracy Dodds of her situation at the Milwaukee Journal. "Some of them would like to say I'm succeeding as a token."

But in addition to handling one of only three pro sports beats for the paper, she also takes her share of desk shifts. That tends to ward off open expressions of jealousy.

"A woman has to work harder than a man," says Anita Martini. "She has to show her boss she's ready and willing. There is enormous pressure on women to be perfect."

Melanie Hauser of the Austin American-Statesman is concerned about the tendency of the major networks and of their affiliates to hire beauty-pageant faces and personalities to be sportscasters.

"We're not pretty faces here to please the sports fans," she says. "I guess I'm overly critical sometimes. I guess it's just because I feel like I'm under a microscope. You have to be better than men. Women can't be average and make it."

A full generation at least must pass before female writers are accepted all around — by coaches, players, other sportswriters and the public. I think it will take a lot of practice before we outgrow our self-consciousness, before we learn to balance our lives. I do believe that women already are getting along better with other women. I'm not sure we'll ever be fully at ease or welcome in locker rooms. As Anita Martini says, this isn't a society in which people feel comfortable about being undressed. But I try to take heart from something else she said:

"If we can get Arabs and Jews together, and if we can get to the moon, if we can do all these things, then we can certainly somehow solve this sports dilemma."

From Politics to Pitchouts
(or How I Came to be Sports Editor of The New York Times)
LE ANNE SCHREIBER

On February 16, 1979, a "Sports and Journalism" evening was held at Walter Lippmann House. Guests included Roger Angell, baseball writer and fiction editor for The New Yorker, author of The Summer Game, and Five Seasons; Dr. Stanley Cheren, Boston psychiatrist; Peter Gammons, sportswriter for the Boston Globe; Tom Heinsohn, former Boston Celtics player and coach; Le Anne Schreiber, sports editor for The New York Times; and Dr. Stanton Wheeler, Professor of Law and Sociology, Yale University.

The seminar was taped and transcribed. What follows is a lightly edited version of Le Anne Schreiber's story of how she entered the world of sports journalism.

I've been in this position since November. One reporter told me that there were more theories about my appointment at the Times than about any event since the disappearance of Jimmy Hoffa. The true story is that I am sports editor because of an article I wrote for Time magazine about three years ago about British labor politics.

Six weeks before a British referendum on entry into the Common Market, I wrote a long, dull story previewing the referendum. Toward the end of that same week in the spring of 1975, Cambodia was being overrun by the Khmer Rouge and, as a result, my story was chopped in half and became a very simple union versus management story about British politics. The story so enamored one of the
very highest people at Time magazine that he publicly applauded me for this version of British labor politics. Whereupon I was asked to rewrite that story for the next five weeks leading up to the vote.

After writing this same story for six weeks, I was very tired of that referendum but had become interested in British labor politics. I figured that the only way to get around an anti-union perspective on labor management problems at a time when Time Inc. was heading toward a strike, was to write something sort of novelistic, so that the editorial viewpoint wasn't clear. So working with a Time correspondent in Britain, I wrote a cover story about the Rubery-Owens car parts manufacturing company outside of Manchester and called it "Upstairs Downstays at the Factory." But the week it was supposed to run in Time, Squeaky Fromme raised her gun at Gerald Ford, so instead of my piece being run in the World Section, where it was to have been featured, Ford and Fromme were put on the cover and my story ran as a special report in the business section.

A year later, when Time was indeed on strike, and I was out on the picket lines, the story won an award for the best piece of business writing of the year. But because I was out on strike, and there were machinations going on inside the building between the reporting and the writing staffs (the writers were all out on strike; the correspondents were all not on strike) I became a pawn in a tug of war and was denied my part of the prize. When the strike was over, Henry Grunwald, managing editor of Time magazine, said "I'm going to make it up to you sometime."" Three weeks later, while I was writing a German election story, he said, "Next week you're going to cover the Montreal Olympics."

Okay. I had never written about sports before in my life, had never intended to write about sports, and with that background I was going to be sent alone to Canada, because the Montreal Olympics — incredible as it seems — had caught Time magazine off guard. Since arrangements had been made for only two press credentials, I was sent with one research assistant to cover the Olympics. What followed were probably the worst three weeks in my entire life. I hope I never have to go through that again.

More than any other member of the press corps I needed to discover a star at the Olympics so that I could be in one place instead of 300, which I was finding difficult. Out of pure necessity and with remarkable good fortune, I discovered Nadia Comenecii on my first day up in Montreal. I feverishly called my editor and said "She is it for the first week of the Olympics. He said, 'No, go to all 300 places.'" I, needless to say, decided to stay with her.

I'll give myself a little credit because I saw her performing in the very preliminary rounds of gymnastics and thought she was astounding. I put all my eggs in her basket. At the end of the week, when the other members of the press corps were trying to get their interviews, I already had mine. So I pulled it out.

If you know Time Inc., you know that they operate on a group journalism system. You have reporters and writers: reporters report and writers write. In this circumstance I had to be both reporter and writer. But, the Time Inc. system also dictates that cover stories can only be written in the office. I had to report in Montreal, fly back to New York, and write from my own reporting.

Anyway, all that over, I returned to writing about international politics. Two months later, however, I was offered a job as editor-in-chief of WomenSports magazine on the basis of the Montreal experience. I took the job because it gave me the opportunity to run my own magazine. I was given full discretion to give this magazine its identity. I did it and loved it, up until the day a year and a half later when the magazine was knocked out from under us. The demise of WomenSports had little to do with changes in sports for women but had everything to do with a crisis in the parent (oil) company that owned us.

Professionally, I had the best time of my life during that year and a half. During those months, however, I still planned to return to writing about politics and the arts. When I was offered a position as the Times' assistant sports editor, I initially turned it down. Then I thought, that's very stupid of me to turn down a job with The New York Times. I started last February, having no notion that eight months later I would be the sports editor. I'm quite sure that when The New York Times hired me they had no notion that I would become editor either. In any case, I'm there.
WOMEN JOURNALISTS:
Professional/Personal Conflicts

NANCY L. DAY

As Harvard President Derek Bok said in response to a question from Nieman Fellow Peggy Simpson this spring, women between twenty-five and thirty-five — the prime "career push years" — often have "competing responsibilities." Bok was defending Harvard against allegations that the University has not been as diligent as it might be in boosting the number of tenured women faculty members. His sentiments are echoed by editors and publishers who say they would promote more women, "if we could find more with the proper experience.''

Why, in this supposedly liberated age, is it still so often an either/or choice for women: career or children or compromise? Women journalists have been hesitant to raise such questions, fearful that any behavior not "just like a man's" will provide the predominantly male management with excuses for not hiring, not promoting, and not assigning the choice stories or beats to women. Privately, however, we have begun to discuss the special problems of combining journalism (to most of us much more than a mere job) with fulfilling personal lives.

Married or single, there have been times when most women journalists have sighed, "I wish I had a wife," meaning a traditional homemaker. Many men journalists have the benefit of someone to run the household, take care of the kids, pack the clothes for out-of-town assignments, keep the dinner warm and the guests amused when a late-breaking story delays coming home at night. Some of the women I talked with while researching this article have husbands with flexible schedules or other "wifelike" alternatives: a foreign exchange student, a visiting mother, a trusted sitter/housekeeper. Others are struggling.

Marguerite Hoxie Sullivan, thirty-two, is president of the Washington Press Club, in addition to being the mother of Sarah, two and a half, and the wife of Roger Sullivan of the World Bank. She is also a full-time reporter in the capital bureau of the Copley News Service.

"It's punting or juggling all the time," Sullivan says. At the time of the interview, Roger was just back from Africa, and Marguerite was about to go to China with the press club.

"When I was pregnant," Sullivan recalled, "Eileen Shanahan took me to lunch and gave me this advice: 'Get a reliable babysitter and make no outside commitments.'"

Sullivan respected the advice of Shanahan, the highly regarded business and economics reporter for The New York Times for fourteen years, and more recently assistant secretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Shanahan is now assistant managing editor of the Washington Star. She is also a veteran of a long and happy marriage and the mother of two daughters who, she says "turned out very well."

"Of course, I do have substantial outside commitments," says Sullivan, whose press club duties consume up to thirty hours per week, "but luckily my mother came to visit just after Christmas and is still here."

The Sullivans also have a trusted sitter who began as a cleaning lady and still helps with household chores,

Nancy L. Day, Nieman Fellow, '79, is a regional editor for the San Francisco Examiner.
Although her main responsibility is to take care of Sarah from 9:30 a.m. to 6:30 p.m.

Sullivan stresses “three keys” to successful juggling:

- “A supportive family. It must be really hard for single parents.”
- “A supportive work environment.”
- “A very reliable babysitter.”

Nevertheless, Sullivan says Sarah’s birth “was the biggest adjustment I’ve ever made in my life.” At first, she went back to work three days a week, writing features and human interest stories.

The West accepts the concept of part-time work better than the East does, Marguerite believes, “and I work for a Western company, so it wasn’t a radical thing. But I did find that the first year I wasn’t doing a very good job. I felt distracted. I didn’t have the same enthusiasm and zest.”

Roger goes to work first and she goes in around 9:30 or 10 and doesn’t come come till 7 or 7:30. Usually, he is able to come home to relieve the sitter. But one time, recalls Marguerite, “I had to come home and finish a story, then drive it back. It was sort of a disaster, because Sarah was all over me.”

Although having a child “is definitely worthwhile,” being a mother entails some professional sacrifices. Sullivan says:

“In Washington, many things happen at night. I go to some, but there are many that I must miss because of Sarah.”

The ideal situation for a journalist-mother, Sullivan suggests, would be to have daycare or a sitter for “normal” work hours, and a live-in college student who is busy days, but needs room and board. Having all this help sounds somewhat elitist, she concedes, “but we’ve got to face it, if we expect to be professionals able to devote ourselves fully to our work when we’re on the job.”

“I really like working, but as a child gets older, the conflicts increase,” Marguerite says. “Once toddlers communicate verbally, they sometimes get clingy.”

Marguerite and a friend, the AP’s Janet Staihar, had been discussing the conflicts just that weekend.

“All the plans anyone has fall through the crack when the baby arrives,” Sullivan said. “You think you’ll just have the baby and that will be it, you’ll go back to work, you’ll feel no maternal tuggings. But I really did. And that’s what everybody else says, too.”

Nancy Dooley McCarthy, thirty-two, mother of eighteen-month-old Mary Nell, says, “It’s completely different being a reporter and a mother.” When she was pregnant, Dooley was one of two San Francisco Examiner reporters who wrote stories on the questionable practices of the Reverend Jim Jones and his Peoples’ Temple. On her return after a year’s maternity leave, she requested the 5 a.m. to 1 p.m. rewrite shift so she could spend her afternoons with Nell.

“I have no choice about whether or not to work,” says Dooley. “I have to, my husband is a law student.”

Nancy arises before five. Her husband Charlie (a former assistant city editor) wakes up Nell, dresses her, feeds her, and takes her to the babysitter. “He really enjoys that time with her,” Dooley says.

Eventually, the McCarthys would like to have more children, but that will have to wait until Charlie is a practicing attorney. Then, says Nancy, she’ll have a choice of either working or staying home with the children.

“I knew I had just one year at home after Nell’s birth, so I really appreciated it,” she said. “I can’t see going back after three weeks or six weeks, when they’re so little and need so much care, but of course that’s an individual decision.”

She admits to occasional regrets. She cannot vie for out-of-town assignments, for example.

“But that’s just part of the deal,” she says. “There’s no use moping about it.”

She regards as a positive sign the Examiner’s recent decision to hire for three days a week Mary Ganz, whose son Galen is almost the same age as Nell. “Given the choice,” says Nancy, “that’s what I’d like. Right now, I have to go to bed at eight. There’s no time for myself — to read, go to a movie, do little projects.”

Nancy’s one luxury is a once-a-week housekeeper, “a godsend.” “Before I hired her, I found I was spending the entire weekend cleaning the house... It’s difficult to be supermom and superprofessional all at the same time,” Dooley says.

Peggy Simpson, who has covered the women’s movement for a decade, calls this dilemma “the cutting edge,” as women who have been demanding equal opportunities realize that in a sexist society, perhaps they cannot do it all.

“This is the frontier,” Simpson says. “Some women insist they CAN do it all, but many are struggling.”

Married or single, there have been times when most women journalists have sighed, “I wish I had a wife.”
"There's a pull, a conflict, one against the other," says Dooley. "You try to do a good job in both roles, but it's difficult to do an excellent job in both."

Mary Ganz Moore, twenty-nine, has been an editor and writer for the Associated Press in New Orleans, Chicago and San Francisco. She resigned shortly before her son was born.

She was interviewed soon after going back to work part-time, as a feature writer for the San Francisco Examiner. Her husband Preston, an ambitious young attorney accustomed to working long hours, initially was "really supportive and very anxious for me to get back to work," says Ganz, "but when it came down to nuts and bolts, like who was going to stay home when Galen was sick, there were a few scraps. He hadn't thought about all the 'small stuff.'"

Mary's complaint is familiar. No matter how sympathetic or liberated a husband/male companion may believe he is (at least by prevailing community standards), when the crunch comes, usually the woman has to worry about the details, such as school transportation, cookies for Scout Troops, and pediatricians' appointments.

In the Moore's case, this adjustment has meant that "one day last week Preston had to be home at four instead of six-thirty or later," Mary said. She is not completely satisfied with Galen's daycare, but feels lucky to have found it. "I realized when I looked into daycare that I would have to make some compromises. I hope I've made the right choice. But it's important to me to have my own life. So far, it feels good to be back at work, and this three-day-a-week arrangement is ideal. If the job were using me up, then I'd feel different, but not now. Galen is getting a lot of stimulation, and so am I."

Single parents have even more of a juggling act to perform. "I've tried just about every available childcare option," says Susan White, thirty-two, Memphis Bureau Manager for United Press International and mother of Meredith, eight.

White has been a journalist for three and one-half years, after serving as public information officer for Shelby County, Tennessee. No editor would give her a newspaper job because she lacked experience so she designed the county job herself. Her competence led county seat reporters to encourage her to keep applying for journalism jobs. Then editors wanted to know who would take care of her daughter. "although they never said so, that is why they would not hire me." Finally, "UPI needed somebody right that minute and took a chance on me," White said, although the bureau manager emphasized that "there are no good shifts" in a three-person, seven-day-a-week bureau.

After six weeks, the manager was transferred; Susan and the other reporter each had to work their shifts alone and put in six-day, forty-eight-hour weeks. Another bureau manager was in and out quickly and "incredibly, they offered me the job on an acting basis," White said. "On July 4, 1976 I was given the job permanently. I'd proved I could do it."

Her husband took on the nighttime childcare. "At the time," she said, "my husband was very cooperative. He helped quite a bit... I still work long hours," White said, "but as manager, can determine what they are a little better. I average about fifty hours per week."

At the time of the interview, she had been separated one and a half years, divorced six months. Her former husband has "complete freedom" to see Meredith whenever he wants, White says, "but ninety-nine and ninetenths percent of the time, I'm still responsible for childcare."

Meredith goes to a parochial school, mainly because it provides door to door transportation that fits into White's schedule, even when she has to be in the office by 6 a.m.

"Otherwise, I'd have to have a full-time housekeeper, which I can't afford. Even so, childcare eats into the budget tremendously.

This year she has found a sitter who is flexible and trustworthy. Last summer was spent "making day-to-day arrangements - camp, one grandmother one day, the other the next, then I'd take a day off, and so forth."

"One day, the state manager in Nashville called and said, 'Can you get on the next plane?' I called the sitter and asked if Meredith could stay with her overnight. I went to Nashville in the same dress I'd worn to work and spent the next four days there."

Meredith, says her mother, "is excited by my job."

"She's a very old eight," adds White. "She understands things my mother doesn't."

"When I first got the bureau manager's job, I felt I was on call twenty-four hours a day. I was so young and inexperienced and I wanted to be the best bureau manager they had ever had. I am sure I neglected her at first. But then I realized that to be really good at the job, you have to have a life outside the office, too, so now, when there's slack time, I take time off to be with Meredith. Sometimes I have a 'Meredith Day' and we do whatever she wants to do."
White is interested in advancement, yet she has already turned down two state manager jobs — the first because "I was in the midst of a divorce and the legal hassles would have increased," and the latest because of another family pressure, a terminally ill father in Memphis. She has thought of moving, and invariably the problem of childcare comes up. In Memphis, Susan has a support system of relatives and friends who can fill in at short notice. White is resigned to the necessity of a live-in housekeeper when she moves on, because she loves journalism.

"I was born to be a wire service reporter," she says. "I do better if I have only five minutes to write a story. I like going from football to politics to soccer."

A nne Saul, thirty-four, is the divorced mother of ten-year-old Quentin, "named after the lead character in The Sound and the Fury." Except for three months preceding and three months following Quentin's birth, she has been working full-time as a reporter since graduating from college. She is now metro editor of Today newspaper in Cocoa Beach, Florida.

Ms. Saul was married to another journalist. During their early careers, the two commuted to opposite ends of the county. Their son was in a nursery and Anne was working fairly regular hours, roughly nine to six. "I really didn't push to get a promotion," she said. "I thought, if I'm going to go up, I've got to work at night. It was left unsaid. Nobody was thinking of me in terms of management.

"Then a new editor came in and asked if I'd like to work on the desk. I liked being a reporter, going out and meeting people, and dreaded the idea of being holed up in an office."

But then she enjoyed editing, and when she became Titusville bureau chief, she started "working with one idea in mind — to be the metro editor," a goal she accomplished before her personal timetable dictated. Her next target is the position of editor.

During much of her marriage, she worked days, her husband worked nights. "When you're working till one or so, the hardest thing is to come home and go to bed. Usually, you're keyed up, so you go out for a few beers. The wives of other men on the staff used to say to me, 'That's really kind of neat, you're both in the business, so you understand.' Boy, did I — all too well.

"They saw it as a positive thing, but I see it as a problem. If I ever got married again, it would be to someone outside the profession."

She says that even though she and her husband were both journalists, she ended up doing all the housework and almost all the childcare. "It has to be fifty-fifty," she said.

Ms. Saul is now a host parent to a German foreign exchange student who loves to cook and helps with childcare responsibilities. "Host families are no longer required to be the 'ideal two-parent, two and one-half child model,'" she says. The three-person family lives in a condominium, so yard maintenance is minimal. "I don't like housework, so I do as little as possible," Saul says.

A second marriage is "way off in the future. I haven't thought too much about it," she said. "I have a career that I have no intention of giving up. It takes a lot of my time so anyone I marry would have to accept it, and not just in a condescending way. I don't intend to have any more kids, anyway, and I couldn't stand being a housewife twenty-four hours a day. I went crazy doing it for six months. After a month, I was itchy, I felt so closed off.

"One thing that was said to me by other women on the staff when I became metro editor, was that because I had made it, I was an example. They felt there was a better opportunity for them.

"But I'm not doing it for other women. I'm doing it for myself."

Being a symbol preys on the consciences of other women who have "made it." We may wish to be writers rather than editors or managers, but feel it's important to have women in policy-making roles.

