

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: REASON AND RADICALISM: THE
HISTORY OF DONNA ALLEN AND
WOMEN'S ACTIVISM IN MEDIA

Danna L. Walker, Doctor of Philosophy, 2003

Dissertation directed by: Professor Maurine Beasley
Philip Merrill College of
Journalism

This dissertation is a study of Donna Allen, the founder of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and *Media Report to Women*, a feminist newsletter on women's efforts to influence the mass media. Allen lived from 1920 to 1999. My intent is to assess Allen's influence in the women's movement as it related to media. I show that her life can be used to illuminate the origins of significant feminist activism and thought in the communication field and in communication academia.

I wrote a biography of Allen in relation to her work in founding the institute and MRW. By tracing Allen's participation in the feminist movement within communication, I analyze what actions activists took and

why, as well as what the goals of feminism in activism and scholarship within communication were in the last part of the 20th century. I document the efforts of feminists to change mass communication theory and education, and I highlight the praxis of feminist communication - the publications of feminist journalism. I also show how Allen linked women in a global effort to gain access to technology and use media to produce social change.

I conclude that Allen was a leader in what I call *mediafeminism*, a movement by women as communicators and networkers to take action on media in the way that the ecofeminist movement takes action based on women's connection to the environment.

By examining Allen's life and her work in communication, this dissertation contributes to a burgeoning area of research into the effort and impact of women's media activism over the last three decades on media reforms, public perceptions, media technology, and communication history and education.

REASON AND RADICALISM: THE HISTORY OF

DONNA ALLEN AND WOMEN'S

ACTIVISM IN MEDIA

by

Danna L. Walker

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate
School of the University of Maryland, College
Park in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy
2003

Advisory Committee:

Professor Maurine Beasley, Chair
Professor Michael Gurevitch
Professor Chris Hanson
Professor Katie King
Professor Judith Paterson

©Copyright by

Danna L. Walker

2003

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the product of a long-ago dream and the practical application of the powerful idea of putting one foot in front of the other over time. It could not have been accomplished without the help of a number of people. A simple thanks seems not nearly enough for the realization of a goal I undertook as a working journalist wanting to look deeper into learning and the discipline of mass communication.

I would like to thank my adviser, Dr. Maurine Beasley, for her counsel on my subject, one that is near to her heart, and her dedicated effort in turning a rough document into an acceptable dissertation. I also want to thank my other committee members for their patience and participation in this project, particularly Dr. Michael Gurevitch for repeatedly asking me what contribution feminist theory made to mass communication and Dr. Katie King for helping me ponder some answers. Dean Tom Kunkel, himself a biographer, also offered his support of biographical research at a critical time in the formation of my research goals.

I received much-appreciated financial support in winning the Mary Gardner Award for my research from the Commission on the Status of Women of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.

I give my heartfelt thanks as well to those who talked to me openly and without reservation about the intersection of their lives with that of Donna Allen - Martha Allen, Dana Densmore, Don Rehkopf, Paula Kassell, Sue Kaufman, and Barbara Bick. Martha, in particular, opened her files and her home to me, and, from my perspective, became a friend as a result.

Another friend, educator and publisher Sharon O'Malley, had the thankless but cherished role of sounding board throughout this process.

My deepest gratitude is reserved for my husband, Bill Trott, without whom I could not even have speculated about seeking an advanced degree. This project was accomplished in great part due to his patience and devotion to family and parenthood. Great credit goes as well to my daughter, Clementine Claire Trott, and son, Jackson Walker Trott, for their love, which sustained me throughout. I thank, too, my sister, Pamela Eigo, for her love and support in long late-night phone conversations; my parents, Monte Walker and Shirley

Walker for their early influence; and my parents-in-law, Bill and Wanda Trott, who have always been there when my family needed them.

I also must thank the late Donna Allen for leaving such a complete trail of documentation about her life's work and for serving as a role model for accomplishment. In order to meet my deadline, I tried to adopt her lifelong work ethic but could only sustain such long hours for a brief time. She was a remarkable subject to whom this dissertation can only attempt to do justice.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1	Introduction: Donna Allen - Activist, Educator, Thinker	1
	Allen's Importance	2
	Study Parameters	6
	Women and Media	7
	Personal Interest	8
	Methodology	9
	Allen as a Person	15
Chapter 2	Literature Review	18
	Primary Source Material	23
	Secondary Sources	25
Chapter 3	The Making of an Activist.....	39
	The Wilds of Upper Michigan	39
	Combining Activism and Journalism	45
	Wife and Mother, the War Years, and Activism	50
	Paid Labor, the Move Eastward, and the Cold War..	61
	Media and Information	67
Chapter 4	Early Activism in Washington	73
	Women Strike for Peace	73
	Allen's Role in WSP	77
	More Peace Activities	79
	Rethinking the Media	82
	Understanding "Media"	85
	Frustrated with the Status Quo	87
	Personal Charisma	91
	The Black Six	94
	Separation and Divorce	96
Chapter 5	The Women's Institute for Freedom Of the Press	101
	Filling a Need	108
	Feminist Media	110
	Global Focus	113
	The <i>Index-Directory of Women's Media</i>	115
	Long Hours and Hard Work	118
	Help from Interns	120
	Publishing	122

Some Institute Projects	124
The WIFP Conferences - Number One	128
The Second Conference	140
The Third Conference	143
The Historic Fourth Conference	145
An International News Network	146
The Final WIFP Conferences	155
Money Woes	157
Plans Cemented	160
 Chapter 6 <i>Media Report to Women</i>	171
The Themes and Structure of <i>Media Report</i>	177
<i>Media Report</i> Editorials	179
Women's Reaction to <i>Media Report</i>	183
Reporting on Women's Action	185
<i>The New York Times</i> Lawsuit	189
Documenting the Efforts of Women	191
Broadcast Challenges	193
Taking on the FCC	198
Public Broadcasting	201
The NBC Lawsuit	202
Working with NOW	203
Protesting Language	206
Women's Roles Grow in Television	208
Generating Research	209
Changes in the 1980s	211
Looking Ahead with Optimism	213
 Chapter 7 Allen and Technology	224
Striking a Nerve at <i>MORE</i> - a Pivotal Point	225
A False Start	234
International Women's Year	239
The National Women's Agenda	242
The Women's Satellite Services Project - A Setback	246
Success at Last	252
On to Nairobi	262
 Chapter 8 "Standard-Bearer of Feminism"	276
Later Life	276
At the Head Table	279
Women Transforming Communication	282
Recognition for Inspiring Others	287
A Death that Reverberated	294
 Chapter 9 Conclusion: Contributor to History ...	303
Networking	306

A Woman of Vision	311
Allen's Theoretical Framework	313
The Mosquito in the Cupboard	316
Appendix A: Timeline	321
Appendix B: WIFP associates' statement.....	325
Appendix C: WIFP brochure with philosophy	330
Appendix D: Defenders of 3 Against HUAC pamphlet.....	334
Appendix E: <i>New York Times</i> coverage of HUAC victory..	335
Appendix F: The 13 th issue of <i>Media Report to Women</i> ...	336
Appendix G: Photo of Fourth Annual WIFP Conference...	345
Appendix H: Photo of Donna and Martha Allen.....	346
Appendix I: Donna Allen at work at WIFP.....	347
Appendix J: <i>off our backs</i> obituary.....	348
Selected Bibliography	352

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: DONNA ALLEN - ACTIVIST, EDUCATOR, THINKER

They were perfectly ordinary looking women, with their share of good looks; they looked like the women you would see driving ranch wagons, or shopping at the village market, or attending PTA meetings. It was these women by the thousands, who staged demonstrations in scores of cities across the nation last week, protesting atomic testing. A "strike for peace" they called it and - carrying placards, many wheeling baby buggies or strollers - they marched on city halls and Federal buildings to show their concern about nuclear fallout.¹

This is how on Nov. 1, 1961, *Newsweek* described Women Strike for Peace, the largest female peace action in the nation's history - an event in which 50,000 women "walked out of their kitchens and off their jobs."² The article is but one of many examples of the mass media's reaction to women's activism in the mid-20th century. It was written in a tone that women political activists came to expect. But perhaps only one of them so bristled at what she perceived as a condescending tone that she devoted her life to attempting to change what she saw as the media's fundamentally patriarchal structure.

This dissertation is a study of that woman, Donna Allen, who lived from 1920 to 1999. My intent is to answer these questions: 1. Was Allen an influential figure in the onset of the women's movement as it related

to media, and 2. Can her life be used to illuminate the origins of significant feminist activism and thought in the communication field and in communication academia?

I sought to answer these questions by writing a biographical study of Allen in relation to her work in founding two entities important to feminist activism and research within mass communication, the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and the newsletter, *Media Report to Women*.

Allen's Importance

By tracing Allen's participation in the feminist movement within communication, we can, in fact, see much of the history of women's connection with communication in the middle and late 20th century. By reporting on the life of Allen, I show the actions and goals of feminist activism and scholarship within communication from the late 1960s to the 1990s. I document the efforts of Allen and other feminists to change mass communication theory and education, and I highlight the praxis of feminist communication - the publications of feminist journalism.

I conclude that Allen was a leader in what I call *mediafeminism*, a movement by women as communicators and networkers to take action on media in the way that the

ecofeminist movement takes action based on women's connection to the environment. In conceptualizing Allen's actions in this way, I was better able to understand her contribution as an independent activist who theorized about communication based on her own experiences. I do attempt to place Allen's ideas within the context of several communication and feminist theories as a way of framing her thinking, but these efforts were meant simply as useful devices for historical inquiry as suggested by Startt and Sloan.³ My general goal was to introduce Allen, her work, and her ideas in taking a feminist perspective on the First Amendment.

In conducting my research, I was profoundly influenced by the feminist notion that valid texts for scholarly study should be redefined if women are to be studied within the field. I looked at traditional documents such as Allen's speeches, published philosophical treatises, and correspondence with government agencies. I was lucky to be able to study a woman who had so many of these types of documents because most women do not. But I also turned to Allen's less public forms of communication such as hand-written notes, letters, and photographs because as feminist media scholar Kathryn Cirksena noted, these are the types of

documents that constitute the record of women's lives throughout most of recorded history.⁴

I was introduced to Allen's work in her first co-edited book within communication, *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*, which was a touchstone for myself and others in marking the influence of feminism within the communication discipline. Allen was a rich subject because of her influence as a thinker, an activist, a journalist, an educator, and a historian who established and maintained vast formal and informal networks among activists, scholars and writers within communication practice and study during some of the field's most important years in the modern age.

These networks are credited by those involved with educating women on the power of media, endeavoring to make media more accountable to women by forcing a change in the tone and scope of media coverage of women's issues, and empowering women in the public arena of journalism and mass communication. Her work was groundbreaking in the cause of what is now called media democracy - making media more accessible to all segments of the public. As a consequence of her publishing and writing, particularly the newsletter *Media Report to Women*, Allen recorded the women's movement of the 1970s

in the words of those who carried it out. She has been recognized for her historical contribution in that regard.

In *Media Report*, Allen sought to put into practice her core belief that all voices should be heard within a democratic free press and that mass communication could be "an instrument of revolution as well as social control."⁵ She did this by excerpting articles pertaining to women and mass communication from a wide variety of sources.

Allen was a visionary in predicting the importance of global technology in media production. As part of its goal to gain access to technology for women, the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press took a leadership role in the 1970s and 1980s in harnessing satellite technology on behalf of women in an age in which live broadcasts were out of the ordinary. Working on behalf of the institute, a group of women engineered two international satellite teleconferences at the U.N. World Conference of Women of the U.N. Decade for Women in Copenhagen in 1980 and in Nairobi in 1985. Long before the Internet sparked debate about the elimination of media gatekeepers, Allen saw satellite connections as a way to circumvent mass

media and allow women to communicate with each other on a global scale.

Study Parameters

This dissertation provides an overview of Allen's accomplishments and examines her personal influences and professional life. Not designed as an exhaustive study of all of Allen's activities in regard to peace, civil rights, music, and other areas, it concentrated on the years between the mid-1960s and mid-1980s. This was the period in which Allen's political activism began and when she became converted to media activism, participating in the U.N. World Conferences for Women as founder of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press. In structure and content, the dissertation is based largely on primary source material from the Women and Media Collection of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection at the University of Missouri and from the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press. This material often lacks documentation of Allen's personal thoughts and motivations, but reveals the activities of a generation of women media activists whose work Allen documented in *Media Report to Women*. This dissertation also relies on

media coverage of some of the events discussed as a way of putting the activities of Allen and others in perspective and illustrating general coverage of women during this time period.

Women and Media

Women's and other movement groups of the 1960s and 1970s credited the media with powerful legitimating and controlling effects on behalf of capitalist and governmental interests.⁶ They took the position that if they could only change the media's message, they would change society. Allen, the dissertation will show, had a unique impact on this thinking by directing, networking within, and taking the pulse of numerous aspects of activism by women regarding media and communication.

Allen embraced radical politics with a fundamental belief in the traditional philosophy of the Enlightenment that progress occurs via reason and objectivity. She was akin to the Rational Dissenters of the 18th century - those who like Mary Wollstonecraft were outspoken on social equality and individual rights, but Allen's cause was relating those principles to media.

The dissertation will show just how radical Allen was even though her approach to activism was often traditional. In fact, when she could, she used the proverbial "master's tools," a feminist term for the utilization of patriarchal discourses, disciplines and institutions, to critique or dismantle those same discourses, disciplines, and institutions.⁷ She did this by sometimes receiving funding and support from the very hegemonic forces she tried to undermine, though more often she struggled financially on small, individual donations. As Allen's correspondence shows, some of the women who sent her money could barely pay their own bills but felt the cause of media reform was worth the financial sacrifice.

Personal Interest

My investigation into this topic stems from my area of interest as a feminist communication researcher. Documenting Allen's life and work brings together many facets of my academic career interests: (1.) the complexity and interdisciplinary nature of communication theory, including some of the ideas on which the discipline was founded as well as the more contemporary

study of culture that now underlies it; (2.) feminist theory, including traditional liberal vs. radical approaches, the "waves" of feminism with their intergenerational implications, feminist economic thought and views of globalization, feminist history, and feminist theories of technology; (3.) women's participation in and portrayal on television, including questions of their enculturation; and (4.) technology theory, taking into account the transformative nature of new technology within communication as well as its importance in maintaining hegemony.

Methodology

In terms of methodology, the project takes into account the sensitive nature of looking into a person's life. It also takes into consideration the complexity of making women the subject of study and how feminist principles have influenced conventional methodology.⁸ According to feminist scholars, feminist research "generates its problematics from the perspective of women's experiences," provides women with explanations of social phenomena that they "want and need" rather than answering questions raised by those who have the power to

"pacify, control, exploit, or manipulate women," and places the researcher "on the same critical plane as the overt subject matter."⁹ The position of the feminist researcher is seen as a part of the process of discovery and understanding and is viewed as responsible for attempting to create change, which makes the dissertation itself a political act.¹⁰

This dissertation is also part of the growing attention given to women in journalism history. It attempts to meld, and perhaps go beyond, two approaches that have dominated within journalism history: compensatory history - singling out "notable women," and contribution history - discussing women within a particular historical movement such as the labor movement or the Revolutionary War.¹¹ Though this project seemingly falls within the "notable women" category, it uses approaches outlined by historian Susan J. Henry to look into the public and private lives of Allen to accomplish the goal of illuminating the work of both an individual woman and other pioneers (other than a few media "stars") of U.S. political activism and the Second Wave of feminism that spanned the Cold War and civil rights periods. These were World War II-era women who sought to cast aside traditional roles and become involved in anti-

war, civil rights, and feminist social movements at a time when mass media developed into an ever-more dominant cultural and economic force. (Some of these women cited in this dissertation are still living their feminist and political principles into their late seventies and eighties and measure their lives' success, not by traditional notions of career and/or economic achievement, but by their continued effort to forge their vision of a better world.)

In addition to Allen's papers and secondary printed sources, the dissertation relies on semi-structured interviews favored by feminist researchers to maximize "discovery and description."¹² Those interviewed include Dr. Martha Allen, current director of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and Allen's daughter. She continues to operate the institute as an independent "think tank" for feminists as her mother did. Inspired at a young age by her mother's interest in media, she worked closely with the elder Allen for decades. Martha became associate director of the Women's Institute in 1978 and took over as director in 1985 when Allen became president.

I also interviewed Dana Densmore, Allen's eldest daughter who became well known as a feminist in the

1970s, served on the board of directors of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, and worked closely with her mother in formulating ideas for a book on Donna Allen's communications philosophy that the Institute plans to have published. She is the author of *Newton's Principia: The Central Argument*, and an independent scholar who has a special interest in primary texts in the history of science, history of mathematics, and the history of ideas. She operates a publishing house, The Green Lion Press, in Santa Fe, N.M.

In addition, I interviewed Dr. Sue Kaufman, professor of journalism at Eastern Illinois University and one of the co-editors with Allen of *Women Transforming Communications: Global Intersections*, to gain insight into Allen's fostering of an informal network among communication scholars. Another source was Paula Kassell, editor of what is credited by many feminists as the first women's newspaper of the second wave in the United States - *New Directions for Women*, started in 1972 in Dover, N.J., -- and perhaps Allen's closest friend. Kassell is particularly well-known within feminist circles for her successful struggle to convince *The New York Times* (via public stockholders' meetings and correspondence with publisher Arthur Ochs

Sulzberger Sr.) to adopt the honorific "Ms." in place of "Miss" and "Mrs.," which it did in 1986, years after most other U.S. newspapers.

Other interviews were with Don Rehkopf, Allen's brother, and Barbara Bick, a leader in Women's Strike for Peace and a close associate of feminist leader Bella Abzug, now deceased. Rehkopf is a philosopher and retired literature teacher who gave insight into Allen's upbringing and the fundamental elements of her life's outlook. Bick knew Allen as a peace activist, and she was able to place Allen's activities within the context of the early women's movement.¹³ All of the substantive interviews were conducted in person and tape recorded under University of Maryland Human Subjects Review guidelines.

The dissertation also relies on Donna Allen's writings on her own life as well as on interviews she gave to journalists and writers through the years. One of the chief tenets in her communication philosophy was letting people speak for themselves, and she is quoted extensively in this dissertation. It is important to read her words verbatim to attempt to fully understand her unique approach based on her Midwestern upbringing, her own experiences with discrimination, her training as an

economist, and her deeply held beliefs in human equality, hard work, networking relationships, and democracy.

The methods of the dissertation follow the approach given in *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* by James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan. They state that communication history is the pursuit of a "certain dimension of the past" that cannot be understood if separated from the context in which it occurred.¹⁴ The dissertation seeks to place Allen in the context of her times and to discuss her contributions in the field of mass communication. It falls within mainstream mass communication research but it also uses methods particular to feminist research.

Unlike many biographical studies of women journalists, this dissertation is intended not merely to highlight a woman's success but to look at broader issues within feminist research such as gender as a social construction represented in the media. Allen's motivation for her media activism, in part, was her feeling that she, herself, was not represented accurately on television or in other media. She felt she was sometimes treated by others as though she were like media-constructed, fictional women. She and others have interpreted that disconnect between women's reality and

how women are portrayed in the media as oppressive to generations of women. Although media have long been associated with the women's movement, this research reveals the dichotomous nature of that relationship. It illustrates how crucial the site of media was to women activists who at the same time were also often dissatisfied with the media's portrayal of them.

Allen as a Person

There is little hint that Allen was ever motivated by ego or personal gain. She was a personally modest person whose manner was often described as cheerful, straightforward, and down-to-business. Allen was the quintessential networker and is best known within a small but influential group of women communicators and activists, though the effects of her work have no doubt been felt on a larger scale. Those who knew her understood that part of her destiny was to codify, record and classify. She made lists, she knew everyone's names, she kept just about *everything* ever written on paper that referred to women and media and crossed her cluttered desk. When she decided to become an activist on behalf of women and media, she didn't go out in the streets, she

founded a non-profit organization. She provided a place for women to create and act on their ideas, she petitioned the government for public access to technology and wrote grant proposals and applications for funding using the proper legal terms and in triplicate. When she wanted to accomplish the most radical of goals - building an alternative media system - she planned conferences with guest lists, speakers, and fruit-and-cheese platters, and showed up wearing her signature navy blue suit with sensible shoes. No source, previous to this dissertation, has chronicled the extent of the planning, preparation, paperwork, and pluck it took to run the Women's Institute, hold the conferences, give the speeches, record the ideas, and write the books that she hoped would lead to a new media system for women.

This study of Allen, then, explains some of the ways Allen went about her work linking women globally in the effort to use media the way she and her allies envisioned it could be used to bring about a more democratic society.

¹ *Newsweek*, Nov. 1, 1961, 21.

² *Ibid.*

³ James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan, *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989), 151.

⁴ Kathryn Cirkseana and Lisa Cuklanz, "Male Is to Female As ____ Is to ____: A Guided Tour of Five Feminist Frameworks for Communication Studies," *Women Making Meaning: New Feminist Directions in Communication* (London: Routledge, 1992), 39.

⁵ Maurine Beasley, tribute to Donna Allen, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Convention national convention, Phoenix, Ariz., Aug. 9-12, 2000.

⁶ Denis McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory: an Introduction* (London: Sage Publications, 1994), 331.

⁷ Elizabeth Gross, "Conclusion: What is Feminist Theory?" in *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*, 1986, 194.

⁸ Eva M. McMahan and Kim Lacy Rogers, *Interactive Oral History Interviewing* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994), 63.

⁹ Sandra Harding, "Introduction: Is there a feminist method?" *Feminism and Methodology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 9.

¹⁰ Liz Kelly, Sheila Burton and Linda Regan, "Researching Women's Lives or Studying Women's Oppression? Reflections on What Constitutes Feminist Research," in *Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective*, eds. Mary Maynard and June Purvis. Bristol, Pa.: Taylor & Francis, Inc. 1994, 28.

¹¹ Susan J. Henry, "Private Lives: An Added Dimension for Understanding Journalism History," *Journalism History*, vol. 6, No. 4 (Winter 1979-1980): 98.

¹² Shulamit Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 18.

¹³ Bick, a writer, has been a lifelong activist on women's issues who returned from Afghanistan to the United States the week of the Sept. 11, 2001, attack on the World Trade Center in New York City. She had been in Afghanistan working on women's rights.

¹⁴ William David Sloan and James D. Startt, eds., *The Media in America: A History* (Scottsdale, Ariz.: Gorsuch Scarisbrick, 1989), 15.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Key to the dissertation project is an article published in 1992 in *American Journalism* in which Maurine Beasley, University of Maryland professor of journalism, raised the idea that although Allen had received recognition for her efforts as a feminist communications activist, no formal academic investigation of her activities and contributions had been undertaken. This project seeks to expand on the article, "Donna Allen and the Women's Institute: A Feminist Perspective on the First Amendment."

My aim in this literature review is to point out how Allen's work fit into and advanced feminist scholarship in communication. Allen's most prominent contributions are two edited volumes on gender and communication, published by academic publishers. From the 1970s through the 1990s, Allen also published her own and others' work through the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press. Her publications represented a pioneer attempt to apply feminist thought to communication.

Foss and Foss state that mainstream mass communication scholars did not become interested in women's issues and sex-role stereotypes until the late

1970s, a decade after the birth of the "second wave" -- an era often described as being ushered in by the 1963 publication of *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan.¹⁵

By 1986 feminist writings in academic communication journals began to proliferate, but even then there were few books on the subject. In 1989, one of the most notable was co-edited by Allen, Ramona R. Rush, and Susan J. Kaufman: *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*.

The book, according to its editors, provided new perspectives on women's issues and the communication process at a time when communications was "at an important crossroads because of, rather than in spite of, women."¹⁶ The book was the culmination of a set of ideas Allen had developed over decades of activism within economics, politics, and communication, published for the first time by a mainstream publisher (Ablex Publishing of Norwood, N.J.).

Lana Rakow, in *Women Making Meaning: New Feminist Directions in Communication*, which was published in 1992, refers to the book's themes as the topic of a scholarly panel in 1985 that served as one of the vehicles for bringing feminist scholars together to lay the groundwork for the formal acceptance of feminist scholarship in the communication field.¹⁷ It helped establish greater legitimacy for Allen's work even though she already was a well-known figure to many feminist communication scholars

for her role as head of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, as editor/publisher of the newsletter *Media Report to Women* from 1972-1987 and as publisher of the *Directory of Women's Media*, edited by Martha Allen.

Linda Steiner, in *Women Making Meaning: New Feminist Directions in Communication*, cited Allen's work with the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and *Media Report to Women* as a key example both of the way feminist media operated successfully and the way they worked differently from mainstream media:¹⁸

Feminists try to practice what Donna Allen, of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, emphasizes about the importance of allowing people to speak and judge for themselves. *Media Report to Women* gives priority to facts and direct quotation over opinion and paraphrase; it promises not to attack people or pass judgment on their actions or ideas.¹⁹

Steiner noted that feminist publishing houses, of which WIFP is one, not only "generate" women's work, but also drive it, define it, and encourage it. "Donna Allen's Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, founded in 1972, helps both academics and grassroots activists by publishing an extensive *Directory of Women's Media* and *Media Report to Women*, ... and undertaking other ambitious projects."²⁰ Steiner's analysis of Allen's influence helped me frame my dissertation by illustrating the importance of Allen's activities.

Allen's second edited book was *Women Transforming Communications: Global Intersections*, a 10-year follow-up to *Crossroads* also edited by Rush and Sue Kaufman. Here Allen concentrated on the importance of technology in furthering women's media, placing her among the few women in mass communication scholarship to do so. Allen made her argument about technology after decades of utilizing it on behalf of what she called "getting information out" about women's activities within mass communication. The book is important to this research in outlining Allen's ideas on technology and in illustrating her contribution to a key resource within the literature on women and mass communication.

As the president of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, Allen herself was a publisher. Perhaps chief among her published books was *Women in Media: A Documentary Sourcebook* by Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, which eventually was published in a new and expanded edition by the American University Press (1993). For years, the book, first published by the institute in 1977, was virtually the only one available as a text for Women and Media courses nationwide. Allen wrote the introduction to the book in its original edition.²¹ Allen also self-published booklets that were written and

researched at WIFP and sold alternative publications.²²

These served to demonstrate the breadth of Allen's interests in women and media issues.²³

Long before Allen became an activist within media, she was an economist. She wrote a book on employee fringe benefits as a result of her master's thesis at the University of Chicago. Entitled, *Fringe Benefits: Wages or Social Obligation?*, it was published by Cornell University Press in 1964 and revised in 1969. It was considered a definitive work on the subject and widely reviewed. Its main point was that the fringe benefit movement developed as a management tool in union negotiations and then became an obligation companies had to bear to support workers in their social as well as work environment.²⁴ This book afforded me the opportunity to chart Allen's intellectual development in economics and her ability to incorporate writing as part of her active life.

Allen also combined her interest in economics and media in her Ph.D dissertation, which she later expanded into a book, *Media and Democracy: Why We Don't Have National Health Insurance* (unpublished). The manuscript shows how Allen interpreted the media's role in public policy debates.

The newsletter Allen founded, *Media Report to Women*, gave insight into her thinking on women and media issues as well as her own goals throughout her life. A *Publisher's Auxiliary* article quoted Allen as saying that *Media Report to Women* was designed to document discrimination "to give women an aid in combating prejudice."²⁵ One key way that *Media Report* endeavored to do that was with its series on the landmark sex discrimination suit against *The New York Times* in 1978. This dissertation uses that series to show the ways *Media Report* was intended to contribute to the historical record.

In January 1994, a two-part series about Allen's life was published in *Hot Wire*, a noted women's studies journal, showing that Allen at this point was considered a standard-bearer for the women's movement.²⁶

Primary Source Material

Much of the dissertation project was informed by Allen's papers in the National Women and Media Collection at the University of Missouri in Columbia. The collection is not representative of her entire career as an

historian, economist, author, teacher and journalist, but covers a 15-year span, 1972-1987. The part of the collection most useful to the dissertation consisted primarily of *Media Report to Women* correspondence files and materials collected by Allen for inclusion in the newsletter.²⁷

Other primary material germane to this dissertation were Allen's privately collected papers, which include a wide range of her speeches, correspondence and writings as well as news articles published about her activities. Among her papers held at WIFP is a series of essays or descriptions that Allen wrote in 1987 about her life, describing her childhood, her high school and college years, her early employment, graduate school experiences, her interest in labor and economics, and her thinking in regard to mass communication. These descriptions are part of a series of scrapbooks held at the institute.

This dissertation also utilized the papers of Women Strike for Peace, provided to Swarthmore College for its Peace Collection by Amy Swerdlow. These papers indicate that Allen was not at the founders' meeting of WSP, which was held in Washington, D.C., Sept. 21, 1961, when the group was conceived as Women for Peace. But they show Allen was active as early as the first international

protest on Nov. 1, 1961, leading a delegation to the Soviet embassy in Washington. The Peace Collection papers make plain that Allen's focus was international and that she also took a leadership role in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, WILPF, from 1962-1968.²⁸

Secondary Sources

I looked at how feminism is described in major works within communication, starting with my first exposure to feminism in media studies in Liesbet van Zoonen's chapter in *Mass Media and Society*, edited by James Curran and Michael Gurevitch. This volume provided important background on fundamental feminist issues within the discipline as well as general background on the field of media studies.²⁹

The book, *MediaMaking: Mass Media in a Popular Culture*, by Lawrence Grossberg, Ellen Wartella, and D. Charles Whitney (1998), makes a case for feminist approaches, emphasizing that the various resources of a society are unequally distributed according to various structures of social difference. The authors state that feminists had a "profound impact on the study of media,

for they have placed questions of power as control at the center of the discipline."³⁰

In another important volume, *An Integrated Approach to Communication Theory and Research* (1996, Michael B. Salwen and Don W. Sacks, eds.), Ramona Rush and Autumn Grubb-Swetnam state that feminist approaches to communication have helped to elucidate the constructed nature of knowledge. They state that feminists have opened the way for the private sphere to be a valid area for scholarship and have introduced "standpoint epistemology," the importance of perspective and experience to conceptions of truth.³¹ Such concepts were important to Allen, though she didn't name them in the same way, in her attempt to critique the content and structure of the media.

A fundamental tenet of mass communication theory -- the two-step flow -- is germane to this project because of Allen's belief in its thesis that "ideas often flow from radio and print to opinion leaders" and then to the more general populace.³² The two-step flow was developed from a 1940 study and is outlined by Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, pioneers in the role of the mass media in the political process.³³ Allen based her triple network theory regarding media on

the principles of the two-step flow. She believed that journalists in women's alternative press created momentum for issues that were picked up by women in mainstream media and then disseminated to opinion leaders.

The women's movement in which Allen was so involved is inextricably intertwined with media, which makes general sources in this area of history also pertinent to my project.

Most books that look at women and media during the women's movement focus on the media's coverage of women, including *Reflections of Ourselves: The Mass Media and the Women's Movement, 1963 to the Present*, by Sharon Howell. She interpreted mainstream media coverage of the women's movement in terms of an evolution of metaphors as the media attempted to describe the movement to the larger society.³⁴

A source key on the treatment of women within the media profession during the women's movement (and one whose topic was well-documented by Allen's *Media Report to Women*), was *The Girls in the Balcony: Women, Men and the New York Times* by Nan Robertson. The book chronicles the history of women in employment at *The New York Times*. The title refers to the area of the National Press Club to which women reporters were restricted until 1971.³⁵

A book on how the labor and anti-war movements laid the groundwork for the leaders in the women's movement proved useful in helping trace the transformation of Allen's peace efforts into her activism on women and media. Daniel Horowitz, in *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique*, notes that Friedan never revealed the connection between her union activity of the 1940s and early 1950s and the feminism she articulated in the 1960s.³⁶ Friedan was born a year after Allen, spent her youth in Illinois, as did Allen, and worked as a labor reporter and pamphlet writer along the same vein as Allen. Looking at Allen's life against the backdrop of Friedan's is a useful comparative study of how two different women activists, both involved with media contemporaneously, operated - one (Friedan) working in the limelight via traditional media channels and the other (Allen) working at the grassroots level to circumvent those channels or change their direction.

New research on how the mass media covered and affected the women's movement also informed the dissertation. *Mass Media and the Shaping of American Feminism, 1963-1975*, by Patricia Bradley was published in December 2003. She writes that "activists in the second wave of feminism almost universally believed in the

importance of the mass media to set a political agenda, and indeed, influence national values, including those toward women."³⁷ She illustrates the difficulty women faced in using the media to their advantage, noting it was a "remarkable ambition for what were, and are, a collection of U.S. businesses, none of which had social change as its purpose."³⁸

Important for documentation of Allen's assertions about working women was *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* by Alice Kessler-Harris. The book documents a central contradiction of the fifties that Allen often espoused -- that although society assumed women's fundamental obligations were to home and family, there was a subtle shift toward women entering the workforce to the point where in the sixties women who did not work for wages became the exception.³⁹

Allen was concerned with the representation of women in the media and this is an area rife with literature within mass communication. Susan Douglas, in *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media*, talks about the cultural influences of the mass media over the past 20 or more years. Women, she said, are in a "daily war with all those media which we love and hate and which, after all these years, don't know what to do about

us or for us, although they seem to have a better grip on what to do to us."⁴⁰

More broadly, and perhaps more importantly, this dissertation proposes to contribute to a synthesis that tells the comprehensive story of American journalism, as proposed by Beasley.⁴¹ As Beasley put it: "Examination of the contributions women have made on their own terms will allow for a new synthesis in journalism history which incorporates women by setting their activities within their social and cultural context."⁴²

Important to understanding where to locate a site for feminist inquiry (such as Allen's life) is *Scattered Hegemonies: Transnational Feminist Practices & Questions of Postmodernity*. The authors address the idea that sites for feminist theory and praxis must be carefully chosen and thought out, stating, "The issue of who counts as a feminist is much less important than creating coalitions based on the practices that different women use in various locations to counter the scattered hegemonies that affect their lives."⁴³ Allen was notably not interested in specific feminist credentials among those in her network but was much more interested in theoretical "conversations," as defined by Katie King in *Theory in its Feminist Travels*, as "units of political

agency in action in theoretical discourse."⁴⁴

Some stalwart works on women and media, other than those previously mentioned, described the thought behind Allen's effort, not to critique mass media, but to strive for fundamental change. These included *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values*, edited by Pamela Creedon, 1993, and *Feminist Media Studies* by Liesbet van Zoonen, 1994. These authors talk about transforming the discipline of mass communication through feminist approaches. It is this effort to transform that distinguishes feminist scholarship from other intellectual endeavors.⁴⁵

In order to justify looking at a particular segment of history and one person's actions in it, it is necessary to frame the discussion beyond a mere recitation of the "facts." Thus, works that present new directions in feminist and social theory were helpful in a broad framing of Allen's work.

Sociological Theory describes the difficulties feminist theory has had in being accepted within sociological theory. Patricia Madoo Lengermann and Jill Niebrugge say this is because feminist theory is radical, it is linked to political activism, and because so many of its creators are women.⁴⁶ But they say that the

consequences of trying to answer feminism's basic question - "And what about the women?" - have been revolutionary. "The contemporary scholarly community discovered that what it had assumed to be the universe of experience was really a particularistic account of male actors and male experience," she wrote.⁴⁷ Applying Lengermann and Niebrugge's thinking to Allen's own career, Allen spent her life trying to point out the way mainstream media focused chiefly on the universe of male experience.

Allen's actions in regard to government policy, particularly her efforts regarding the public's access to the media and technology, are part of a liberal ideal that has not often been discussed in public forums in recent times, the way Allen did, except perhaps by Noam Chomsky. In *Propaganda and the Public Mind* by David Barsamian, Chomsky gives voice to many of the same ideas Allen had about ways the government uses media and other structures to keep the masses preoccupied, so that policies go unquestioned. He also talks about the failure of government to allow public access to media and technology despite major efforts by activists at certain points in history - points at which Allen, herself, was involved.

For questions regarding Allen's essentialist notions about gender, politics, and media, I turned to Noel Sturgeon's *Ecofeminist Natures: Race, Gender, Feminist Theory and Political Action*. While Sturgeon analyzes ecofeminism and its assumptions about women connecting to the environment, Allen's views can essentially be called *mediafeminism* because of her assumptions about women's egalitarian ways of communicating. As Sturgeon notes, some essentialist notions are convenient and necessary in order to sustain political activism.

As mentioned earlier, one of Allen's most easily traceable contributions to history was her codification of women's activism within journalism in *Media Report to Women*. When authors and students need to refer back to any action women have taken in regard to media, including sexual discrimination lawsuits, women's "firsts" in hiring and promotion, etc., they need look no further than the index of *Media Report*. But how important is a lifetime of committing acts of codification or classification, and how important is a dissertation that reveals the invisible social and moral order behind it?

For at least partial answers, I turned to *Sorting Things Out: Classification and its Consequences* by Geoffrey Bowker and Susan Leigh Star. Allen knew that

much of the work of journalism was invisible to the media consumer and that that was one of the problems in trying to judge it "democratic" or unbiased or truthful. She sought to illuminate the processes of journalism in order to critique it as a patriarchal, capitalistic entity. I show, as Bowker and Star say, the systems by which Allen accomplished this. "What work do classifications and standards do?" they ask. "Who does that work? There is a lot of hard labor in effortless ease Such invisible work is often not only underpaid, it is severely underrepresented in theoretical literature."⁴⁸

The study of Allen and her work, then, touches on some of the major tenets of media studies, the intersection of feminist theory and communication, media history, and groundbreaking feminist investigations into what sustains activism, and the importance of what is invisible in the structures of society.

¹⁵ Karen A. Foss and Sonja K. Foss, "Incorporating the Feminist Perspective in Communication Scholarship: A Research Commentary," *Women's Communication: Perspectives on Theory and Method*, eds. Carter and Spitzack (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1989), 11-39.

¹⁶ Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen, "Preface," *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection* (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1989), xxxi.

¹⁷ Lana F. Rakow, "The Field Reconsidered," *Women Making Meaning: New Feminist Directions in Communication* (London: Routledge, 1992), 8.

¹⁸ Linda Steiner, "The History and Structure of Women's Alternative Media," *Women Making Meaning: New Feminist Directions in Communication* (London: Routledge, 1992), 121-141.

¹⁹ Ibid. 121.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ The book has been updated and expanded again and was released in 2002 by Strata Publishing Company, State College, Pa.

²² Allen's self-published work included a four-page pamphlet called "The Six-Point Communications Program," which gave the crux of her ideas on how communications should operate within a democratic society. The WIFP also published a series of five booklets that were sold for \$2 to \$5 each. The first, *The Source of Power for Women: A Strategy to Equalize Media Outreach*, reproduced a speech Allen gave at the First World Summit on Women and the Many Dimensions of Power in Montreal June 3-8, 1990. The third in the series was entitled *What's Wrong With the Mass Media for the Women Half of the Population - Rebuilding the System* (compiled by Alison Hardin, 1993.) Another, published in 1995, *The Media Technology Road to Democracy and Equality*, is key to understanding Allen's view on the importance of technology to women in media. The fifth, published in 2002, was entitled, *Media Democracy: Past, Present, and Future*. The second in the series, *Media Without Democracy, And What To Do About It*, published in 1991, elaborated on Allen's core ideas, and served, according to the booklet itself, to "get into print a brief overview of thinking that has been going on here since the inception of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press." The booklet was eventually to be expanded into a definitive book outlining Allen's ideas. Although material was gathered for several years and Allen worked closely with her eldest daughter, Dana Densmore for two years to write it, it has not been finished.

²³ Some of the alternative publications that the WIFP sold included *Houston Breakthrough*, three daily issues of which were published at the National Women's Conference in 1977; *Black Belt Woman*, 1975-1976, six issues published and edited by Dana Densmore; *No More Fun and Games*, *A Journal of Female Liberation*, described as the first radical women's journal of theory and analysis, published by Cell 16, 1968-1973; *Musica: A Newsletter About the Women in Music and the Music in Women*, described as the first national women's music newsletter, 1974-1977; and *Celibate Woman Journal*, 1982-1988.

²⁴ Donna Allen, *Fringe Benefits: Wages or Social Obligation?* (W.F. Humphrey Press, Inc., 1969), 266-267.

²⁵ Sharon Mikutowicz, "Women in the Media," *Publishers' Auxiliary*, July 25, 1975, 2.

²⁶ Toni Armstrong Jr., "one of feminism's most glorious standard bearers: Donna Allen," *Hot Wire*, 9, No. 1, (January 1993): 20-23;

Toni Armstrong Jr., "Hello, World Media, It's Dr. Allen Calling," *Hot Wire*, 10, No. 1 (January 1994): 42-47, 62.

²⁷ The total collection is arranged into 12 separate series. The "Media Report to Women" series is composed primarily of early *Media Report to Women* correspondence between Allen and various women's organizations, editors of feminist publications, radio-television media women, and others. The "Broadcasting Cases" series contains correspondence, newsletters, handbooks, surveys, newspaper clippings, petitions, scripts, publications, and reports pertaining to such topics as television and radio monitoring studies, the Federal Communications Commission, public radio and educational broadcasting, women in broadcasting, public broadcasting, and the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists. Documents relating to the National Organization for Women's (NOW) license challenges against the American Broadcast Company and National Broadcast Company are also included. There also series on "Guidelines for Media Usage," "Portrayal of Women in Media," "National and International Efforts for Women and Media," and "National Women's Agenda." The latter documents the response to the International Women's Year (IWY) in 1975 by the women who created the National Women's Agenda, a document outlining the goals to be achieved for women to win equal rights. Other series documented WIFP's use of satellite technology at the U.N. Mid-Decade World Conference in Copenhagen, Denmark, in 1980, and the third U.N. World Conference of Women in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1985. The Nairobi conference was held to review and appraise the achievements of the Decade for Women and formulate goals.

²⁸ She served as the chairman of the legislative committee for WILPF. An investigation of the papers revealed her participation in congressional lobbying efforts, including public speaking, meetings with members of Congress, and writing of numerous policy papers, resolutions, letters, and conference papers on topics such as disarmament, Vietnam, hunger in China, civil defense, wiretapping, the military in space, and home rule for the District of Columbia.

²⁹ Liesbet van Zoonen, "Feminist Perspectives on the Media," in *Mass Media and Society*, eds. James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 31-52.

³⁰ Lawrence Grossberg, Ellen Wartella and Charles D. Whitney, *MediaMaking: Mass Media in a Popular Culture* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1998), 30.

³¹ Ramona R. Rush and Autumn Grubb-Swetnam, "Feminist Approaches," in *An Integrated Approach to Communication Theory and Research*, eds. Michael B. Salwen and Don W. Sacks (Norwood, N.J.: New Jersey Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1989), 505.

³² Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, "Political Processes: The Role of the Mass Media," *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication*, eds. Wilbur Schramm and Donald F. Roberts (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 59.

³³ Ibid. 655-677.

³⁴ Howell said the civil rights metaphor, for example, was used to show how women questioned their private role. Other metaphors, she said, illustrated how women began to reject the male world and began consciousness-raising, leading to the 1980s in which women had created a new definition of womanhood.

³⁵ Robertson's work revolves around the sex discrimination lawsuit filed against the *Times* in 1974 by a group of employees calling themselves the Women's Caucus. The *Times* settled out of court and agreed to an unprecedented plan to place women in one-eighth of its top corporate positions and one-fourth of its top news and editorial slots by 1982.

³⁶ Daniel Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique* (Amherst, Mass., University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 2.

³⁷ Patricia Bradley, *Mass Media and the Shaping of American Feminism, 1963-1975*, (Jackson, Miss.: The University Press of Mississippi, 2003), ii.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 300-301.

⁴⁰ Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media* (New York: Times Books, 1995).

⁴¹ Maurine H. Beasley, "Recent Directions for the Study of Women's History in American Journalism," *Journalism Studies* 2, no. 2 (2001): 217.

⁴² Ibid. 218.

⁴³ Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, "Introduction," *Scattered Hegemonies: Transnational Feminist Practices and Questions of Postmodernity*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 1-36.

⁴⁴ Katie King, *Theory in its Feminist Travels: Conversations in U.S. Women's Movements* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1994), 56.

⁴⁵ Lana Rakow, "Feminist Studies: The Next Stage," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 6, no. 2 (1989): 209-215; H.L. Steeves, "Feminist Theories and Media Studies," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 4 (1987): 95-135; Lana Rakow, "Rethinking Gender Research in Communication," *Journal of Communication*, (Winter 1986): 11-26; Brenda Dervin, "The Potential Contribution of Feminist Scholarship to the Field of Communication," *Journal of Communication*, (Autumn 1987): 107-120; Andrea Press, "The Ongoing

Feminist Revolution," *Review and Criticism*, (June 1989): 196-200; Pamela Creedon, ed., *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values* (London: Sage Publications, 1989); Liesbet van Zoonen, *Feminist Media Studies* (London: Sage Publications, 1994).

⁴⁶ Patricia Madoo Lengermann & Jill Nieubrugge, "Contemporary Feminist Theory," *Sociological Theory*, George Ritzer (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996), 438.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, "Introduction," *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1999), 9.

CHAPTER 3
THE MAKING OF AN ACTIVIST

The Wilds of Upper Michigan

That Donna Claire Rehkopf would be a loyal patriot with a rebellious spirit and a practical disposition is no surprise considering both her family lines. Her paternal grandmother's family came to the United States in the mid 1600s from England but became United Empire Loyalists and went to Canada after the Revolutionary War began rather than be disloyal to the British Crown. That was a move by the fifth generation (Henry Whitney in the mid 1600s being the first) from Connecticut to New Brunswick. They were descendents of the first Whitney in America, Henry Whitney, as was Eli Whitney, who also was a fifth generation descendant. Her paternal grandmother, Martha Henderson Rehkopf, a widow, ran a summer hotel near Petoskey, Mich., that drew many to the beautiful Walloon Lake area, including the likes of the esteemed Hemingway family whose son, Ernest, was known for dressing sloppily and having rude manners.⁴⁹ The hotel burned down in December 1924 but even while Martha Rehkopf was pouring water out the upper window of the winter house, where she was living, to try to keep the

flames away from it, she resolved to rebuild. The hotel reopened the next summer.

Martha was a Spartan and loyal churchgoing woman, but her son, Caspar Henderson Rehkopf, Donna's father, eschewed organized religion and said he didn't believe in a creator who would consign anyone to punishment because they wouldn't join a certain faith. In fact, when Donna's grandmother would hold Sunday school classes on the porch of the hotel, Donna's father would walk across the front lawn and jump in the water for a swim.⁵⁰

Donna's mother, Catherine Louise Densmore, was of Scottish ancestry, descended from Janet McNab, a dressmaker, and George Densmore, a ship captain who sailed the Great Lakes for 50 years and served in 1912 as a delegate to the Bull Moose Convention of President Theodore Roosevelt's Progressive Party. Catherine Louise met Donna's father when she worked for two summers at the resort hotel on Walloon Lake.

The grandparents Densmore ran a tourist camp on the St. Ignatius shore on the Straits of Mackinac, and Don Rehkopf, Donna Allen's younger brother, has vivid memories of him and his siblings sitting around the campfire at night in the summer on the shore on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. "That strong tie to Northern

Michigan when we were young is one that made us who we were. We felt this is a good life and then we felt some obligation to give back," he said.⁵¹

As an infant and toddler, Donna lived on a farm seven miles outside of Petoskey, but after Don was born, the family moved into town, residing on State Street. Donna learned early in life about formal education, hard work, and an equal marriage partnership from her parents. Her father worked at a variety of low-skilled jobs until one day in 1925 he came home and said, "If I had a college education I wouldn't be doing this work."⁵² At this point, Donna's mother, a University of Michigan graduate before her marriage, held him to a prenuptial promise to "drop everything if he ever came to that conclusion, no matter what family size or financial status, and go to college."⁵³

That very year, the family moved downstate to East Lansing, where Caspar Rehkopf enrolled in metallurgical engineering at Michigan State College, now Michigan State University, later graduating Magna Cum Laude. To make ends meet, the Rehkopfs ran a rooming house for students and both parents worked, Louise at teaching and Caspar at various jobs, including getting up at 4 a.m. to light furnace fires in the college's buildings. This could

explain Donna's later propensity for rising before dawn to start her workday.

After graduation in 1929, Caspar took a job at the National Malleable and Steel Castings Company in Cicero, Ill., and the family moved to the nearby Chicago suburb of Berwyn. Donna's brother, Don, two years her junior, remembers a childhood in Berwyn of family gatherings around the piano, sledding in winter, evenings watching his father develop his own photographs, and having "room and board people" to help with tight finances during the Depression. He says he remembers no vulgarity ever being spoken in the household, perhaps the impetus for Donna's genteel sensibilities and use of ladylike vocabulary throughout her life.

There was no car in the garage but among the family belongings was a hand-built boat and a radio left by a roomer who couldn't pay the rent of \$5 per week. Caspar Rehkopf was a lover of literature and always encouraged his children to read great books. He had read *Huckleberry Finn* as a boy and in 1937 he built a flat-bottom wooden scow of 10 feet in length, which he used on a week-long trip with his son down the Illinois River.

The children's mother kept a diary detailing the day-to-day lives of the Rehkopfs, which included her own

volunteering to teach immigrant workers cooking and sewing. In later years she worked at a Travelers Aid location in a grubby downtown bus station where kids would be found running away from home. During World War II she was written about in the local newspaper for traveling 50 miles a day as a Western Union messenger, delivering news of service personnel to their families.

In addition to the Straits of Mackinac, one of the biggest influences on the children's lives, according to Rehkopf, was the trip each summer to Walloon Lake to work at their grandmother's establishment, the Lake Grove Hotel. It was there that they saw their grandmother fire a hired hand on the spot for saying a curse word and heard stories of their grandparents' courtship in which Martha Henderson impressed her husband-to-be, Jacob Rehkopf, by performing a family trick - catching a bee with her bare hands (she got stung but didn't let on). The kids worked hard for three months out of the year but they sometimes hobnobbed with celebrity clientele and had the run of one of nature's most beautiful lakes and surrounding area.