B arbara Crossette, thirty-nine, is assistant news editor of The New York Times, the first woman to penetrate what was formerly called "the bullpen." She speaks for many women editors who think longingly of being full-time writers, but feel a certain responsibility, once promoted, to keep moving "ahead." Otherwise, men editors will have more evidence for saying they can't find or keep good women, and the upper echelons will revert to all-male bastions. No women will be there before the paper goes to press to point out the sexist reference, the demeaning adjective, the inflammatory headline.

Crossette was recently married to a man she had been living with "on and off for ten years." They wed primarily to ease work and travel restrictions for each of them, since he is not a U.S. citizen.

Some people, most of them women, threw a surprise party in the newsroom to celebrate the occasion. Crossette was embarrassed, but was advised to take it in stride, because the sponsors were well meaning.

"There's this (I hate the jargon, but) 'role model'
thing,'" Crossette said. "Somebody told me I shouldn't act embarrassed over the party because Sarah was behind it and you're her greatest role model."

"I'm the highest ranking woman in the newsroom at the moment," says Crossette. She works Saturdays and Sundays, "so I run the Times on the weekend."

After her marriage, Crossette said she sensed a subtle change in the attitude of some (though she stressed not all) of her male colleagues, as if they were saying, "Now you're one of us, you're safe, you're married, like a 'normal' woman."

L inda Kramer Jenning, twenty-nine, married for more traditional reasons: she fell deeply in love with Steve Jenning, who had taken a job with the Portland Oregonian. Kramer was working in the San Francisco bureau of the Associated Press.

She applied for a transfer to the Portland AP bureau and worked there (in the same building as the Oregonian) during the early months of her marriage. Now as acting Salem correspondent for the AP, she must either commute for two hours each day or, when the legislative load is heavy, stay overnight in the state capital.

She jokes about "my husband, the miracle," and asks rhetorically, "Would Steve rather have me bitching about my job in Portland or bitching about commuting to Salem?"

Kramer finds her current job the most fulfilling she has ever had in her years as a journalist.

"One compensating factor, in addition to the subject matter, is that my schedule is more regular, and we do have weekends," she says.

"Steve has been very supportive. For example, the other night I said I would cook dinner — we share kitchen chores anyway — well, I did cook it, but it wasn't ready till ten-thirty.

"Of course, that works both ways. Sometimes I'm home at six and he isn't free till eight or nine."

Both feel very committed to their jobs and to doing exemplary work.

"But the broader question," Kramer says, "is what if we decide to have a family? We've talked about it. I would want to go back to work after a reasonable maternity leave because this is a good job to come back to, but it just doesn't make sense to commute two hours a day with a small child at home.

"I sometimes resent the position I'm placed in; all the decisions center on me," says Kramer. "This has nothing to do with Steve personally, but I'm the one who must have the baby. I have to take the leave of absence. I have to make the choices.

"Economically, it will be much more comfortable if we both continue full-time work, but we feel that shouldn't be the deciding factor. I don't know until I have a child what kind of mother I will be. I can't tell if I will function better with a full-time job or as a full-time mother or some combination.

"It's funny, because you may say, I'll take two years off, but you can NEVER pick up your career again just as it was, if you're a responsible mother and family member. The routes of advancement I've considered — work in a bigger legislative bureau such as Sacramento, Washington, or New York; a bureau chief's job somewhere — these routes involve the type of time commitments that you might not want to make even if your kid is twelve.

"I had a working mother and I appreciated it," Kramer says, "I think it made me more independent. But she had a regular nine to five job. Journalism can never be that."

F ran Dauth is an assistant city editor of the San Francisco Examiner, in charge of in-depth stories and the Sunday news section. Her husband Jerry is on a two-year assignment in Saudi Arabia for Bechtel.

"As someone who has been married and is now living alone, I find that I still always have to do it all. I'm supposed to leave Monday for an assignment in Mexico and I don't have anything ready. My most common lament has been, 'I need a wife.'"

She said societal attitudes are ingrained in both men and women, no matter how "liberated" they think they are.

"I remember the day Patty Hearst was arrested," she said. "I worked all night, and even though we had been together for years and Jerry knew what the news business was like, he still couldn't understand why I couldn't just leave and go to the theater as we had planned."

"A big problem in daily life is adjusting in your own mind that you don't have to go home and fix dinner every night — or any night."

When her husband's job tour came up, Dauth said there was no question about going.

"The only thing that went through my mind was 'no,'" she said. "I would have been bored and miserable and I would have killed him."

"I think people in the newsroom and at Bechtel understood. Saudi Arabia is a hardship post."

Since she was an in-between wife, an editor going off
on a reporting assignment, I asked how she would like to be described:

"You can say I'm an assistant city editor who opted for a career over the personal relationship," Dauth said.

What sounds glib on paper, was said rather ruefully. For most women the decision is not easy.

"I'm no different from anyone else," Dauth says. "I'm no twenty-one-year-old with hardened women's lib views. I'm a thirty-seven-year-old who would like to have someone to come home to, to plan things with. There doesn't seem to be a happy medium.

"And, at the age of thirty-seven, I'm a little sad that I don't have children. No goddamn newspaper is going to take care of me in my old age. Of course, children wouldn't necessarily, either, but there's some sense of continuity . . .

"What it comes down to in relationships is that I will not put myself second."

Having second thoughts about the conduct of one's life isn't exclusively female territory, of course. I asked my fellow Niemans about their personal-professional conflicts, and Frank Van Riper, Washington correspondent for the New York Daily News, wrote back a poignant letter which applies to many of my friends as well:

"... There is an epidemic of sick marriages and relationships going on among people of my age and interests... and it looks as if my wife and I will be the latest to split. All of the people I'm talking about are in their early thirties and, for the most part, 'professional' people connected in some way either with journalism or politics...

"Mainly, what seems clear — now, anyway — is the no-win position that any woman in her early thirties is in if she is married to a reporter or anyone else in a demanding and/or glamorous and/or 'important' job. By that I mean that even if both partners have established themselves in their respective careers as Chris and I did (she's a management analyst), our generation, like that of our parents, is one that still regards the male's role as the more important of the two.

"What this seems to mean — and the reason I keep harping on the early thirties as a key age — is that men and women, but particularly women, at this age straddle two generations, each with very different perspectives. For example, I know married couples five to ten years older than Chris and I (I'm thirty-two, Chris is thirty-one), who seem content with the more traditional husband-wife roles. Among younger people, I sense more of an ease with women having an equal role, in business, in the home, in bed, just about anywhere...this seems to leave my generation caught right in the middle. For Chris, the almost schizophrenic nature of this situation was typified by my winning the Nieman. We had been separated for about three years when I decided to apply for the Fellowship, and Chris was my strongest supporter...but it was clear, largely because she told me in no uncertain terms later on, that she thought it was the right thing for her to support me in this.

"So I won it and came up here alone. In theory, Chris didn't come with me because of her job, but also, I think, because of the resentment she felt.

"For my part, I was more than willing to regard my role as the more important. Watergate, which precipitated, though it did not cause, our first separation, was a good case in point. Sure, one reason I worked damn near round the clock for two straight years was that I was afraid, literally, of being beaten on the biggest story of my career. But the other reason, was that I was covering a story that was important both nationwide and worldwide. That provided a great excuse not to take vacations, not to be around on weekends, not to be there when my wife needed me. Only recently have Chris and I given voice to the resentments we've both felt about this. That's great in the long run, but hard on a marriage. I think I've learned, finally, about priorities in work and marriage, but I fear a bit too late."
Pamela Daniels, co-editor of *Working It Out*, and an associate of the Center for Research on Women at Wellesley, says the "multiple demands on women both enhance and threaten our sense of competence." She has done research on couples in their thirties, forties and fifties and their career/children timetables.

"The occupational consequences of parenthood fall inequitably on women" in each age group, Daniels found.

"Until male competence and female nurturance are not dichotomous" and there is an actual fifty-fifty sharing of parenting, she says, women will continue to feel torn.

This piece has been difficult to write. Women have fought for recognition as professionals: It is now illegal to consider personal details in making hiring decisions, and improper to ask personal questions in job interviews. Yet employers note that some women they have hired or promoted have left to have babies or moved to follow husbands. Some of us who have concentrated on our careers sometimes wish we had husbands and/or children. Some who are trying to combine motherhood with journalism find the balance too often precarious, worrying about a toddler when listening to the City Council president, worrying about an unasked question while bathing a child. Yet by making these worries public, we don't want to regress to where employers assume we'll put a child or a husband first.

The members of my Newspaper Guild local were sent a questionnaire prior to contract talks to assess bargaining priorities. Included for discussion were flexible starting times, four-day weeks and childcare.

"Yes, but we know those are always the first to go," said Dooley.

"At least, people are thinking about them," I replied.

Kramer questions whether "it's the nature of journalism or the way the profession has been defined by men" that makes it difficult to do everything at once. "Maybe if they had enough employees, the hours wouldn't have to be so crazy," she said.

One alternative has been suggested by Ulla Tegelmark, a journalist from Sweden, who points to the parenthood leaves available in her country to either mother or father with no loss in pay or seniority.

Another personal/professional concern that falls most heavily on women looks benign on the surface, and is similar to the "protective legislation" now seen as discriminatory. Last March, a young woman journalism student asked me if it would not be better to send a man on some of the more dangerous assignments.

"Well, men don't like to be shot at, either," I replied and cited some of the confessions of fear I had heard from male colleagues who had been trying to cover a story and dodge bullets at the same time. Nevertheless, out of perilous assignments come big stories, and women want to be in on them too.

I've never dodged anything more lethal than tear gas. I've been mugged and assaulted (never on "company time") so I'm apprehensive on dark and scary streets, but I still walk them alone. And once my wallet was picked while I was covering one of the Symbionese Liberation Army-mandated food giveaways.

I thought about the student's question again while writing this story. Perhaps a pregnant woman reporter might have been hesitant to cover the Three Mile Island nuclear emergency. But I also know men who are concerned about the long range and unknown effects of low level radiation.

Again, the bottom line has to be that WE, as professional journalists, must make those choices individually, not on the basis of sex stereotypes. Most of us believe in people's, not just women's, liberation.
A girl is taught since early childhood that she will be very near to heaven if she worships her husband sincerely as a god.

I joined RSS, Nepal’s national news agency as a stranger — their first woman reporter. My situation was unusual not just at RSS, but also in the entire nation.

It was a tough job, to educate not only the people in the RSS office, but my news sources as well. At the very beginning, instead of encouraging me, some of my male colleagues tried to discourage me, telling me, “A journalist’s life expectancy is shorter than others.” Since journalism is a very tough job even for men, they told me that it was doubtful whether or how I could be successful. These were challenges I had already considered and accepted before deciding to enter the profession, however.

Then comes the reality: the very strong social structure. In our society, it is unusual for a woman to work alone, to live alone, to come home late at night. People have told me that some of my behavior is a disaster. People do not like a woman to ride motorbikes with a man other than a relative, for example. To go to see a movie or a play, to visit cafés and restaurants are also not common activities for a single woman in our society. I found that in journalism, these are very popular activities and sometimes essential, too.

But, anyway, I managed, even though sometimes my United States-educated older sister with whom I live disapproves of my frequent late-night assignments.

Being a reporter wasn’t only a job or an exciting attraction for me. Through the media, I wanted to write about social problems, particularly women’s issues. In our society, women are discriminated against economically, religiously and socially. Here are just two brief examples:

- Under our law, women are not entitled to property rights equally with men. A woman can get equal shares on paternal property only after reaching the age of thirty-five. If she marries after obtaining her partitional share in the property, the marriage expenses prescribed by the law shall be deducted from her share and the balance returned to the co-parcelers. That means that to obtain an equal share in inherited property, a woman must remain unmarried for life. Since the husband is the master of the property, the situation for married women is discriminatory and unsatisfactory.

- Then comes the harder and more traditional Hindu beliefs. The dominating religion in Nepal is Hindu. A girl is taught since early childhood that she will be very near to heaven if she worships her husband sincerely as a god.

The social and economic factors have made our society very rigid. A woman, in her childhood, lives under her father’s guardianship. Later, her husband becomes her guardian, and finally, when she reaches old age, she lives under the guardianship of her son. Thus women have very little say in important decision making. In the allocation of education, sons get preference. Women have only a 3.5 percent literacy rate compared to 19.2 percent for the country as a whole in 1975.

Whenever I write about these problems, my readers say I am too biased and a hardliner in a country where feminism is hardly known. A handful of women, like me, do know a little about Western women’s liberation and feminism.

Since women in the United States have played a great role in the women’s movement, I was very excited when I won the World Press Institute fellowship. It gave me an opportunity to learn more about the women’s movement here. Although there are a number of differences between the problems of Nepalese women and the problems of American women, sex discrimination is international.

I had a two week internship at Ms. magazine in New York City. There, I got an opportunity to see outstanding feminists at work in my profession and had discussions with them and with other women’s leaders. I found the women’s movement to be a vast subject area, encompassing Marxism, homosexuality and radicalism as well as more moderate views.

It will take more time for me to assimilate what I have seen and learned this year, but I am sure it will help me to write on these issues better when I return to Nepal.
Starting Out in Journalism

On December 10, 1978, the four women Nieman Fellows in this year's class spoke at a Radcliffe seminar titled "Is There Life After Radcliffe?" The following is a shortened transcript of that session. The participants were Peggy Simpson of the Associated Press, Washington, D.C.; Margaret Engel of the Des Moines Register; Katherine Harting of ABC News, Washington, D.C.; and Nancy Day of The San Francisco Examiner.

SIMPSON: I started out on a weekly paper in Hondo, Texas, so I did get a job — and one where I did virtually everything, from reporting to editing. It seems as if I never knew a reporter until I became one. I wanted to be involved in news, because for ten or fifteen years I listened to the NBC Nightly News since it happened to come on right before a radio program my mother was faithful to. It really hooked me on public affairs and what was happening not just where I was, in San Antonio, Texas, but in the rest of the world. At Harvard, I am trying to study the economics of social problems because I covered social policies for ten or fifteen years and most of them seemed to go down the tubes any time the economy worsened.

ENGEL: I'm a reporter with the Des Moines Register. I came there after working on a smaller paper in Lorain, Ohio, a grimy industrial city, that hasn't seen its heyday since the 1924 tornado that wiped it out! I got my best training there, although I do have a degree from the University of Missouri's School of Journalism. I'm a government reporter in Des Moines, and cover regulatory agencies and the State Supreme Court. Over the years I have become interested in occupational safety and health and I'm studying that, and law, at Harvard.

HARTING: We all have journalism degrees! I came from the suburbs of Washington, D.C. I moved back to Washington when I graduated from the University of Michigan and I didn't know what I was going to do — I was simply going home to Washington. But Washington is a good news town, so I got my first job in the newsroom of a television station.

SIMPSON: You're leaving out the best part!

HARTING: The part that shocked you, that when I was in college, I wanted to be a stewardess! It was only just in the waning moments before graduation that I realized that a job was impossible and they would not take me because my eyesight was bad. I was pounding on the door saying, "Please, I want to fly the friendly skies!" So I'm here to tell you that it is okay to change your goals after college.

I like my current job, which is working as an associate producer at ABC in Washington. That means when you turn on the set at seven o'clock this evening and see "World News Tonight," any of those ten pieces might have been the one that I worked on. My specific assignment was Capitol Hill producer, but I was not very crazy about the Capitol Hill beat. Politics was not my forte. Living in Washington was not something I picked so much because it is a political town, but simply because it's a good news town. There is a lot going on — many job opportunities. They need women, and it's fairly clear to me that if you walk in the door and you're smart and know what you're doing — these days affirmative action being what it is — they're pleased with women who are aggressive and ambitious.
ENGEL: I think newspapers are a different matter. They're quick to write about the problems of other industries and segments of American life. But I think they ignore themselves, particularly when it comes to things like affirmative action. I've seen a disturbing trend in newspapers, and that is hiring women at lower stages than they would hire men. Women are hired right out of college, when they would hire men with three or four years' experience. It tends to put the woman in a subservient role. She is always a little off-balance. She's not as ambitious, not as aggressive. It also tends to reinforce the stereotype of women not being very competent.

DAY: I've not found that true at our paper, because in San Francisco, a lot of people want to work there, of course, so we get tons of applications every day. The way hiring has been working there is more of a traditional old boy-old girl kind of thing. And unfortunately, we have hired more white men despite lip service to affirmative action.

QUESTION: Are you finding any different criteria in male versus female hirings?

SIMPSON: I'm isolated from it in Washington where everybody is a transfer-in rather than a new hire. But when I got my first job on a weekly paper, I tried to hire a friend of my sister — a Mexican-American from San Antonio. She was a senior in college and needed a summer job. She wasn't hired, because the paper was afraid it would lose advertising. She never could get a job on a newspaper.

DAY: Because she was Mexican-American?

SIMPSON: Yes. Also, half the town was Mexican-American and I was discouraged from writing about them or taking pictures of them. It was the old stereotype, “Well, they're overrunning us already, but if we don't talk about it, maybe nobody will notice.” ... In terms of women, I went to a weekly paper partly because I couldn't get any jobs on daily papers, except to write society news. A friend of mine is Austin bureau chief for a chain of Texas newspapers. He was telling me how hard it was for them to find women for management. One reason is that women have been isolated in society news. Also, that a woman in charge of the society page was not part of the budget process, she didn't have the last word on hiring, she was not shaping the overall policy of the paper. So unlike sports, where there had been a traditional ladder, with somebody going from sports or city-side up into management, the person on the women's side, who on paper would look like she had the same kind of possibility, really is excluded from that ladder.

I have been named plaintiff in a suit against the AP, and that's partly because of the differences in what AP men and women who do the same jobs in Washington are paid. I also saw how women were discouraged from going into management. When I asked about management at the age of twenty-four, they said, “Well, it's a good thing you like being a reporter, because women can't do all those other things. You can't be a bureau chief, assistant bureau chief, or a correspondent, because the person in those jobs has to drink the radio station owner or the publisher of the paper under the table. Their wives wouldn't like it. You couldn't be a foreign correspondent, because there are no women who work in other governments, so the government wouldn't like it.” The AP probably never had any of this on paper. But all of it is part of the history, so that now in 1978 there is one woman bureau chief out of forty-five bureau chiefs. And there are three women out of eighty or eighty-five correspondents. There are two women who are in the foreign service, including one woman who also is named plaintiff in this suit. Right before the suit was filed, they transferred her to Peru, after she tried eight years to get overseas. I really do think there have been a lot of discriminatory patterns.

ENGEL: On a personal level, when I was in Lorain, the police beat was an important assignment. And a woman rarely, if ever, covered the police beat on a Saturday night. They were afraid that a woman would get raped. To understand how ludicrous this is, you have to know that you drive to the police station, the fire station and the sheriff's department and back to your office about twice a night. So where could you be safer? You're surrounded by forty armed people. I didn't want to work Saturday night; nobody does. I finally did, but the first time was because the man who had been assigned went on vacation and I took it for him. On Monday morning when the managing editor and the editor found out, they had a fit! They did everything short of calling my parents! The police beat is just like sports. It's an underpinning for everything else... A lot of women reporters, I think, have mixed feelings because at times we're in the business of trying to wheedle information. Some women do fall back on feminine wiles to get information, batting their eyelashes, the whole number. This became a public controversy, I guess, after one of the MORE conventions, when Sally Quinn said —

SIMPSON: “I get all my stories when he puts his hand on my leg.”