During the winters, Martha Rehkopf would travel and she would tell Donna stories of her trips, sometimes talking with her granddaughter long into the night.⁵⁴ "The

feeling of excitement in the activities of the hotel, and in the natural beauty surrounding it, that was the rare aura or glow that we experienced in our work summers there," Rehkopf said.⁵⁵ It was this investment in place that infused Donna's life with an overwhelming sense of both safety and freedom.⁵⁶ "The sense we had, as young children, that all this exciting area of water and woods was *ours*, as if we, that is, our family, owned it, made us feel fortunate in having such natural beauty to romp and play and travel in."⁵⁷ Rehkopf has no memory of any family ill will or squabbles "to mar our perceptions of how good life can be."⁵⁸

Rehkopf's perceptions of the importance of place in Donna's life was backed up by her long-time friend and colleague Sue Kaufman, co-editor of *Women Transforming Communications: Global Intersections*. Kaufman remembered a long telephone conversation with Allen in which the two talked about their roots "in this kind of wild area of Upper Michigan." She said:

There was something special about that place. And, we fantasized that perhaps our ... great-grandparents knew each other, because we felt so connected. But that land, that space, taught us to focus on and look at animals, at nature ... the power of a lake as huge and as deep as Lake Superior is a special power.⁵⁹

But, Donna also brought her own innate nature to the equation. In one episode, at age 10 or 11 she went to a local butcher shop on an errand for her mother and upon returning told her father: "'They didn't want to wait on me. They tried to elbow me but my elbow went up,'" according to Rehkopf. Using his own superlative, her father responded, "'Claire, you're a blinger!'"⁶⁰

Combining Activism and Journalism

While living in Michigan, the children had begun accompanying neighbors to the local Baptist Church for Sunday school, and Rehkopf said the children began to learn about prejudice as they interacted in the neighborhood with Irish-Catholic friends and Jewish families. As Donna's activism grew as an adult, according to Rehkopf, some of the Michigan relatives thought she was too liberal and "her activism in seeking racial justice was not shared so much by them."⁶¹

But Donna, undeterred, would later involve her children in seeking racial justice. As an adult, she and her daughters protested segregation at Glen Echo Park in Maryland, demonstrating to let African-Americans into the private amusement park. Rehkopf remembers that on a trip

back home they protested racial injustice at a festival in Chicago where an African-American was regularly employed as the target for the dunk tank.

Their parents had made a great effort to leave the farm behind, but the eldest son, Joseph Densmore Rehkopf, three years older than Donna, returned to the rural life and became a devout Christian. Don described himself as an orthodox Christian and lover of the literary mystics, while Donna was not a vigorous supporter of any one religious faith and concentrated on human rights. The sister and younger brother remained close through the years.

Donald Rehkopf, himself, was always reading and had a strong interest in poetry and literature that was not supported, at least as a profession, by their father. Donna encouraged him to apply for college under the GI Bill of Rights after World War II and he was accepted at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he got a degree in civil engineering, which he practiced in the Cook County Highway Department. But he later returned to school at the University of Chicago and spent more than 30 years as a teacher of literature at Oak Park-River Forest High School near Chicago until his retirement in 1987. According to Rehkopf, if it hadn't been for

Donna's intervention and encouragement over the years, he would not have gotten a college degree, pursued music and met his musician wife, JoAnn, or studied philosophy with such zeal.

Donna, on the other hand, was a self-starter, liked the limelight, and even in high school was known as an activist and ready public speaker, honing her skills on the debate team. She and her friends got involved on behalf of the maintenance workers in a labor dispute at Morton High School, which had an enrollment of almost 7,000 students. She was an honor student, in the a cappella choir, on the school newspaper, in a thespian speaking group, the Drama Club and creative dancing. She earned letters in debate and intramural sports, and was a student government officer.

She was particularly interested in journalism and was a reporter and columnist for the school newspaper. She won a writing award when she was only 9 and was the rare elementary school student who could touch type, thanks apparently to the dedication of her father in teaching her. During 1939, her last summer working at Walloon Lake, she wrote celebrity news as a stringer for a Petoskey paper. Her father wanted Donna to become a foreign correspondent, while her mother said she would

make a good lawyer. She had an active social life and became friendly with her future husband, Russell Allen, a high school classmate who was admired for his "savvy, learning, and humor" and earned the school Harvard Book Award for highest academic achievement.⁶²

During high school, Donna recalled years later:

I saw around me that communicating was how people participated in the decision-making of the family, the neighborhood, or the nation. I decided to go into journalism in the belief that more people communicating would increase democratic participation and result in greater political equality in the nation. Like most people in journalism, I believed that mass news media reported an accurate representation of the public's views, not just the views of their owners.⁶³

After finishing high school in 1939, Donna won a scholarship to the prestigious Medill School of Journalism's four-week Summer Institute for High School Journalists at Northwestern University and also pursued her interest in the subject of politics. She often accompanied her parents to the Oak Park Public Library in the evenings or on weekends to read about the political systems of other countries.⁶⁴

That fall, as sentiment against U.S. entry in World War II mounted on some liberal college campuses, she attended Morton Junior College for its convenience and affordability while living at home. The college was on

the third floor of the Morton High School building and was almost tuition-free. She majored in history, was editor of the college newspaper as well as the literary magazine, and was elected to the student council. She was placed on the college's permanent honor roll for "character, scholarship, leadership, and service."⁶⁵ She took a year off after graduating from junior college in 1941 to earn money to finish her bachelor's degree, working as a clerk, babysitter, tutor, lifeguard, maid, and office assistant but managing to fit in several journalism, writing, and research jobs as well.

In 1941, she apparently applied for and decided to accept an invitation to attend Duke University and entered with advanced standing. She majored in history, but had a hard time earning the money for tuition, room and board, catching up on lost credits due to her transfer from another school, and keeping her grades up. She worked in the student union for her meals, and held various other jobs typing term papers and helping professors with research. For the first time, extracurricular activities were out of the question.

In a telling episode about the many demands on her and her relationship with her mother, Allen writes that she was discouraged over her grades of three Bs and three

Cs at Duke and told her mother about her problems in a letter home. "She sent me \$20 for each B and \$30 for each C," apparently believing Donna must have had to work too hard if she were getting Cs.⁶⁶ Allen used the money to buy a combination radio-record player and some used classical records.

Wife and Mother, the War Years and Activism

She enrolled in summer school in 1942 to help make up for lost credits. Near the end of the summer term, Russell Allen, her high school classmate who had graduated that June from Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn., visited her at Duke and the two decided to get married. This was an act so traditional on its face that it might have indicated Allen's life would take a predictable path had it been undertaken by a woman less dedicated to civic activism. They "returned to Berwyn, had a conventional church wedding, drove around Lake Michigan - up the Wisconsin side and down the Michigan side, visiting my relatives there and staying at Lake Grove Hotel (as a guest, not as the 'kitchen help' anymore) - and then went back to Duke."⁶⁷ Writing in a scrapbook about her life many years later, this is how

Allen briefly described her union on Sept. 7, 1942, and honeymoon at a time during World War II when millions of couples across the country were rushing to the altar.⁶⁸ Allen continued her studies at Duke and the couple rented a room in the home of the Bozarth family of Durham, N.C. It was during this time that Allen claimed to have learned a lot about the black-white social structure of the South, particularly from long talks with "the woman who worked for the Bozarth's," presumably as a housekeeper or maid.⁶⁹

Allen's academic curiosity and what became a lifelong search for learning and answers kept her motivated. "My father told me there were a lot of answers in history, but that people didn't know how to read it," she said.⁷⁰ When she studied history at Duke, "people said the answers were in economics," she said.⁷¹ Though still majoring in U.S. history, her interests turned more toward economics and politics. As she recalled:

My field of expertise was beginning to shape up clearly as some aspect of the labor movement in relation to political democracy... Although I had started out, even at Duke, still planning to be a journalist, I came to see during this period that economics had significant effects on democracy.⁷²

It is noteworthy that Allen does not specifically

mention anti-war sentiment or radical politics as motivators, although other women's movement leaders like Betty Friedan can be placed firmly within Leftist social movements around this time. And, despite her shift toward economics, when Allen graduated in January 1943, she interviewed for a radio news job in North Carolina. As it turned out, however, she said it was clear she could not agree with or change Southern racial attitudes, so she rejected the idea of pursuing journalism there. She was offered a civil service job by the War Department, which had recruiters on campus, to work as a confidential specialist cracking secret codes.

After her graduation, she and Russ, as her husband was called, moved to the Washington, D.C., area, renting a room in Arlington, Virginia. Russ was called into military service by the Air Force. He left for training as a pilot and bombardier-navigator. Donna moved to an apartment she shared with another woman who worked in her office building and for several months held a second job in the evenings at the Greystone Restaurant to earn enough to buy \$400 worth of war bonds with which to repay her mother for school loans. At the War Department, she was promoted to cryptographic specialist and worked most of the time on cracking the Japanese shipping code. She

resigned to join Russ in the West, where he was training with his B-52 crew prior to being sent overseas as a first lieutenant.

While Russ was stationed at Hammer Field Army Base in Fresno, Calif., Allen worked two jobs, starting at 5:30 a.m. - dishing out breakfast food and coffee at a diner, and then as an organizer for the American Federation of Labor Office Employees Union. She was paid on a commission basis. When Russ was relocated to March Field near Riverside, Calif., she worked in the nearby Camp Hahn Library as a librarian and used her recent Signal Intelligence experience to devise a code for calling in library books of soldiers to be shipped overseas without giving away troop movement information.

She had at least one labor-related job possibility in Los Angeles but decided to return to Washington, D.C., in 1944 rather than relocate on the West Coast, when Russ was sent to the South Pacific. In July of that year, she went to work as an assistant to the director of research for the AFL Metal Trades Department, conducting studies and writing for its newsletter. She also did campaign work for an independent candidate for Congress from Virginia's Eighth District and served as a poll watcher on Election Day. But she faced a new challenge - bearing

a child, which she was convinced would be a girl, while her husband was flying dangerous war missions overseas. Although her letters to him are not in her papers, his letters to her are privately held by Martha Allen. These letters make it clear she wished he could be with her.

"By now I hope all your arrangements for our little girl have been completed so that you do not have to trouble your mind about that," Allen wrote to his wife Aug. 21, 1944, while overseas. "I, too, wish I were going to be there with you when she comes."⁷³ In November, he wrote:

I know you must be lonely my sweet, and maybe in spite of your independence, a little apprehensive about having this baby all by yourself. Please do not be so depressed and down-hearted, my sweet. Life is much too promising. Cast *Main Street* into the refuse and read Saroyan.⁷⁴

On March 27, 1945, Donna's mother's birthday, the Allens' first child was born, Dana Densmore Allen, at Walter Reed Hospital. Within a month Donna was working at home writing pamphlets for the AFL Research Department. She got a babysitter so she could go downtown for research meetings, and she held other labor-related jobs as well. It is clear from her husband's letters that motherhood did not deter Donna from her

labor activism or from keeping a close watch on world events while making plans for the next phase of her life.

Russ, a voracious reader, insightful thinker, and gifted writer, would tweak his wife for her tendency to invest so much of herself in her causes and her high expectations of others, but their fondness for each other was also reflected in his letters. "Your fury with your inactive liberals, with loafing, resting - all this is so real and so Donna-like that I almost feel as if we're together again," he wrote, "with you keeping me awake expounding your latest pet idea."⁷⁵ In another letter, he wrote, "I long for your ... activeness (and) your directness. I love you with all my being, Donna. That is the one great certainty in my life." In a letter dated Sept. 4, 1944, he thanked her for all the letters he received while serving as an Air Force bombardier and expressed some trepidation about his final flight, though his concern seems to be more about Donna. "A mood of despondency and frustration ran through all of them (the letters). I hope you can come out of your dark, Slavic mood without any ill effects."⁷⁶

In his letters, Russ also discussed politics with Donna as well as the news business, and education plans for the period when he could use the GI Bill of Rights.

He praised his wife for her dedication, and her apparent disdain for the American intellectual elite of the time:

I have your complaint about the too-too intellectual conversations, the inbred, ingrown society that glibly deplores popular ills and ardently proposes emendation, only to freshen their drinks and ... to take refuge in their classical records and art. All these good intentions; if they lead not to hell, show the way to the "Castle Knight of Indolence." Only you possess the power of action, the courage of your convictions, to use a bromide. All the rest are four-flushers till they prove different. No amount of entretien over a bourbon and ginger ale can alter this one adamantine, immutable fact.⁷⁷

Russell Allen's letters were warm, witty and even sexy, showing he appreciated his young wife's many attributes, including her intelligence and physical attractiveness. Photos of Donna at the time depict a petite, slim and pretty woman. It is apparent she had little, if any, self-consciousness about her classically Euro-American looks, unlike others who eventually took up political and social causes such as Betty Friedan, who struggled with her Jewish ethnicity and her perceived lack of attractiveness to men.

It's also clear that Russell Allen saw his wife as a unique woman with weighty ideals. He wrote:

I know ... that you are not only honestly different from other girls but are so far superior to them that their petty protestations are really beneath consideration. I know that you have a hatred of prejudice, ignorance, and selfishness in

all forms, that you are the most truly democratic person I have ever known well. For this I love and admire you beyond my power of expression.... I love the way you insist on bringing your maps up to date late at night when I'm already in bed. I love the way you hate to waste even the smallest bit of anything, including time. I love your thoroughness and attention to detail (giving me a March Field address book with all the relevant data already inscribed, writing me a note at 4 a.m. on the morning you left so that I might get it before leaving the mainland).⁷⁸

Russ wrote often of their future together, including which graduate programs they might apply to and the possibility of starting a small newspaper together.

Donna later wrote briefly about this time, saying that Russ, when he came home from the Air Force, decided to get a master's degree in economics and industrial relations with the goal of becoming a labor reporter, "since this was the work I was so much involved in and he did not have at that time a particular other specialty interest."⁷⁹ Donna wanted to go to the University of Chicago for similar study, so Russ agreed that starting in January 1946, the couple would enroll there. So, as young single activist women in other parts of the country worked toward progressive social change in the mid-1940s, and young married women focused on domesticity, Allen, with the model of her own parents' partnership imbedded in her psyche, set out to tackle both.

Postwar housing was scarce, especially around universities with the influx of veterans using their GI Bill. The couple shared an apartment with another couple from the psychology department in exchange for doing their housework, cooking, and taking care of their 2-year-old son. In spring of 1947, they were evicted when a betatron and two cyclotrons were built where their apartment building had stood, which was across from Stagg field, where the first nuclear reaction was set off Dec. 2, 1942. Following was a series of residences including a tenement, GI barracks and other university-owned housing.

Both were active politically with postwar issues such as housing costs, fair employment, and veterans affairs. They did support work for the Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tenn., a pioneering effort in integration and education of Southern workers and a famous training ground for a generation of civil rights and labor activists.⁸⁰ They participated in the Progressive Party on campus and in Henry Wallace's 1948 campaign for president. Their major field of study in the economics department was industrial relations and their minor was government finance. Both Donna and Russ took the same courses and they shared babysitting duties by

taking turns going to classes and taking notes for each other, hiring a sitter only for exams. Donna also worked part time doing research and writing relating to labor issues.

On Nov. 4, 1946, Donna took off one week from classes for the birth of the couple's second daughter, Indra Dean Allen, at Cook County Hospital. It was then that the Allens employed Lucy Hall, a lab technician in search of a job, for childcare duties and "she almost immediately became a member of the Allen family and has remained so to this day," Donna wrote in the 1980s.⁸¹ From June 1947 to May 1948, Donna worked as a graduate research assistant for Professor Paul Douglas, the distinguished labor economist who had been married to Dorothy Wolff Douglas, a Smith College intellectual and economics and social theorist. It was Dorothy Wolff Douglas who was pivotal in shaping Betty Friedan's early ideas that the trade union movement was the vanguard of progressive social action and her later ideas on the reemergence of American feminism.⁸² At the time Allen worked for him, Paul Douglas was known for his work on issues such as exploitation of workers, progressive social reform, discrimination against women in the workforce, and the idea that social reform would come

from organized and militant members of the working class.⁸³ Allen's job was helping Douglas update his 1920 classic text, *The Theory of Wages*, "until his campaign for the U.S. Senate occupied so much of his time that he couldn't make any further progress on the book," according to Allen.⁸⁴ He was elected in 1948 and served 18 years. Allen followed Douglas' career and she counted Douglas as a friend whom she stayed in touch with over the years.

On Feb. 19, 1948, Martha Leslie Allen was born at the University of Chicago's Lying-In Hospital. Shortly thereafter Allen completed her graduate class work and took her comprehensive exams. It was Douglas who told Allen she had failed her exams, not for lack of merit, but because the professors in charge believed she had too many domestic responsibilities to successfully complete her studies. But, it was Douglas who advised Allen to take them again, which she did without any further studying, and passed. Douglas wrote to Allen, saying, "You covered yourself with glory."⁸⁵ She felt she had done just as well the first time, and that blatant discrimination had caused her first setback.

Of her continuing intellectual struggle involving history and economics at that time, Allen said 33 years

later, "... I found that economic decisions are political. Inflation is a simple example. Inflation can be stopped; the political decision is whether to do it or not. So I went back to history again [later studying history at Howard University]." ⁸⁶

Paid Labor, the Move Eastward, and the Cold War

In June 1948, Allen began work for the National Labor Bureau in Chicago doing economic research and writing briefs for presentation to the 1948 Presidential Emergency Boards appointed by President Truman under the Railway Labor Act. It was in this job, she wrote later, that she saw the advantage held by those who had access to the media as well as the media's tendency to portray women in stereotypical ways. She worked on a case in which the railroads were seeking to eliminate the number of employees in the diesel locomotive cab, which they succeeded in doing after publishing many full-page newspaper ads about railway unions' "feather-bedding" - a media connection that did not go unnoticed by Allen.

Allen dismissed as stereotypical a *Chicago Sun-Times* society page article about her when she moved to Albany, N.Y., to accompany her husband who took a job there as

national education director of the Brotherhood of Paper Makers. The article described her as pretty and phenomenal for being both a "successful wife and mother" and an effective worker with men's trade unions. Her petite stature, including both height and weight, were noted.⁸⁷ Though she had sparked her husband's interest in labor unions, the article assumed it was the other way around.

In the fall of 1949, Donna and the three girls moved into a house she had designed on land the couple had purchased on Crosby Street in West Albany. On Dec. 15, 1950, son Mark Mitchell Allen was born. Donna then finished her thesis on collective bargaining under the Railway Labor Act. She was graduated in June 1952 from the University of Chicago with a master's degree in economics and began writing her book on fringe benefits.

During this time, she also participated in political activism. In her scrapbook narrative, she said, "I continued my efforts to participate in the political decision-making of the nation," working on the campaign to defend Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, who were executed in the electric chair June 19, 1953, after being convicted of passing atomic secrets to the USSR. She also protested in 1953 against the CIA action in overthrowing

the newly elected government in Guatemala. And, she became active in the League of Women Voters' Freedom Agenda Study Project, including participation in workshops on such topics as government loyalty oaths and freedom of expression. She clearly was frustrated by what she sensed was a growing ignorance or apathy on the part of the American public toward social and political issues, the misinformation she felt was proliferated by the media, and an increasing intolerance for dissent even in informal, non-public settings.

At this same time, she designed another house and had it built in Schenectady, N.Y., so that daughter, Dana, could skip third grade and enroll in the private Brown School in that city. In 1953, she also began teaching for Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations, in the Capitol District area, which extended from the Canadian border to near the city limits of New York City. The classes she taught were primarily for members of unions, such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Hotel and Restaurant Workers International Union, the Machinists Union, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. The classes covered grievance procedures, arbitration, labor history, structure of unions, labor economics, and like subjects.

But, she was also asked to teach on media economics - a request that would later contribute to her philosophy on media, democracy, and women.⁸⁸

At this time, she continued to take care of the children and household, and it was assumed in the family that these responsibilities belonged to her as wife and mother.⁸⁹ Most of the year in 1956 was spent in England, where the family traveled when Russell Allen was sent there to assess worker education under the U.S. government's Fulbright program.

After World War II, social activists had reason for optimism in a climate of national unity and international alliances that was marked by the formation of the United Nations. Minority groups and women had made progress in labor-driven reform efforts. Increasing numbers of women were working for pay, comprising an historic 36 percent of the labor force at war's end.

But Allen's sense that a dangerous wave of conformity was sweeping the nation was accurate, as McCarthyism, the growing influence of the mass media, the move to the suburbs, and prosperity all combined to create hegemonic forces heretofore unseen, with the effects on women proving particularly unfortunate.⁹⁰ Men were off to navigate the treacherous waters of the Cold

War, while women were expected to implant American values deeply into the next generation to get through the "great historic crisis," as Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson put it in a graduation speech at Smith College on June 6, 1955, with Allen's contemporary, Betty Friedan, in the audience.⁹¹ "I want merely to tell you young ladies," he said, that they could help the situation by assuming "the humble role of housewife, which statistically, is what most of you are going to be whether you like the idea or not just now - and you'll like it!"⁹²

And, so it was in this atmosphere in the 1950s that Allen felt that a basic tenet of democracy - debate on the issues - was being eroded. It was at a time when she was among the millions of other middle class American women who found themselves in a place chosen for them by their husbands in a home with several young children for whose care they had to bear full responsibility in addition to handling food shopping and preparation, and housecleaning. All the elements of what Friedan famously labeled the "feminine mystique" were coming together under the roof of Allen's modern, ranch-style home in Schenectady, though her youngest daughter, Martha, spoke fondly of the time. She remembered her mother reading

frequently to the children and living a hectic and lively life with the music of Billie Holiday and Dixieland jazz heard in the house.⁹³

Allen later attributed women's situation at this time to a lack of ability to exchange information through the media, labor organizations or women's networks. Her view paralleled what the writer and historian Daniel Horowitz called a "break in historical consciousness" due to the devastating effects of anti-communism on liberalism, feminism, and moves toward racial equality.⁹⁴ But Allen, unlike many in the women's movement and even the labor movement, apparently did not become disillusioned and continued to believe in activism's ability to change the social order in the face of anti-communist fervor. She turned her attention from the role of economics to the role of the media in delivering McCarthy's message promoting fears of communism. After working in the labor movement for many years, she believed that worker strikes, national health insurance, and federal aid to education were not communist plots. There is no indication that she was ever a member of the Communist Party as some in her circle of labor and peace activism were, but the FBI monitored her activities for years due to her association with the Left.⁹⁵

Media and Information

This was a time when Allen's ideas about reaching the most number of people with information on social reform and liberal political issues began to take hold - a precursor to her goal of establishing a women's communication network. She wrote extensively on her thoughts at this time, but she wrote as an outsider reading the daily newspapers, not as an insider in the political machinations of the Left.

Allen's ideas, it appears, were formed on her own, not in the company of an intellectual circle, and there was little self-analysis, identity-seeking, or psychosocial breast-beating. She did not appear to be a woman of competing drives or inner conflict and she was disdainful of those who favored intellectual discourse over action. She also did not buy into the consumer culture as some feminist leaders who sported cashmere and even furs appeared to do. By continuing to step out of the domestic sphere as she did, she later brought attention to herself from the House Un-American Activities Committee and the FBI. Although Allen's circle did not include the intellectual elite

necessarily, it certainly included labor leaders and organizers, who also were targeted by HUAC. (Douglas, her former teacher at the University of Chicago, was spared HUAC's scrutiny when the committee targeted his former wife who appeared ready to provide potentially damaging information about him.)⁹⁶

It is clear that at this time in her life, in the 1950s, Allen was focused on domestic responsibilities, while also keeping her activist spirit alive. She later wrote about her family, noting she enrolled three of her children in music lessons and one in ballet, and often spent several weeks in the summer at Dewey Beach on the coast of Delaware. She also visited relatives in the Midwest and camped in New York State. For the first time in her life, she apparently was not working for pay, but she was active in the community, working for the establishment of a senior citizens center in her neighborhood and later serving on its board. She also worked on a PTA curriculum committee at a new high school. She continued writing her book on fringe benefits while becoming involved in the League of Women Voters and in its workshops on government loyalty oaths and the right of citizens to freedom of expression in their political beliefs. In 1957, she taught in the

Schenectady public school system. Then, at the end of the year, the family moved to Washington, D.C., where Russ took a position as education director of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. The family rented a turn-of-the-century, three-story, six-bedroom house on Ross Place in Cleveland Park, an historic area of Northwest Washington. It served as the focal point for Allen's activities on women and media, and her home, for 42 years.

About this period in the 1950s, Allen wrote later of her overall change in thinking toward the media. She did not note specific incidents in her own life or theories that may have influenced her. But she said she considered the "Communist threat" to be a hoax to repeal New Deal legislation. And, she said she saw friends and activists drop out of political participation for fear of being labeled communists, even to the point of not speaking of political issues in private among family and friends. She came to believe that communication was the key to individuals' participation as equals in political issues but that most people believed the limited views expressed in the mass media.⁹⁷

Once in Washington, Allen set out to find others who shared her political beliefs. From 1958 until June of

1959 she also worked on her book on fringe benefits and then began the long job of sending it to potential publishers. It was finally published in 1964 as part of the Cornell Studies in Industrial and Labor Relations series.

She participated with civil rights groups in efforts to desegregate local housing. She also joined the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE). In addition, she worked on the staff of Rep. William H. Meyer of Vermont to assist in the fight he initiated against extension of nuclear weapons to Germany, wrote speeches and lobbied against the legislative record of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and worked with Women Strike for Peace after the resumption of nuclear testing in the atmosphere by the United States and the Soviet Union in the fall of 1961. She credited WSP with being instrumental in obtaining ratification of the Test Ban Treaty of 1963.

⁴⁹ Donald Rehkopf, interview by author, Tape recording, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 16, 2002.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Donna Allen, Scrapbooks, held at the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Martha Leslie Allen, "Donna's Life and Work," paper for delivery to the Dr. Donna Allen Symposium, Freedom Forum, Aug. 3, 2001.

⁵⁵ Allen, Scrapbooks.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Donald Rehkopf, letter to author, Feb. 19, 2003.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Susan Kaufman, "Donna, Donna, Donna," speech to the Dr. Donna Allen Symposium, Freedom Forum, Arlington, Va., Aug. 3, 2001.

⁶⁰ Allen, Scrapbooks.

⁶¹ Rehkopf, interview by author.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Allen, Scrapbooks.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Vicki Borolussi, "Educator-editor transcends the classroom," *Women in Education* (Fall 1981): 2.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Russell Allen, letter to Donna Allen, Aug. 21, 1944, privately held by Martha Allen, Washington, D.C.

⁷⁴ Russell Allen, letter to Donna Allen, Nov. 29, 1944, privately held by Martha Allen, Washington, D.C.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Russell Allen, letter to Donna Allen, Sept. 4, 1944, privately held by Martha Allen, Washington, D.C.

-
- ⁷⁷ Russell Allen, letter to Donna Allen, Aug. 28, 1944, privately held by Martha Allen, Washington, D.C.
- ⁷⁸ Russell Allen, letter to Donna Allen, July 19, 1944, privately held by Martha Allen, Washington, D.C.
- ⁷⁹ Allen, Scrapbooks.
- ⁸⁰ Martha Leslie Allen, "Donna Allen's Life and Work."
- ⁸¹ Ibid.
- ⁸² Daniel Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 50.
- ⁸³ Horowitz, 51.
- ⁸⁴ Allen, Scrapbooks.
- ⁸⁵ Ibid.
- ⁸⁶ Borolussi, *Women in Education*, 2.
- ⁸⁷ Betty Walker, "Donna Allen does a labor of love," *Chicago Sun-Times*, Nov. 11, 1949, papers at the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press.
- ⁸⁸ Borolussi, *Women in Education*, 2.
- ⁸⁹ Martha Leslie Allen, "Donna Allen's Life and Work."
- ⁹⁰ Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique*, 124.
- ⁹¹ Ibid.
- ⁹² Ibid.
- ⁹³ Martha Leslie Allen, "Donna Allen's Life and Work."
- ⁹⁴ Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique*, 145.
- ⁹⁵ Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Donna Densmore Allen (sic)," Oct. 16, 1952, File 395218, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- ⁹⁶ Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique*, 146.
- ⁹⁷ Allen, Scrapbooks.

CHAPTER 4
EARLY ACTIVISM IN WASHINGTON

Women Strike for Peace

Allen became a leader in Women Strike for Peace, which repeatedly challenged the authority of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). In fact, HUAC's demise is at least partially attributable to the activities of Women Strike for Peace.⁹⁸

In various profiles of Allen, she is often described as a founding member of the group, and she sometimes referred to herself that way, though her name was not on the list of 12 founding members at the WSP Exploratory Meeting on Sept. 21, 1961 in Washington, D.C.⁹⁹ Feminist activist Barbara Bick was also not at that first meeting but claims founding-member status. She placed Allen among the center circle of the group.¹⁰⁰

According to Swerdlow, the women's peace movement burst upon the American political scene Nov. 1, 1961, when some 50,000 women in more than 60 cities across the United States "walked out of their kitchens and off their jobs in a one-day women's strike for peace" that was the largest female peace action in the nation's history.¹⁰¹

The call to strike spread from a handful of Washington, D.C., women through female networks from coast to coast, including Parent Teacher Associations, the League of Women Voters, church and temple groups, as well as peace organizations. On Nov. 1, 1961, Allen led a delegation of protesters to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, while Dagmar Wilson, who became known as the spokesperson for the later movement, led a group of strikers to the White House.

In mid-December of 1962 in the Old House Office Building of the U.S. Congress, WSP staged a confrontation with HUAC in an event that WSP historian Amy Swerdlow said became a victim of "historical amnesia" and was forgotten.¹⁰² HUAC subpoenaed 13 women peace activists from New York, as well as Wilson, but Allen escaped its notice at this time. "The women's performance at the hearings was so original, so winning, and so 'feminine' in the traditional sense, that it succeeded in capturing the sympathy and the support of large sections of the national media and in strengthening the movement instead of destroying it," Swerdlow said.¹⁰³

News coverage of the women's testimony, in which they often invoked the Fifth Amendment to keep from revealing names of those in the organization, was

favorable and, "for the first time, HUAC was belittled with humor and treated to a dose of its own moral superiority," according to Swerdlow.¹⁰⁴ By that time, Cold War hysteria had calmed down but HUAC was still opposing the test ban negotiations that had begun between the United States and Russia, and was still trying to root out what it saw as the Communist threat domestically.

Two years later, in December 1964, Allen, herself, came up against HUAC when she was subpoenaed to appear before the committee, which was investigating alleged communist influence in the attempts by WSP to obtain a visa for Japanese peace leader and law school dean, Professor Kaoru Yasui. Yasui was to conduct a 10-day speaking tour in the United States at the request of *The National Guardian*. It was Allen's request at the State Department for a visa for Yasui so he could speak at a Washington, D.C., church that got Allen, Wilson, and *National Guardian* publisher Russell Nixon subpoenaed by HUAC. In a case that made national headlines and put Donna Allen's name on the front page of the *The Evening Star* in Washington and other newspapers, the three refused to testify in secret as HUAC wanted, demanding that they be heard in open session with media access. They were cited for contempt of Congress, tried in

federal court on April 7, 1965, and convicted and sentenced on June 4.¹⁰⁵ A public support group made up of prominent Americans was formed, calling itself Defenders of 3 Against HUAC, and several of its members testified at the trial. The group included some well-known writers, media members, and others, including philosopher Bertrand Russell; writer Nathan Hentoff; child specialist Dr. Benjamin Spock; journalist I.F. Stone; writer Ring Lardner, Jr.; Nobel laureate Linus Pauling; Mary Van Kleek, doctor of law; and peace activist Anne Seaton, wife of industrialist Cyrus Eaton.¹⁰⁶

Allen was painted as a woman who cavorted with communists by House members debating the case and much was made of the fact that she sat next to Cheddi Jagan, a communist ex-premier of British Guiana at a *National Guardian* dinner.¹⁰⁷ A testament to the fact that the government found Allen a threat is the 373-page file on her in the archives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.¹⁰⁸

In her pre-sentencing statement to the court June 4, 1965, Allen wrote: "I am now a convicted criminal. But I ask why? What kind of criminal am I? ... In the words of the Un-American Activities Committee, I am guilty of 'an excessive concern for peace.'" The conviction was

overturned on appeal Aug. 2, 1966, and on Oct. 3, 1966, the Justice Department decided against appealing the decision to the Supreme Court, informing House Speaker John McCormack and HUAC Chairman Edwin E. Willis that "if the Court did accept the case the result might be a ruling sharply restricting HUAC and other committee powers."¹⁰⁹

After the conviction was overturned, Allen served as a part-time Washington representative for the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, later renamed the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation. Government records show that these groups, including WSP, were investigated by both the FBI and CIA.

Allen's Role in WSP

According to Swerdlow, the profile of the majority of the WSP participants that emerged in a survey was that of middle-class, well-educated housewives. Sixty-one percent of the women were not employed outside the home and 38 percent belonged to no other organizations. Allen's expertise as an economist helped her stand out in her political activities. Bick recalled that the leaders

of WSP saw her as a career woman whom they admired but considered different from themselves.

In one of two references to Allen in her book, *Women Strike for Peace*, Swerdlow indicates Allen's importance on at least one key issue. She cites testimony by Allen at the Second International Arms Control and Disarmament Symposium as a pivotal moment at which WSP was taken seriously on a substantive idea:

While the WSPers' expertise on radiation hazards was tolerated by politicians, the public, and the media because protection of children was women's job, the women were characterized as arrogant and meddlesome when they aspired to expertise on industrial or economic policies. Although male politicians insisted on telling them that business was not their business, WSP was not deterred. Donna Allen, a professional economist and one of the Washington leaders, testified at the Second International Arms Control and Disarmament Symposium that defense spending was bad, not good, for the economy. This was a relatively new idea at the time and commanded a great deal of interest. New York representative William Fitts Ryan inserted Allen's speech into the *Congressional Record*, noting that it was an important and provocative view of the relationship between our economic situation and military spending.¹¹⁰

The text of Allen's statements and their revisions show that the ideas are Allen's own, though she had input from other officers within, not WSP, but the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.¹¹¹ Allen makes clear in correspondence about the speech, which was

given at the Jan. 21-24, 1964, International Arms Control and Disarmament Symposium in Ann Arbor, Mich., that its substance comes from her alone.¹¹² Allen became known among WSP as the movement's expert on the costs of the arms race and on the economics of disarmament.¹¹³

More Peace Activities

During the five years from 1961 through 1964 Allen did considerable research on the economics of disarmament. She was a delegate to the annual meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1962. She testified before Congress, made several dozen speeches, wrote articles, and gave conference papers. Two were presented at international conferences - the Bendix Corporation-sponsored Second International Arms Control and Disarmament Symposium held at the University of Michigan in January 1964 ("The Economic Necessity to Disarm: A Challenge to the Old Assumptions") and an international conference in Vienna, Austria, sponsored by the International Institute for Peace ("A Positive Approach to Reconversion and World Trade"), Dec. 12-14. On a stopover in Paris en route back from Vienna to the United States, she was arrested at a 15-nation European

demonstration against a nuclear NATO and spent some six hours in a French jail. That same evening, she shared a platform at a rally with Eve Curie and other notables, speaking - with Canadian Senator Therese Casgrain as her translator - to an audience of 5,000.

But, according to what she later wrote, the Vienna presentation was her last on the economics of disarmament because of what she saw as the constant media drumbeat against her message about the economic benefits of disarmament. Often, local coverage would have headlines such as "Will Disarmament Bring Depression?" or "Woman Claims Disarmament Will Not Cause Unemployment," and "Can We Disarm Without a Depression?"¹¹⁴ "Seeing that the media were using my message to raise, or reinforce, fears among the public, thus turning more people against disarmament, I admitted defeat by the media and stopped writing or speaking on the subject," she wrote.¹¹⁵

But she had plenty of other activist work to keep her busy. Her activities included serving as the Washington representative for the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, renamed the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation (NCARL); and writing, publishing and distributing thousands of copies of *What's Wrong with the*

War in Vietnam, her treatise on how the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War opponents shared goals. She was one of 31 people who organized the Assembly of Unrepresented People in August 1965, a joint effort of the peace and civil rights movements. She worked with many other groups from 1965-1968, including the International Days of Protest, Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, The Fort Hood Three, Vietnam Summer, and the Tri-Continental Information Center. She participated in the Oct. 21, 1967 demonstration at the Pentagon, the January 1968 Jeannette Rankin Brigade (of which she was an organizer and also a plaintiff in a case testing the right to assemble on the Capitol grounds that was decided in the brigade's favor by the Supreme Court), and the June 1968 Poor People's Campaign.

She also worked with the civil rights movement in state and national electoral politics, holding house parties for Julian Bond, Annie Devine, and the Rev. Clifton Whitley to raise money for their civil rights campaigns in the South. She also ran (unsuccessfully) as a peace and freedom candidate for delegate from the District of Columbia to the Republican National Convention at a time when political party convention delegates were the only offices for which Washington,

D.C., voters could cast ballots. News coverage trivialized her campaign, with headlines such as, "GOP Mom Puts Cap on Dove's Wing" and "She Wants to Fly with GOP Doves."¹¹⁶

Rethinking the Media

But in June 1968, Donna Allen was ready to ease up on her activism on peace and civil rights issues. When the publisher at Cornell University Press called to request a revised and updated second edition of her book on fringe benefits, she was glad to oblige. She wrote:

I had come to the conclusion that even when using all forms of communication that we could devise, and despite great numbers, we still could not match the number of people that the relatively few mass media owners could reach with their information and opinions.... The media were not our free press; they did not speak for us or report our news. Our press conferences were usually ignored, and when they weren't the coverage was often derogatory. The did not fulfill any public right to know...

I concluded that a media structure that permitted such unequal power among citizens was unsuitable to democracy, and for all to be heard as equals, we would need to restructure the communications system itself."¹¹⁷

By the late 1960s, she had changed from giving speeches on peace to giving speeches on media. She also appeared before the Federal Communications Commission to speak on topics such as requirements for broadcasters'

news coverage in the public interest. She also testified before congressional committees with oversight responsibilities for broadcast communications.

In September 1967, she appeared before a crowd of thousands at the convention of the National Council of New Politics in Chicago, giving a talk on the media. Martha remembered being in the audience as her mother stood up as the only woman speaker. Dr. Benjamin Spock, the Rev. William Sloan Coffin Jr., and activist Dick Gregory also spoke.

Allen had decided that "it was through the media that we (women) were being oppressed, repressed, suppressed, and otherwise held down by men because they owned the only means of reaching the majority of the public."¹¹⁸ She had lived the experience by participating in the first major women's movement public demonstration to make it onto national television - the Miss America Pageant protest in Atlantic City on Sept. 7, 1968. It is this event that is often cited as the nexus of the image of "bra-burning women's libbers" - an image that has become a cultural icon, though no such action occurred. Allen saw the importance of the Miss America protest:

We got together and began to raise Cain through demonstrations like the one at Atlantic City against the Miss America contest. I was there in my high

heels and my hair on top of my head, parading back and forth. We didn't burn any bras, but we did throw false eyelashes and such things in the trash can.

We gradually started newspapers and every form of communication we could, and eventually it had to be recognized by the mass media. Atlantic City was the first time they recognized it; people were doing things before, but it didn't reach everybody because the mass media just ignored it. But in Atlantic City we went where the cameras were. We knew that with all that female flesh, the men's cameras would be there. So we went there to let the world know that there was a women's movement.¹¹⁹

Allen was the major speaker at a Peace and Justice Rally in Pittsburgh May 24, 1969, speaking on media in relation to the peace and freedom movements. Her speech, "So You Think You Have a Free Press?" was printed as a pamphlet for fund-raising and publicity purposes by the Southern Conference Education Fund. She helped organize the Washington, D.C., arm of the Women's Liberation Movement, and she wrote several articles on the media and the women's movement, some of which were published in the radical feminist journal *No More Fun and Games* edited by Dana Densmore. It was at this time she concluded that if there was to be change in the media, it would have to come from the efforts of women, "who have had the unique experience with media images and stereotypes to understand what is wrong."¹²⁰

Understanding "Media"

Her writing and reporting in high school and the rest of her academic career at Duke, and the University of Chicago, influenced Allen's thinking in regard to history, economics, media, and politics. Then, in pursuing her Ph.D. at Howard University, which she obtained in 1971, her horizons expanded beyond traditional sources.

I did it at Howard University, a black university, because I wanted to get the whole history, not just white male history. At Howard we used other texts, not standard texts, where we were more likely to get women in history, and we did.¹²¹

As Allen participated in the women's movement, she came to believe the media helped foster anti-feminist rhetoric, explaining the dynamic this way:

Unsympathetic reporters can ask questions which get emphasized and misinterpreted and can portray women as unsupportive (of the women's movement). A question such as "What do you think of women's lib?" that gets added to a story with a negative or cool reply, may not mean the woman doesn't support the women's movement. She may just be so busy in her own work that she hadn't gotten actively involved in women's organizations. But if a woman is directly involved, she often won't be asked if she supports women. All that gets printed is the unsupportive comment.¹²²

In Allen's day, a "women's libber" was a stereotype

perpetrated and regularly derided by the media. Allen not only wanted more coverage of women's issues, she wanted the media to drop its cliched and pre-conceived notions:

Media portrays images that people pick up. If I saw something different [from the way I was] in the media, I used to just think that maybe I was different. Now we know the media doesn't show women the way they necessarily are. In the '50s, conscious effort was made to get women back into the home after World War II. There was concern that men would not have jobs, but it was overdone. In actuality, big business started booming and women continued to work increasingly. But the media was transmitting a completely different image, of the woman at home.¹²³

This statement on Allen's part is key to understanding her viewpoint. Allen had begun her professional life as an economist and labor expert, therefore she understood the forces at work involving women in the work force. She also had lived through enough economic cycles to know that women had a long history of interest in paid work. She personally detected a change in the media rhetoric in the 1950s - a time when the ideology about women in the home did not match what was actually occurring in women's minds or in the work force.¹²⁴ This disparity may have been the source of her outrage, and it is worth examining in brief.

Frustrated with the Status Quo

Allen came to assert that the media made a conscious effort to keep women out of the workforce after World War II - a belief that can be easily substantiated if one accepts the view that the media were echoing the sentiments of those in power. Women always had faced obstacles in the work force, which continued through the war, but the issue of whether women's role should be restricted to the home was rekindled during the post-war years when men needed jobs and media were more powerful than ever.

Allen was accurate in her view that women had been increasingly entering the work force over decades, not just during war time. In fact, the influx of women into the workforce during World War II can be seen as a blip on the screen in terms of women's efforts throughout U.S. history to take on paid work.¹²⁵ Married women had already entered the work force during the Depression. In the war years, older married women contributed most of the increase that occurred among female workers. Single women had long sought paid work.¹²⁶

After the war, questions like equal pay, child care, and community services for wage-earning women lost

immediacy as women faced the reality of poorly paid jobs or none at all. Women who had not worked before the war tended to move back to the home in response to the job crunch. Women of child-bearing age gave birth to the baby boom. As Kessler-Harris has documented, experienced women who lost good jobs stormed employment agencies, wrote angry letters, demanded action from the Women's Bureau, and looked tirelessly for openings.¹²⁷

With Allen's understanding of economics, her dedication to meaningful work, and her vigilant media pulse-taking, it's no wonder she questioned where she fit into a male-dominated world in which she was rather unique in her mix of interests. It is clear from her writings that she had a growing sense of frustration regarding the role of women in social change beginning in the late 1960s. This prompted her to undertake an informal public campaign about the inequality of women in the pages of the *National Guardian*, the leading left-wing newspaper of the time.

A series of her letters to the editor reveal a growing anger with the lack of leadership positions in the labor and peace movements held by women, who eventually left in droves to form their own movement. She engaged in a public give and take with the *Guardian*

on its editorial page, writing that despite the newspaper's 50:50 ratio of women to men on its staff, "I have come to the conclusion that the new *Guardian* is a man's newspaper."¹²⁸

In a letter published in June, 1968, she wrote:

Checking back, I had to reach April 6 before finding any women in the news, and that issue was unusual. When newspapers regularly ignore the contributions of women, as speakers or participants in conferences, the impression is created that women are inferior in the competition with men's ideas.¹²⁹

For the first time, she expressed her isolation as a woman who spoke out:

What's the matter with men? The matter with them is the fault of women who let them get away with it - who invite exclusion by hanging back. One might think that men of the left liberation movement would make a special effort to see that they aren't guilty of thinking they're the only important ones to hear from, but apparently this is too much to expect.¹³⁰

And, for the first time Allen saw that her own prominence on peace rally stages was sometimes a result of her gender:

I've been the token woman on more than enough platforms. Now I'm ready to set up a hue and holler for the rest of us every time I see a platform with fewer women speakers than men.¹³¹

Her argument signaled her determination to break out of the peace and labor mold and head into the women's movement. But, her tack of blaming women was never to be

repeated since she subsequently took the position that women should not criticize each other.

Her anger at a social movement predicated on equality for all but that did not adequately include the influence of women was palpable in an opinion piece she wrote in the *Southern Patriot*, apparently about the same time. She wrote as a woman who had been for too long on the outside looking in, despite her considerable credentials as an economist. And, it is clear that she was solidifying her ideas about women's inherent gentleness and nurturing spirit (and to her mind, general superiority) in comparison to men.

She was responding to the printing of a column she had written for the Liberation News Service in which she was described, not by her career, but as an official of Women Strike for Peace:

Apparently, a woman's professional life is not to be taken seriously. The result is one I have overheard on occasion: "Who wants to buy an economics book by a peace lady!" I've been an economist for 25 years, a peace lady for seven.

My desire to make even this small correction is part of a great new stirring by women calling for equal treatment. Women do not want to be aggressive, that is, to be like men. They want to be themselves, inherently non-aggressive, and to be, as a woman who wrote me from Iowa City, political activists by "gentle persuasion."¹³²

She seemed to be speaking from her own experience when she asked men to listen and try to understand women:

To express their special insights ... women need a "listening climate." This requires from men both a desire to hear, out of a genuine belief that we do have something to contribute, and a willingness to just plain wait for the ideas to come forth.

But the usual scene is this tiresome routine: a man asks a question (often, and admirably, to show that he considers you an equal; the out-and-out male supremacist doesn't ask your opinion), and then in the moment of silence while you are thinking how best to express yourself, he answers the question for you, as if to say that he knows you don't have an answer and he is eager, because he is kind, to save you the embarrassment of the long silence or of saying something stupid.

Unfortunately, experience has taught women to be kind, too, to smile with their acknowledgement of the intended kindness and try not to say, "But if you already know the answer, why did you ask me?" After all, what woman wants by complaining to subject herself to the indignity of the equally tiresome "don't be so sensitive" routine? In designing tomorrow, we need to leave plenty of room for such a simple thing as: "Would you mind listening, sir?"¹³³

Personal Charisma

Those who knew Allen were never surprised at her dedication or her level of commitment to the women's movement. All through her life, she was a whirlwind of energy -- able to balance multiple plates in the air with

seemingly little effort. Kaufman described Allen's use of the "18-pile theory":

You got 18, 20 things to do ... and you do a little bit here and you do a little bit there. Finally, one of the stacks gets full. And, that's the way Donna worked and she never seemed to worry about what stages these things were in. She didn't get hung up in the details. She just worked. Work was her life.¹³⁴

Others describe her as having an infinite wellspring of loving energy and passion for justice. And, when Donna was with them, she listened intently and made them feel she was concentrating on them alone. As Beasley described her: "Donna made you feel 10 feet tall."¹³⁵

Kaufman remembered watching Donna at a feminist conference, staffing an information booth: "I remember she bounced. She just absolutely kind of bounced. She had such energy."¹³⁶ More than one person described her as a magnet for those around her and an energy force at the center of any space she occupied. She was "just full of life, full of energy, full of ideas, full of optimism, enthusiasm," according to her eldest daughter, Dana Densmore.¹³⁷

It's difficult to differentiate between Allen's personal life and her work because she, herself, did not separate the two. Her work was her life, and her family

and friendships functioned within that framework. The societal routines of daily life were not Allen's concern. The way Barbara Bick of Women Strike for Peace remembered it, Allen did not share other women's interests in their homes, cooking, appearances, or even literary or artistic interests. She eschewed makeup. Her hair, which had turned from brown to silver by the time of her HUAC trial, stayed in an upswept style that was the same for 50 years. She bought her clothes at second-hand stores, shopped at yard sales for household and office goods, and rarely stopped her work day for anything other than brief meal breaks.

She was deemed by other women in the peace movement a career woman. According to Bick, "Donna was a very different kind of woman than most of us ... in the sense that work was her principal motive. She didn't hue to the line that you follow your husband professionally, your kids come first, etc."¹³⁸

But Allen was also attentive to her children, and Bick remembers hearing tales of memorable sight-seeing trips. At Christmas in 1960, for example, Donna and the children drove to Key West, sleeping in their station wagon or outdoors along the way. Over the years, they drove to Cape Hatteras and upper New York State, and the

children traveled with their mother to WILPF conferences and in 1963, they drove cross country. "Donna made those trips exciting by taking us to visit ghost and mining towns and by reading along the way," remembers Martha. "I believe she instilled her love of history into us on trips such as this one."¹³⁹

She later involved the children in her activism, and Martha and Dana remember when the two of them were part of an around-the-clock vigil at the White House during the Cuban Missile Crisis, with their vigil slot being the middle of the night. "We were alone with our peace signs facing off against counter-picketing Nazi Party members," Martha wrote.¹⁴⁰ Donna spoke proudly of her children's independent activism as they grew up - Dana's participation in a civil rights sit-in in the early 1960s in a case that precipitated the Supreme Court decision against segregation in public accommodations, Dana being quoted in a *Harper's Magazine* article on women's liberation, and Martha's arrest and brief incarceration in the "Black Six" case in Louisville in 1970.

The Black Six

This occurred when Martha, then 21, and her partner Michael Honey, an employee of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, were indicted for mailing out information proclaiming the innocence of six African-American defendants charged with conspiring to destroy private property during the city's 1968 civil rights demonstrations.

The way Martha described it, she was a shy young woman anxious about going to jail, but her mother helped her confidence by framing her case as a free press case. "She reminded me that the *Louisville Courier Journal*, available in Munfordville (the small town where Martha had sent the mimeographed sheets of information), also discussed the "Black Six" case. But it was only the writers of the small mimeographed press who were charged..."¹⁴¹

Donna wrote to Martha while she was in jail, "Dearest Martha - You are in jail. Well!"¹⁴² In the letter, one of the few personal ones in her collection of papers at the University of Missouri, Allen talked about the civil rights movement and Martha's role in it, complained about the press coverage of the case, and reiterated her belief that the subjects of the news should be allowed to speak for themselves. She wrote:

The first step a government could take, if it wanted to promote a free press, could be to provide you the printing press and paper and postage to reach Hart County residents You had to provide your own press and paper and stamps despite inequality with the rich newspapers, and *then* they throw you in jail for doing it. THAT's the free press issue in this case. You are doing what a free press is supposed to do, give citizens facts they need so democracy can work. Sure you were criticizing and that's what they didn't like but what they did to you for it was take away your freedom under a false charge.¹⁴³

Martha said, with her mother's support, she began looking forward to the trial, but the case was dismissed and the charges dropped.