ENGEL: That's the kind of thing women have to fight against. I've really learned to develop a stone face. You do get a lot of old fogies in elected office. They want to treat you as their daughter. It's always, “Oh, aren't you looking
cute today!" And you can't shrug it off after awhile. You really have to get kind of cross and mean. You have to know how you will respond when it happens, because it will happen.

SIMPSON: It was the same problem for me when I was covering the Texas Legislature in 1963 and 1965. But most of the fellows who went out drinking with the state legislators didn't write about what they found out. Anybody who just went to the Senate and ask questions, just do a normal job of reporting and not use drinking wiles or feminine wiles or anything, could have a better story. The best investigative journalists today are those who pore over court and corporate records, who don't rely on the camaraderie of their sources, but are finding stories in the documents. Theirs is not a "glamorous" job. They're doing real spadework to get the facts.

DAY: There has been a lot of making journalists celebrities, and in my view, you should just be professional and do your job. Go and talk to a lot of people, put the facts together, do your research, perform professionally, don't flirt around with them to get information.

QUESTION: On a different topic, all of you have journalistic backgrounds. How do you feel about the merits of journalism as a concentration?

ENGEL: As far as I can see, when academia tries to elevate it into a discipline, it fails miserably and that's why most master degree programs are flops.

QUESTION: How realistic is it to think you can learn this trade working for a paper, or is it a chicken and egg situation?

ENGEL: I think it's very realistic. The best training I got was through my first newspaper.

QUESTION: What about schools that offer undergraduate degrees in communication? How helpful are those degrees?

DAY: A good thing about a journalism degree is that I didn't have to concentrate exclusively on one subject. I took several courses each in history, political science, economics, sociology and philosophy. As for mentors and good editors, there were two journalism professors at the University of Illinois, professional journalists, not academicians. One would send us to the city council and we would have to report everything in traditional inverted paragraph style down to the last stop sign. If you wrote that the sign was going to be placed on the southwest corner of Maple and Locust and indeed it was the southeast corner, you got an F. If you spelled one word wrong, you got an F. That training was very good and is of paramount importance. I have a friend who edited a small paper in the suburbs of San Francisco. She had to work with people who were hired at very low pay, recent Stanford and Yale graduates who just wanted to get a toehold in the Bay Area. She was appalled at the misspellings, inaccuracies and bad ways they constructed stories. She was trying to put out a paper and didn't have time to do all this journalism education. She was fighting a losing battle; you would just throw your hands up in the air at some of these people.

ENGEL: A note about landing your first job: If you set your sights a little low in your initial job, you'll get wherever you want to go. But the trouble is, everyone applies to The Washington Post. Without any kind of experience, it's a disservice. You don't need to get stepped on that early. If you can free-lance or work on a paper during the summer and get three to five really good clips, a profile, a news story and a good feature, I guarantee you there are dozens and dozens of papers under 100,000 circulation that will be interested. You should get to know people in journalism so you can find out where those magic, small papers are. I'm sure they're here in Massachusetts and they probably exist in your home state as well.

DAY: The only people we hired straight from college were the ones we had worked with as stringers and we knew they could do the job. So do try to string. Also, as an undergraduate, I feel it is much more important to have experience in the humanities. It's one thing to learn the skills, but it's much more important to learn about the complexity of life.

SIMPSON: You should take statistics, too. It's another good nuts-and-bolts skill that helps you to evaluate how people manipulate figures.

QUESTION: Journalism is one career that until you establish yourself, you have to move around. Is there anything about being a woman that makes it more difficult?

ENGEL: You have to make a sacrifice. There are very few married women I've met who have been able to work full force.

QUESTION: Isn't it difficult to get a man to follow you around?

SIMPSON: That's where the real crunch comes. When I was twenty-four, I would have gone to Montana or anyplace
else and been Assistant Bureau Chief. But at the age of thirty-nine, I don't want to go out to Montana and start over again, which is what the AP would like me to do, now that there's pressure to get women in management.

DAY: There have only been two male spouses in the Nieman program. Most men say, "No, I couldn't really give up whatever I'm doing." But if you're an accomplished woman, you're going to be involved with somebody who is involved in his career, too. I'm thirty this year, and I want to get married and have children and so on. But my pattern of moving around all over the place has been to get really involved with some man and then move for my career. And then I go to a new city where I'm really lonesome and then I decide I want to get married to the one in the old city.

ENGEL: There is a hazard in personal relationships in journalism, that you don't get to see anybody from the outside and you feel nobody else understands.

SIMPSON: And you don't want to get involved with your sources!

DAY: You find a lot of journalists are really such snobs sometimes. You find that most people who are in journalism have a wide variety of interests — journalism and drinking!

ENGEL: I just want to introduce one caveat. I think journalists tend to talk about themselves a lot and there is a feeling that we are martyrs. But there is a fraction of truth in that. Many people in journalism aren't in it for the pay; they're in it because they want to change the world a little bit. You can't say that about every profession. Journalists are still idealistic. Some really do care about the state of the world and all those corny platitudes. That's why they're alcoholics. It never works!

SIMPSON: They're always drinking because nothing ever works for them.

ENGEL: But they cared enough to try.

QUESTION: What about the joy of writing? Do you get cynical about that?

SIMPSON: If I had to count my eloquently written stories, I probably would not find many.

QUESTION: Because?

SIMPSON: Because the AP has constant deadlines and limits stories to 400 words. It's much easier for me to whip out stories like that — I've been doing it for eighteen years. But polishing your writing is something else. It's a real luxury to be able to do that.

DAY: What we are striving for is to have both. I think people should be both good reporters and good writers, although some think those are separate skills. The big problem, especially with beginning journalists, is that they overwrite. They try to get it so different and creative and flowery that you can't find the point. That makes editors upset. It also makes the young reporter upset when editors take that out to rewrite it into the straight, boring news style.

QUESTION: It seems that for so many people, journalism is just a daily bread kind of thing.

DAY: I don't think so. In terms of what Peggy Engel was saying earlier, it's one of the few things that people come to with a sense of idealism and a desire to save the world. Nobody goes into the Peace Corps anymore. On the other hand, there is a feeling of power. That can be disastrous. One problem with the younger, newer style of journalists, is that they try to rip up local officials or businesses, sometimes without justification.

ENGEL: Remember the term David Halberstam used? He talked about seeing a cold eye in the young reporters. I thought that fit it perfectly — a cold eye.

SIMPSON: You have a combination of reasons why people go into this. The broadcast industry has had such a fantastic effect on all of our lives in the last fifteen or twenty years that of course, everybody wants to be part of that. But journalism always remains interesting to me. It's something I want to stay in, because for me it still does have some purity of purpose to it.

QUESTION: Do you see television as being any more or less idealistic?

HARTING: It seems that the trend toward celebrity media is felt more in television than it is in newspapers. Woodward and Bernstein brought it into newspapers. But Barbara Walters and Tom Snyder and Sally Quinn brought it into television. It is possible to get into it because it is a glamorous profession. You can make a lot of money, you can do a lot of traveling. There is the Madison Avenue side, but there is also the altruistic side — the equivalent of the medical profession — doing good for people. You really have to be on guard against the seductive side of it. And that's a battle which I probably will never stop fighting.
What's in a Name?

KATHERINE A. HARTING

What's in a name?
that which we call a rose,
By any other name
would smell as sweet... .

Shakespeare,
Romeo and Juliet

Women writers who use pseudonyms do so for a variety of reasons — some compelling, some whimsical, some downright distressing to the feminist consciousness. Lucille C. Bruch is collecting their reasons. She has begun what she thought at first would be a fairly simple project: she wanted to compile a list of women writers and their pseudonyms. She gave herself a year away from teaching in East Lansing, Michigan, and began to read about authors who are deceased and to correspond with women writing today. But the project has grown and now, with the year almost gone, she half-jokingly wonders whether she will live to finish it. "The more I read the more I realized that the use of pseudonyms was a commentary on the social milieu in which these women lived — a reflection of the pressure and prejudices of their lives."

A desire for anonymity obviously prompts many writers to use another name. Bruch found women who would not respond fully to her questionnaire, but the response in general was remarkable: Of eighty questionnaires sent, sixty-five were returned. Many who responded seemed eager to share their stories.

Some took their noms de plume at the request of their publisher when they switched firms and the new one wanted to start with a "new author." Some have aimed primarily at the library market where limited budgets often permit the purchase of only one book per author. If the names were different perhaps the librarians could be induced to buy more. Some books are written in collaboration, with a single pseudonym chosen to represent the team. And there are women who simply don’t like their names, such as the woman who changed her name from Big because she couldn’t picture it on a dustjacket. Another, named Cook, thought that with that name she could only write books about the kitchen. The gothic romances which have been enjoying such spirited sales of late are not written by as many women as the covers would suggest: Women are using as many as five or six pseudonyms, each "author" identified with "her" set of characters. (Is it more comforting to think that lots of women are making a living writing dime novels, or that a few are making a real killing?)

Bruch’s research, which may turn into a series of articles or may become a book, has begun to explore areas where sexism enters the publishing world. What makes a woman take a masculine pen name? She does not yet want to draw any conclusions, but she can talk about what she has learned. One woman told of her experience writing children’s books. Her publisher insisted that she use a pseudonym on her books for boys. He said, "Little girls will buy books written by men or by women. But everyone knows that little boys will not buy books written by women." Says Bruch, "She was very insulted, but she substituted initials so that her name was neutered."

Other women have made the assumption that their credibility would be improved if they wrote under male names. An English woman recently wrote a book about World War II, and took a man’s name "because she said she thought it was ludicrous to have a book with pictures of planes crashing to the ground and blood and gore all around written by someone with a name like Mary Smith." Another, who had focused on gardening, wanted to write short books for children waiting...
to see a doctor or dentist, so they
wouldn’t be fearful about the expe-
rience. Says Bruch, “She used a man’s
name and called herself Dr. So-and-So.
She felt that she could not put a
woman’s name on the books because
they wouldn’t be read; she felt they
wouldn’t be credible.”

Bruch’s interest in women’s pseudo-
onyms was piqued by a biography she
read of Georges Sand, the nineteenth
century French novelist who, while
married, wrote in collaboration with
her lover Jules Sandau, under the joint
name of J. Sand. When she began to
write independently she called herself
Georges Sand to retain some identifi-
cation with her previous pseudonym.

Louisa May Alcott used her own
name for Little Women, but wrote short thrillers under a pseudonym.
Mary Shelley, wife of Percy Bysshe,
wrote Frankenstein and published it
anonymously in 1818. The story had
begun as a bit of a joke, conceived in a
competition among four friends idling
away a vacation telling scary stories.

The Bronte sisters started out
writing under pseudonyms: Currer
(Charlotte), Ellis (Emily), and Acton
(Ann) Bell. They received mail ad-
dressed to the Bell brothers until they
reverted to their real names.

Amelia Jenks was an early nine-
teenth century American women’s
rights advocate whose husband, Dex-
ter Bloomer, was editor of the Seneca
Falls County Courier. “After she mar-
rried,” Bruch relates, “he encouraged
her to write articles for the Courier, so
she did. She wrote on social, political
and moral issues. She was very strong
for women’s rights. And she signed
her name in those early articles as
‘Gloriana.’ She felt she needed to do
this to escape personal harassment.
Later on she joined a temperance
society and she wrote a number of
reform articles. For those she signed
her name, ‘The Waterbucket,’ again
just trying to escape any kind of
harassment.” Later, Amelia Jenks
Bloomer founded Lily, a temperance/
women’s rights paper which Bruch
thinks was the first and only such
paper by and for women at that time in
this country. (Ironically, Ms. Bloomer
is better remembered for her spirited
defense of a woman’s right to wear the
kind of pantaloon which came, later, to
bear her name.)

One of the few surviving personal
narratives about the realities of slavery
in the United States was written by
Harriet Brent Jacobs, a black woman
born in 1818. Incidents in the Life of a
Slave Girl was published under the
pseudonym of Linda Brent.

Women writing today face a world
different from that of Ms. Alcott or
Ms. Sand. Bruch asked, in her ques-
tionnaire, whether each woman would
still choose a pseudonym if her writing
career were beginning today. Some
found the pressure and prejudice less
intense, the pseudonym less neces-
sary. For others, the reasons remain
valid. Bruch hasn’t finished sifting
through the pieces. For now, the re-
search continues. Data collection is
laborious. While there are some
source books, such as Pseudonyms:
The Names Behind the Names, by
Joseph F. Clark, most of the names of
current writers are picked up one at a
time. Some women authors have
responded when Bruch wrote to their
pseudonyms in care of the publisher.
Others, when they returned the ques-
tionnaire, steered Bruch to authors she
hadn’t realized were writing pseudo-
onymously. As she gathers the infor-
mation, the questions begin to multi-
ply, and the field of inquiry expands:
Why do they do it? How do they
choose a name? Is it necessary? What
does it do to one’s sense of identity?

Bruch’s voice is cheerful as she de-
scribes the widening scope of her
study. The generosity of the responses
from contemporary women writers has
heartened her, and she clearly enjoys
the diversity of their situations. Her
family and friends support her in this
interesting work. Her five children,
who range in age from eleven to
sixteen, are helpful and patient.
“They know how important it is for me
to do this.” Because her own name
means a great deal to her, she is
curious about the meanings behind
women’s names which are not their
own, or don’t tell as much as they
might. “Some women say that a name
means nothing. But you have to
wonder how much writing under a dif-
f erent identity means to them. What
makes them feel that they cannot say
who they are?”

A rose is a rose is a rose.

Gertrude Stein,
Sacred Emily
Dear friends, colleagues in fact:

Let me introduce nine people. They have been here all along, but they have not been heard very much, nor have they been very conspicuous because they tend to sit in the back row during seminars. It is a paradox that they have to be pointed out to Nieman Fellows — persons commended for excellency in journalism — you who should know that there is nothing ordinary about common people. As we say in Sweden, "the best story seldom sits in the chair of honor." The nine are all women, called spouses, and they deserve your professional curiosity and respectful attention.

All of you are interested in South Africa, but you have not taken the opportunity to learn firsthand about apartheid from Elizabeth Mojapelo, a black teacher from Pretoria. Nor have you paid any attention to Haki Wright, who teaches economics in Sierra Leone. You are all intensely interested in political issues, but I bet you do not even know that Marie-Christine Ferry from Paris is a political history major. Mary Fran Gildea, a Bachelor of Science graduate, majored in home economics, and is using her education to raise four children and run a household in Washington. Kathryn Marshall, a published author of two novels, teaches creative writing at Tufts University. Emily Beaton, a graduate in Fine Arts, with a variety of job experience, has spent her year at Harvard investigating computer programming, an interest she shares with Patty Huff. Carol Bishop, Bachelor of Journalism, has worked as a radio broadcaster for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. I am a studio director for Swedish National Television News.

Isn't it a great opportunity for a collection of journalists to have us in the group? Instead, we are looked upon as "just" spouses, adjuncts to our husbands. It has even been suggested by some Niemans that spouses should be excluded from events, rationalizing that "they might be bored" or "the group is too big." Reluctantly I must admit that these suggestions of exclusion come from women Niemans. As a woman I would have preferred to say the opposite, thereby confirming that in the struggle for equality, women are united and support each other. I could have chosen not to mention it at all, being loyal to the common cause, but I think it is important to point out that there are prejudices also among women. Peggy Simpson, a Nieman sensitive to the spouse situation, calls this "the Queen Bee syndrome" where successful professional women fall into the same trap of prejudice as their male colleagues. The oppressive male has to be fought, but the middle-aged housewife looking for her first professional job does not have much in common with the television career woman. Men are secure and can afford to show tolerance as there is no risk that they will be mistaken for a spouse. I was forewarned of this attitude even before I arrived at Harvard by a comment in the "Memo of Advice" from a woman Nieman of the preceding year. "If you are a woman, introduce yourself early to the guest speaker or be prepared to be mistaken for an uppity Nieman spouse when you raise your hand." There have only been two male Nieman spouses, one was automatically taken for the Fellow, his Nieman wife became the spouse.

The Nieman program is far more advanced than similar programs when it comes to spouses and families. The average Nieman Fellow is a man in his thirties or forties, a time of life when many people are likely to have families. To break up the everyday routine, leave job and friends behind is not easy for anybody, but for the Nieman Fellow the job is there when he wants to talk about it and making friends is part of his profession. It is a more tangible change for his spouse who has no personal connection with the new surroundings. She might end up in gloomy isolation; that can strain any marital relationship.

The Nieman program has carefully considered that fact and consequently tried to ease the way for spouses to share equally in the program, a change strongly urged by Diana Thomson, spouse of Nieman Curator Jim Thomson. As a result we are now regarded as "Honorary Niemans" and Harvard has opened up its doors, and given us the opportunity to attend courses to the same extent as Nieman Fellows. The Nieman Foundation proudly advertises its program as education of "two for the price of one." It goes even further to provide subsidies to families for childcare expenses to free mothers to participate in the program.
That is a great achievement and has turned the program into something more than the award itself. Without this opportunity our time in Cambridge would have been a disaster. Now we can go off and do our own things; in classes we are independent people. It is only in the Nieman group that we are "just" spouses.

"I wanted to make the Nieman program more responsive to wives," says Diana Thomson. "I tried to open up the mechanics but I cannot do anything about attitudes. Now it is up to each individual to take responsibility."

Responsibility does not just mean being nice and polite to ladies, it also requires a conscious working on attitudes and prejudices. Journalists are leaders of opinion and should consider especially their responsibility in creating attitudes. But it is not enough to have an opinion, to write about it, to sympathize with it — it has to be lived too.

Perhaps there is an uncertainty about the professional role, about what actually separates journalistic skill from the qualities of any curious human being able to spell. Perhaps that is why many journalists tend to create a professional mystique about their work. Sadly, in this process, people are often reduced to just being objects of a potential story. As I see it, journalists are a remarkably self-righteous group of people with a great deal of contempt for the naiveté of others. Working in a newsroom for many years I have often been told: "...this is news, you would not understand." Isn't it lousy journalism if I do not understand it?

Lippmann House is not a newsroom, but I can still smell the newsroom attitude towards ordinary people, towards us — the spouses.

Ulla Tegelmark
Studio Director
Swedish National Television News

Scorecard
WILLIAM EATON

Although the hard numbers on women in newspaper or broadcasting jobs are difficult to find, the available statistics do show that there is not much room at the top for females in either field.

Specialists on sex discrimination in the media report that the number of women in professional positions has been increasing, sometimes slowly and sometimes dramatically. Few women, however, have been promoted to key policy-making jobs in radio and television or the daily newspaper field.