Separation and Divorce

By this time, Donna had lived on her own in Washington since 1964 when her husband accepted a job as a full professor at his alma mater, Michigan State University in East Lansing, and took the two younger children with him in what the couple agreed would be a commuter-marriage arrangement. The two older children were in college. Donna's decision to stay in Washington stunned even her peace cohorts, according to Bick:

When her husband decided to have this important career jump in his life, we would all have automatically have gone with our husbands and Donna said, no, that she had a lot of work that had to be done in Washington and she would stay, and the kids

went with him, and we all thought, "My God, what kind of a mother is Donna (laughs)?" So, unlike our preconceptions of what mothers should be and do, Donna was far in advance of that."¹⁴⁴

The marriage was not to survive, with Donna writing that "commuting to East Lansing did not work out, so Russ and I got a divorce amicably in 1970, still thinking very highly of each other but, obviously, caring more about the work we did than living with each other."¹⁴⁵ According to Michigan state records, their marriage of 28 years ended on April 3, 1970, when Russell Allen was decreed a divorce.¹⁴⁶ Donna had intimate relationships with others, but none was allowed to take time away from her work. Donna, and Russ, who died June 5, 2001, remained friends throughout their lives.

According to Martha, once Russ and the two smaller children were gone, Donna Allen turned her full attention to her media activism. "Donna got very active, became a fulltime activist. She had no family, no kids" to divert her attention.¹⁴⁷

⁹⁸ Amy Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 123.

⁹⁹ Original type-written list of those present at Women for Peace exploratory meeting, Sept. 21, 1961, including Mrs. Eleanor Garst, Mrs. Margaret Russell, Mr. Ralph Russell, Mrs. Anne Bloom, Mrs. Folly Fodor, Mrs. Mary Chandler, Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, Mrs. Helene Morse, Mr. Larry Scott, Mrs. Skippy Riskin, Mrs. Ray Hartsaugh, and Mrs. Ann Harsh, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pa.

-
- ¹⁰⁰ Barbara Bick, interview by author, Tape recording, Nov. 23, 2001, Washington, D.C.
- ¹⁰¹ Amy Swerdlow, "Ladies' Day at the Capitol: Women Strike for Peace Versus HUAC," *Feminist Studies* (Fall 1982): 491.
- ¹⁰² Swerdlow, "Ladies' Day," 493.
- ¹⁰³ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁵ Roberta Hornig, "House Accuses Pair From D.C. of Contempt," *The Evening Star*, Dec. 30, 1964, papers at the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press.
- ¹⁰⁶ "Peace Workers Convicted!" Defenders of 3 Against HUAC fact sheet, n/d, papers at the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press.
- ¹⁰⁷ Congressional Record - House, Aug. 4, 1965, 18711.
- ¹⁰⁸ FBI Freedom of Information Act investigator, phone call by author, July 23, 2003.
- ¹⁰⁹ Martha Dudley, "Defenders of 3 Against HUAC," letter by chairman Dudley, Oct. 1966, papers of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press.
- ¹¹⁰ Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 87.
- ¹¹¹ Annalee Stewart of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, memo to Mildred Olmsted, Dorothy Hutchinson, Orlie Pell re: Donna Allen's Paper on the Economic Necessity to Disarm, Jan. 7, 1964, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pa.
- ¹¹² Ibid.
- ¹¹³ Swerdlow, *Women Strike for Peace*, 87.
- ¹¹⁴ Donna Allen, Scrapbooks, held at the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁸ Toni Armstrong Jr., "Hello, World Media, It's Dr. Allen Calling," *Hot Wire* 10, no. 1 (1994): 42.
- ¹¹⁹ Armstrong, "Hello, World Media," 43.
- ¹²⁰ Allen, Scrapbooks.

-
- ¹²¹ Vicki Borolussi, "Educator-editor transcends the classroom," *Women in Education*, 2 (Fall 1981): 2.
- ¹²² Ibid.
- ¹²³ Ibid.
- ¹²⁴ Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 297.
- ¹²⁵ Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, 278.
- ¹²⁶ Ibid.
- ¹²⁷ Ibid.
- ¹²⁸ Donna Allen, letter to the editor, *National Guardian*, June 29, 1968, 11, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹²⁹ Ibid.
- ¹³⁰ Ibid.
- ¹³¹ Ibid.
- ¹³² Donna Allen, letter to the editor, "The People's Forum," the *Southern Patriot*, n/d, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹³³ Donna Allen, letter to the editor, "The People's Forum," the *Southern Patriot*, n/d, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹³⁴ Sue Kaufman, interview by author, Tape recording, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 15, 2002.
- ¹³⁵ Maurine Beasley, comments at the Donna Allen symposium, The Freedom Forum, Arlington, Va., Aug. 3, 2001.
- ¹³⁶ Sue Kaufman, interview by author.
- ¹³⁷ Dana Densmore, interview by author, Tape recording, Washington, D.C., Sept. 10, 2001.
- ¹³⁸ Barbara Bick, interview by author, Tape recording, Washington, D.C., Nov. 23, 2001.
- ¹³⁹ Martha Leslie Allen, "Donna's Life and Work," paper for delivery to the Dr. Donna Allen Symposium, Freedom Forum, Arlington, Va., Aug. 3, 2001.
- ¹⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁴¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁴² Donna Allen, letter to Martha Allen, n/d, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Bick, interview by author.

¹⁴⁵ Allen, Scrapbooks.

¹⁴⁶ Record of Divorce or Annulment, Michigan Department of Public Health Vital Records Section, April 3, 1970.

¹⁴⁷ Martha Allen, interview by author.

CHAPTER 5

THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

In 1968, two years after the formation of the National Organization for Women by Betty Friedan, Allen organized a women's media group called Americans for Equal Access to the Media. Though it didn't survive, she used its formation as a springboard for her ideas on women and the media, realizing that the group was misnamed, "because it wasn't access to other people's media we wanted, as that title implied and many people would have been misled to believe, but access to the PUBLIC through media of our own."¹⁴⁸ Her experience had been that men were resistant to her ideas about women and media "and kept trying to argue with her, while women responded enthusiastically."¹⁴⁹ It was women, she decided, who would be interested in expanding freedom of the press to those who did not have it and they were the ones who seemed to understand the importance of having "people to be able to speak for themselves, rather than have others portray them."¹⁵⁰ By early 1972, Allen decided that the organization that was needed should have "women" in the title.¹⁵¹

"With some others like me, I formed the press

institute to start a communication system so men didn't have the power to dictate the image of women," she told *Women in Education*.¹⁵² It was that year that Allen and three other women began what was the manifestation of Allen's dream - the establishment of a communications hub for women. They called it the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and it was led by Allen for 25 years until her death July 19, 1999.

The institute was incorporated as a nonprofit research, publishing and educational organization in 1974. Contributions were tax deductible and it operated with tax-exempt status, as it continues to do today. Hand-written ledgers show that between 1979 and 1985, expenses were in the \$50,000 range annually, but income, some of which was from loans, never met expenses.¹⁵³

Not a membership organization in the traditional sense, the institute was set up to include "associates," and numbers almost 700 of them today. Anyone who wrote to the institute to say he or she shared its goals and beliefs was invited to become an associate. Associates supported the institute with voluntary contributions and by carrying on its work, usually through their own projects. Associates were listed in institute materials, along with the associates' statement of philosophy.

The basic charter of the institute was for research and publishing but its stated purpose was to spread women's ideas on communication and to extend freedom of the press to everyone. It was unusual in that it counted among its associates women from all points on the communication and political spectrums. By bringing together women activists and journalists of the alternative press with women working within mainstream media, it fostered Allen's theory that issues and news important to women would rise up from women's publications and be carried forth by mainstream media women to be covered by mass media.

Kaufman called it a special gathering place for women who faced uphill battles in the workaday world of journalism. "Donna created a universe, a place, a believable space, the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, that so many of us were hungry for. It was like an oasis."¹⁵⁴ According to Kaufman, association with the institute helped to legitimize women's place in a field in which male-only, smoke-filled rooms and off-the-record meetings were still the order of the day. Allen, with her upbeat attitude, was the encouraging force many women needed. Said Kaufman:

It was the first time [we were encouraged] - because in the patriarchal, hierarchical, professional world of male journalism that I came to and was educated for, it was a, "You're-not-good-enough. You-don't-have-what-it-takes. You're-not-going-to-make-it," kind of world, and there was something about Donna that when she said, "You're going to do that!" that I believed her.¹⁵⁵

The first tenet of the institute was: "People should be able to speak for themselves," as editor Paula Kassell reported in her publication, *New Directions for Women*.¹⁵⁶ Kassell, in explaining Allen's outlook, quoted a sentiment from Susan B. Anthony in 1900: "'As long as newspapers and magazines are controlled by men, every woman upon them must write articles which are reflections of men's ideas. As long as that continues, women's ideas and deepest convictions will never get before the public.'" ¹⁵⁷

Allen started the institute, according to Kassell, when she realized:

the crucial importance of the media of all sizes in shaping the opportunities we have as women. The "light bulb" over her head was seeing herself being treated the way women were portrayed on TV. 'My colleagues stopped listening to me,' she found, 'and I had no way to tell people, 'I'm not like that.'¹⁵⁸

Allen also began the institute because she found that little was being reported about efforts by activists and academics to challenge the licenses of TV and radio

stations, analyze the content of programs, and push for the hiring of women and minorities within journalism. "No one knew about the activity except those doing it," said Kassell.¹⁵⁹

Allen first saw the institute as a clearinghouse where women could exchange information about the media or their work in the media, "and talk and think about change."¹⁶⁰ *Media Report to Women* began in 1972 as a mimeographed newsletter to share that information. But the institute, as Allen's papers show, became more than a physical place for information exchange. It became an arena for ideological debate and the center for Allen's effort to restructure the communications system.

Allen perhaps never so succinctly described the institute as she did in the final report to the United States International Communication Agency after it funded *Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View*, WIFP's successful satellite teleconference from Copenhagen, Denmark, for the United Nations Mid-Decade World Conference of Women in July 1980:

WIFP is a research and publishing organization, but with its Associates, it serves in a network function as a non-membership volunteer association of media and media-concerned women seeking ways to expand exercise of our Constitutional right to a free press - the only organization combining women who work in media and women outside it. They work

together as equals with each other and with non-Associates, on a strictly volunteer basis to accomplish what *they* believe needs to be done; no one works for anyone else in WIFP. Unlike most organizations, WIFP does not have a paid staff to do the work planned by members. *Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View* is an example of this style of working together in network fashion as equals.¹⁶¹

That her specific definition of the Institute evolved over time is not surprising because the Institute's role grew and changed. But the ideas behind its conception can be gleaned from Allen's interests going back as far as graduate school when she wrote a paper on the printing and publishing industry in the United States up to the year 1865. The paper's date is unclear but it most likely was done when Allen was in her Ph.D. program at Howard University. In it are the seeds of her ideas about the male-dominated printing industry, technology, and the role of newspapers in the evolution of democracy.

She felt that her role as a printer was in itself political since, as she wrote in the paper, "of all industries in the United States, probably none is more closely tied to the political existence of the nation than printing."¹⁶² Printing, and the spread of the written word, were the keys to technological change in America, she believed, and printers and newspapers had close ties

to the powerful elite, particularly in the government,
from the beginning. She wrote:

It was the extension of universal male suffrage and the accompanying interest in literacy that brought the industrial revolution in the printing and publishing industry ... The importance of news dissemination to a developing commercial nation and to a nation developing its own political and democratic forms cannot be underestimated. Printing became the vehicle for both, and this pattern was established in these early years.¹⁶³

Other writing revealed perhaps the origins of the name of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press. In "The Meaning of the Constitutional Guarantee of a Free Press," another research paper, she pointed out what she felt was the ambiguity of the term "free press" in the United States and the haphazard and uncereemonious ways the free press evolved. She wanted a national debate on what the founders had in mind when they came up with "freedom of the press" without definition or debate and with little or no understanding of the power of the press. She noted that courts have interpreted the First Amendment as resting "on the assumption that the widest possible dissemination of the information from diverse and antagonistic sources is essential to the welfare of the public," that a free press is "a condition of a free society," and that "freedom to publish means freedom for

all and not for some."¹⁶⁴ Yet, she wrote, the press was largely in the hands of business owners and those with the money to have access to technology, not the intellectuals and revolutionaries who foresaw its importance.¹⁶⁵ It is clear that Allen saw that part of the institute's mission was to seek a free press as she interpreted it.

Filling a Need

Allen saw the institute and its goals as a way of filling a basic need for women seeking equality in a society she perceived as heavily influenced by media and media influences. She felt that media either portrayed women stereotypically or left them out entirely. As she put it when talking about her career, first as an economist:

I span two decades in that field. I accomplished a great deal, and I rose very high. Then I saw men beginning to treat me the way women were portrayed on television. Men were feeling that women should be back in the home, not out working. Especially through the early 50s and 60s, I realized something had to be done about it.¹⁶⁶

Allen said she began speaking with women in other professions and found "a lot of women were concerned, and a lot of women were doing something about it. The

problem was they had no means of communicating with each other. They were isolated from one another."¹⁶⁷

She told a reporter in 1980:

Power is the number of people you can reach with your information. I'm optimistic. Men in the industry still have the decision-making power. But you can't have all these women around the country doing all the work they're doing without there being change.¹⁶⁸

The institute developed a philosophy of communication based on seven assumptions, and it was this philosophy that served as the basis for Allen's approach to her day-to-day work. It was based on Allen's ideas for how a democratic society and free press should operate:

- People make their judgments on the basis of information they have at a given time.
- Each person is the best judge of her or his best interest.
- Media owners give us the information they think is important for us to know.
- Media do not mirror society. They represent only the owners' views.
- For the public to obtain the information of the majority, people must be able to speak for themselves.
- Power is based on the number of people you can reach with your information.
- Equalizing power among us would require that we all have equal means of reaching the public to

communicate our information when we wish, in the way most suitable to our message.¹⁶⁹

In accordance with the philosophy, the institute did not criticize the mass media or its owners specifically. Allen believed that greater changes in the mass media could be affected by action separate from a concentration on a media critique. For example, she often cited the plight of battered women and the general issue of violence against women as topics that were raised by the feminist press outside the usual media channels but eventually were widely reported in the mainstream press. She believed that feminists would continue to make headway with such methods, and with use of their own media, rather than with criticism of the mass media.

The institute advocated three principles of feminist journalism:

- No attacks on people.
- More factual information.
- People should speak for themselves.¹⁷⁰

Feminist Media

Allen's notion of circumventing traditional media was a central factor in the evolution of ideas about the

mainstream press within the women's movement. Her position within the movement can generally be seen as in line with that of the "radical" or "women's liberation" branch rather than the "reform" or "women's rights" faction of the women's movement, though she worked with all those who were concerned about media.¹⁷¹ Trained in traditional forms of political action, the reform feminists pursued conventional avenues for social change. Their nationally organized reform groups like the National Organization for Women published periodicals or newsletters as a service to their various memberships. Proponents of the women's liberation ideas, on the other hand, had neither the resources nor the desire to form national organizations with their traditionally top-down leadership.¹⁷² Allen's efforts, including her publication of the newsletter *Media Report to Women*, fell within that framework because her role was that of the nexus of a network rather than operation of a traditional organization with a top-down hierarchy. By the time of the institute's formation, radical feminists had experience in other social movements but had become increasingly dissatisfied with their status in Left organizations because of the sexism that predominated there. They used the infrastructure of the radical

community and transported their knowledge of grass-roots organizing and underground media to the women's movement and the founding of its media.¹⁷³

Feminist media were particularly important to this group because of what its members felt were the blatantly oppressive representations of women in the mass media, including depictions of women within the movement itself.

"The media were not our 'free press,'" Allen said in 1993.¹⁷⁴ "They did not speak for us or report our news. Our press conferences were usually ignored, and when they weren't, the coverage was often derogatory."¹⁷⁵

Jo Freeman, a feminist author, pointed out how the media antagonized feminists through unflattering coverage or the belittling of their causes by focusing on clothing, physical attributes or marital status in interviews. "As a result, the political messages underlying feminist actions and concerns, as conveyed by the mass media, were inaccurate, distorted, or trivialized," she wrote.¹⁷⁶

In 1978, the institute's presence as a countervailing force to mass media messages became known sufficiently to draw dozens of associates and others to a series of WIFP conferences. One of the institute's roles, as Allen saw it, was to bring women together to

brainstorm about potential projects to advance women's media and influence mass media. The institute would then help facilitate whatever projects women came up with, usually via information-sharing. The WIFP's non-hierarchical structure, unique within the communication field, and its activities, eventually garnered international attention. Allen, consequently, became an authority on media issues.

Global Focus

On Dec. 12-15, 1979, for example, seven years after founding the institute, Allen was the sole woman among six presenters of papers at the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO conference on world communications problems at the University of Georgia. The conference was entitled "Toward An American Agenda for A New World Order of Communications." Those participating included high-ranking journalists, television network executives, government policy representatives, academics, and telecommunications executives. The conference was part of a decade of discussion by UNESCO on the role of communications in modern life with specific interest in the concerns of the developing nations. Much of the

focus revolved around questions of news flow and the perceived inequities in the global system of news exchange that reflected "a residue" from an earlier colonial period, but little was said about women, to Allen's dismay.¹⁷⁷

Allen's paper, entitled "The Free Flow of Information," sought to explain the need for a place like the Women's Institute:

Women's experiences, needs, and contributions are unique - different because they arise out of very different life information which men do not and cannot know.... None of the 'solutions' yet proposed has worked, and that is why we are here. When I look over the suggestions currently being made, I see that they are still only men rearranging power among themselves.¹⁷⁸

In July 1980, the WIFP, working toward its own solutions, arranged six international teleconferences by satellite between women in six American cities and women attending the United Nations Mid-Decade World Conference of Women in Copenhagen, Denmark. It was a pilot project to demonstrate that women "should be able to communicate with each other by the latest technology - satellites."¹⁷⁹

The institute was engaged in what Allen eventually came to call the "triple network" - women involved in feminist media, women employed by mass media and women's organizations that needed help from both.¹⁸⁰ In 1980, the

institute was granted association status at the United Nations, attached to the Department of Public Information. "This will keep the institute in touch with people all over the world through other organizations and enable the institute to get information out to more people," Kassell wrote in 1981.¹⁸¹ Kassell was appointed to represent the institute at the United Nations.

In May 1980, Allen was invited by the secretariat of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women to participate in an international seminar on Women and Media at U.N. headquarters in New York. In a letter to Allen from Lucille Mair, secretary-general of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, 1980, the purpose of the seminar was described as focusing attention on action to improve the status of women in the media both as consumer and producer. It was also designed to highlight broader media issues as they related to women, such as access to communications media, the impact of new technology and the free flow of information. The meeting was another example of the institute's attempts to influence change in media on a global level.

The Index-Directory of Women's Media

The international focus of the institute began to be reflected in the institute's 1981 *Index-Directory of Women's Media*, its annual publication that listed hundreds of worldwide "media women," as the institute called women connected to or interested in changing media, as well as listings of women's media.

Donna and Martha began work on the directory in 1974, publishing the first edition in January 1975. The purpose was to facilitate communication among women, to help fortify existing women's media, and to bring together women within the context of women's media.¹⁸² They believed that women's media was the voice of the women's movement.

The directory listed hundreds of women's periodicals, presses and publishers, women's news services, columns, regular radio and TV programs, and women's media collectives and companies in film, video, cable, music, art/graphics, theater, and multimedia, as well as an annotated index of women's media research and activities in more than 100 different categories as presented in *Media Report to Women*.

After the 1989 annual edition, Martha transferred the publication of the directory to the National Council

for Research on Women, which published two editions, one in 1992 and another in 1994. Publication of the directory lapsed until Martha resumed work on it in 2000. It was published online beginning in 2001, and the first print edition in eight years came out in January 2002.

The directory stood as documentation of the many women's publications that have come and gone over the years. Those that have become mainstays included *off our backs*, created in Washington, D.C., in 1970 by Marilyn Salzman-Webb and Marlene Wicks, *Calyx*, *Sojourner*, *Feminist Collections*, *Kalliope*, *Lesbian Connection* and *LILITH*.

As the directory expanded, *The New York Times* noted in a feature on women's media in March of 1986 that the directory had uncovered a surprising number of women's publications "just as the women's movement seemed to be running into trouble, as the political fervor of the 1970s gave way to the pragmatism of the 1980s."¹⁸³ The 1986 edition of the directory listed 331 women's periodicals in the United States, as well as 81 women's presses and 48 women's bookstores. That showed a significant increase compared to the first edition in 1975, which listed 131 periodicals and 22 presses.

But, again, the mainstream press, in this case, *The New York Times*, may have oversimplified the women's movement and its media, even in trying to applaud it. As Freeman suggested, lower-cost printing in the 1980s spurred the publication of more feminist periodicals that finally gave voice to women who had remained active in the women's movement all along. *The Times* called 1981 a "banner year" for feminist publications while at the same time quoting Martha Allen as saying that 75 new women's publications had sprung up every year for at least a decade.¹⁸⁴ Martha Allen and Kassell were quoted in the article as saying, in fact, that there had been steady growth in the women's media movement through the decades. Many of the newspapers and magazines had only a few thousand readers, Kassell said, but "the circulations add up to a fantastic number."¹⁸⁵

Long Hours and Hard Work

It took a long time to have the data to make statements unequivocally about women's publications, and the first years at the Women's Institute were especially hard, lean ones. From its onset, Allen established her 4 a.m. to 10 p.m. schedule, which she maintained throughout the rest of her life. According to Martha, Allen never

saw the long hours as grueling since they afforded her the time she needed for all of her activities. For privacy, she took the attic bedroom of the Cleveland Park house. She rented several rooms and converted the other bedrooms and the lower floors of the six-bedroom house into a bustling office. Within its well-worn living areas Donna routinely sat or stood amid stacks of papers, multiple desks and people.¹⁸⁶

Sometimes she sat on the floor and worked while others worked around her. Photographs of the time period show there were desks and work surfaces everywhere with Donna typically at the center of the room. The interns who helped with the institute's projects called her Donna and so did her own children. Her work entailed answering endless inquiries via fax, mail or phone call as well as putting together her various publications. Interns did independent studies on women and media issues and helped with publications.

In Allen's office joining the former living room stood an IBM typesetting machine, on which Allen and Martha Allen typeset *Media Report to Women* and the *Index/Directory of Women's Media*. Five hours a week Allen did typesetting for other publications to earn "the little I need," as she described it in a 1981 interview

for an education publication, which identified her as an educator-editor.¹⁸⁷ (The typesetting machine was updated about 1979 to an IBM with memory after Allen appealed to associates to loan money to the institute, payable in a maximum of four years, to avoid the 14 percent interest rate charged by IBM.¹⁸⁸)

Allen noted that she had few expenses because she worked all the time, "so I don't have to spend money on anything."¹⁸⁹ She cooked very little, preferring to eat fresh fruit and vegetables as she worked. She shopped at yard sales - a fact demonstrated daily in her wardrobe, according to friends. She apparently enjoyed the bargain-hunting, most likely in the spirit of recycling and counteracting the male-dominated capitalist system.

Help From Interns

The day-to-day operations of the institute depended on one commodity that perhaps existed only in Washington, D.C., in such abundance -- unpaid college interns. Her idea of using interns stemmed from her work for the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, which later became NCARL. According to Martha, the committee operated with interns.

When Donna worked as the legislative liaison to Capitol Hill for the committee, she supervised the interns whom she armed with information to provide to various congressional representatives.

Interns applied to the institute from colleges and universities nationwide and received college credit for their work. They were carefully chosen according to whether their interests coincided with those of the institute. They helped with mailings and the directory, and they often did independent studies on subjects of interest to the institute, carrying Allen's philosophies with them to the outside world upon graduation. Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment was always a concern of the Institute. In spring of 1983, for example, an intern attempted to report on how the print media covered the results of the 1982 legislative elections in North Carolina, Florida, and Illinois, three states where the ERA ratification battle had been fiercely contested. "The momentum of the ERA's future passage essentially depended on how well the media publicized the election results," her report said.¹⁹⁰ The intern found that none of the offices of the women elected to legislatures that year, nor the offices of NOW or the National Women's Political Caucus had kept records of the candidates'

positions on the ERA. Newspapers had done only a slightly better job, leading the intern to conclude:

Finding an answer to a simple question about how the female state legislators stood on the ERA had proven to be a major task. I feared that the average woman, who did not have three extra months to search, would simply lose interest in the ERA's future. This project certainly proves how essential a communications network among women is.¹⁹¹

Publishing

The influence of the Women's Institute grew with its ability to publish women's work that would not have found publishers elsewhere. The WIFP saw education as one of its major goals and set out to make available as much information on women and media as possible, with one of its major audiences academic women who were searching for feminist communication materials with which to teach classes.

From the beginning of its existence, it published a series of collections of syllabi references for women-in-communication courses. Chief among its published books was *Women in Media: A Documentary Source Book* by Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons, which eventually was expanded and published under a different name by the American University Press (1993). It was reissued by a different

publisher in 2002.¹⁹² For years, the book was one of the few resources available as a comprehensive text for Women and Media courses nationwide. Allen wrote the introduction to the book in its original edition in 1977, calling it a "first-of-its-kind presentation" of historical material that was not readily available in libraries or archives.¹⁹³

Allen saw all non-traditional women's publications as important to the history of women's activism. In early 1981 she began a WIFP program called "Historic Originals" in which she collected and preserved for libraries, women's centers, and private scholarly collections the few remaining copies of the first media that women produced in the second wave of the women's movement. She solicited the material by asking associates to look in their attics and basements for stashes of original documents from their activities in the women's movement. Among these historical originals were copies of the first radical feminist journal, *No More Fun and Games*, and the first journal of women's music, *Paid My Dues*, beginning in 1974. The success of Allen's effort was evidenced by the inclusion of reprints of selections of the original documents in landmark anthologies and other books such as *Sisterhood is*

Powerful by Robin Morgan (1970) and Leslie B. Tanner's *Voices from Women's Liberation* (1970).¹⁹⁴

Some Institute Projects

While the Institute was not a lobbying organization, Allen advised associates of important developments in communication at the federal level. For example, in 1977, a new post of Undersecretary of Commerce for Communications and Information Policy was created, a policy-making position in which the person named was to be a spokesperson for U.S. information policy. Allen supported Anne W. Branscomb.¹⁹⁵ Although Branscomb was not selected (Henry Geller won the post), the Department of Commerce reported to Allen that it had received a flood of letters in support of Branscomb, a finalist, generated by the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press "machine."¹⁹⁶

In an ironic request, Allen was once solicited for help by the Justice Department in coordinating a review of all federal laws, regulations, guidelines, programs or policies to identify any that could result in unequal treatment based on sex and to propose remedial action.¹⁹⁷

"... We would welcome your assistance in identifying any discriminatory federal legislation, programs or policies

which may have come to your attention because of your special concern with these issues," the department wrote some 15 years after the FBI began investigating Allen for suspected communist ties.¹⁹⁸

Allen also periodically received letters from those in search of "qualified women" to teach at journalism schools, including one from George Gerbner, dean of the respected Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania. Businesses and groups, including agencies of the federal government, also contacted her. For example, in 1977, John J. O'Neill Jr., director of the Office of International Communications Policy, wrote to her on behalf of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance seeking to include more women in delegations taking part in the numerous international telecommunications meetings and conferences of the State Department. He quoted from a memorandum from Vance, stating, "Our delegations should ... be, as nearly as possible, representative of our total population."¹⁹⁹ Two months later, the department told Allen it had received numerous inquiries from qualified women and thanked her for helping it to "do a better job..."²⁰⁰

The Institute also weighed in on legal battles, supporting NOW's license challenges to broadcast stations in the 1970s, and serving in the mid-1980s as a collection site for donations sent from across the country on behalf of Kansas City anchorwoman Christine Craft, who brought a nationally covered discrimination case against KMBC-TV.²⁰¹ Allen covered the Craft case in *Media Report to Women*, detailing the journalist's battle against the station's owner, Metromedia, Inc., for firing her, she claimed, for being "too old, too unattractive and not deferential enough to men."²⁰²

In part, the response to these efforts prompted Allen to begin to think of WIFP's associates as a network, an important step in the furtherance of her goal to change the communication system. She wrote to associates in 1977:

There is an obvious desire among women concerned about the media in all its facets to be in touch with one another, to share information with one another and to work with one another in accomplishment of our goal to encourage meaningful change that expands the exercise of our Constitutional right to communicate in the media we find most suitable to our message.²⁰³

In recognition and furtherance of the WIFP Network, which she began calling it, she planned a

network register listing associates by name, contact information, and areas of interest, a newsletter, and WIFP network discussion meetings, the first of which was set for April 1-2, 1978. As it was conceived, the WIFP network would work in cities and regions where associates were located, as well as nationally. "Local strength will make us stronger as a national network," according to Allen.²⁰⁴

By the time of the initial meeting, the institute had about 100 associates and Allen put all of their names on the WIFP letterhead. The list represented a Who's Who of American feminism, including writer Susan Brownmiller, activist and journalist Gloria Steinem, poet and journalist Robin Morgan, feminist linguist Kate Swift, writer and researcher Andrea Dworkin, writer Mary Ellen Brown, journalist Sarah McClendon, artist Judy Chicago, television journalist Nancy Dickerson, feminist theorist Adrienne Rich, lawyer Carol Bellamy who would later become director of the Peace Corps, sexuality writer Shere Hite, feminist writer Kate Millett, and activist Charlotte Bunch, founder of the feminist quarterly *Quest*.²⁰⁵

The WIFP Conferences

About 95 women journalists and activists, most of them associates, turned out for what Allen billed as the first Regional Discussion Meeting at the National Press Club in Washington. The name was inappropriate, however, because 30 of the participants were from outside the Washington area, coming from as far away as California, New England, the Midwest, and Canada.²⁰⁶ The Press Club had just admitted women to membership and was eager to show that it no longer discriminated against them, so it allowed the group to rent its facilities.²⁰⁷ Many of the women stayed in the private homes of local associates or in downtown hotels, including the Hotel Washington, where Allen had reserved five rooms at a discounted rate of \$31 a night. The registration fee for the two-day meeting, including lunch on both days, was \$20.²⁰⁸

The meeting was deemed a success by participants, with workshops on such topics as stereotyping and sexist language in news coverage, pornography and violence, mutual support between alternative and established media women, expanding alternative media, gaining access to the public through media, employment, philosophy (led by Allen), and using the WIFP network.

The associates agreed they wanted a newsletter, and Allen pledged to begin one using her WIFP mimeograph machine. They set up a finance committee to find ways to fund WIFP activities. They agreed to use the WIFP as an umbrella organization. They saw it as a mechanism to help them get press credentials as free-lancers, sell advertising in small-circulation publications by combining circulation figures, and distribute film and video produced in conjunction with a consortium run by associates.²⁰⁹

WIFP began a long-range study of the nation's communication system and pledged to publish the results continuously over several years in a series to be entitled, *The Source of Power: A Series of Books for Women*.²¹⁰ Allen laid out her views in her Call for Research, a document edited by her daughter, Dana Densmore:

Source of Power. (1.) Power is the ability to move something in a direction you want - a physical object or an objective you wish to obtain. (2.) The more people working with you, the more power you have and the better and faster you can move your object or objective. (3.) The more people you can reach with your information, the larger the number who will find your goal is also their goal and join with you in attaining it. Thus, having a means of reaching people is crucial to increasing your power. Owners of mass media reach millions frequently; women's media reach thousands infrequently. Thus, power (the ability to move things your way) depends

on the number of people you can reach with your information. The *source* of power (where you obtain it) is *media* (i.e., having a *means of communication*). More people we reach, the more power we have.²¹¹

The institute did publish a series of booklets on media issues, and by the end of the year in 1978, Allen's writing and activism on media topics had drawn another 86 new associates.²¹² At about this same time, Allen was capitalizing on the WIFP's success in publishing the book, *Women in Media: A Documentary Sourcebook*, by Beasley and Gibbons. It immediately sold out of its first printing of 2,000 copies in 1977. The time was right for a follow up to the first meeting.

The first national meeting was planned for April 7-8, 1979, in Washington to be entitled the First Annual Conference on Planning a National and International Communications System for Women.²¹³ The conference cost very little to attend and virtually no one interested was turned away, even if she or he could pay nothing. Allen, for example, okayed free admission for a non-associate, Seena Howe, the public information coordinator of the New York City Commission on the Status of Women, because Howe wrote to say the commission "has absolutely no funds."²¹⁴

Although she was constantly forced to ask associates for money and she sought funding wherever she could, money was always a means to an end for Allen, never a goal in and of itself. Time, too, was a commodity she was willing to spend freely on behalf of her cause.

In announcing the conference, Allen wrote to associates:

And let us say that although it may take 20 years, we know this is what must be done, we are eager to get to the task, and we are determined to persist - with annual reassessment and renewal - until we have such a communications network nationally and internationally. Never again must we find ourselves in a 1950s-type situation where we can communicate only through men's media and only the information men want us to know. We women have important information for everyone.²¹⁵

The intent was for the information to go global. Haruko Watanabe of Tokyo, founder and president of the HKW Video Workshop, received a grant from Kanebo Cosmetics, Inc., of Ginza, Tokyo, to videotape the conference for international distribution. She was particularly interested in discussions on setting up a women's international video distribution system.²¹⁶ As outlined by Allen in *Media Report to Women*, the conference was to focus on three areas:

What do we need a communication system for? - that is, what is the most essential information women need to have which the existing communication structure does not adequately provide us and we need

to find a way to obtain and supply? Such as (a) political information on women candidates, legislation affecting women, (b) information on women's health, safety, protection against violence in home, on street, at work, location of shelters, etc. (c) economic information on employment, income, discrimination laws and remedies, childcare, welfare, credit, etc. (d) What other kinds of information have priority? (2) How to begin to build a communication system that will convey this information (through mass media, other specialized media, women-owned media, networks, conferences, concerts, and other person-to-person forms of communication). (3) Recommendations to ourselves: what to do first and who will do it.²¹⁷

Registration was \$35 for associates and \$50 for non-associates and the conference again was set at the prestigious National Press Club. The organizations represented varied enormously, ranging from *Ms. Magazine*, the biggest selling feminist magazine in the United States, to *Fighting Women*, a newspaper devoted to karate enthusiasts, with a circulation of 700.²¹⁸ Presenters included Allen's longtime cohorts Paula Kassell and Sue Kaufman, as well as journalists, video specialists, satellite communications consultants, and technical information specialists.²¹⁹

The agenda for the new communications system was perhaps never again so optimistically stated as it was by Allen before the conference:

The technology of the future is on our side. Women are already working in the new communications industries, have the know-how and are willing to put

it to use for women. We intend to plan for a decision-making role in the new systems; we are determined to put them to use for the broad range of humanitarian concerns that women have traditionally championed when they had a means of communication. The new technology will enable women to reach wider audiences with our vital information. In building a communications system for women, we are building a permanent women's movement.²²⁰

In a report to associates on the conference, Allen expressed happiness with the way the communications network was progressing so far, saying:

We have a good base. Our present system reaches millions through our multitude of networks in our many communities, committees of professional organizations, churches, political parties, government offices, public interest groups, unions, farm organizations, libraries, women's studies ... in every form of medium: music, film, print, art, audio, video and cable, theater ... in the newsletters and journals of our thousands of women's organizations ... in conferences and rallies, demonstrations and marches ... by our mimeographed fliers, posters, bumper stickers and buttons ... in our clubs, our kitchens, at work ... by word of mouth, by letter, by telephone ... *This vital communication system is the key to our survival.*²²¹

But Allen seemed mindful that plans made at conferences might be too ambitious to be executed. She was determined that whatever action was taken after the conference should be viewed as only a first step in a long journey:

Our purpose was not to dream up what could or should be done, by someone else, but to plan only those first steps that we ourselves could do and actually volunteered to do ... From the opening of the Conference to the last words, we reminded ourselves that this historic first conference on the subject

could make only a very tiny step. We will be back next year for the second steps, and every year thereafter no matter how long we have to keep at the task to make secure a national and international communication system for women.

Our WIFP research has shown us that throughout history women made progress when they had a means of communication (their own or others) and went backwards when they lost it. We do not intend to let this ever happen again.²²²

The "women's information" Allen often referred to was defined by her within several categories. Under health, safety and personal information "*essential to our survival*" was material on drugs and devices that were damaging to women. These included the anti-miscarriage drug DES, which was found in the early 1970s to cause cancer in offspring exposed to the drug in utero; the Dalkon Shield intrauterine birth control device that was associated with infections and recalled in 1975; spousal abuse, violence and self-defense, sexual harassment, women's clinics, "how women cope with their days' tasks," life without marriage, nutrition, abortion, pornography and sexism.²²³ Under economic information "*crucial to our independence*" was material about discrimination; pay; child care; welfare; pensions; homemakers' rights; small businesses; needs of poor, rural, older, ethnic, single and disabled women; traditional and non-traditional work; education; women's networks and resources;

volunteerism; and mentoring.²²⁴ Political information "key to using the first two kinds of information" included that about laws, regulations and constitutional amendments that affected women; candidates, particularly women; political action and its effects; women in government; political injustice cases against women; marches, demonstrations, and lobbying on issues such as abortion, world peace, rape, and the Equal Rights Amendment.²²⁵ Examples of international information "basic to a mutual support network for women" included international support for women and plans for the U.N. conferences on women.²²⁶

The conference recommended that WIFP associates explore as a "priority concern" institution of a regular women's news program "to begin systematic coverage of women's information not now available except here and there, unpredictably and irregularly."²²⁷ A committee of three was formed to explore funding for a half hour national show to cover women's news, possibly as a segment of National Public Radio's *All Things Considered*.²²⁸ The practicalities of the plan received little attention. At least one conference participant gave voice to a persistent problem at the WIFP conferences - the lack of participation by those who

would be in the best position to make such programming happen: women in mainstream media. "Why don't they show?" she wrote.²²⁹

Other approaches to media use were clearly more viable. Haruko Watanabe and those interested in visual and global technology, for example, discussed during a luncheon panel how women could obtain technical skills and knowledge of satellite communication. From that discussion and others sprang a task force in July 1978 that was committed to carrying out a feasibility study on the establishment of a satellite uplink to report to women from the U.N. World Conference in Copenhagen, Denmark.²³⁰ The satellite uplink, "though we hardly dared really believe we could actually realize [it]," according to Allen, was an eventual success.²³¹

Women also discussed how to monitor news coverage and meet with publishers and broadcast station owners. WIFP already had in existence a "Basic Factual Information Survey," an ongoing news monitoring project to determine "the extent to which media provide the public with factual information needed by citizens before they can form an opinion and take part in political decision-making."²³² The criteria for monitoring press coverage was to include these questions: 1. Are facts

included direct from the source? 2. Are opinions identified? 3. Is material given to aid democratic participation?²³³

Allen favored letting the newsmaker tell the reader what he or she considered most important. She also wanted all news stories to include contact information for those interested in getting involved in the issues presented. One of her big disappointments was that the mass media failed to include the wording of the Equal Rights Amendment in stories about it. To back up her claim that the media did not truly inform, she often cited a 1975 survey by the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year that found that 53 percent of American women had never heard of the Equal Rights Amendment and that of those who had, 74 percent did not know enough factual information about it to form an opinion. She defined "fact" as "any statement that no one disagrees with. If anyone disagrees, the statement is 'opinion.'" ²³⁴

The conference was clearly an extension of Allen's media agenda. She opened it with a statement that summed up how important she felt media was: "There's no injustice that having a mass media couldn't correct." ²³⁵ As a result of the 1978 conference, associates came up

with and signed off on the wording of the WIFP Associates Statement, which, though slightly revised, still stands today. It stated:

For the right to "freedom of the press" to be meaningful, there must be a realistic means of exercising it - for all of us, not just for the multi-millionaires among us. In a century as creative as ours, we are sure a better way to provide a means of communication to all who need it can be devised. We do not like to be in a position of having to "beg" or "demand" access to media that belong to others, happy to be mentioned even if inaccurately. There is a very large number of women who are increasingly becoming dissatisfied with the inadequacies of the present structures. We are seeking improvement, both through provision of our own media and in the existing media through our inclusion at all levels equally - in employment, news coverage and a more accurate portrayal of our abilities and our options politically, economically, and socially. We wish to indicate by our association with the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and its work on this problem that we, too, desire more attention to the issue.

We have differences in views among us and we would propose different solutions and work at many different proposals, some of us in our existing media and some of us outside it, at different levels and in different places. But we are united in our desire to encourage meaningful change that expands the exercise of our right to communicate in the media we find most suitable to our message - no less than the right exercised by some who presently are able to communicate their information to millions of others.

We know that changes in the structure of mass communications are going to come; too many people are now being left out. The question is on what principles is that restructuring going to be made? We want to have something to say about how the communications systems of the future are going to develop.

We want to work together to register our unity, to aid each other in obtaining the help and funding

we need for our projects and to encourage the greater total funding for constructive changes in the world's communications systems. For women to continue to make progress, a communications system is essential that will enable us to both exchange our information and reach the general public.²³⁶

For many women, the discussions at the conference were the first they had heard on such topics, and the ideas expressed were revolutionary and exciting. Allen handed out evaluations to all who attended and samples of these proclaimed the conference seminal to the attendants' progress as feminists, even for those who had attended many feminist conferences in the past. "I can honestly say it has probably changed my life," one attendee wrote.²³⁷

But some participants expressed reservations. Other themes that ran through the evaluations included a need for more leadership and structure in group discussions and more room for dissension and "controversy."²³⁸ At least one intellectual feminist in search of a large-scale critique of the damaging socialization effects of the media was disappointed because the conference was not about critical theory but about activism to change media and practical steps women could take toward that end.²³⁹ Yet, the overall enthusiasm expressed immediately led to planning another meeting.

The Second Conference

The second conference was scheduled as Allen announced to associates that the satellite teleconference in Copenhagen in July 1980 would be a reality and that the WIFP had been granted association status as a non-governmental organization at the United Nations attached to the Department of Public Information. The "Dear Associates" letter of March 1980 was upbeat in laying out the preparations for the Second Annual Conference on Planning a National and International Communications System for Women: "We are making progress for women and we are making history!"²⁴⁰

For the first time, Allen used the word "feminist" in promotional materials for a second conference. It was clear that she had refined her goals from expanding freedom of the press in the United States to expanding the women's movement globally through establishing a separate and distinct communications link among women. She saw the "waves" of the women's movement as periods in which women had communications interspersed with periods in which they did not, and she sought to eliminate the fits and starts of the movement.

Called "A Feminist Media Conference," the focus of the second conference was "Triple Networking to Expand the Women's Movement," showing Allen's ideas had evolved from bringing women together to expanding the women's movement.²⁴¹ In the conference schedule, she explained the goals of the Triple Network:

Feminists reach millions through their organizations, media, and positions in mass media, but we have never been able to pull together as one force in getting feminist ideas and information out to the public.

The major feminist organizations alone reach more than 30 million in their combined membership. Yet their message is rarely carried in the feminist or mass media stories and programs; and rarely do the feminist organizations even see or hear feminist media.

... With planning and mutual support, we can create a continuously expanding outreach for all, giving permanency to the contemporary women's movement...²⁴²

In later materials on the conference, she emphasized the international nature of the Triple Media Network in a dramatic call to arms:

If international communications are maintained, it will be more difficult for any country to turn back its women's movements. United we can withstand any attack against our progress and advance. Divided we will once again be at the mercy of the hostile image-makers who would have us adopt roles of their choice, not our own. WIFP is providing the space, time and arrangements because of our dedication to the just advancement of women to full equality and our belief that having a means of communication is key to women's progress on all issues.

This task is a very large one. It will take many years of hard work. We must begin at once."²⁴³

Anne Turpeau, co-chair of the Continuing Committee of the 1977 National Women's Conference in Houston, was the luncheon speaker at the second WIFP conference. Phyllis Sanders, a radio-TV commentator at WNBC-TV, Dana Densmore, representing the WIFP, and Prof. Helen Saehr, editor of the Women and Media issue of *Women's Studies International Quarterly* and a feminist organizer in Great Britain, were on a panel to talk about the practicalities of "networking feminist ideas into the mass media."²⁴⁴

There was a panel on "distribution" and in describing it, Allen stressed the importance of technology for women: "In ten years, everyone will have a desktop computer, they say. What are these magical communication aids and how can they be put to work for the massive outreach we need? What do they cost? Where do we get them?"²⁴⁵

Other ideas advanced to finance the expansion of feminist outreach included forming an advertising cooperative for feminist media, instituting a feminist "United Way" with non-profit status, and organizing an Associated Feminist Press. Many of the ideas never came to fruition. But others that were equally lofty did,

including the women's goal of circumventing the establishment media via satellite hookups for a brief period during two U.N. conferences and temporarily establishing a women's global wire service.

The Third Conference

By the time of the Third Annual Conference on Planning a National and International Communications System for Women, set for April 5-6, 1981, Allen had the success of the Copenhagen satellite teleconference (discussed further in Chapter 6) under her belt and the knowledge that an international communications network among women was on the global agenda. That was evidenced by a May 1980 International Seminar on Women and the Media sponsored by the Secretariat of the U.N. Mid-Decade Conference in Copenhagen and UNESCO. It addressed topics for discussion including "alternative media and networks to portray and communicate with women" and "promotion of the female population's access to and participation in the communication process."²⁴⁶

In publicity materials for the 1981 conference, Allen was still using the term Triple Media Network but the topics were more practical than philosophical. They

included brainstorming sessions on media involvement for the last half of the U.N. World Decade for Women culminating in the 1985 World Conference for Women; compiling a list of essential information in the areas of health, politics, education, social and cultural issues, and economics; and using the U.N. Decade for Women to build permanent international communications structures. A key part of the discussion at the conference was how to proceed with the establishment of an international news service.

Although the number in attendance at the third conference is unclear, several international journalists who had been involved in discussions about women and global media in Copenhagen traveled to Washington to attend. Their trip was partially funded by the German Marshall Fund. UNESCO sent a representative as well.²⁴⁷ The WIFP interim committee working on establishing an international media network concluded the women could go no further without a mandate from a larger group of women worldwide, and it committed itself to raising funds for the participation of as many women as possible from the Third World.²⁴⁸

The Historic Fourth Conference

By the time of the Fourth Annual Conference, the outgrowth was well under way of the 1977 U.N. effort to formulate new guidelines for the media to follow when projecting images of women. The Advancement of Women Branch of the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs of the United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs had convened an Expert Group Meeting on Women and the Media in Vienna in January 1982. That meeting produced a stinging indictment of the existing media system:

The centralization of authority in the communications field by commercial or bureaucratic interest has meant, for women, the expansion of a system of communication based on dominance by class and gender This fundamental characteristic of the communication media holds true all over the earth.²⁴⁹

The report urged the democratization of structures and control of the communication media as a prerequisite for the goal of equality for women, and called on women's organizations and community groups to continue their efforts in establishing alternative media institutions and taking action to change the existing political, social and economic structure.

Mindful of this U.N. ideological support and with a new partnership with the International Women's Tribune

Centre, Allen added the word "World" to her description of the fourth meeting as a Feminist Media Conference but dropped "Triple Media Network." The International Women's Tribune Centre is a non-governmental organization established in 1976 following the U.N. Conference in Mexico City that provides support services to global women's organizations and community groups. It had worked with women connected to WIFP in Copenhagen, and with Allen herself, to "piggy-back" on the WIFP conference by holding its own internationally focused meetings in conjunction with it.²⁵⁰

An International News Network

The International Women's Tribune Centre began raising money for the participation of women from Third World countries and the Conference was set for April 17-18, 1982, at the National Press Club. The emphasis at the conference was on building an international women's news information structure, which Allen explained did not mean to build a *new* (emphasis hers) news service but "rather to support and strengthen existing elements of our widely scattered and diverse network system."²⁵¹

This careful wording was in contrast to the large-scale plans discussed two years earlier in Copenhagen that included a Women's International Press Service - a permanent global women's wire service. It may have reflected a disappointing response from women's periodicals and media organizations in offering to help work on such a service or find funding sources. Paula Kassell had contacted about 100 such periodicals and organizations after the Copenhagen conference.²⁵² "In my discussions we have come to the conclusion that we must think in much more modest terms than a wire service," Kassell said in correspondence reporting on her efforts.²⁵³

Noting the need for planning for the end of the U.N. Decade for Women, Allen urged that an international communication system be in place before the final U.N. World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 because:

That 1985 Conference may be our last opportunity for women of every country to meet with official government support and financing. We must have something in place by that time, even if not yet fully developed, if we are to maintain and continue the progress we have made during the Decade. It must be representative of the world's people; it must give Third World women an international voice."²⁵⁴

Allen had much reason for hope. By this time, there were numerous women's news entities around the world and

she asked their representatives in attendance at the conference to participate in a Roll Call of Experience during the Conference's general session. Among the groups represented were Women's Feature Services; U.N. Radio Women's News; ISIS and International Feminist Network; International Women's Tribune Center; HER SAY News Service; International Women's Video Network; Africa Media Women; National Council of Women of Norway Press Service; South Pacific women's satellite network; Women's International Network News; National Women's Mailing List; Connexions; Alternative Women's Media Unit of Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Transnacionales; Women in Communications, Inc.; World Association of Women Journalists and Writers; Women and Television; and the International Women's Studies Network. Also represented were the in-house journals and newsletters of such groups as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; World YWCA; the International Council of Women, the International Association of University Women; the International Federation of Business and Professional Women; etc.²⁵⁵

The question on the table was how to go from concept to reality in establishing something more tangible than mere correspondence or the existing personal

communication between group leaders or members, to institute a true international network. Ways of building on what already existed were proposed. (Examples of women's media networks in existence in 1986 were Agence Femmes Information in France, Federation of African Media Women Feature Service in Kenya, Fempress in Chile (covering 11 South American and Central American countries), and Frauenpress in West Germany.)²⁵⁶

The women entertained, then rejected, an offer by the Inter Press Service, a Third World news agency, to "provide an opportunity for women themselves to debate the issues, review existing tactics and strategies or lack of them and receive information from all parts of the world written by other women."²⁵⁷ The conferees discovered that the offer did not include having women actually run the network.