A recent study by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, for example, showed virtually no improvement in the number of women executives since a 1975 report.

"The major finding was that, despite increases in the number of minority and female employees at television stations, they were almost completely absent from decision-making positions," the Commission said.

A survey of the Editor and Publisher Yearbook for 1977 concluded that daily newspapers in the United States had an average of 1.1 women managers each. That number had risen to 1.3 in the 1978 review.

Another study of the 1,700 daily newspapers showed that women held 163, or five percent, of the supervising editors' jobs. Of this number, most were concentrated on newspapers with circulations below 25,000. Above that level, women comprised 2.7 percent of the key editorial policymakers.

The American Society of Newspaper Editors has 800 members but only twenty-seven women, or 3.4 percent, including such "editors" as owners Katharine Graham of The Washington Post and Helen Copley of the Copley newspaper group.

The latest figures from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on the newspaper industry show that women made up 26.7 percent of the employees in 1975. They held 9.9 percent of the officials and managers positions, 26.1 percent of the professional jobs and 71.3 percent of the office-clerical openings.

Christine Ogan, a research associate at Indiana University Journalism school, recently completed a study of
middle-management executives on daily newspapers. While men and women holding such positions had received virtually identical educations, years of service and other similar characteristics, the men’s salaries were typically higher than women’s pay by as much as $10,000 a year.

“The only conclusion that can be reached on the basis of this evidence is that sex discrimination is practiced where salaries are concerned...,” she said.

There have been advances, however. Christy Bulkeley is publisher of the Danville (Illinois) Commercial-News, and one of six women publishers in the Gannett newspaper group. Overall, however, women make up less than two percent of publishers and some women owe their success to family position rather than professional accomplishment. Of course, that is also true of some of the male publishers.

The major wire services also have relatively few women in top positions. As of 1977, the Associated Press had one female bureau chief at forty-one bureaus, no women among five assistant bureau chiefs, two women among seventy small U.S. bureau managers called “correspondents” and four females among eighty to ninety foreign correspondents. The AP personnel office in New York declined to provide more recent figures because of a pending lawsuit charging sex discrimination.

United Press International said women headed fourteen of its domestic bureaus, with seven other women holding that rank in New York and Washington. UPI said 122 of its 710 reporters and editors in the United States were female, or about nineteen percent of the total. Overseas, UPI said twelve of its ninety-five foreign employees paid with dollars were women, including four managers.

The Washington Journalism Review recently printed detailed figures on women in full-time news jobs at The Washington Post. They showed an increase from forty women in 1972 to seventy-nine women in 1978, a rise from twenty percent to twenty-three percent in reporter, editor and photographer categories.

There was a dramatic change in some areas. The number of women working as reporters on the metropolitan desk, for example, went up from eight in 1972 to twenty-three in 1978. Among editors of sections, the number of females rose from none in 1972 to six, compared to twenty-one men in 1978. Women at the Post filed sex discrimination charges with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 1972.

The Civil Rights Commission said that most women in the broadcasting field — about fifty-five percent — held office or clerical jobs in 1977.

A sample of the forty largest television markets indicated that white females accounted for twenty-one percent of the reporters and anchors, compared to twelve percent in 1975. For black females, however, the ratio dropped from 7.5 percent in 1975 to 5.6 percent in 1977.

On the three major networks, women comprised ten percent of the correspondents or anchors in 1977, compared to six percent two years earlier.

While the exact numbers of women in news jobs were hard to obtain, the specialists in the field were sure that the totals had increased in recent years. They attributed this in part to the successful outcome of sex discrimination suits at Newsday, The New York Times and other publications.

Meantime, a note for the future. In 1978 the Newspaper Fund reported that female journalism school graduates outnumbered males — 53.2 percent to 46.8 percent — for the first time ever.
On the Move

Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists
by Marion Marzolf


by NANCY L. DAY

*Up From the Footnote* tells the stories of journalists who should have been famous. The reason most of us have never heard of most of them, author Marion Marzolf contends, is that they were women. Unfortunately, few more will garner the fame they deserve through this book, since it seems aimed chiefly at the high school and college journalism course audience. Nevertheless, it is a valuable start in piecing together the tales of our predecessors in this profession and should give pause to contemporary women journalists who believe they have no role models.

The image of women journalists has mainly been shaped by other media, says Marzolf: “Brenda Starr in the comic strips, Rosalind Russell in the movies and Mary Tyler Moore on TV. But the real thing... has been infinitely more interesting.”

With this book, Marzolf retrieves some of the “lost history” of women journalists. A professor at the University of Michigan, Marzolf realized she had been teaching journalism history in a (male) standard way — i.e. — “Women were mentioned mostly in the footnotes,” if at all. Her students and colleagues assisted Marzolf in expanding these footnotes. They examined books, newspaper clips, speeches, letters, scholarly papers and tapes, and conducted hundreds of interviews in the four years it took to complete Footnote.

Most of the material concerns American journalists, although the final chapter, “View from Europe,” makes an attempt at some comparative analysis.

Footnote is generally, although not consistently, organized in chronological order. Marzolf recounts colonial days when women often became printers, having moved into the jobs after husbands died. Dinah Nuthead was the first, Marzolf says, a printer in Maryland in 1696.

“Five, including Nuthead, were official printers before the War for Independence and all but one of those also published a weekly newspaper,” Marzolf writes. Yet two paragraphs later, Marzolf tells of the Reverend Jose Glover’s family, who left Surrey, England, for America. “Glover died before the ship reached port, so it was Mistress Glover who bought the house in Cambridge and installed the first printing press in North America in 1638.” Such apparent historical discrepancies detract from the credibility of the book; this is but one example of its critical need for a good editor. And although the stories of our “foremothers” are fascinating, it is discouraging to realize that previous generations of talented women waged and thought they had won some of the same battles women are still fighting today.

The author condenses the first two hundred years of women’s journalism history into the first chapter of Footnote. In the early nineteenth century, the few female journalists were mainly partisans for social causes and most, because of social pressures, struck a delicate balance between their lives as “true women” and their professional calling. Marzolf identifies one of the first woman reporters in Washington as Jane Grey Swisshelm, “an early advocate of women’s rights” who believed “that women, black and white, should have the opportunity to
make use of their minds." Swisshelm came to the nation's capital in 1850 as a correspondent for Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* and occupied a seat in the Senate Press Gallery for only one day. She left "hastily, fearing that Greeley would discharge her for a dispatch containing a scandalous rumor about Daniel Webster that she had sent to her own *Pittsburgh Sunday Visitor*, an abolitionist publication she founded in 1847."

The first women's press associations were formed in 1885; most stayed segregated until well into this century.

In an 1892 article in the *Ladies' Home Journal, New York Journal* City Editor John Coates declared, "the average woman possesses as much brains as the average man...the young woman with a good constitution who knows how to write good English and is willing to work hard has as good an opportunity as any man similarly equipped to succeed in journalism."

By 1910, Marzolf says, there were more than 4,000 women in editing and writing jobs, "double that of the previous decade."

William Randolph Hearst is given credit here for promoting women and paying handsome salaries to stars such as Winifred Black Bonfils, who wrote under the pen name "Annie Laurie." *Hearst’s women reporters became the most spectacular, the most highly paid, the most dashing newspaperwomen in the country, if not necessarily the finest news writers, Marzolf quotes Ishbel Ross."

For years women journalists were specifically categorized: the sob sisters, the advice columnists, the "our gal Nancys" who did stunt journalism. Marzolf gives us their stories, but provides a valuable service by showing that women were represented in other kinds of newspaper jobs, and worked for splashy tabloids as well as for the most serious of newspapers. It was not easy for these women, however, and "frontiers" such as sports reporting, management, police beat, and the copy desk still have proportionately fewer women than men, despite years of proving that there is nothing particularly male about those talents.

Footnote includes vignettes about the few women reporters who are generally known — muckraker Ida Tarbell, war correspondent Dorothy Thompson, UPI White House pioneer Helen Thomas — but also tells of less famous women and the problems they faced.

For example, Ross, who was described by her boss as "one of the all-time great city-side reporters," commented, "The woman reporter really has to be a paradox. She must be ruthless at work...gentle in private life...not too beguiling to dazzle the men and disrupt the work...comradely with the male reporters...able to take the noise and pressure and rough language of the city room without showing disapproval or breaking into tears under the strain of rough criticism." (Ross emigrated from Scotland to Canada during World War I and started her journalism career on the *Toronto Daily News*. Her book *Ladies of the Press*, published by Harper & Brother, 1936, quoted extensively in Footnote, tells of her experiences and those of her colleagues as women journalists in the early twentieth century.)

Marzolf herself seems to be in this bind: sometimes she sounds like a feminist, at other times an equivocator. In describing Agness (Aggie) Underwood, who was named city editor of the *Los Angeles Evening Herald-Express* in 1947 after a career as a crime and court reporter, Marzolf says: "Although Underwood sounds hard-boiled, in her relations with other reporters she could frequently be sympathetic and motherly." She adds that neither Underwood's son nor her daughter chose to follow in their mother's footsteps: "They knew how hard she worked and how low the pay was."

Some men in the profession were openly prejudiced against women, Marzolf says. Others who felt they were being sympathetic usually considered their highest compliment to be what Underwood's managing editor said of her: "She should have been a man."

Journalist Eileen Shanahan (now assistant managing editor of the *Washington Star*) told Marzolf that when people say she thinks like a man, she often replies: "Yes, I know. I'm having an off day; I'll be myself tomorrow."

The late Peter Lisagor, a fine and sensitive reporter for the *Chicago Daily News* described the outstanding war correspondent Marguerite Higgins as "one of the most feminine people in our business; most seem to get hard and masculine in their manner and approach. Marguerite, for all of her deep competitive instincts, remained an extremely feminine woman. Often people believe the myth about her rather than the reality. Actually, as strong as she was and as independent and unafraid of life as she was, she would easily be afraid of, say, a mouse, as anyone else."

Such attitudes led to discriminatory news coverage of women and sexist stereotypes that persist to this day, Marzolf writes.

Betsy Wade became the first woman on the *New York Times* copy desk in 1957, "but by 1975 there were still only ten women among the seventy-five copy editors there, and she works for some of her own former students."

The *Times* has since settled a sex discrimination suit out of court: Financial awards were given to the plaintiffs and new affirmative action goals were set. The class action route, a process Marzolf mentions, has been used successfully in this decade by women journalists at other publications. In addition, women who former-
ly felt that they had to prove themselves individually in a male-oriented profession, have started paying more attention in this decade to "old girl" networks and to helping one another. 

"As more and more women get into positions of authority and experience, they will help out new women coming along," Shanahan told Marzolf. But a somewhat darker note was sounded in Marzolf's interview with Charlotte Curtis, associate editor of The New York Times:

"There is a serious shortage of women in middle management of
newspapers as well as top management," Curtis said. "Gains that had
been made were not going to be solid as long as the economic situation is depressed."

Marzolf surveys the history of women in radio, television, and journalism teaching, discusses the change in women's pages to "people" or "lifestyle" sections, and relates the history of the feminist press. Footnote is written somewhat like I used to put together my rush college papers: a lot of interesting quotes and reference paragraphs have been gathered and lashed together in a roughly organized form. In reading the book closely for this review, it was often hard to tell exactly at what time of their life some of the women were writing, and why their careers turned out as they did. Nevertheless, I learned from the book, and Marzolf's bibliographies after each chapter provide a useful starting point to those interested in pursuing individual cases or periods of journalistic history.

(W Nancy L. Day, Nieman Fellow '79, is a regional editor for the San Francisco Examiner.)

Who's On First?

The Women's Book of World Records and Achievements
edited by Lois Decker O'Neill
(Anchor Press/Doubleday, Garden City, N.Y. $9.95)

by PEGGY A. SIMPSON

There is a generation of "first women" all over the world. Nearly every occupation has one. Most people know one. The challenge now is to make sure that twenty, one hundred, and one thousand other women follow in the paths broken by the first women in formerly closed jobs and professions. There have been reversals before, such as in the 1920's when many educated and politically savvy women held top jobs in the federal government and helped the United States to recover from its Depression — but then they were not replaced by another wave of women. For decades to come, few women held high government positions, not to mention appointments at cabinet levels.

To document the paths already blazed, Lois Decker O'Neill has edited a 798-page volume that breaks ground on its own by providing capsule descriptions of more than 5,000 women pioneers.

"Today's women, the world over, live in an epoch of firsts. In one line of work after another, in sports and in almost every country, barriers to female participation have been falling at what becomes, when one looks at the changes against the sweep of history, a fairly astonishing rate," she says.

Some women have been tokens in men's worlds and some were hired in response to pressure from the women's movement or to conform with new laws enforcing equality of opportunity. But most of the "first women" have succeeded and many are holding the doors open for the women who will follow.

O'Neill says that she hopes a similar book will not need to be written fifty years from now — that the epochs of "firsts" will be over and women will be integrated into all fields as never before.
This book will be valuable to many persons but its organization may be a problem in tracking down notable firsts. Katharine Graham, publisher of The Washington Post, is listed not in the section on communications but in the business division — because she is the only woman to head a company in the Fortune 500 category. Generally, the women are grouped according to their contributions to politics, agriculture, science, health care, law, education, sports, and other categories.

There is a special chapter for activists, heroes and humanitarians. Some of the notables are Eleanor Roosevelt; Jane Addams, who founded settlement houses in the nineteenth century and became the first woman to win a Nobel Prize; and Rosa Parks, whose refusal in 1955 to move to the back of the bus in Montgomery, Alabama, sparked the civil rights movement. The problem of making room for everybody who is considered anybody is illustrated by the final chapter of “far-out women.” The editor said this space was reserved for women whose “fame, unusual attributes or singular accomplishments are such that they could not be comfortably confined to the other categories.” Those deemed “far out” include the Soviet cosmonaut Valentina Tereshkova-Nikolayeva, who became the first woman to orbit the earth; Dr. Barbara Moore, a British woman who, at the age of fifty-six, walked across the United States in eighty-five days; aviator Amelia Earheart; pre-teens Teresa and Mary Thompson, who invented and patented a solar tepee, a “wigwam;” Jacqueline Onassis and Elizabeth Taylor.

(Peggy A. Simpson, Nieman Fellow ’79, is a congressional correspondent for the Associated Press, Washington D.C.)

Growing Up Southern

Redneck Mothers, Good Ol’ Girls and Other Southern Belles
by Sharon McKern
(Viking Press, New York, N.Y. $10.95)

by KATHRYN MARSHALL

Let me make a couple things clear: I’m a Southern woman, and, like most people, I enjoy reading about myself. I like finding out that I’m cagey, winning, and frank, that I’m both strong and gentle and that I’m engagingly crazy. I like being told — and I quote — that I’m “anything but tacky,” that my “sexual knowledge” is “specialized” and that I was born with “grits.” Not just your run-of-the-mill grits, either; the trait that sets us Dixie Belles apart from cold-fish Yankee females is a peculiar Southern quality known as “true grits” (sic).

At any rate, I’d like to believe all that. I’d like to think that my great-great aunt Earlene recognized my indigenous gifts when, in 1960, she recommended me for the North Mississippi chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy. I’d like to think I’m smarter and tougher and funnier and more feminine than women in Massachusetts and California and Idaho. But I’d also like to know what, besides a Southern heritage, I have in common with Angela Davis, Lady Bird Johnson, and Dolly Parton. And I’d like to get straight on what Angela Davis, Lady Bird Johnson, and Dolly Parton have in common with one another — or with Ruth Carter Stapleton, Betty Talmadge, and Kathy Speakman (the first NASCAR-licensed stock-car driver).

According to Sharon McKern’s Redneck Mothers, Good Ol’ Girls and Other Southern Belles, women from the lower right-hand corner of the U.S.A. differ from non-Southern women in “substantial and measurable” ways. Because our family ties are binding, we tend to spend our lives in the states where we were born. We lean toward “no-nonsense” notions of community responsibility and we share a “near-metaphysical” attachment to Southern soil. Our mindset is provincial, our religion is Protestant, and our men are babied. We’ve learned how to take advantage of the
"loopholes" in a male-dominated society; consequently we enjoy more "private" freedom than our less ingenious Yankee sisters and feel justified in looking on that Yankee movement, women's lib, "with all the enthusiasm usually reserved for hook-worm or rabid enthusiasm usually reserved for hook-costume parties dressed as oversized Quaaludes, or participate as freely in ingenious Yankee sisters and feel the old ones - Magnolia-and-Iron Southern Belles true. But the trouble with many divorce petitions, consume as various women don't deserve a jockey, a midwife, a herbalist, and an women refuse to be corseted.

Roots are located elsewhere in the pure Hollywood. McKern's simple-minded fictions are bursting at the seams, for her nervy, outspoken women refuse to be corseted.

Before she sat down to type(cast), McKern covered 46,000 miles of Southern road in an ailing Mercedes. Besides some big names, she interviewed housewives, craftswomen, psychologists, busineswomen, garden club presidents, a hooker, a disc jockey, a midwife, a herbalist, and an evangelist or two. She visited women in Austin, New Orleans, Atlanta, Montgomery, Birmingham - as well as places I didn't know were on the map. Much of what she heard she passes on verbatim. The book is at its best, in fact, when the subjects are allowed to speak for themselves - McKern's corn pone asides are mighty hard to swallow. When she tells me that "So many (blacks) high-tailed it north like possums up a gum stump," my tendency is to gulp.

Although coal miners' daughters and dirt farmers' wives are allowed a respectable number of pages, the woman McKern always comes back to is rich, white, and beautiful. Her charismatic husband is wildly in love with her. Her children all have perfect teeth. She's a knockout in French-cut Levis and her manicure is flawless.... "Even her maid makes magic, silently materializing with garnished drinks on a silver tray at the first syllable of a whispered request." It should come as no surprise that black women are poorly represented (What is surprising is that her editor let her get away with "tar-baby belles"), for McKern is hankering after the questionable paradise she knows existed but fleetingly, and then only for five percent of the antebellum population - and for Leigh and Gable fans a century later.

Yet the book is rich in stories, gossip, and all manner of sassy talk. For instance, Betty Talmadge (Senator Herman's former wife) on radical libbers: "Maybe it's been necessary to have some women hollering and screaming and burning their bras, but I think what they're doing is winning the argument and losing the cus-

tomer." Or Dolly Parton on her Tennessee childhood: "We slept five to a bed. It didn't matter none if you stopped bladdit cause somebody else was gonna pee on you anyway." If you happen to need a sure-fire cure for the Memphis croup, Granny Nichols can fill you in. And if you're curious about the rise to ill fame of a New Orleans fancy lady, "Sally Ann Ferguson" doesn't leave anything out - "Now I'm talking to you this way because I know you. I don't use this kind of language outside, you know."

Roots are chic these days, and you'd better believe McKern knows it. The former Watermelon Thump Queen knows how to make the most of our country's current obsession. She also knows how to strut her stuff. If you want to read women who really understand the South, introduce yourself to Eudora Welty, Flannery O'Connor, or Carson McCullers. But for a few tricks and lots of laughs, pick up Redneck Mothers, Good Ol' Girls and Other Southern Belles.

(Kathryn Marshall, who grew up in Mississippi, Texas, and Arkansas, is the author of Desert Places and My Sister Gone, novels published by Harper & Row. She teaches fiction writing at Tufts University, and is working on a third novel. She is married to Lawrence Walsh, a Nieman Fellow in the current class.

The book review is reprinted courtesy of the Boston Globe.)
Less Than Picture Perfect

Gender Advertisements
by Erving Goffman

by PEGGY A. SIMPSON

What do advertisements in the mass media portray of today's relationships between women and men? Plenty, says sociologist Erving Goffman, and the images don't always square with reality.

In an analysis of hundreds of advertisements used by business and public institutions to sell products or services, Goffman found that old stereotypes are still firmly in place.

The overwhelming message remains that women are submissive subordinates and men are strongly in control, Goffman said. Women are gentle, funny and funky; men are strong and serious-minded. Few advertisements depict overly paternal patterns. Women are shown in a variety of careers and when they are shown in the home, they are more likely to be grappling with complex issues and less likely to be passionately preoccupied with cleaner-than-clean clothes. However, especially in advertisements showing women and men together, the body language and facial expressions project familiar signals of dependency of women on men - just in far more subtle ways than before, Goffman said.

Here are some of the subtleties he says show the gender roles:
- Women are shown mentally drifting from the scene around them. Men bear a "wary, monitoring look."
- Women nuzzle and snuggle. Men do not.
- Men wear formal, business or Marlboro Country cowboy gear but always are totally serious about it. Women often are shown in costume-like garb in kinky body positions that mock their appearance.
- Men stand or bend over the woman. Women sit or lie on beds and floors.
- Women often pose in a "bashful knee bend." Men stand straight with authority.
- Women lower their heads or avert their eyes next to men who face the world with a strong look of confidence.
- Women smile expansively, men slightly.
- Women lock their arms through a man's for support. Men often show control with a "shoulder hold" of a woman or child.
- Men give comfort to others with a "grief embrace." Women rarely do.
- Women's hands are shown seductively stroking and caressing. Men's hands, if they are shown at all, grasp or hold in a utilitarian way.
- On the job or the golf course, men instruct and women listen and learn.

The images in the gender advertisements communicate one message: Women are subordinates, Goffman said, despite evidence on every side that male-female roles have been varied in the past and certainly are changing today.

Even when men are shown in the traditional female domain of the kitchen or the nursery, or women around the house are doing repair jobs usually reserved for men, subtle messages are transmitted to let the audience know this isn't normal, Goffman said.

A man shown baking a pizza or vacuuming a rug is presented "as ludicrous or childlike, unrealistically so, as if perhaps in making him candidly unreal the competency image of 'real' males could be preserved," Goffman says. A man cooking a steak is surrounded by children who look clearly dejected and unhappy; a man baking a pizza or finishing a cake is shown with Archie Bunker-type facial contortions of exertion.

"A subtler technique is to allow the male to pursue the alien activity under the direct appraising scrutiny of she who can do the deed properly, as though the doing were itself by way of being a lark or a dare - a smile on the face of the doer or the watcher attesting to the essentially unserious essayed character of the undertaking," Goffman said.

A young wife is shown laughing teasingly as her husband struggles to iron a shirt. Another wife nervously bites a fingernail as she watches her husband awkwardly ice a cake.

"Correspondingly, when females are pictured engaged in a traditionally male task, a male may (as it were) parenthesize the activity, looking on appraisingly, condescendingly or with wonder," he said. A vodka ad shows a woman ostensibly repairing her bicycle - but looking with laughter into the eyes of her vodka-drinking boyfriend who has one arm crooked around her neck.

Does it matter what images advertisers project to sell their wares? Does the public screen out messages from
the media that don’t fit their knowledge of reality today? Or do media messages still have great influence in shaping reality?

Goffmann apparently believes that media advertising messages matter a great deal, although he's better at getting across his points with the brief comments under the more than 500 advertisements than in his unusually turgid explanations of the process.

He notes that there is nothing biological to back up the gender roles magnified in advertisements. In fact, abundant evidence shows that in real life these one-way gender patterns appear less frequently than advertisers would have the public believe.

He makes no attempt to show the transformation of the portrayal of women — and minorities — in advertisements in the past decade. This change came about largely because of protests from women and members of civil rights groups. Yet, on the whole, his analysis of sex stereotyping in the media is interesting and follows up for a general audience the work begun in the early 1970's by feminist writers.

Dealer’s Choice

Kit Coleman — Queen of Hearts
by Ted Ferguson
(Doubleday Canada Ltd. $9.95)

by CAROL BISHOP

In 1889, the twenty-five-year-old Kit Coleman, Canada’s first lady of journalism, became the country’s first full-time women’s page editor. She was also the first nationally syndicated columnist, the first “advice to the lovelorn” columnist, and the first accredited woman war correspondent in journalistic history. Kit was the favourite reporter of Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier; he invited her to accompany him to a Buckingham Palace ceremony during Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee celebrations. Sir Wilfred, resplendent in a royal carriage, was driven to the shabby East London boardinghouse where Kit lived. Her meager expense account would not permit her to stay in quarters suitable to such splendid transportation.

At the Toronto Mail and Empire, Kit Coleman was editor of the section called “Woman’s Kingdom,” but her writing touched on everything from politics to fads and fashions — and her pen could be barbed. As a feminist, she advocated the acceptance of women into the professions. She believed in the concept of equal pay for equal work, before it became a popular issue. She said, “If a woman can do as good as a man, she ought to be paid equal wages. If she cannot do the man’s work, she ought not to be employed at all.” In the 1890’s Kit’s salary was raised to thirty-five dollars a week, which gave her parity with the star male reporters. However, in 1911 when she was asked to contribute a front page column without extra remuneration, she quit and became a freelance writer — and a successful syndicated columnist for dozens of Canadian dailies and weeklies.

However, Kit was not satisfied to stay at home and write weekly columns. In true reportorial fashion, she would go anywhere for a story; she was quite at home in the corridors of power in Ottawa, Washington, and London. She interviewed such luminaries as William Randolph Hearst, Sarah Bernhardt (who thought Kit looked like her), Eleanora Duse, Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, Lillie Langtry; and she scooped the entire North American press corps when she talked her way into a Cleveland jail to interview the notorious swindler Cassie Chadwick.

Perhaps Kit’s most daring exploit was in 1898 when she covered the Spanish-American War in Cuba. Through persistence and determina-
Bibliography: Women in Journalism
Compiled by Carol Bishop

The following is a sample bibliography of the books available on women and journalism. The list has been taken from The Literature of Women in Journalism History, an exhaustive twelve-page bibliography of books, periodicals, and magazine articles dealing with a variety of aspects of women in journalism. Reprints of the full bibliography may be obtained by writing to the Editor, Journalism History, Department of Journalism, California State University at Northridge, 18111 Nordhoff Street, Northridge, CA 91324.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS IN PRINT: UNITED STATES

Rosenfeld, Megan. Journalism and the New Woman, 1977 Franklin Watts Inc. subs of Grolier Inc.

ADDITIONAL BOOKS IN PRINT: CANADA

Cash, Gwen. Off the Record: The Personal Reminiscence of Canada's First Woman Reporter, 1977, Stagecoach

(Carol Bishop has worked as an interviewer and producer for the Canadian Broadcasting Company. Her first book, The Book of Home Remedies and Herbal Cures, will be published in the fall of 1979. Ms. Bishop is the spouse of Michael McIvor, Nieman Fellow in the Class of 1979.)
Women in Words and Pictures

The following chapter, on women in the media, is from the book The Sisterhood of Man (W.W. Norton & Co., New York, N.Y., May, 1979) by Kathleen Newland. Ms. Newland is a Senior Researcher — specializing in human resources issues — with Worldwatch Institute, an independent, non-profit research organization created in Washington, D.C. to analyze and to focus attention on global problems.

The mass media, printed and broadcast, are probably the most pervasive influences on attitudes and opinions in the modern world. Access to mass media is, in fact, one of the defining characteristics of modernity. Other, more powerful forces may exist within a given region or culture, but on a global basis, in terms of sheer numbers reached, other forms of communication cannot compete with the words and pictures carried in newspapers, television and radio broadcasts, large-circulation magazines, and commercial advertising. The ways women are presented, misrepresented, or unrepresented in the mass media strongly affect people's notions on women's place, as it is and as it ought to be.

A recent UNESCO report concluded that "the media can exert their influence in many ways, for example, by presenting models, offering social definitions, encouraging stereotypes, conferring status on people and behavior patterns, suggesting appropriate behaviors, indicating what is approved and what disapproved, and in several other indirect ways...." Although technical knowledge of how mass-media messages are transmitted to their human targets abounds, the UNESCO report makes it clear that knowledge of how human beings digest and react to those messages is lamentably sparse. The steps that connect media exposure and personal behavior remain a mystery. A few ghastly instances of life imitating art have occurred, such as juvenile crime copying some televised atrocity. Yet most studies seem to indicate a less direct link between the image presented in print or on the air and the attitudes and actions of the audience.

An audience may be influenced by the media to abandon stereotypic thinking, but the media may also reinforce conservative or even reactionary predilections. Unfortunately for women, the latter is most often the case. Research suggests that the media have more power to reinforce existing views than to instill new ones. People tend to respond to and remember what is consistent with what they already believe and to ignore information that conflicts with their beliefs. Attempts to overcome that conservative bias are relatively uncommon, found mostly in media controlled by governments with a strong interest in social change.

Where a socially conservative bent is compatible with the interests of those who control the media, be they public or private powers, the media's treatment of women is narrow. In newspapers, on television, on the radio, and in magazines, woman's world is limited to home, family, fashion, and gossip. Women rarely appear in "hard news" coverage — a fact that reflects not only women's general exclusion from decision-making positions, but also the news industry's narrow view of newsworthiness. In entertainment programs and popular fiction, women figure as passive, dependent creatures with few concerns outside the domestic or the romantic. As the target audience for much of the advertising in the mass media, women are manipulated, bullied, and patronized. Straightforward appeals to their common sense and real needs are rare, and recent responses by the media to changes in women's lives and aspirations are both tentative and long overdue.

The influence of the mass media can only be expected to increase. For one thing, ever-increasing numbers of people have access to them; literacy campaigns are enlarging the range of the print media (though for millions more women than men printed media remain inaccessible because of illiteracy). For another, telecommunications technology is making it possible to reach more and bigger audiences with
broadcasts. In social terms, however, the technology has not fulfilled its promise. The sophistication of communications hardware has escalated at a dizzying rate, but what is communicated — especially as it concerns women — has scarcely changed since kings and queens kept foot messengers in their employ.

Whose News?

The nature of news reporting makes it difficult to describe a development as diffuse and many-faceted as the contemporary change in women’s roles. Reporting emphasizes the concrete and the particular rather than things abstract and universal; elaboration of the context of an event and its implications are secondary to the requirements of who, what, when, where, and why. Reaching for concrete and particular illustrations of a complex social movement inevitably produces distortions. It brings to mind the tale of seven blind men describing an elephant: the overall impression differs depending on which particular piece of reality one is grappling with at the moment.

Feminist discontent with news coverage tends to focus on three different complaints: the depiction of women as second-class human beings, the under-representation of women and women’s issues in routine coverage, and the distortion of the women’s movement itself. This is not to say that some reporting of women’s issues has not been fine and sensitive. But the many abuses, belittlements, oversights, and distortions cannot be denied.

The most obvious complaint concerns the portrayal of women in news reports. The tendency to include irrelevant information about a female newsmaker’s appearance and family status, information that would not be reported about a man in a similar situation, remains strong. Some American newspapers have become more self-conscious about this practice, but it is still pervasive. In February of 1977 The Christian Science Monitor carried a news story about France’s new minister of consumer affairs in which the official was described as resembling “an impeccably groomed directress of some couture house rather than the prototype of a top-ranking female economist or the classic intellectual who generally turns out in horn-rimmed spectacles, baggy skirt, and baggier stockings.” This not-uncharacteristic report (written by a woman, incidentally) is doubly offensive, first for overemphasizing physical appearance, and second for implying astonishment that a woman of achievement could be stylish.

The depiction of women in the press can be even more harmful when it goes beyond physical appearances and visits judgments on women’s behavior. Yayori Matsui, one of the few female senior reporters on a major Japanese newspaper, contrasts the Japanese press’ treatments of two tragic cases, each involving the death of a young mother. In one, a hairstylist with a young child was torn between her attachment to her job and social pressure to quit working in order to be a full-time housewife. She eventually committed suicide. The headlines of the story reporting her death read “Female Stylist, Unwilling to Give Up Her Fashionable Occupation to Care for Her Child, Burns Herself to Death,” and “Woman Ruined by Her Own Selfishness.” Nowhere was there any criticism of the social attitudes that drove a working mother to such desperation. In the second case, an impoverished mother of five starved to death, while struggling to feed her children as best she could. In contrast to the earlier case, the press eulogized this woman as a model of maternal self-sacrifice — but again, it never questioned the social grounds for such a tragedy in a country as affluent as Japan. According to Matsui, the Japanese press regularly evinces hostility toward women who transgress traditional boundaries and approval toward those who remain firmly inside them.

No aspect of news coverage is more frustrating than the low visibility of women and women’s concerns in news reports. In part, this news vacuum reflects the fact that so few powerful positions are held by women. In a country like Denmark, where one-quarter of the cabinet is female, it is likely that women will make the news on a routine basis. But women’s “low profile” is also a product of the socially conditioned definition of news. Women are at their most newsworthy when they are doing something “unladylike,” especially arguing with each other. Since the complex and powerful changes in women’s daily lives — how they make their livings, raise their families, spend their money, and so on — are difficult to reduce to a discrete news item, most coverage of women’s issues is linked to an event, which may be contrived (like a march or demonstration) precisely for its ability to attract news coverage. Such events are often controversial, and tying news coverage to them has made the processes of change seem more controversial than they really are.

Coverage of the feminist movement as such has been particularly subject to distortion. The most enduring image of the women’s movement comes from misconstrued reports of the “Miss America” demonstration of 1968; at that demonstration, brassieres, girdles, false eyelashes, and such were tossed into a “freedom trash can” and a sheep was crowned Miss America. But bra-burning is what was reported, and bra-burning is what was indelibly imprinted on the public consciousness.

The nascent women’s movement in Japan meets with pronounced hostility from the press. Linguistics professor Sachiko Ide describes the way news-
papers write about the actions of women's groups: "These actions are always described by stereotyped expressions such as the color words kiiko, 'yellow voice,' and akai kien, 'red yellows.' These color words as modifiers of action have connotations of an irrational, emotional, sometimes hysterical atmosphere, and do not convey a serious or reasonable image."

Something of the attitude of the Japanese press must have rubbed off on a New York Times reporter who filed an extraordinary story from Tokyo in July of 1977, heralding the collapse of the women's movement in Japan. "Japan's women's liberation movement has folded," the story began. It went on to describe the disbanding of a small, marginal women's group, Chipuren, which it described as Japan's "only major women's liberation group" and the theatrical tactics of the group's leader, Misako Enoki. The article concluded that "without Miss Enoki, who has become a symbol to many through Japan's pervasive mass media, the women's liberation movement here is expected to virtually disappear for the foreseeable future."

The article brought waves of protesting letters from feminists in Japan, who pointed out that many other women's liberation groups were flourishing in Japan and that Chipuren was a fringe group that had been made a sort of pet by the establishment reporters because its actions were so easy to ridicule (its members, wearing white jumpsuits and pink helmets, held public demonstrations against unfaithful husbands) and its leader was so photogenic and obviously confused. (After dissolving her matriarchal political party, she agreed to "retire" to keep her house for her husband.) Even the Ministry of Labor felt called upon to object to the Times story. That an article displaying such profound ignorance could appear in a newspaper respected for accuracy and objectivity justifies some of the suspicion feminists feel toward the establishment press.

Although news stories that misrepresent the women's movement continue to appear, some news organizations are growing receptive to news about women's issues. At the international level, UNESCO and the U.N. Fund for Population Activities are helping establish regional feature services for news about women around the world. The first of these, covering Latin America, began operating in January of 1978. Its intention is to produce for international distribution about two hundred articles per year on women's changing roles in the family, in society, and in the development process. A similar news network is being formed in the Caribbean. The hoped-for result of the project, according to UNESCO, is a worthy objective for any news organization: it is to make sure that "the image of women projected will be closer to the realities of society in a process of change."

The World of Women's Magazines

Maria, the heroine of a popular Latin American serial romance, begins her career much like millions of her real-life sisters begin theirs. Born of poor Indian parents on the high mountain plateau, she migrates, innocent and optimistic, to the capital city. She goes to work at the bottom rung of the social and economic ladder — as a domestic servant. Her mistress is harsh; the young medical student she falls for is charming but weak and cowardly. Seduced and abandoned, she bears a child. Fending for herself and her baby is a desperate struggle.

Up to this point, Maria's story is achingly typical. But Maria gets lucky. In her valiant efforts to better herself, she meets a kind, handsome, and clever schoolteacher who is impressed by her bravery and goodness. At his urging, she learns to sew. Blessed with innate talent, good fortune, and the teacher's encouragement, Maria makes it — first as a seamstress, then as a dress designer. Her success knows no bounds. She marries the teacher, takes her place in the international firmament of high fashion, and lives happily ever after: elegant, wealthy, famous, loved.

Although it started off as a television soap opera, Simplemente Maria gained its widest following as a fotonovela, a serialized romance-magazine in which photographs are captioned like comic book illustrations. In this format, which even the barely literate can follow, Simplemente Maria won a huge audience among working-class women in almost every Latin American country. In Lima, enrollment in sewing classes soared along with Maria's fortunes. Domestic servants, the largest occupational group of women in Latin America, were among Maria's most ardent devotees. When a group of social scientists asked Lima's servant women about their career aspirations, or what they would like their daughters to be, a single chorus drowned out all other replies: dressmaker.

In many ways, Simplemente Maria typifies a genre of women's magazine fiction. The stories, and the magazines that carry them, both reflect and inform their readers' feelings about appropriate behavior for women. The subjects they deal with are the classic components of women's traditional domain: home, family, beauty and fashion, and — above all — romance. Although this list constitutes a truncated view of women's concerns, discussion of these topics does interest most women. More at fault for the values they promote than the subjects they treat, the traditional magazines depict the ideal woman as dependent and utterly home-centered, capable of finding real satisfaction only in service and submission to others.
The usual run of fiction in the traditional magazines is even more conservative than the editorial content. Cornelia Butler Flora's study of women's magazine fiction in the United States and Latin America showed the values of the two cultures to be quite consistent. The qualities of the ostensibly desirable fictional heroine all manifested passivity: the Everywoman of popular fiction is humble, virtuous, and dependent; weak, submissive, and tolerant of a sexual double standard. Sixty-nine percent of the plots in Flora's sample were resolved in a way that reinforced female dependence and passivity. In over half of the Latin American stories, one of two plot devices was used: a too-independent heroine found happiness in submitting at last to a dominating man; or an erring man was inspired to abandon his wicked ways by the example of a patient, loving woman who never nagged or reproached him.