Some questions raised at the conference were practical - "how-tos" for building and maintaining women's press services, financing, and information control. But others were stickier, such as, "What would be the ideology of (a Women's News International service) and how would we define 'news?'"²⁵⁸

In a separate meeting of the international participants the day before the WIFP conference began,

Third World journalists had balked at participating in a project they saw as planned and potentially controlled by Western women. The meeting was chaired by Anne Walker, director of the International Women's Tribune Centre.²⁵⁹ The participants were from such countries as Sri Lanka, Fiji, Zimbabwe, Sweden, Peru, France, Bangladesh, Israel, Tanzania, and Jamaica.²⁶⁰

Leila McDowell, a reporter from the National Alliance of Third World Journalists, admonished the steering committee that organized the Conference, saying its actions were perhaps "not racist in fact, but were racist in effect."²⁶¹ She and others accused the interim steering committee of not including in its agenda an outreach program to assure black and other minority representation from the United States.²⁶² Allen noted in response that the list of WIFP associates reflected the population mix of the United States with about 12 percent representing various minorities. She said notices for the conference were sent to 300 women's organizations, including about 75 Asian, black, Hispanic, and Native-American groups.²⁶³

Some of the ideological difficulties of uniting all women in a joint effort also surfaced. For example, Lorna deSmidt, a South African journalist who served five

months in solitary confinement in her homeland, responded to a call for unity by saying: "There is no way I will align myself with all women irrespective of political persuasion ... I would like to know that I am working with women of like minds and by like minds I mean that they are in political sympathy with me."²⁶⁴ The issue of a perceived lack of representation by black American journalists was also seen by some as marring the final day of the fourth conference, according to accounts in letters sent to Allen afterward. Allen, however, tended to downplay the discord, pointing out to Kassell that it mostly occurred in pre- and post-conference meetings among the Third World women alone.²⁶⁵

Money was a constant roadblock in organizing the conferences and facilitating their work. Kassell and Kaufman noted in *Communication at the Crossroads* that "when journalists from 32 countries meeting in 1982 talked about how to exchange news, the obstacle was that many could not afford international postage."²⁶⁶

But, nevertheless, 123 women - 73 from 14 states in the United States and 50 from different countries -- came together at the National Press Club in Washington in discussions that Kassell and Kaufman described as "lively, functional, and productive," not to mention

historic.²⁶⁷ As Kassell and Kaufman recounted it, The Women's International Media Network (WIMN) became the new name for the women's media network, replacing the previous name used in Copenhagen, Women's News International or WNI.

The idea of such a global communications network had never before been attempted, and it was being carried out, not by international media conglomerates, but by women in a U.N.-backed effort. The conference was deemed part of a four-year plan to establish the network in philosophy and principle by the end of the 1985 U.N. conference.

The philosophy and operating principles adopted at the meeting reflected its international scope and the influence of the foreign media women. They also illustrated a deepening of the complexity of Allen's thinking on her long-held goal of establishing a women's media network, and why it was necessary. The philosophy:

- Get information into mainstream and alternative media, utilizing networks of women within both who are feminists or sympathetic to our concerns.
- We need two-way multi-level communication to change perceptions of women and to create awareness of problems and of movements/alternatives for change within each region. We seek to present alternative views to correct distorted press messages of establishment media.

- Networks must facilitate South-South two-way information flow as well as South-North flow.
- In our efforts, we work toward the creation of a new world information and communication order that will bring about a more decentralized and balanced flow and control of the media.
- This network must address the pervasiveness of cultural imperialism and its effects in the Third World. We must look at the role of media workers in perpetuating or countering this imperialism. We need to counter cultural imperialism both through establishment mass media and through channels of communication appropriate to the stages of development and literacy of a given country.
- Our communication media should complement efforts to educate women about what the problems and issues are and about how to counter media manipulation.
- We need to educate/dialogue with/organize/influence media workers; especially women, in established media.
- We need to identify people within mass media known as sympathizers to feminism and those in opposition and exchange information about them within the network.
- We need to train women in how to most effectively influence the mass media.
- We can utilize the network to get information out when censorship and repression of the media and of people is preventing or restricting access to communication resources, and to publicize the facts of such repression.²⁶⁸

Other recommendations showed the importance the women placed on autonomy and maintaining control of their own editorial products. Among them:

- Regions should be responsible for budgeting and raising their own monies.
- Be aware of "strings" attached to money and the danger of becoming dependent on outside funding.
- Explore the possibilities of generating income.²⁶⁹

The final report of the conference expressed a determination that the network would progress in conjunction with the overall four-year plan leading up to the Nairobi U.N. conference. But, still, the realities of implementing the goals of the conference were daunting. Participants in a workshop to promote the network concluded that "it was difficult to do promotional planning for an idea that was still in formation" and lacked a clear mandate for its message and direction.²⁷⁰ And, a workshop on money issues agreed that after organizational structures were decided upon, resources identified, and commitments of work and interest by people were sought, a time would quickly come when there would be little more to do without major funding for an international network that could include an international news agency for women with offices all over the world.²⁷¹

What the conferees decided they could do realistically was give priority to establishing local, regional, and national networks. Conference attendees from each region volunteered to serve as regional contact persons in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, and the South Pacific with responsibility for continuing the network. According to Kassell, "That actually

happened over the next years. Many, many networks were started in countries all over the world. And then some regional networks were started. The whole thing was quite a success as far as getting media controlled by women all over."²⁷²

The Final WIFP Conferences

The Fifth Annual Conference, held April 16-17, 1983, at the National Press Club, seemed a more routine affair with an emphasis on a two-day intensive computer literacy course taught by an associate, Deborah Brecher of the National Women's Mailing List.²⁷³ The agenda also seemed to return to the effort to get more media attention for women's issues. The main conference panel included Annette Samuels, former assistant press secretary to President Carter and then-press secretary to the mayor of Washington, Marion Barry; Emmy winner Beth Rawles, public affairs director and executive producer of public affairs programs at WVIT-TV in Hartford, Conn.; Eileen Zalisk, director of the Women's Department of WBAI, New York City Pacifica station; and Marsha Dubrow, formerly a Reuters correspondent and then-press secretary for the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and

Transportation. The panel was titled "Cooperation Strategies for Getting Our Issues into Mass Media."²⁷⁴ Attendance was apparently down, to perhaps 50 women total.²⁷⁵

On Sept. 1, 1983, Allen announced she was taking a research sabbatical for the year 1984, doing only *Media Report to Women* on a part-time basis. She asked for a committee to do the institute's Sixth Annual Conference, and conference coordinator duties were taken up by Paula Kassell. Free registration for women who could not afford to attend was curtailed, with Kassell noting that the Institute "usually loses money" on the annual conferences, with most of the income going to pay for the National Press Club facilities.²⁷⁶

The sixth conference was moved from the prestigious National Press Club near the White House to the National 4-H Center in suburban Maryland. The conference was held in June instead of April when it usually coincided with the historic blooming of the cherry blossoms at the Washington Tidal Basin. But the goals remained steadfast as the participants worked toward the deadline of the Nairobi U.N. conference a year away.

The conference was officially titled "The Sixth Annual Conference on Planning *and Implementing* a National

and International Communications System for Women." A registration list showed that 72 women attended. Representatives from the State Department, the United Nations, the International Women's Tribune Centre, and the planning committee for the Non-governmental Organizations at the U.N. conference attended. Kassell, the WIFP's representative to the United Nations, chaired the kickoff plenary session on the "History of Women's International Network." Keynote speeches were given by Kathy Bonk, director of the Media Project of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund; and Catherine East and Dorothy Journey, who were conducting a research project on news.²⁷⁷

It was proposed that women organize to visit local media to ask for better coverage than was given the Copenhagen and Mexico City U.N. World Conferences on Women. The participants agreed that a resource package of background facts on the World Conference in Nairobi would be assembled and made available for dissemination. The focus was on launching what was now called a women's news/information exchange via audio media, print media, and visual media.

Money Woes

With Kassell at the helm, the conference appeared to be the first to make any substantial profit - about \$1,200, most likely as a result of the change of venue. In revealing correspondence on institute monetary support for organizing a women's media network in Nairobi, Kassell laid bare the policies of the WIFP and the monetary constraints that prevented it from funding any of the projects it helped facilitate. She was blunt in her assessment of the continuing precariousness of the institute's finances:

As Donna has said at each conference as long as I can remember, each project decided at a conference or by an Associate is carried out by those who decided to do it. The Institute administers or coordinates none, and accepts no assignments or directions to do any of it. For "Institute" read "Donna," who, you know works 18 hours/day, 7 days/week, 52 weeks/year publishing the *Media Report*, answering mail and other Institute business. As for money, there isn't any, as you know; the Institute does not even support Donna.

The conference fees were planned to produce a plus balance with a reasonably large number of registrants. My aim was to give Donna a cushion of funds.... The margin of profit from the conference will be vital for the Institute itself...²⁷⁸

Despite Allen's long-standing disinterest in profit or promotion, even she occasionally became discouraged by the amount of effort put into the annual conferences versus the return. In a rare admission in a letter to

Kassell on the expense totals for the 1982 conference, she expressed gratitude for the "good amount" of \$346 left over but lamented the endless hours it took to bring together women from across the globe while the demands of the newsletter, *Media Report to Women*, continued to weigh on her.²⁷⁹ She saw the survival of the Women's Institute as more important than the conferences or the newsletter. She wrote:

According to my records, I spent 60 hours on the Conference in February, 49 in March, and 138 in April. Total of 247. Was it worth it? ... The real cost of the conference to me is the harassment of being three weeks behind on *Media Report* ... (and) not having the time to do a good job on what I did put in on these two issues. Of course, yes, it's my contribution to the future communications system for women in the world, which we all know we need, but if I'd spent that time in the *Media Report* on existing networks, I might have done as much? Or even just making personal contacts between people?

... The real question for me is should I go out of business or put myself in the hospital for it? Both of these things (staying in operation and health) come before all other contributions I might make, no matter how beneficial they may be.

But live and learn. I never regret anything I've done in the past, because - by our theory - my judgments were based on the information I had at the time, and I could not have done differently. But now that I have all this new information, I will come to a few new judgments!²⁸⁰

Allen, never one to dwell on the negative, later wrote a note to Kassell dismissing her own complaints as "gloomy and complaining." She added, "I have now discovered a way to expand hours per day to 34 and as

soon as I get it patented I'll make a million. Then I'll take you to Yenching Palace (a favorite Washington, D.C., Chinese restaurant) so we can both celebrate."²⁸¹

Plans Cemented

There was no formal final report issued for the sixth conference June 1-3, 1984. A brief summation was printed in *Media Report to Women* that belied the major advances that were actually to come from this last, more modest conference.²⁸²

The Conference was held not long after an analysis of news coverage of the Copenhagen conference illustrated what the women had been maintaining all along - that there was an overall lack of balanced, comprehensive stories; spot news coverage focused on conflict; and spot news coverage generally failed to probe goals achieved in the meetings.²⁸³ The report, *New Directions for News*, was undertaken by the Women's Studies Program and Policy Center at George Washington University and looked at coverage by the Associated Press and 10 major U.S. daily newspapers.

According to Kassell and Kaufman, at the final session of the Sixth Annual Conference, the women decided

to try to ensure better coverage at Nairobi in 1985. Pittsburgh feminist-journalist Susanna Downie agreed to recruit reporters in the United States for an innovative news cooperative to cover the conference and the NGO Forum, with women running every level of decision-making.²⁸⁴

Called Women's International News Service, the project was developed under the auspices of the Women's Institute with a Nairobi news team made up of about 45 feminist media women and a home team directed by Kaufman from Terre Haute, Ind. Kaufman and Kassell described the operation of the ground-breaking news service in *Communications at the Crossroads*, outlining how reporters used laptop computers and an electronic mail system to transport their news stories to Terre Haute, Ind. From there they were edited and sent out via computer links to the 13 WINS subscribers, including *The Cape Cod Times*, *The Omaha World-Herald*, *The Pittsburgh Press*, *The Charlotte Observer*, *The San Francisco Examiner*, *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, *The Columbia Missourian*, *The Palo Alto Times-Tribune*, *The Salt Lake City Tribune*, *The Terre Haute Tribune-Star*, Walles (feminist group in Toronto), *Out & About* (lesbian feminist newspaper in Seattle), and Kassell's *New Directions for Women*.²⁸⁵

WINS managed to send stories daily and the service dispatched 43 articles during the 21-day period. "There were special moments of elation, too - one when the Home Team realized that a WINS dispatch had scooped the Associated Press This was the first time in history that women themselves established an independent women's news service from a women's event to media in other countries," according to Kaufman.²⁸⁶

But the effort to make WINS happen required the women to work around the clock, compensating for global time differences and newspaper deadlines, and suffering numerous technical and financial difficulties, including a lack of access to phone lines in Nairobi. They worked for no pay side by side with well-funded reporters from *The New York Times* and *Boston Globe*. And, the grueling pace of an international wire service, with volunteer journalists and only a trickle of grant money, could not be sustained once the Nairobi conference ended. "We were never able to do anything about raising money for it (an international news service)," said Kassell.²⁸⁷

The WIFP conferences, too, came to an end, though the Institute continued to make a women's international communication system a priority by, in part, exploiting new technology that had begun to be utilized by the

Nairobi news team. Those reporters were the first reporting on behalf of women to compete head to head with counterparts from the mainstream media, operating on the cutting edge of communication technology at the time, and the success of their effort was at least partly due to the women's communications network Allen fostered at WIFP.

¹⁴⁸ Donna Allen, written narrative in scrapbooks held at the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1987.

¹⁴⁹ Martha Leslie Allen, "Donna Allen's Life and Work," paper for presentation to the Dr. Donna Allen Memorial Symposium, Aug. 3, 2001.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Vicki Borolussi, "Educator-editor transcends the classroom," *Women in Education* 1, no. 1 (Fall 1981): 2.

¹⁵³ Ledgers, hand-written, n/d, held in private papers at the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press.

¹⁵⁴ Sue Kaufman, interview by author, tape recording, Chicago, Feb. 15, 2002.

¹⁵⁵ Sue Kaufman, "Donna, Donna, Donna," oral presentation at the Dr. Donna Allen Memorial Symposium, Aug. 3, 2001, Arlington, Va.

¹⁵⁶ Paula Kassell, "DC institute challenges mass media," *New Directions for Women*, Jan.-Feb. 1981, Donna Allen papers.

¹⁵⁷ Linda Kallman, "Learning to battle way into the board room," *The Journal-News*, Westchester County, N.Y., May 16, 1980, Donna Allen papers.

¹⁵⁸ Kassell, *New Directions for Women*.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Patricia Bathurst, "Facts, actions, ideas, philosophy: It's all there in *Media Report*," *Matrix*, publication of Women in Communications, (Summer 1977): 26.

-
- ¹⁶¹ Donna Allen, final report to the United States International Communication Agency, fall 1980, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹⁶² Donna Allen, "The Printing and Publishing Industry in the United States - To 1865," n/d, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹⁶³ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁴ Donna Allen, "The Meaning of the Constitutional Guarantee of a Free Press," n/d, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁶ Kallman, *The Journal-News*.
- ¹⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁶⁹ Kassell, *New Directions for Women*.
- ¹⁷⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁷¹ Marilyn Crafton Smith, "Women's Movement Media and Cultural Politics," *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values*, ed. Pamela J. Creedon (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1989), 279.
- ¹⁷² Ibid.
- ¹⁷³ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁴ Toni Armstrong Jr., "Donna Allen: One of Feminism's Most Glorious Standard Bearers," *Hot Wire* 9, no. 1 (January 1993): 23.
- ¹⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁶ Jo Freeman, *The Politics of Women's Liberation* (New York: Longman, 1975), 280.
- ¹⁷⁷ Donna Allen, "Final Report Recommends Nothing on Women's Communication Needs," *Media Report to Women* 8, no. 6 (June 1, 1980): 5.
- ¹⁷⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁷⁹ Kassell, *New Directions for Women*.
- ¹⁸⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁸¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁸² *Media Democracy: Past, Present, and Future* (Washington, D.C.: The Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press), 2002.

-
- ¹⁸³ Tamar Jacoby, "New Generation of Women's Publications," *The New York Times Style*, March 3, 1986, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁶ Martha Leslie Allen, interview with author, Tape recording, July 19, 2001.
- ¹⁸⁷ Borolussi, *Women in Education*, 3.
- ¹⁸⁸ Donna Allen letter to associates, Feb. 9, 1979, Box 1, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹⁸⁹ Borolussi, *Women in Education*, 3.
- ¹⁹⁰ Caroline McKittrick, intern, Spring 1983, Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, *A Study of the Print Media's Coverage of the ERA Position of the Women Elected in November of 1982*, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹⁹¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁹² *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*, by Maurine Hoffman Beasley and Shelia Jean Gibbons was published in August 2002 by Strata Publishing Co. of State College, Pa.
- ¹⁹³ Donna Allen, "Introduction," in *Women in Media: A Documentary Source Book*, Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons (Washington, D.C.: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1977), viii.
- ¹⁹⁴ Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, press release, June 12, 1981, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹⁹⁵ Donna Allen, "Dear Associates" letter, Nov. 7, 1977, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹⁹⁶ Donna Allen "Urgent Bulletin" to associates, Sept. 3, 1977, Box 1, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹⁹⁷ Stewart B. Oneglia, director, Task Force on Sex Discrimination, U.S. Department of Justice, letter to Allen, Jan. 12, 1978, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ¹⁹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹⁹ "Reports of WIFP Projects," Sept. 6, 1977, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁰⁰ Donna Allen "Dear Associates" letter, Jan. 12, 1978, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁰¹ Robert G. Picard, Louisiana State University School of Journalism, letter to Allen, Aug. 31, 1985, Donna Allen papers.

-
- ²⁰² Jean Gaddy Wilson, "The Career Crisis of Christine Craft," *Charlotte Observer*, Aug. 7, 1983, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁰³ Allen, "Dear Associates" letter, Nov. 7, 1977, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁰⁴ "Report on First Regional Discussion Meeting of the Associates," Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, n/d, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁰⁵ WIFP stationery, Feb. 23, 1978, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁰⁶ "Report on First Regional Discussion Meeting of the Associates," Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, n/d, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁰⁷ Martha Leslie Allen, "Donna Allen's Life and Work," remarks for delivery to the Dr. Donna Allen Memorial Symposium, Arlington, Va., Aug. 3, 2001.
- ²⁰⁸ Donna Allen, "Dear Associates" letter, Feb. 23, 1978, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁰⁹ "Report on First Regional Discussion Meeting of the Associates."
- ²¹⁰ "Call for Research," Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1977, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²¹¹ Ibid.
- ²¹² Donna Allen, "Dear Associates" letter, July 14, 1978, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²¹³ Donna Allen, "Dear Associates" letter, Nov. 10, 1978, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²¹⁴ Seena G. Howe letter to Donna Allen, March 27, 1979, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²¹⁵ Allen, "Dear Associates" letter, Nov. 10, 1978.
- ²¹⁶ WIFP press release, March 5, 1979, Folder 561, Donna Allen papers.
- ²¹⁷ Conference on Planning Communications System for Women registration form, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²¹⁸ Helen Baehr, "'Triple Network' plan underway," *New Directions for Women*, July/Aug. 1980, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²¹⁹ WIFP First Annual Conference on Planning a National and International Communications System for Women program, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.

-
- ²²⁰ The First Annual Conference on Planning a National and International Communications System for Women, "A Report," April 7-8, 1979, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²²¹ Ibid.
- ²²² Ibid.
- ²²³ Ibid.
- ²²⁴ Ibid.
- ²²⁵ Ibid.
- ²²⁶ Ibid.
- ²²⁷ Ibid.
- ²²⁸ Ibid.
- ²²⁹ Paula Kassell, A Feminist Media Conference evaluation, n/d, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²³⁰ Donna Allen, "A Chronology: Why Women Did Not Get Their Promised Satellite Demonstration," *Media Report to Women* 6, no. 7 (July 1, 1978): 4-10.
- ²³¹ "Dear Associates" letter, March 7, 1980, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²³² First annual conference, "A report."
- ²³³ Ibid.
- ²³⁴ Ibid.
- ²³⁵ Ibid.
- ²³⁶ Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press Associates' Statement, *Media Democracy: Past, Present, and Future*, 2002, (Washington, D.C.: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press), 6.
- ²³⁷ A Feminist Media Conference evaluation, April 17, 1980, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²³⁸ A Feminist Media Conference evaluation, n/d, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²³⁹ A Feminist Media Conference evaluation, April 13, 1980, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁴⁰ Donna Allen, "Dear Associates" letter, March 7, 1980, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.

-
- ²⁴¹ *The Second Annual Conference on Planning a National and International Communications System for Women*, conference schedule, April 12-13, 1980, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁴² Ibid.
- ²⁴³ WIFP Conference Committee promotional material, n/d, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁴⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁴⁵ WIFP Conference schedule, n/d, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁴⁶ Paula Kassell and Susan J. Kaufman, "Planning an International Communications System for Women," in *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*, eds. Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1989), 224.
- ²⁴⁷ Ibid, 230.
- ²⁴⁸ Women's International Media Network (WIMN) Conference Report, *Meeting of Women's News International (WNI) Interim Committee with International Participants*, April 16, 1982, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁴⁹ Donna Allen, "Worldwide Media Characteristics Hinder Women," *Media Report to Women* 10, nos. 7 & 8 (July/August 1982): 15.
- ²⁵⁰ Vivian J. Scheinmann, *New Directions for Women*, May/June 1982, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁵¹ Donna Allen, Dear Associates letter, Feb. 19, 1982, Folder 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁵² Paula Kassell letter to Wivi Aase, media woman in Norway, Dec. 22, 1980, private papers of Paula Kassell.
- ²⁵³ Ibid.
- ²⁵⁴ Allen, Dear Associates letter, Feb. 19, 1982.
- ²⁵⁵ "Fourth Annual Conference on Planning a National and International Communications System for Women," schedule, April 17-18, 1982, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁵⁶ Paula Kassell and Susan J. Kaufman, "Planning an International Communications System for Women," in *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*, eds. Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen (Norwood, N.J.; Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1989), 222.
- ²⁵⁷ Kassell and Kaufman, 225.
- ²⁵⁸ WIMN conference report.

-
- ²⁵⁹ Vivian J. Scheinmann, "... no way I will align myself with all women," *New Directions for Women*, May/June 1982, 1, Paula Kassell papers.
- ²⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ²⁶¹ Schienmann, *New Directions for Women*.
- ²⁶² Ibid.
- ²⁶³ Ibid.
- ²⁶⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁶⁵ Donna Allen letter to Paula Kassell, May 19, 1982, private papers of Paula Kassell.
- ²⁶⁶ Kassell and Kaufman, *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*, 223.
- ²⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁶⁸ Donna Allen, "Origin of 'Women's News International,' *Media Report to Women* 10, no. 4 (May 1982): 1-7.
- ²⁶⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁷⁰ WIMN conference report.
- ²⁷¹ Ibid.
- ²⁷² Paula Kassell, interview by author, via telephone, Feb. 27, 2003.
- ²⁷³ "Fifth Annual Conference on Planning a National and International Communications System for Women," WIFP conference agenda, April 16-17-1983, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁷⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁷⁵ Advance Registration List, Fifth Annual Conference on Planning a National and International Communications System for Women, n/d, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁷⁶ Paula Kassell letter to Jennifer Abod, April 23, 1984, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁷⁷ Sixth Annual Conference on Planning and Implementing a National and International Communications System for Women registration form, June 1-3, 1984, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁷⁸ Paula Kassell letter to Susanna Downie, *Pittsburgh Feminist Network News* and chair of the Implementation Plenary at the WIFP Sixth Annual Conference, June 25, 1984, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.

²⁷⁹ Donna Allen letter to Paula Kassell, May 19, 1982, papers of Paula Kassell.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Donna Allen note to Paula Kassell, n/d, papers of Paula Kassell.

²⁸² Paula Kassell statement to associates, n/d, papers of Paula Kassell.

²⁸³ Allan, V., East, C., & Journey, D.M. eds. *New directions for news*. Women's Studies Program and Policy Center, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 1983, Donna Allen papers.

²⁸⁴ Kassell and Kaufman, *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*, 234.

²⁸⁵ Kassell and Kaufman, *Communications at the Crossroads*, 235.

²⁸⁶ Kassell and Kaufman, *Communications at the Crossroads*, 236.

²⁸⁷ Paula Kassell, telephone interview by author, Feb. 27, 2003.

CHAPTER 6

MEDIA REPORT TO WOMEN

Shortly after founding the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press in 1972, Allen began publishing a mimeographed information sheet for associates to help women share information about the media or their work in the media.²⁸⁸ It operated on a shoestring budget funded by individual contributions from a small group of WIFP associates. A few years later, it had evolved into a polished monthly newsletter, *Media Report to Women*, that had international reach and was subscribed to by journalism schools, the three major networks, radio and television stations, newspapers and magazines from the *Chicago Tribune* to *Newsweek* and other media, as well as foundations, government agencies, women's and other organizations, and libraries for corporations such as Sears, Mobil Oil, and Philip Morris.

Allen relished her role as a journalist for *Media Report* and she took seriously its stated purpose to report: "What Women are Thinking and Doing To Change the Communications Media," which became the subheading on every issue. It had a tightly packed but readable format that presented facts on the media and their portrayal of

women, changes in the media, and her own opinion about the role and purpose of the media. It brought together information not easily available and material from a variety of sources. Allen and her associate editor, Martha Allen, covered all media, including newspaper, radio, television, magazines, textbooks, records, pamphlets, brochures, and advertising. They gleaned information from other women's media through subscription exchanges, and through covering women's conferences, and they monitored government policy action on media.