These stories depict women in a deeply reactionary way. They do more than misrepresent women; they also lure their readers into a fantasy world of false standards and easy solutions. In this fictional world, happiness comes not out of one's own efforts but via the miraculous intervention of a handsome man. The source of problems is always personal, never born of oppressive social conditions. Marriage is a woman's ultimate goal; childbearing a reward or a resolution rather than a serious responsibility. Saintly self-sacrifice is a woman's only heroism, while pride and ambition are folly's best outgrown. By promising every woman that her prince will someday come (even if only in the guise of a husband whose ardor is miraculously rekindled), escapist stories divert women's energy into daydreams and thus perpetuate passivity.

Some of the traditional women's magazines boast enormous audiences. McCall's, the largest in the United States, sells 6.5 million copies of each issue, while Ladies' Home Journal and Good Housekeeping reach 6 million and 5 million readers, respectively. Yet the continuing popularity of the old standbys has not killed interest in new women's magazines. Rather than catering to the full-time housewife, the new magazines are aimed at the income - earning, decision - making woman. Some of these publications are far from feminist, or only superficially so — they invoke women's changing lifestyles, often in practical terms, but on an individual, material basis. Another group of the new periodicals, seriously feminist, address themselves to the collective awareness and common problems of women.

The line between the two types of "new woman" magazines can be hard to draw. Even some of the hearth-and-hairodo titles have changed to satisfy a different kind of reader. In its fiction, McCall's, for example, now depicts working women — even working mothers — in a more sympathetic light than it did when few U.S. adult women held jobs. In July of 1976, twenty-six American women's magazines, including many of the most traditional (such as Bride's, Modern Romances, and Ladies' Circle), and the three largest-selling, all ran articles discussing the Equal Rights Amendment. In France, the glossy home-and-fashion magazine Marie-Claire started publishing a feminist insert called Femmes in 1977. Bound into the center of the parent magazine, Femmes includes articles about sex-discrimination lawsuits, jobs, and feminist books, while Marie-Claire features recipes, grooming tips, celebrity interviews, and the like. Many of the traditional publications have come to include more articles of interest to working women, such as features on daycare or on time-saving recipes.

While the traditional periodicals have been making some adjustments, magazines for the "new woman" have been doing well. In a financial climate in which starting a new magazine constitutes a risky business venture, some newcomers have turned in strong performances, attracting both readers and advertisers. Advertisers in particular have flocked to magazines like Cosmopolitan, whose feminism (if any) is purely incidental; yet Cosmo and its kind are popular with many young women, who work, live alone, and spend hefty sums on clothes, cosmetics, travel, and entertainment. Japan's More: Quality Life Magazine is one of this genre, with regular writing on the accoutrements of the "new woman's style" — gourmet cooking, interior decorating, travel, and male-female relationships.

Distinctly unliberated is the obsession displayed by most of these newer magazines with the art of attracting and manipulating men. One characteristic particularly distinguishes them from their predecessors: a casual, almost mercenary attitude toward sex. Their concept of a woman's ultimate goal has not changed — to get a man, it remains — but the woman's arsenal has expanded. No longer is the way to a man's heart simply through his stomach. At its most extreme, represented by Viva and Playgirl, this class of journalism represents a sad capitulation to the male ethic. Reporter Laura Shapiro asked a spokeswoman for Playgirl what was feminist about the magazine and got the answer, "We make men into sex objects."

The middle ground of the new women's magazine market is occupied by publications that lack an explicitly feminist editorial policy but, nonetheless, emphasize women's changing roles, lifestyles, and opportunities. The editor of the new Japanese magazine Watashi wa Onna (I Am Woman) denies that the genesis of the magazine lay in the 1970's new wave of feminism. The reasoning was purely businesslike: a drop-off in readership
for the traditional periodicals and an obvious market for journals with more serious content. So Watashi Wa Onna, a feminist or not, carries articles like "Independence from Marriage," "The Revolution in Sex Consciousness," and "Towards a New Understanding Among Women." In the United States, Working Woman is equally uncommitted to feminist ideology, but emphasizes women’s career concerns and the management of a busy life that includes a substantial commitment to work as well as to friends, fashion, and entertainment. Advice columns on legal and financial matters, health, and diet also number among Working Woman’s regular features. The magazine emphasizes individual effort rather than social change. The appeal of this formula is bankable: the magazine had 200,000 readers before the end of its second year.

Many new, explicitly feminist magazines cannot match the circulations of the traditional publications. Reasons include the lack of financial resources for most of the feminist magazines, the non-commercial orientation of many, limited access to conventional distribution channels, and, in some cases, a deliberate appeal to a narrow audience. Famille et Developpement, for example, published in Senegal for French-speaking West Africa, has a circulation of only 20,000 — though it is probably read by ten times that many people by the time the copies are lent, traded, resold, and passed along. While not exclusively a woman’s magazine, Famille et Developpement has published hard-hitting articles on prostitution, birth-control pills, female circumcision, polygamy, and sex education. Its independent editorial policy may be partly explained by the fact that the magazine accepts no paid advertising; it is foundation-supported. Since its debut in 1975, every issue has sold out, and the journal is said to have an impact belied by its small circulation.

Ghana’s Obaa Sima (Ideal Woman) shares with Famille et Developpement the problems of publishing for a small literate audience — but it is well established in its seventh year of publication. The magazine’s fifth anniversary editorial reviewed some of its policies:

Through these columns, we have brought to the notice of the whole nation (especially the women) some of the laws and customs which are not in the interest of women, for example, the existing laws on inheritance and intestate succession.

We have called for the abolition of such laws and asked for progressive national laws on inheritance and we have reason to believe that something is going to be done about them.

We shall continue to draw the attention of our readers and the whole nation to matters which will improve the status of women in our society and we know that our readers will help us in this....

Because they run articles that address serious problems in a serious manner and because they hire editors and writers who do not flinch from controversy, magazines like Obaa Sima and Famille et Developpement have an impact on attitudes and policies that affect women.

Most literate countries with well-developed media markets now support at least a few small feminist magazines and newspapers. Germany has at least two dozen; in the United States, such publications must number in the hundreds. A few of them have won readerships broad enough to qualify them as organs of the mass media. The grandmother of them all, in a sense, is M.S. magazine, published in New York. The first feminist periodical to achieve true commercial success, its circulation in its seventh year reached nearly half a million. F., a French feminist magazine launched early in 1978, is using highly professional promotional techniques to attract a wide audience. F. will address itself to serious women’s issues, but adopt a moderate tone. The hope is that it will strike a sympathetic chord in French women who are well-educated, aware, but not radical. Its founder, Claude Servan-Schreiber, deliberately disassociates the magazine from France’s leftist, militant Movement de Liberation des Femmes. "Militancy," she claims, “isn’t profitable.”

For women, the ultimate value of mass-circulation feminist magazines goes far beyond the financial interests of the backers. Such publications both speak to their readers and to other, more traditional publications: the message is that the audience interested in serious discussion about the world of real women is growing. Because of this, that world and the world of women’s magazines may be approaching a closer correspondence.

Radio — A Medium for the Masses

To the more than one-third of the world’s women who are illiterate, newspapers and magazines mean little. Fewer than a fourth of all women ever see television. The medium with by far the largest audience globally is radio. Radio can reach even the most remote and inaccessible settlements; broadcasting is flexible, low cost, and technically simple. Receivers, especially transistor radios, are easy to operate, durable, and inexpensive. From the listener, radio requires no special skills other than the ability to comprehend the broadcast language. For many millions of the poor, the isolated, and the illiterate, radio provides a window on the world.

In many countries, radio is used to reach rural adults with practical information and educational programs. Colombia has more than 250 radio broadcasting stations; Brazil has nearly 600. All-India Radio broadcasts...
around the clock in all of India’s major languages and some fifty dialects. The government has also subsidized the purchase of community radio receivers. Virtually every country in the world today has at least one radio station, and most of the world’s regions lie within at least one station’s broadcast sphere.

Owing to their lower literacy rates, more limited access to formal education, lack of leisure, and lesser mobility, women have even more to gain from radio than men. In Egypt, for example, women make up an estimated seventy percent of the audience for literacy courses broadcast over radio. In a pilot educational radio program in Iran, it was found that for every student organized into listening “classes” (comprised mostly of men), four women followed the programs privately at home.

Programming designed especially for women in poor countries tends to stress domestic skills and child-care almost to the exclusion of anything else. So far, too little use has been made of radio to assist women with less traditional pursuits. Realistically, though, providing for home and family remains a large part of women’s work and worry. Where radio programs present practical advice that helps women to do their jobs better or more easily, the programs are enthusiastically received.

Some of the most successful of these practical programs coordinate radio broadcasts with the work of extension agents, either hired or volunteer. The broadcasts lend authority to the agents, and the agents can elaborate points made during the broadcasts, illustrate or demonstrate the techniques recommended, and answer questions that arise in connection with the programs.

CARE started one such project in South India in 1977, employing slum women to work with their peers in a multi-media project emphasizing nutrition, health, and family planning. Part of the project was a popular radio soap opera, in which the adventures of a typical slum family illustrated practical solutions for problems concerning children’s nutrition and common illnesses, sanitation, immunization, male and female sterilization, de-worming, and Vitamin A requirements. The program generated many requests for information beyond that presented in the program; the extension agents were prepared to answer them, and CARE provided some of the needed medical services and food supplements.

Although generally a success, the CARE project also illustrates some of the limitations of practical education through mass media. Among the perennial problems that came up were women’s lack of control over family income, their secondary role in family decision making (even in matters concerning their own health), and the scarcity of basic facilities such as sewage treatment and potable water. If CARE had not made food and medical treatment available on the spot, many of the women reached by the radio and other media might have been unable to act on the advice they received. As it was, doing so was sometimes impeded by lack of cooperation and understanding from their husbands.

Given the usual absence of special services like those provided by CARE, the best that most broadcast programs can do is to help people make optimal use of the resources at hand. One radio network has been engaged in this sort of effort for more than thirty years: Colombia’s Accion Cultural Popular (ACPO), or Radio Sutatenza as it is popularly called after the small town where it was founded by a young priest. Latin America’s most powerful rural educational radio system, ACPO reaches nearly 500,000 rural Colombians and unknown numbers of people in neighboring countries. ACPO provides no equipment or financing except for educational materials — books and a weekly newspaper. Its action campaigns are based on local needs and local resources; the listeners must plan and carry out the projects themselves.

Some of ACPO’s programs are designed specifically for women, and women benefit indirectly from many others. A campaign to improve homes focused on how to build a simple kitchen so that women would no longer have to bend over a smoky fire built around three stones on the ground. The building of local aqueducts in conjunction with another media campaign improved village water supplies. A recent campaign has been carried out on the theme of “responsible parenthood” — though Radio Sutatenza, affiliated with the Catholic church, does not advocate modern contraceptive techniques.

Besides broadcasting educational material (as well as news, entertainment, religious, civic, and cultural programs), ACPO trains people. Some of the volunteers who lead the local radio “schools,” where the peasants gather in small groups to follow the basic education courses, are chosen to go to one of ACPO’s training institutes. There, they are familiarized with radio-school organization, schooled in community-development methods and, at the more senior levels, given management training. Today, the majority of these volunteers are women. Of the more than 12,800 people trained at the institutes so far, nearly half are women — an extraordinary proportion for a conservative society in which women are hardly ever allowed to go away to school, much less to assume leadership positions.

Although some argue convincingly that its heyday has passed, Radio Sutatenza has shown how much radio can accomplish when people’s real needs are addressed and their partici-
pation stimulated. The system taps the collective spirit of the community and diffuses the personal risk attending innovation by lending its prestige and authority to development projects. The system’s operation also demonstrates, however, that women’s needs are unlikely to be fully answered by a system controlled by others who place their own interests ahead of women’s. In the case of Radio Sutatenza, Catholic dogma is given precedence over women’s need for reliable modes of contraception. The uses of any medium are determined by those who own or control the medium. Influence in the mass media is distributed in much the same way as are other forms of power in society.

Television

Television is not the most pervasive medium on a worldwide basis, but it is arguably the most compelling. In the relatively affluent countries where television has become truly a mass medium, people devote more of their waking hours to watching TV than to any other activity except work. In societies as disparate as the United States and the Soviet Union, children spend as much or more time watching TV as they spend in school.

Third World countries are rushing headlong to join the television age, often with unanticipated consequences. For television changes the way people live in some fundamental ways. It may change the way they think about the world as they spend in school.

Third World countries are rushing headlong to join the television age, often with unanticipated consequences. For television changes the way people live in some fundamental ways. It may change the way they think about the world as they spend in school.

A person brought up on television could end up with some distorted notions about women. For example, an American viewer who thought that television accurately reflected reality would gather from watching television that only one-third of the population was female (though in fact more than half of all Americans are women), for only one-third of the characters who appear on television are female. The viewer would get the impression that about twenty percent or so of the labor force was female (though in reality forty-six percent of the American labor force is female), because only a fifth of the working people seen on television are female. On television, women seem to have a shorter lifespan than men, since most TV women are in their twenties or thirties while the men quite often survive into late middle age. In the real world, American women outlive American men by about six years.

To be sure, the televised world is not the one we inhabit. The “facts” are all wrong. But when it comes to portrayal of character, conflict, personal relations, problem solving, and so forth, American television’s mirror of women’s reality is even more distorted. The content of U.S. television programming has been analyzed during the mid-seventies by both public and private groups, including the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the American Association of University Women, and the United Methodist Church. Their monitoring projects have produced remarkably consistent results: most TV women are economically and psychologically dependent, deceitful, incompetent, indecisive, foolish, and cruel or competitive toward other women. Women rarely occupy positions of authority and are often portrayed unsympathetically when they do. They are much more likely to have their problems solved for them by a man than to solve their own or someone else’s problem. The television-woman’s flaws are typically presented as being cute and funny, as if womanly charm equals a kind of social retardation. The adorable nitwit is a damaging and lowly role-model for women and girls, yet they see few positive alternatives on the television screen.

Social pressures have produced some changes in U.S. television programming. The mid-seventies saw a trend toward showing more lifelike people in more plausible situations, toward allowing programming on controversial issues, and even toward giving a few strong, credible female characters prominent roles. Some of the standard-bearers of this trend, like “The Mary Tyler Moore Show” and “All in the Family,” proved immensely popular. But few would argue that the changes went far enough in these shows or in their spin-offs. Men continue to be overrepresented by a three-to-one margin in prime time television programs. Women continue to be subordinate, professionally and emotionally, to men.

A more recent trend in prime-time programming may increase the number of women on American television, but can only reinforce their status as sex objects: in the late seventies, the number of what network executives frankly refer to as “girlie shows” was on the increase. Under pressure from both audiences and federal regulators to tone down the violence on television shows, the networks have responded by substituting sexy women for violent men in their “adult” programs.

The success of one such show, “Charlie’s Angels,” has generated a rash of imitators featuring gorgeous young women in various glamorous occupations with their sexual charms constantly on display. In the 1978 viewing season, the three female private detectives of “Charlie’s Angels” will be joined by the three stewardesses of “Flying High” and the two investigative reporters of “The American Girls.” Among the backup pilot-programs readied for 1978 are “The California Girls” (lifeguards),

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"Cheerleaders," "El Paso Pussycats" (more cheerleaders), and "She" (a female James Bond type). Network executives must believe that they possess a winning formula.

U.S. audiences reacted to the banality of the 1977 television season by watching less television. Primetime viewership in the autumn of 1977 was three percent below the level of a year earlier, a small decline but enough to cause alarm in an industry that has grown steadily since its earliest years. The networks' attempts to win back the viewers with a lavish display of feminine pulchritude and a little more explicit sex may improve ratings for a time, but TV audiences may well find television sex can be every bit as banal as television violence.

The bias of U.S. television finds echoes in sexual stereotyping on British, French, Japanese, and Latin American TV, indeed, on most TV (Television in China and the Soviet Union has a didactic flavor that does not permit "sexploitation." Significantly, both countries import almost no TV from the West.) The portrayal of women on American television, however, looms large in a discussion of worldwide patterns for one compelling reason: the United States exports programs to all but a handful of TV broadcasting countries, and it is by an overwhelming margin the largest exporter in the world. The image of women presented on U.S. television is nearly as ubiquitous as television itself.

The predominance of the United States in television program exports is explained mostly by the size of its domestic market. Until the early sixties, more television sets were found in the United States than in the rest of the world. In 1978, ninety-six percent of all American homes had at least one set — more than had private bathrooms. The size of this audience assures that domestic showings pay

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<th>Country or Region</th>
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<th>Imports from United States as Share of Total (percent)</th>
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<tr>
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<td>NA</td>
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<td>Canada (BC)</td>
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production costs. The programs can then be sold abroad for a marginal price which is usually set according to the number of viewers served by a foreign buyer. Usually, the smaller the network, the more economical it is to buy American, so local productions cannot possibly compete financially. In Jamaica, for example, it costs twenty times as much to produce a local show as it does to broadcast one made in the United States. Imported programs are a compelling alternative for any country that lacks a well-developed infra-structure in the performing arts, a body of trained technicians, or money for local productions.

Since foreign sales of U.S. programs are handled by many distributors, total sales figures can only be roughly estimated. According to a UNESCO report published in 1974, between 100,000 and 200,000 hours of U.S. television programming are sold to foreign clients each year. The closest competitor, Britain, sold no more than 30,000 hours abroad. France followed with 15,000-20,000 hours per year. Apart from these three, only a handful of countries export more than 1,000 hours per year. Thus most countries with high ratios of imported to domestic programming show a great deal of American television (see Table 5-1). [opposite page]

When a broadcasting system buys U.S. television programming, it also buys the American version of the feminine mystique — a view of women that may be even more out of tune with the purchasing country’s society than it is with American life. A few countries, Britain and France among them, have deliberately reduced their consumption of American television in protest of the violence contained in the imported programs. (One BBC study found that the twenty percent of prime-time programming imported from the United States contained fifty percent of all the violence in BBC broadcasts.) Broadcast authorities would do well to give equally careful consideration to the sexual content of television imports (whatever their source), judging whether the image of women presented is in the public interest.

Domestic productions should receive the same scrutiny. Television is, for increasing numbers of people, a major source of information about the world. Since its distortions are all too often accepted as reality, those who control the medium must see to it that television does not delude people with powerful false images of women. Thus far, that responsibility has been sadly neglected.

**Behind Media Bias Against Women**

The entire weight of sexism in society is behind the mass media bias against women. This is not to say, however, that the media merely reflect public attitudes passively. Newspapers, magazines, radio, and television also shape opinion. They provide information selectively and play favorites among different kinds of people. Perhaps most important, media executives determine which issues gain the attention of the public, secure in the knowledge that media coverage both signifies and conveys importance.

Most of the people who set policy, write copy, and make daily decisions in the news, entertainment, and advertising industries are men. This imbalance poses a problem of perspective, at the very least. Concern for and sensitivity to matters that affect women particularly are most likely to be found among women themselves; so go the dictates of experience and simple self-interest. Lack of this concern and sensitivity is one source of the media’s bias against women. As one senior, female advertising executive put it, it is a challenge for industry professionals “to subject their own personal assumptions about society to the kind of objective appraisal they are trained to do so well.”

The answer to the perspective problem is an obvious one: hire more women in the media. Yet, while in many countries the numbers of women employed in the media have risen over the past few years, women are still a small minority among both print and broadcast professionals, especially in senior positions. Among British senior journalists in 1975, for example, only ten percent of those with at least ten years’ full-time working experience were women. In Denmark, where almost all media employees are unionized, only fifteen percent of active members of the journalists’ union are women. Both of these countries, however, compare favorably with Japan, where not even one percent of the staff writers on daily newspapers are women.

In broadcasting, women professionals are similarly scarce. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) is fairly typical of its counterparts: in 1975, three-quarters of all its employees were male, and in management-level jobs, the men’s share was ninety-three percent. Out of 1,425 job titles with the CBC, men held 1,086 exclusively. Because television careers carry glamor and prestige as well as high salaries, the competition for jobs is unusually tough. Women have generally found easier access to radio broadcasting. In Taiwan, for example, only fifteen percent of the television news reporters are women, while more than half of the radio (Broadcasting Company of China) reporters are female. The national radio systems in Egypt and in France are both headed by women — a milestone that no major national television system has yet reached.

Still absurdly low, the proportion of media jobs held by women does seem to be rising in a number of countries. If the sex ratio among journalism students indicates the future ratio
among mass-media employees, even greater changes may lie ahead. Reports from Malaysia, Taiwan, Thailand, and Singapore indicate that in the mid-seventies, half or more of the communications students in a selection of major universities were women. Women made up more than half the students at the prestigious journalism schools of Columbia University and New York University in 1977. Even in Japan, where male dominance of the media is not weakening perceptibly, women students account for one-quarter of those studying journalism or communications at six universities that have media programs. Most journalists enter the field without specialized training in communications, however, so that rising enrollments are not direct harbingers of rising employment figures.

Once employed in the mass media, women often face discrimination in assignments, promotions, and salaries. They also face unusual hurdles in day-to-day operations, some of which are comic in their outlandishness. The first woman hired as a sportswriter for the Washington Star newspaper was barred from the local stadium's press room by her own colleagues, until her editor, a former football player, broke its door down on her behalf. A reporter for the Fleet Street News Agency was ordered to leave the British court room where she was covering a trial because the presiding judge considered the sight of a woman in trousers an affront to the dignity of his courtroom. Despite obstacles both petty and significant, women continue to enter the communications field in growing numbers.

There is little doubt that employment of women by the mass media has been spurred in the United States by legal action against several prominent organs. Among the institutions that have faced sex-discrimination suits since the mid-seventies are The Washington Post, Newsday, Newsweek, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), and Reuters North America. All the investigations have concluded that women were being discriminated against, and several have resulted in sizable cash awards to the offended party. In 1977, NBC had to pay nearly two million dollars in back pay to women employees. In late 1978, a similar suit against The New York Times was settled out of court. Called upon to explain a salary differential of almost four thousand dollars a year between male and female reporters and editors and a job distribution pattern in which men are twice as likely as women to be hired into the six highest paying job categories (even after correcting for differences in education, length of service, the previous experience), The New York Times elected to make compensatory payments (in the form of pension fund contributions) to its aggrieved female employees and pledged to step up its promotion of women into high-level positions.

Most of the organs that have been sued for discrimination have responded by hiring and promoting more women. Sadly, the beneficiaries of the improvements are more likely to be women hired from outside than the women who pressed the issue to begin with. Legal action does not always improve women's employment conditions. A climate at least mildly conducive to change is probably prerequisite. In the absence of such a climate, Fujii-TV in Japan responded to having its mandatory female retirement age of twenty-five struck down in court by refusing thereafter to hire women on anything other than a four-year contract.

Greater participation by women in the making of the mass media is undoubtedly a step toward eliminating sex bias in the media's content. But reporters, producers, script-writers, directors and their colleagues operate within a structure which itself limits what an individual can do to produce egalitarian fare. The financial supports of the media have the power to determine what gets on the air or in print (subject, in some cases, to political controls as well), and their views on the proper roles for women affect the way women are portrayed in the media.

In some countries, the state is the sole financial backer of the mass media. In a few of these, the mass media have been enlisted in a campaign to sell sexual equality. In China, popular fiction, films, and theater feature heroines who triumph over adversity and dastardly male chauvinists who either get their comeuppance or finally see the error of their ways; newspapers report the achievements of right-thinking women doing jobs that could make strong men quake; wall-posters proclaim "Women hold up half of heaven." A Cuban poster campaign of 1969-70 plastered walls all over the country with slogans such as "Women: The Revolution within the Revolution." In both countries, the mass media reflect the state's commitment to the idea of improving women's status. Many governments, however, seem to take a laissez faire attitude toward the depiction of women in the media which are controlled financially or politically by the government. The subject is not really treated as a policy matter except in extreme cases such as hard-core pornography.

When financial support of the mass media is in the hands of commercial interests, its content is determined by a more convoluted but equally purposeful process. The purpose of the words and pictures in commercial media, from the sponsors' point of view, is to give value to the advertising space they surround. This they do by attracting an audience which will then be exposed to the commercial message. Thus, whatever attracts readers, listeners, or viewers is valuable in commercial terms, no matter what its
cultural, intellectual, or social value. Three of the popular daily newspapers in Britain regularly feature pictures of naked women on an inside page, and that is a viable commercial policy because it sells papers.

It is no surprise to find that commercial interests are not necessarily consonant with the public interest. In relation to the female half of the public, the dichotomy is particularly large. In a recent survey of housewives in six major cities across the United States, only eight percent of the respondents thought the advertising image of women was an accurate one. This is striking considering that women are the “target” audience for so much of the mass media's output. Daytime television, for instance, is almost entirely geared toward adult women, as is the advertising it carries.

The serial melodramas that account for more than half of network daytime television got the generic name “soap operas” from the fact that so many of their radio precursors were sponsored by soap manufacturers. Still, half of the soap operas on daytime television are sponsored by Procter and Gamble, the household products manufacturer. Women are the chief consumers of the company’s products (and those of its competitors), and it has traditionally been able to reach them with its sales pitch at home, during the day, with the television on.

It must be frustrating to marketers to find a large portion of their captive audience of housebound women suddenly leaving their houses and television sets for paid employment. It makes the target audience more difficult to reach. This is disconcerting for television networks, too, since their advertising space is priced on the basis of how many viewers they can deliver to an advertiser: the smaller the audience, the smaller the advertising income. This relation between commercial media and advertisers may generate resistance to changing roles for women: such changes require rethinking of formulas that have proven successful in the past.

Some advertisers have responded more positively to changes in women’s roles, seeing change as an opportunity rather than a threat. They recognize that it is poor marketing strategy to ignore the growing segment of the population made up of women who work outside the home. Therefore a company like United Airlines, which by 1978 found that sixteen percent of its business travelers were women, directs one-quarter of its print-advertising budget specifically toward women. One-third of the bosses who appear on its television ads are female. Sears, Roebuck Company, after noting that 5.2 million U.S. women held blue collar jobs in 1976, featured a line of sturdy work clothes tailored for women in its 1977 catalogue. Other U.S. manufacturers have taken notice of the fact that women in professional and managerial jobs spend 4.6 billion dollars per year on “work” clothes, and have more money to spend on goods and services than their non-earning counterparts.

The commercial messages designed for the more forward-looking sponsors reflect a greater diversity of roles filled by women, and therefore present a more accurate view of women as well as a less demeaning one. But these sponsors, though they acknowledge change, are unlikely to do much to initiate further change; they still have a vested interest in the status quo, though their view of it is more up-to-date than that of many other advertisers. They can also be every bit as exploitive of women as more traditional-minded competitors; some have even tried to exploit for commercial purposes the positive images associated with women’s liberation — the most notorious being the “You’ve Come a Long Way, Baby” theme of the Virginia Slims cigarette company. Yet even though the ads are manipula-

tive by their very nature, this new breed is less damaging to women’s self-esteem than the old household-drudge variations. They may even encourage women to view themselves more positively.

Publicly supported media are not entirely immune from the syndromes of commercialism. They are, however, selling a different product for a different sponsor. At their best, it can be said that they “sell” the public interest, at the behest of the public whose representatives control the media. Some of the northern European countries regard a governmental role in sponsorship of the media as clearly preferable to commercial sponsorship alone, because the latter does not give a voice to segments of the population that have no economic clout. Thus the Norwegian government gives subsidies or grants to many newspapers and press agencies in order to assure a wide spectrum of viewpoints in the press. (One of the grant recipients is the Press Service of the Norwegian National Council of Women.) In the Netherlands, any organization with at least 15,000 members can apply for one hour of free television-transmission time per week, provided it does not use the time for any commercial purpose.

It is impossible for the media, print or broadcast, to be neutral in the presentation of values. The only way to guarantee that groups having a particular value system do not suppress all others is to secure access to the media for people who hold diverse views. Where the image of women is concerned, that in itself has revolutionary potential, for one of the most damaging things about women’s portrayal in the media has been the apparent lack of options. Even where diversity is encouraged, however, sexism in the media is unlikely to subside as long as discrimination against women is widely tolerated in the real world.
Nieman Selection Committee
1979-80

Four journalists, three officers of Harvard University, and a university president who was previously special assistant to the president of Harvard, will serve on the American committee to select Nieman Fellows in Journalism for the academic year 1979-80.

The Fellowships provide for a year of study at Harvard for persons experienced in the news media, and the Fellowship awards will be announced in early June.

Members of the committee to select Nieman Fellows for 1979-80 are:

**Michael G. Gartner**, editor of the Register and Tribune, and president of the Des Moines Register & Tribune Company. He received the A.B. degree from Carleton College in 1960, and the J.D. degree in 1969 from New York University.

Mr. Gartner started his newspaper career in 1960 as copy editor for The Wall Street Journal; he was named page one editor in 1970; and he went to the Des Moines Register and Tribune in 1974 as executive editor. He became editor in 1976, and executive vice president a year later. In 1978 he was named president and chief operating officer, and he still holds the title of editor. In addition, he is chairman of the board, Quad Cities Communications Corporation which operates WQAD-TV, Moline, Illinois, and he is director, the Register and Tribune Syndicate, Incorporated.

He is a member of the New York and the Iowa state Bars, as well as the American Society of Newspaper Editors, and the Associated Press Managing Editors Association. He is a director of Simpson College, the Des Moines Ballet Association, and the Living History Farms, a collection of farm museums outside of Des Moines.

**Marion Kilson**, Director of the Mary Ingraham Bunting Institute of Radcliffe College, Lecturer on Folklore and Mythology, and Research Fellow in African Ethnology in the Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.

Ms. Kilson is a Radcliffe graduate of the class of 1958; she received her M.A. degree from Stanford University in 1959; and her Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1967. Formerly she was chairman of the Department of Sociology at Newton College, and prior to that, chairman of the Department of Sociology at Simmons College. In 1972 she was a Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute of African Studies at the University of Sierra Leone.


**Mary Ellen Leary**, California correspondent for The Economist (London), and contributing editor, Pacific News Service.

Ms. Leary received the A.B. degree from Creighton University in 1934 and the M.A. degree from Stanford University in 1937. At Harvard University she was a Nieman Fellow in the class of 1946, and was one of the first two women admitted to the program.

From 1964 to 1967 she was West Coast correspondent for Scripps-Howard Newspapers. Prior to that, from 1944 to 1964, she was with the San Francisco News, which became a joint Scripps-Howard-Hearts operation as the News-Call Bulletin in 1956. She served as political editor, editorial associate, urban writer, and, from 1955 to 1964, associate editor.

Ms. Leary is the author of Phantom Politics, published in 1977 by the Public Affairs Press, a study of media-candidate interrelationships during the 1974-75 gubernatorial campaign. As a free-lance writer, she has had articles published recently in the Atlantic, the Nation, Commonweal, the California Journal, and the National Catholic Reporter.

She has served on the Advisory Council, Water Resources Center at the University of California, and at present is on the board of directors, East Bay Activity Center. She is a member of the Oakland Diocesan Social Justice Commission.

**Walter J. Leonard**, president, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee.

Mr. Leonard is an alumnus of Savannah State College, Morehouse College, and Atlanta University, School of Business Administration. In 1968 he received the J.D. degree from Howard University.

From 1971 to 1977 Mr. Leonard was special assistant to the president, Harvard University, where formerly he was Assistant Dean, and Assistant Director of Admissions and Financial
Wallace T. MacCaffrey, Professor of History, Harvard University.

Mr. MacCaffrey received the A.B. degree from Reed College in 1942, and the M.A. (1947) and the Ph.D. (1950) degrees from Harvard. He served with the United States Army from 1942 to 1946 as an interpreter of Italian. He was an Instructor and Assistant Professor at the University of California, Los Angeles, from 1950 to 1953, when he left to join the faculty of Haverford College as Associate and Professor of History. In 1968 he accepted a teaching post at Harvard University.


Professor MacCaffrey is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, Phi Beta Kappa, and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

In 1956-57 he held a Guggenheim Fellowship, and in 1968-69 he was an Overseas Research Fellow at Churchill College, Cambridge, England.

He is presently at work on a study of Elizabethan politics after 1572.

Jim Ottaway Jr., president and chief executive officer, Ottaway Newspapers Incorporated. He graduated from Yale University in 1960, and for the next ten years worked in all departments of four Ottaway newspapers.

Mr. Ottaway started on the job management training at the News-Times, Danbury, Connecticut. He served as a reporter, bureau chief, and special editorial assistant at the Times Herald-Record, Middletown, New York, and in 1963 was named editor of the Pocono Record, Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania.

In 1965 he returned to Danbury to become assistant publisher of the News-Times. He was named vice president and a director of Ottaway Newspapers-Radio, Incorporated in 1966, and publisher of the newly acquired Standard-Times in New Bedford, Massachusetts. In 1970 he became president of Ottaway Newspapers, Incorporated, and in 1976, chief executive officer.

He is a member of the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Eugene L. Roberts Jr., executive editor, the Inquirer, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Mr. Roberts graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1954. He was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University in 1961-62.

From 1956 to 1964 he reported for the Goldsboro (N.C.) News-Argus, the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, the News & Observer, Raleigh, and the Detroit Free Press. For four years before joining the Inquirer in 1972, he was national editor of The New York Times. In the 1960's he was Southern correspondent and civil rights reporter for the Times, and in 1968-69 he was the Times' chief war correspondent in Vietnam.

He is co-author of The Censors and the Schools (1963), and co-editor of Assignment America (1974), an anthology of national reporting in The New York Times.

He is a member of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Sigma Delta Chi, and the Pennsylvania Society of Newspaper Editors.

James C. Thomson Jr., Curator of the Nieman Fellowships and Lecturer on General Education, Harvard University. Mr. Thomson was graduated from Yale University in 1953, received the A.B. and A.M. degrees from Cambridge University in 1955 and 1959, and a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1961. He served as an East Asia specialist at the State Department and White House in 1961-66. He is the author of White China Faced West (1969).

About twelve Fellowships will be awarded to American journalists for 1979-80. Each grant provides for nine months of residence and study at Harvard for journalists on leave from their jobs.

The current class includes eleven Fellows from the United States and ten Fellows from foreign countries.

The 1979-80 class will be the 42nd annual group of Nieman Fellows at Harvard University. The Fellowships were established in 1938 under a bequest from Agnes Wahl Nieman in memory of her husband, Lucius W. Nieman, founder of The Milwaukee Journal.

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# Directory of Nieman Alumnae

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Year</th>
<th>Name and Affiliation at time of Fellowship</th>
<th>Current Information</th>
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</table>
            | Charlotte L. FitzHenry, Wire Editor, Associated Press, Chicago | (Mrs. Arthur H. Sherry), 319 El Cerrito Avenue, Piedmont, CA 94611 (Home)  
            | Rebecca F. Gross, Editor, *Lock Haven (Penn.) Express* | President, Charlotte Robling and Associates, Public Relations Ltd.  
            | Lois Sager, Staff Correspondent, *Dallas Morning News* | (Mrs. John S. Robling), 50 West Schiller St., Chicago, IL 60610 (Home)  
| 1947-48    | Hazel Holly, Information Officer, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Health Services Center, State University of New York at Stony Brook | Retired  
            | Mary Handy, Education Writer, *The Christian Science Monitor* | 411 Guardlock Drive, Lock Haven, PA 17745  
| 1953-54    | Daphne Whittam, Associate Editor, *The Nation* (Rangoon, Burma) | Retired  
            | Atsuko Chiba, Economics Reporter, *Tokyo Shimbun* | 4322 Leland St., Chevy Chase, MD 20015  
| 1958-59    | Gisela Bolte, Foreign Correspondent, Time-Life News Service, Bonn, West Germany | Address unknown  
| 1967-68    | Correspondent for Asian *Wall Street Journal*, Tokyo  
            | 2-24-17 Nishi-Azabu, Minato-Ku Tokyo, 106  
            | NBC News Correspondent  
            | 4001 Nebraska Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016 (Work) | Time-Life (New York)  
<pre><code>        | 166 E. 61, Apt. 14-E, New York, NY 10021 (Home) |
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<tr>
<th>Class Year</th>
<th>Name and Affiliation at time of Fellowship</th>
<th>Current Information</th>
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<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>Carol Liston, Political Columnist, Statehouse Reporter, <em>Boston Globe</em></td>
<td>(Mrs. Elliot M. Surkin), 1784 Beacon St., Waban, MA 02168 (Home)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whitney Gould, Environmental Reporter, <em>Capital Times</em>, Madison, Wisconsin</td>
<td>Specialist in Urban Affairs, <em>Capital Times</em> Capital Times, P.O. Box 8060, Madison, WI 53708</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gloria Lubkin, Senior Editor, <em>Physics Today Magazine</em></td>
<td><em>Physics Today</em>, 335 East 45th St., New York, NY 10017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Year</td>
<td>Name and Affiliation at time of Fellowship</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>Teru Nakamura, Cultural Reporter, Kyodo News Service</td>
<td>Kyodo News Service, 2-2-5 Toranogon, Minato, Tokyo, Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maggie Scarf, Free-lance Writer</td>
<td>1038 Robert St., New Orleans, LA (Home)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dolores Katz, Medical Reporter, <em>Detroit Free Press</em></td>
<td>Suite 2308, Peachtree Center South Tower, Atlanta, GA 30303 (Office)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barbara Reynolds, Urban Affairs Writer, <em>Chicago Tribune</em>, Washington Bureau</td>
<td>321 West Lafayette, Detroit, MI 48231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cassandra Tate, Reporter, <em>Lewiston (Idaho) Tribune</em></td>
<td>Washington Correspondent, <em>Chicago Tribune</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1427 7th Ave., Lewiston, ID 83501 (Home)</td>
<td>1427 7th Ave., Lewiston, ID 83501 (Home)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Katherine Harting, Associate Producer, ABC-TV News, Washington, D.C.</td>
<td>1150 15th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20071 (Office)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Frank Snowden Hopkins, president of the World Future Society, wed Louise Beaman Lang last November in Chevy Chase, Maryland. "This momentous event brings a completely new dimension to my life after more than four years of widowerhood. I find that I have many interests in common, and I feel that I have been singularly blessed in getting her to marry me." Louise is the widow of Time-Life correspondent Will Lang, who died in 1968. Their address is 5108 Lawton Drive, Washington, D.C. 20016.

The papers of Hodding Carter Jr. (long-time publisher of the Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville) were presented to the Mitchell Memorial Library of Mississippi State University on the anniversary of his birth, February 3. Speakers included Harry Ashmore (42) who gave a talk titled "The Delta Dissident Speaks to the Nation: His Heritage to His Country."

John W. Shively writes with sad news of his classmate. "I am reporting the death of Fred W. Maguire on September 7, 1978, after a long illness. Fred was a professor of journalism for many years at Ohio State University in Columbus, before his recent retirement, and wrote at least one textbook in journalism." He is survived by his wife, Ruth, who lives at 1902 Milden Road, Columbus, Ohio 43221.

Valiquette, wife of Walter G. Rundle, died in June 1978, in Malaga, Spain, where the Rundles resided after his retirement as foreign editor of Newsweek. An artist of varied talents and outstanding ability, she had done creative work in many fields. Rundle continues to reside at Apartad0 402, Malaga, Spain.

Lawrence G. Weiss, former Special Assistant to the Governor, is director of public affairs for the Colorado Bar Association, University of Denver Law Center, 200 West Fourteenth Avenue, Denver, Colorado 80204, telephone 303-629-6873.

Hays Gorey has been transferred from Time's editorial offices in Washington, D.C., in order to head up Time's New England Bureau.

Malcolm Bauer, senior associate editor of The Oregonian in Portland, is retiring after forty-three years with that newspaper. In 1935 he started as a "cadet" — the paper's first — to learn the trade at a salary of fifteen dollars a week.

Bauer had been in the Reserve Officers Training Corps and in September 1941, he was called up by the Army. Toward the close of the Second World War, First Lieutenant Bauer was assigned to help set up the command headquarters in Normandy. In November 1945, he was discharged, and with a buddy, set out in a borrowed Jeep to find boat passage home. They were given berth on an empty gas tanker; they didn't reach Portland until the day after Christmas. They had been traveling for twenty-six days by sea and rail.

Once home, Malcolm met his second daughter, Mary (then two years old), for the first time, and she cried out in fear of the "strange man." Today Mary works in television filmmaking; she was on the original staff of "Sesame Street" in New York.

Bauer and his wife, Roberta, plan a vacation trip to Greece. On their return, he will continue to write for the book review page of The Oregonian.

Dwight E. Sargent, national editorial writer for Hearst Newspapers, was named recipient of a 1978 Yankee Quill Award by the trustees of the Academy of New England Journalists. His current address: Room 227 (Editorial Room), 959 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10019.

Kevin Wallace died suddenly and unexpectedly in Monterey, California, on January 31. He had taken a leave of absence from his duties at the San Francisco Chronicle to attend to the affairs of his sister, Moira W. Courvoisier, a well-known artist, who died January 15. He joined the Chronicle after his Nieman year at Harvard. In 1957, he left for a seventeen-year tour at The New Yorker magazine where he wrote light pieces for the "Talk of the Town" and long profiles on such people as photographer Ansel Adams and former Vice President Wallace. He returned to San Francisco and the Chronicle in 1974. He is survived by his former wife, Helen Wallace of South Salem, New Jersey; a son, Brian Wallace of Mill Valley, California; a daughter, Deirdre Berger of Hanover, New Hampshire; and a half-brother, Grant Wallace of Walnut Creek, California.

William Freehoff is radio news director of station WKPT (NBC-AM, ABC-FM) Kingsport, Tennessee, and also public affairs director for the radio station and for WKPT-TV, an ABC station. He suffered a heart attack a year ago, has recovered, and is working harder than he ever did before — writing and broadcasting editorials, doing a weekly talk show, several newscasts every week, and covering news events when he has the time. "I am still an unreconstructed reactionary," Bill writes, "who is convinced that the world is heading for hell... but I wouldn't miss the ride for anything!"

John Steel has been a Time senior correspondent since 1970, and in recent years also an assistant to the publisher of Time, following eleven years as Time-Life News Service bureau chief in Washington. In 1978, he spent about five weeks in South Africa, Tanzania, Rhodesia, and the Middle East, arranging and conducting a news tour for a score of top-level business executives. The tour was sponsored by Time Inc. More recently he has helped to conduct a conference in Washington on taxation. He complains that he does too much speechmaking and not enough writing, "which perhaps in the future I'll rectify."

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Charles Molony intended to do "a lot of traveling" with his wife, Mary Moore, after early retirement from his position with the Federal Reserve Board in 1972. But they have spent most of the intervening years in Lexington, Kentucky, helping to care for Mary Moore's mother, before her death recently at the age of ninety-two. They now divide their time between Lexington and Sarasota, Florida, where they own a home. The couple hope to get back to traveling this spring, when they plan to be on the Riviera and based in Nice.

Lawrence K. Nakatsuka returned to Honolulu in the summer of 1977, after fifteen years in Washington as assistant to United States Senator Hiram L. Fong (now retired). Nakatsuka, who had spent a quarter of a century in government service after fourteen years with the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, accepted a position as director of governmental affairs with the Chamber of Commerce in Hawaii. He has since been promoted to vice president.

John M. Harrison, who retired from the faculty at Pennsylvania State University last July, says he and Shirley are "still enjoying retirement in Iowa City, despite another one of 'the worst winters in history.'" He is involved in a writing project — "a biography that promises to be interesting."

Robert P. (Pepper) Martin with his wife, Lee, was scheduled to leave in early 1979 for a two and one-half to three year tour as a Moscow bureau manager for *U.S. News and World Report*. Pepper has been in Washington as foreign editor for what he describes as "too many years." His Moscow stint will mark his thirtieth year as a foreign correspondent. The Martins started studying Russian early and planned to embark on a crash course just before their departure.

— 1953 —

Melvin Mencher recently wrote a book, *News Reporting and Writing*, which he says he would be happy to send to any Niemans in teaching. The text is in use in about two hundred colleges and universities. Mencher is on the faculty of the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University.

Robert Nielsen has retired from his editorial page editorship of the *Toronto Star*. He says that he is "in early retirement — but not really — because I am now editor of a local historical magazine, *The Tobiiquer." His address: Killburn, New Brunswick, Canada E0J 1R0; telephone 506-273-3509.

Calvin Mayne, Director of Communications of the Frank E. Gannett Newspaper Foundation, spoke at a dedication luncheon April 5, 1979, at the Walter Lippmann House, where a plaque was unveiled. The inscription read:

Nieman Seminar Room
and
Fellow's Garden
Renovated 1979 with the generous gift of the Frank E. Gannett Newspaper Foundation

— 1954 —

Richard Dudman, chief Washington correspondent for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, was one of the three first non-Communists (except for brief visits by selected diplomats) to be admitted into Cambodia since the revolutionary army took Phnom Penh and won control of the country on April 17, 1975. On the night before Dudman and his two companions, a British scholar and a reporter for *The Washington Post*, were to leave for the U.S., their house, part of a government complex, came under a terrorist attack. Malcolm Caldwell, of London, was killed by gunfire; Dudman and Elizabeth Becker miraculously escaped injury. In his report of the incident, Dudman said, "I decided never to undertake any more hazardous assignments for the *Post-Dispatch*." (Dudman's current trip to Cambodia is his fifteenth assignment in the Far East in the past twelve years. He spent a month in Vietnam in late 1977. In 1970, he was captured by Communist guerrillas in Cambodia and held prisoner for forty days before being released.)

— 1955 —


Selig's daughter, Kit, has been a frequent visitor to Lippmann House this year. She is in her first year at Radcliffe and is a member of Diana Thomson's freshman fiction-writing class.

— 1960 —

Edmund J. Rooney was appointed assistant professor of communication arts at Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, effective September 1978. He teaches a basic reporting course, a course in investigative reporting, and feature and editorial writing. Rooney has been teaching journalism courses in Loyola's University College since 1963.

— 1963 —

Bruce Galphin, formerly executive editor of *Atlanta* and a writer/editor of Atlanta and Washington newspapers and other publications, has been named special projects administrator of Perry Communications, Inc.

— 1964 —

Dan Wakefield's novel, *Starting Over*, will be filmed in Boston and New York by cinematographer Sven Nykvist. Alan J. Pakula and James L. Brooks are co-producing the film, which concerns two newly-divorced people and the problems they encounter socially.

— 1966 —

Ralph Hancox, former vice president of operations of the *Reader's Digest* in Canada, has been elected a director and the Digest's new president. Hancox has been acting in the capacity of president since August 1978.

— 1969 —

Jonathan Yardley, former book editor of the *Miami Herald*, joined the *Washington Star* last December. His new address: 223 Hawthorne Road, Baltimore, Maryland 21210.

J. Anthony Lukas has received a one-year appointment as adjunct lecturer at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. He will be teaching a module entitled "The Reporter and Government."

— 1970 —

Austin Scott joined the *Los Angeles Times* in April 1978. Previously with *The
Washington Post, he writes that California has been his "absolute favorite state" ever since he went to college there at age nineteen. His home address: 1207 Le Gray Avenue, Los Angeles, California 90042, telephone 213-258-2842.

Larry L. King, author and playwright, took the role of Sheriff Ed Earl Dodd in "The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas" at the 48th Street Theater in New York City, last January.

Wallace Terry has joined "Spectrum," CBS News' series of commentaries broadcast Monday through Saturday on the CBS radio network. He replaces Roger Wilkins as a liberal commentator. His background includes being named Frederick Douglass Professor of Journalism at the School of Communications of Howard University in Washington, D.C., in 1974. He is also a commentator for both WTOP-AM and WDVM-TV, CBS radio and television affiliates in Washington. He is author of the forthcoming book The Bloods.

Louis Banks addressed the American Association of Sunday and Feature Editors in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, last October. He said that what strikes him as "the most serious concern of all is that television has taught that the money in news ensures that news judgments contain a large element of show business." Banks is with the Sloan School of Management at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

— 1972 —

Jefferson Morgan is co-author with Jack W. Baugh of the book, Why Have They Taken Our Children? Chowchilla, July 15, 1976. Published by the Delacorte Press, the book examines the kidnapping of twenty-six children and their school bus. The bus driver and his young passengers escaped from their underground prison after a day and a half; for their crime, the three middle-class youths who kidnapped them were sentenced to California's mandatory penalty: life imprisonment.

H. Davids Scott Greenway, former foreign correspondent for The Washington Post, was named national/foreign editor of the Boston Globe, effective September 1978. He supervises the paper's New York and Washington bureaus, as well as all overseas and national reporting. His job includes doing some writing here and abroad. Greenway lives in Needham, Massachusetts, with his wife, the former Joy Brooks, and three children.

— 1973 —

James Jackson, recent Moscow bureau chief for the Chicago Tribune, has returned to the United States. He reports success from Evanston, Illinois: Linda and he "are installed in a seventy-five-year-old, ten-room, ex-farmhouse... wondering fitfully what the heating bill will be with snow every other day and temperatures around ten below." He has joined the editorial board of the Chicago Tribune, Tribune Tower, Chicago, Illinois 60611, telephone 312-222-3232, ext. 3431.

— 1975 —

Eugene Pell left WCBV-TV (Boston) in February 1978, to serve as correspondent for NBC News in Moscow. His appointment marks the first permanent NBC newsman in Moscow in at least two years. Pell was WCBV's late news co-anchor and co-anchor of the "Calendar" series.

Sheryl Fitzgerald, health specialist reporter with Newsday, was among the Front Page Award winners honored by the Newswomen's Club of New York in recognition of distinguished journalism by newswomen in the metropolitan area. Fitzgerald received her award in the non-deadline feature writing category for "A Compulsive Fear of Food," which focused on teenage victims of anorexia.

— 1976 —

Robert Fless, formerly general editor with L'Express, Paris, France, has joined the staff of GEO as a contributing editor. GEO, a new international magazine, is described as presenting "a new view of our world."

Ron Javers, reporter with the San Francisco Chronicle, was wounded last November in the airstrip shooting that preceded the mass suicides at the People's Temple in Guyana. He filed two eyewitness accounts of the shooting, in which Congressman Leo Ryan and four others were killed, while preparing to leave the jungle camp founded by People's Temple leader Jim Jones. Despite his wounds, Javers was able to telephone one of his articles from a Puerto Rico airfield while he was aboard an Air Force plane. He telephoned his second story from the Air Force hospital near Washington while awaiting surgery. For his outstanding news reporting, he has been named the 1979 National Headliner's Award winner.


Gunter Haaf, science writer with Die Zeit, and his wife, Olga, announce the birth of their second child, Susanne Margerethe, on January 4 in Hamburg, Germany.

David McNeely writes that his "stint as a television star ("Texas Politics") came to a halt last July." He is now acting capitol bureau chief with the Austin, Texas, American-Statesman, where he previously did "long, investigative/analytical thumbsuckers on state government."

Saundra relinquished her job as office manager/chief photographer for the Dallas Downtown News to come to Austin; she is working in "quasi-PR" for a company that manages several shopping malls.

Lester Sloan, Newsweek photographer, was recently awarded a John J. McCloy Fellowship and went to Germany last summer to continue the studies he pursued during his Nieman year.

— 1977 —

Kathryn Johnson, formerly a reporter with the Associated Press in Atlanta, has joined the staff of U.S. News and World Report in that same city. In a note just received, she writes of her classmates, "Mel [Goo] called today, and [Bill] Wheatley. And I lunched with a London journalist stationed in Madrid who is a friend of Ana and Jose's [Martinez-Soler] — so it's been a Nieman day."

Her address: Suite 2308 Peachtree Center South Tower, Atlanta, Georgia 30303; telephone 404-688-1331.

Paul Solman, business editor, "Ten O'Clock News," WGBH-TV, Boston, and East Coast Editor of Mother Jones magazine, is preparing a thirteen-part television series, tentatively called "Enterprise," on just how American business works. He says the inspiration for the show came during his Nieman year, as he and his classmate, Zvi Dor-Ner, listened to a lecture given at the Business School by an airline president.

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Solman was awarded an Emmy for outstanding news reporting by the New England Chapter of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences in December, for his business report series on WGBH-TV, Boston.

— 1978 —

Allee C. Bonner, reporter with The Washington Post, wed Leon Dash last September at her parents’ home in Dinwiddie, Virginia. In March the newly married couple moved to Kenya, where Alice will work on special assignment for the Post.

Frank Sutherland and his wife, Natlle Dee Duning, announced the birth of their first child, Meredith Murrey Sutherland, on September 25, 1978, just two weeks (lacking one day) after the official beginning of the Nieman year.

Frank, a reporter with The Tennessean in Nashville, has been promoted to city editor of that paper.

William Henson, formerly chief editorial writer for Gulf Publishing Company, Biloxi, Mississippi, has joined the staff of the Dallas (Texas) Times Herald as editorial writer.

Bruce Locklin, investigative news editor, The Record (Hackensack, New Jersey), claims that his “Nieman letdown blues lasted only three weeks — until a good investigation came along.” To get his message about investigatory reporting across to readers, he has started a weekly last week lasted only three weeks — until a good investigation came along.”

Among others present were: R.W. Apple, The New York Times; Dudley Fishburn, The Economist; Davis Mason, the Associated Press; Janet Morgan, a don from St. Hugh's, Oxford; Angela Price, the Times of London; Peter Gullanier and Graham Jones from the International Press Institute; Douglass Cater and Donald Trelford of The Observer; Sheila Widra of the Commonwealth Fund, and board member Sir Douglas Wass, permanent Secretary of the Treasury. Tenney Lehman and Bob Johnston were co-hosts.

The Nieman years at Harvard for both Chester and Grimond were supported by Harkness Fellowships; Kumpa is based in London.

Last January Tenney Lehman visited California to participate in two informal reunions of West Coast Nieman Alumni/ae.

The first, in San Francisco on January 3, was a dinner meeting at Trader Vic’s restaurant. William German (’50) was in charge of the arrangements. The guest list included: Mr. and Mrs. Piers Anderson (’50) from Sonoma; Oscar Butternbahl (’40) from Santa Rosa; Reba and Tom Dearmore (’60, San Francisco Examiner); Betty and Robert de Roos (’49) from Hillsborough; Vera Elliott, widow of Robert Elliott (’43), and her daughter, Elaine (who had attended school in Cambridge during her father’s Nieman year); Maureen and Fred Garretson (’71, Oakland Tribune); Gertrude and William German (’50, San Francisco Chronicle); Philip Hager (’68, Los Angeles Times, San Francisco bureau); Eileen and Ron Javers (’76, San Francisco Chronicle); Dolly Katz (’77, Detroit Free Press) who happened to be visiting nearby; Mary Ellen Leary (’46) and her husband, Arthur Sherry, from Piedmont; Tenney Lehman from the Nieman office; Jinx and Jefferson Morgan (’72) from Oakland; Reg Murphy (’60, San Francisco Examiner); John Painter (’77, Portland Oregonian) who also was visiting; Martha and Harry Press (56, Stanford University); Pearl and Wallace Turner (’59, The New York Times, San Francisco bureau); Kevin Wallace (’52, San Francisco Chronicle); Melvin Wax (’50) from San Francisco and Verna Lee and Kenneth Wilson (’53, San Francisco Chronicle).

The second Nieman gathering took place on January 5 in the private dining room of the Los Angeles Times. The host was Norman Cherniss (’59). On hand were the following: Patricia and Larry Allison (69, Long Beach Independent, Press-Telegram); Barbara and Harry Ashmore (’42) from Santa Barbara; Lynn and Tony Day (’67, Los Angeles Times); David Dreiman (’49) from La Jolla; Kenneth Freed (’78, Los Angeles Times); Elizabeth and Robert Gillette (’76, Los Angeles Times); Carol and Francis (Phil) Locke (’47) from Riverwood; Fred Warner Neal (’43, Claremont Graduate School); Miriam and Alvin Shuster (’67, Los Angeles Times); and Lester Sloan (’76, Newsweek).

The spacious new Nieman headquarters include a Seminar Room where most of the informal meetings take place. A recent discovery: Among the outside caterers who provide food for these occasions, an especially reliable and delicious-producing one-person organization is run by a woman named Sarah de Besche. The other day she identified herself as the daughter of Weldon James, Nieman Fellow ’40.
"All the rest... I give, bequeath, and devise to the President and Fellows of Harvard College, of Cambridge, Massachusetts. I request that such gift, bequest, and devise be used to constitute a fund to be known as the 'Lucius W. Nieman and Agnes Wahl Nieman Fund,' which shall be invested and the income thereof used to promote and elevate the standards of journalism in the United States and educate persons deemed specially qualified for journalism, in such manner as the governing authorities of Harvard College from time to time shall deem wise."

AGNES WAHL NIEMAN