They reported on studies and surveys on the image and portrayal of women in the media, as well as on coverage of women in the news and women's news itself, especially news in commerce, health, sports, business, education, and safety. They included employment statistics of women and minorities in the media with particular reference to status and positions. They included opportunities for employment in the media in boxes in the newsletter for easy reference, and they highlighted individual accomplishments of women. They reported on techniques, "how-tos," promotions, and ideas used by women around the world "to provide practical know-how and inspiration for the readers."²⁸⁹ Each issue contained 25-40 articles, sometimes including special

sections on the activities of WIFP associates, and notices and reports on WIFP conferences and projects. In 1979, it had a paid mail circulation of 1,174, which remained consistent over the years.²⁹⁰

In *Media Report to Women*, Allen compiled reports about women's activism in the media internationally as well as women's activities within media and media scholarship. The newsletter was edited by Allen and indexed by Martha Allen in 150 subject categories with annotations for each story.

Media Report was promoted as the only comprehensive source for reporting on women's activities in labor disputes with media companies, with its editors hoping such coverage would result in better news coverage for all groups, a more accurate portrayal of all groups, more employment by women and minorities, and better programming.²⁹¹ It stands today as a comprehensive historical record of women's effort to bring about change.

Included also were reports on new media businesses by women, including newspapers, magazines, and journals, as well as information about new media products, such as tapes, films, and records. International, national, and local conferences and convention workshops on women-and-

media topics were regularly announced in *Media Report*, as were formation and activities of media reform groups, and new media studies. It often reprinted verbatim excerpts of court decisions, broadcast license challenges, government studies, FTC petitions, congressional committee reports and testimonies, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission complaints, and lawsuits against media companies. Complete texts of legal proceedings and material submitted from women and women's groups were printed in their entirety whenever possible.

Allen and Martha Allen published *Media Report to Women* based on the philosophy of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press that there should be no attacks on people, facts were more important than opinion, and people should speak for themselves. In an editor's note in the February 1979 issue, Allen explained her theory that women were more likely than men to espouse and push forward such a philosophy:

Being more sharing with media is a characteristic of female journalism. Women's papers ... care less to write other people's news, as practiced in existing journalism, than to help other people tell their own news information ... even an all-woman editorial staff (that is, women in decision-making posts) works toward this same characteristically female goal: LET PEOPLE SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.²⁹²

She said *Media Report* was a way of including women in the existing media system while women undertook the "next task" of building their own communication system.²⁹³

Our research findings have shown us - both historically and today - that women make progress when they have a means of communication, and that women can be, and have been, held down simply by being excluded from the existing communication systems. The building of a communication system for women's information is the next task This very different female journalism can provide us a goal for all media.²⁹⁴

Each year, Martha Allen indexed and annotated the articles in *Media Report* according to subject matter for inclusion in the annual *Index/Directory of Women's Media* with its subtitle "To Increase Communication Nationally and Internationally Among Women." The *Index*, available to students, researchers, and historians, provided a historical record of *Media Report* content and the women's media movement it documented. The *Index* also included a directory of women's media, the only one of its kind, containing more than 500 listings arranged both alphabetically and geographically by ZIP code and by country.

As an economist, Allen was one of the first to recognize the ethical implications of Big Media ownership and hers was one of the few publications for journalists, journalism educators, and business that monitored the

communications industry by culling through FCC regulations and congressional reports. For example, in 1982, she published an issue in which she revealed that the nation's largest banks overwhelmingly had stockholder voting rights at the three television networks and were a potentially major voice in news policy-making.²⁹⁵ According to letters Allen received from women working within media, the issue got widespread attention within media ranks.

The information Allen collected and distributed was deemed so unique and useful that in 1978 the Business and Professional Women's Foundation awarded the Women's Institute \$5,000 to expand *Media Report to Women's* subscription base, saying, "The *Media Report* specializes in media information relative to women, which is not available elsewhere, texts of suits and court or EEOC decisions, innovative ideas by women about the communications structure of both mass media and women-owned media. The reports from around the world cover ideas, actions, facts and theory."²⁹⁶

In 1981, as it neared its 10th birthday, Allen described *Media Report* as one of the oldest and most prestigious publications of the women's movement.²⁹⁷ By 1983, *Media Report* had become bimonthly, doubled in size

to more than 20 pages and conducted more international in-depth reporting.²⁹⁸ And, Allen was adamant about what she deemed as its key role -- building an international network. "It is our core communication for media change and progress" and "essential to the building of a world communication system for women," she wrote to associates in the early 1980s.²⁹⁹

The Themes and Structure of *Media Report*

In headlines and editorials in *Media Report*, Allen weaved the philosophy of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press around the articles and excerpts in each edition, putting the myriad articles in context in terms of the themes she deemed important. The first of these themes was the way women "see the existing communications system," which included news items on who decided how the media would be constructed in terms of its decision-makers, owners and management; the extent to which male domination of media affected the content; and the vast reach of mass media.³⁰⁰

To illustrate the first theme, which Allen addressed in Section A in each *Media Report*, Allen, for example, reported on an article by Dorothy Journey in the November 1982 *Bulletin* of the American Society of Newspaper

Editors that said men held more than 90 percent of the directing-editor jobs in the nation's newsrooms.³⁰¹ To illustrate how content was affected by male-dominant editorial staff, she cited a report in which a Winfield, Kan., *Daily Courier* editor said he published explicit details of a rape case, in part, to shock the community out of leaving doors unlocked.³⁰² And, in regard to mass media reach, she published an excerpt of an article in *Legislative Alert*, publication of Women Strike for Peace, citing *New York Times* and *Washington Post* stories aligning Women Strike for Peace with communism.³⁰³

The second theme Allen addressed, in Section B of each *Media Report*, was women's efforts to change the existing media system. In several articles spanning two pages of one issue, she cited action by the National Coalition of American Nuns, Chicago's 8th Day Center for Justice, the National Retired Teachers Association, publishers of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, and Follett Publishing to do away with sexist and ageist language.³⁰⁴

Her final theme, addressed in Section C of *Media Report*, was what women were doing to expand the communications media. In one issue, January-February 1983, for example, this section included reports on an international conference on women and work in the Third

World, a Women's Community Access Channel in Washington, D.C.; the fifth year of publishing for *WomenWise*, a women's health newsletter; the resumption of publication of the first bi-weekly national newsletter for women, *Women Today*, published in Washington, D.C.; and funding by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting Program Fund of a documentary about the a capella social activist group Sweet Honey in the Rock.³⁰⁵

Media Report editorials

In addition to direct mailings to associates, Allen spoke to the women of the network she envisioned through editorials on the back page of each *Media Report* beginning in 1983. Allen used her editorials to espouse her philosophies and to point out the articles in *Media Report* that backed them up. Key among her opinions was that women lost their means of communication in the 1950s. This was a position backed by other communication researchers who analyzed news coverage of women-and-work issues before, during, and after World War II. For example, Lauren Kessler, in *The Dissident Press, Alternative Journalism in American History*, wrote that the mainstream media espoused feminist causes when women

were needed in the workforce during the war, but later turned on women at a time when feminist publishers and networks had declined - a phenomenon that Betty Friedan theorized created the "feminine mystique."³⁰⁶ Allen publicized Kessler's work in *Media Report* as well as a 1984 study by Maureen Honey in *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II*. Honey documented the massive partnership between government, advertisers, writers, and journalists during World War II to encourage women to enter the labor force and convince the public that traditional prejudices against working women were inaccurate - sentiments that changed quickly once the war ended.³⁰⁷

Women, Allen said, were not able to build on their history as men were because of these gaps in the record. "Each new generation has had to repeat the experiences and relearn the same lessons, because we have had no known heritage," she wrote in spring of 1983.³⁰⁸ She also consistently boosted the work of the WIFP and its associates in her editorials, pronouncing that rapid changes in the media were coming and proclaiming, "A communications revolution is truly in the making."³⁰⁹

One of Allen's key tenets in her *Media Report* editorials was the goal of what she called "equality of

media outreach" - the idea that women got short shrift in media coverage and that what coverage they did get was negative and reflected the views of the male-dominated hierarchy. "We all experience the power of mass media over our decisions due to their massive outreach. Yet we know that no democracy can survive where a few men have such immense political power relative to others," she wrote in a 1985 editorial, previewing a new Women's Institute statement as part of its radical feminist analysis of mass media.³¹⁰

While Allen's basic approach was one she deemed "positive" - that is she eschewed attacks on people and their ideas, letting individuals and groups "speak for themselves," she sometimes did blast specific mass media organizations. For example, in printing results of a comprehensive 1985 study of the news coverage of the Equal Rights Amendment, she wrote of the "shocker" findings that only one story in the major news weeklies quoted the full text of the 58-word amendment in an 11-year period.³¹¹ She blamed misconceptions that the amendment would require unisex toilets and other misinformation she said was promulgated by the media for the defeat of the amendment in November 1975.³¹² She said merely printing the amendment in its entirety would have

eliminated many of the misconceptions: "I have a very difficult time believing *Time* when it says that 'a major task was simply familiarizing the public with the amendment itself.' Who are the *Time* editors talking about? The implication is that it is not their job to give the public this information..."³¹³

She often explained how she saw the interaction of women and media as an ongoing process that would eventually bring about a mass media more responsive to all. She maintained that women worked at two levels - a first level involving grassroots media activists publishing their own "women's media," and a second level involving women employed in mass media who worked to bring the grassroots issues to the surface of general media coverage.³¹⁴ Indeed, some of her correspondence showed evidence of an informal system such as this with the reach of *Media Report* spreading to women in high-ranking mass media jobs. "Raising public opinions for debate is exactly what women's media do," Allen wrote in 1986. "We coalesce and articulate our issues, and through our media, tell the mass media what we are most concerned about."³¹⁵

Women's Reaction to *Media Report*

When it began in 1972, *Media Report to Women* was a welcome and novel publication for women turning their attention to the media and the women's movement. Women were taken with the publication, its thoroughness and accuracy, and Allen's willingness to publish articles about the work and causes of WIFP's associates. In a constant stream of correspondence, they sent their requests in for free annual subscriptions on scraps of paper, embossed stationery, and letterhead - handwritten and typed. There were constant offers of financial help and an equal number of personal stories of why financial help was impossible. Allen asked for money repeatedly but only what subscribers could afford. Allen soon began charging \$10 a year for subscriptions but would often send copies gratis if asked.

In one mailing in 1977, for example, Allen included a place to check off to enclose a tax-exempt contribution to the work of the WIFP. In parentheses, she added, "We'll always include a contribution request in our mailings. Please don't let it intimidate you. No contribution is required. What you are *able* to give

helps us to do more of these things and begin new projects."³¹⁶

Michelle Grumet of the L.A. Women's Coalition for Better Broadcasting expressed a typical sentiment in a letter of March 7, 1975: "We all think your publication is great, and want to give you some financial support, but at the moment have no money at all. When we do, you are the first on our list."³¹⁷

Many of the letters poured out personal stories of struggle with job searches, career changes, and academic and even health challenges. Allen's responses were generally upbeat, brief and to the point: Women's struggle within media was *the* cause of the age in which women found themselves, and together, the WIFP and its associates, along with *Media Report* and its ability to communicate with interested parties, could change the political structure. Allen's goal remained establishment of a radical women's communication network.

Following the second edition of *Media Report to Women*, she spoke to a journalist with rare emotion of her commitment, goals, and need for funds to continue mailing the newsletter to 300-500 "key women in the media and others who have a special interest in the media:"³¹⁸

Yes, we do need money to continue our work. We are a group of women who don't believe that you have to throw up your hands and say, "Oh, the mass media. It's hopeless. You can't do anything about it." ...We have in mind a private communication system amongst ourselves to help keep women informed of new developments in media ideas, actions, facts and philosophy.³¹⁹

Reporting on Women's Action

This "private communication system" often had public results. For example, *Media Report*, in the summer of 1972, urged readers to mark the celebration of women's suffrage on Aug. 26, 53 years earlier. In response, one subscriber, Joan Bartl, sales director at WPST radio in Princeton, N.J., and her women coworkers, convinced the station's manager to turn over the broadcast day to women - an action then reported in detail in *Media Report*.³²⁰

In an Aug. 28, 1972 press release, the station announced: "For eighteen hours, devotees of feminism heard their sisters saluted and their minds massaged with features on education, employment discrimination, abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment and other issues pertinent to the women's lib movement."³²¹ Five women activists became deejays for the day, conducting interviews with NOW leader Gloria Steinem and others, while male announcers worked behind the scenes as

engineers. One-fourth of the advertising revenue for the day went to the Princeton University NOW Day Nursery and \$100 of the \$372 in additional commercial advertising sold specially for the day went to the WIFP. The station's manager, David Fuellhart, had been skeptical of the programming plan, but proclaimed the day "one of the finest and most professional broadcasting days we have had on the air." This was after admitting he was "a little worried ... that the caliber of the programming might not be up to the WPST excellent standard."³²²

As women capitalized on the rising tide of the Second Wave, their activities were increasingly reported in the mainstream media. Allen recorded the activities as well as the coverage, letting women around the country know what others were doing and how it was being covered. For example, WBZ-TV and the Massachusetts Governor's Commission on the Status of Women sponsored a groundbreaking, 16-hour televised program on women's issues called "Yes, We Can!" at the Hynes Auditorium in Boston in January 1974. Allen publicized the live "women's fair," which pre-empted the station's regular programming of soap operas and quiz shows. The turnout staggered even many of the women leaders. Tens of thousands of women from across New England streamed into the convention

center from before dawn until late at night despite the near-zero temperature.

Allen often criticized the news media for failing to cover the substance of such events. Indeed, the *Boston Globe* spent 12 paragraphs of its 15-paragraph story on the event discussing the long lines to the free daycare pavilion, the shortage of free donuts, the sometimes-faulty sound equipment and a broken coffee urn.³²³ *The New York Times'* coverage described the typical participants this way: "For the most part, the visitors were not political militants, but ordinary women looking for practical information about resources and outlets for complaints - against credit, salary and job discrimination and against consumer frauds."³²⁴ Allen reported on the issues discussed at the event without assessing the participants' political positions or the lack of pastries.

Sometimes, activists would merely send Allen carbon copies of their correspondence knowing that she would make their case in *Media Report*. A frequent contributor in this vein was Kathleen Bonk, chair of the National Media Reform Committee of the National Organization for Women, a committee with which Allen worked closely. Knowing Allen since she was a student in 1973, Bonk later

worked at the Justice and State departments on policy recommendations regarding women's rights issues and sought Allen's help in their wording.³²⁵

A 1978 letter from Bonk to the Federal Trade Commission, copied to Allen, illustrated some of the issues in which media activists were involved at the time, including monitoring of the federal government on equality and policy issues concerning media. Bonk took exception to the all-male makeup of the announced Federal Trade Commission Media Symposium, "A Workshop on Media Concentration," scheduled for Dec. 14-15, 1978:

Maybe you are trying to make the point that media ownership and control are dominated by white males; however, I find it quite inappropriate for a federal agency such as yours arbitrarily to ignore one-half the population. Similarly, I do not recognize any significant minority participation on the part of minority groups including Blacks, Hispanics, Asians or American Indians.

After all, we are pressuring the networks and print media to integrate their ranks, and for a federal agency not to present a model program is unconscionable. The traditional excuses of not being able to find qualified women or minority males do not apply here. Just recently a woman was named Chair of the Board of a major network, Barbara Mikulski sits on the Communications Subcommittee of the House, hundreds of women and minorities are acclaimed authors, not to mention the growing number of women and minority group academics and broadcast lawyers.... If you need a resource list, I would be happy to provide you with names and addresses.³²⁶

Allen publicized Bonk's efforts. Allen, herself, would often be among those recommended for various policy panels on media.

The New York Times Lawsuit

Media Report became a place of record for sex discrimination lawsuits in media organizations around the country, including in the class action lawsuit brought by women employees against *The New York Times*. Allen printed the six-year progression of the suit over five issues, and in a calculated move that drew grateful attention from the organizers of the lawsuit, she devoted an entire 16-page issue to the settlement of the *Times* women's challenge. Known as the "13th issue," it was published on Dec. 31, 1978.³²⁷

The way Betsy Wade, one of the seven named plaintiffs in the suit, remembered it, Allen came to New York at the time and the two of them sat in the back room of the now defunct Gough's, "a shabby saloon in Times Square," and talked about how the case might best be documented.³²⁸ After struggling over whether doing an entire issue on the suit would "crowd out accounts of the

other warriors out there, carrying on fights as bitter as ours against opponents just as formidable," Allen decided to solve the problem by publishing an extra edition that year.³²⁹ There had been other well-known discrimination lawsuits against media organizations, such as those against *Reader's Digest* and NBC, but *Media Report* highlighted the historical significance of the action that struck most directly at the ideological soul of the news media, *The New York Times*.

Media Report to Women was the only place one could see the charts created to illustrate the regression analyses prepared for this trial, or read details unearthed in the discovery process by lawyers for the *Times* Women's Caucus. The issue also detailed the agreement by *The Times* to place women in one out of every eight of its top corporate positions during the four years that the agreement would be supervised by the federal court. *The Times* also agreed to place women in one in four of the top positions in the news and editorial departments and to give the 550 women covered in the suit a total back-pay award of \$233,500 to be paid in annuities. *Media Report* detailed the exertions of the caucus leadership in getting the news media to cover the settlement. It also printed its first-ever pictures -

sketches by court artist Marilyn Church - of lawyers describing terms of the settlement to a meeting of the caucus. It included long excerpts from the plaintiffs' findings of fact and from other material prepared for the trial, including documents found in discovery commenting on potential female employees' bodies and clothing.³³⁰

According to Wade:

There is no way to estimate the value of that issue. In the 20 years since, Donna remained willing to send copies to students, researchers, writers, anyone who sent her the \$10 she requested for it and the four other *Media Report* issues focusing on the suit. I never had to say, this or that is not quite right, or to use Post-Its to amend her work. She let the women speak for themselves, according to her principles, and the issue was a historical document, rounded and complete.³³¹

Documenting the Efforts of Women

Women were grateful to Allen for taking on the job of record-keeper for their cause of making strides in media, publishing alternative media, and connecting with each other. Veteran broadcaster Nancy Dickerson, then of a program called "Inside Washington," wrote Allen about a statistic in the Dec. 26, 1973, *Media Report*, which she claimed to have read with "profound interest, not to mention irritation. Is it possible to obtain a list of those 211 stations that had NO women in professional jobs

in 1972?" Dickerson asked.³³² In another typical letter, Christy Bulkeley, a feminist who became editor and publisher of the *Rochester Times-Union*, wrote: "Thanks for the job you're doing. Knowing you're there and keeping track of things will save us some wheel-spinning and let us spend more time working for the changes that are needed."³³³

Allen often heard from women battling sex discrimination. Jill A. Cooper of Rexburg, Idaho, wrote on July 29, 1974:

I am presently the news director at a small radio station and have heard, via the grapevine, that I am shortly to be "Got rid of" as there is a man who wants my job. No female announcer has ever been hired by this particular radio station, and any suggestion that they might do so is met with sniggers and laughter. Please send me information on the Institute, and let me know if there is any way I can help with research, etc.³³⁴

Women poured out their ideas and innovations to Allen for publication in *Media Report*. Mary Ellen Corbett, a veteran journalist and public speaker on feminist issues, for example, self-syndicated a column called "Feminist Q & A," which ran in about a dozen newspapers and magazines in 1975. "My column is written to explain women's rights issues to average newspaper readers," she wrote.³³⁵ Allen publicized Corbett's column on the front page of *Media Report*.

Many women sought Allen out for personal meetings. For example, Hollis Danner, a journalism student at Syracuse University in 1977, asked to meet with Allen while she was in Washington for a National Association of Broadcasters convention. Her sentiments about women's alienation in the media field were typical:

Through the *Media Report to Women*, I began to feel less isolated. In my department at Syracuse University, there are very few women, at least in their last year as I am. The attitudes of most of the men are completely condescending. It terrifies me only in that it is probably a preview of what I can expect out in the "real world." I feel it would be a great help to me if I could speak to you, or some of the people on your staff.³³⁶

Allen, of course, had no staff but was always willing to meet with women who sought her out.

Broadcast Challenges

Allen publicized women's efforts to reform media, particularly in television, which many women saw as a powerful societal influence. For example, she followed coverage by Eileen Shanahan, a reporter for *The New York Times* who was part of the *Times'* discrimination lawsuit, of action taken in June 1972 by a group of 13 citizen groups that challenged a transfer of ownership of WNYS-TV in Syracuse, N.Y.³³⁷ The case was the first of its kind

in which the treatment of women, both in on-the-air references to women's activities and in hiring, was a major issue. Withdrawal of the protest was filed with the Federal Communications Commission a year later when the prospective owners promised to improve the station's treatment of minorities and women. The prospective buyer agreed that "disparaging and out-of-context references to sex roles will be avoided. Cliches and misleading descriptions, including but not limited to 'women libbers,' will be especially avoided."³³⁸

Another chief cause of Allen's was making the FCC more accountable under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the FCC's own equal employment opportunity rule of 1970. The rule prohibited discrimination against women and minorities in "recruitment, selection, training, placement, promotion, pay, working conditions, demotion, layoff or termination." It also required stations to file affirmative programs with the FCC telling what they were doing to implement equal opportunities for women at their stations.³³⁹

One way that women sought to force broadcasters to adhere to the rule was by challenging the licenses of local broadcasters. It was a tactic that had national implications. *TV Guide* highlighted the practice in a

Feb. 3, 1973 article entitled *Local Broadcasters Under Siege* in which it outlined the practice of petitioning by "blacks, Chicanos, American Indians, Chinese-Americans, women's libbers, conservationists, individual crusaders, extortionists. Most petitioners accuse the stations of discriminating against minority groups in employment, and charge bias or neglect in programs."³⁴⁰ *Media Report* documented in detail the history of the women's movement efforts to deny license renewals to broadcast stations nationwide on the basis of sexism in treatment of women employees and in broadcast content.

In one typical case she reported what women were demanding and what they sometimes were able to get. She described action by the Houston-area chapter of the National Organization for Women that led to KPRC-TV, Channel 2, in Houston, filing a memorandum of agreement with the FCC as part of the station's application for license renewal on June 24, 1974.³⁴¹ In it, the station agreed to establish a Women's Advisory Council "composed of representatives of organizations and individuals who are concerned with improving the status of women in the station's viewing area and will advise the station of the problems and needs of women, and programming related to those problems and needs."³⁴²

The station also agreed to establish a resource bank of organizations, groups and individuals to serve as knowledgeable spokespersons on matters of public interest. It promised to increase news coverage of the "problems of women" and the women's rights movement, to broaden coverage of women's athletics with the use of women reporters, where possible, and to produce a full-length documentary entitled "Growing Up Female" and other documentaries on such issues as sexism in education, child care, the legal rights of women and women in prison over a year's time. The station also agreed to "make a diligent effort to utilize women on an equal basis as both interviewers and interviewees on public affairs programming, where qualified participants are available."³⁴³

The agreement also went so far as to dictate guidelines for on-air commercials and in hiring. NOW won the right to be notified by the station when vacancies were to be filled from outside the station's existing bank of employees. And, the station agreed to advertise in publications directed toward women. Allen published the text of the agreement in *Media Report*.³⁴⁴

An earlier landmark challenge had helped pave the way for this and other challenges. It came on May 1,

1972 and was brought by the New York Chapter of NOW against the license renewal of WABC-TV in New York. Based on extensive monitoring studies conducted by NOW, the petition charged massive violations of FCC regulations in that WABC-TV did not consult with women or women's groups regarding women's programming, presented a distorted and one-sided image of women, and employed a smaller percentage of women than any other local television station. NOW was not satisfied with the outcome of a three-month negotiation with the station, "particularly with respect to balancing the one-sided programmatic presentation of the role of women in society."³⁴⁵ The WABC-TV case was the first to note the significance of the relationship between employment of women and program fairness: "If women occupied responsible decision-making positions in the broadcasting industry, discriminatory stereotypes and substandard services would more quickly disappear," according to the NOW petition to the FCC to deny the WABC-TV license renewal, which was published in *Media Report*."³⁴⁶

At the time, 10 percent of WABC newsroom positions were held by women. The FCC rejected the petition three years later, saying media coverage of women was not a "community problem."³⁴⁷ Still, this landmark case and the

dozens of others that failed in a formal way, resulted in compromises between stations and women's groups, led to more community outreach by broadcasters, increased programming of interest to women and minorities, and helped more women and minorities gain employment in the broadcasting industry.³⁴⁸

Allen, who documented all the cases in *Media Report*, quoted the chairman of the FCC, Dean Burch, in *Broadcasting* magazine Oct. 8, 1973, as admitting the pressure was on. "We're getting more and more pressure from blacks, Spanish American groups, Oriental groups - you name it - we've had pressure that they're not represented," he said.³⁴⁹ "Women particularly are claiming they're not on the air; they don't have a voice in communications policy."³⁵⁰

Taking on the FCC

Allen would regularly inform her readers of the states where licenses were coming up for renewal and urge them to inspect their stations' Annual Employment Report (Form 395), which requires that each licensee report on station employment by sex and ethnic classification. She published a statistical analysis of three years of FCC

annual Employment Reports by the Office of Communications of the United Church of Christ that showed little change in employment of women in the top four job categories at commercial television stations nationwide from 1971 to 1973. In 1973, 88 percent of officials and managers were male, 84 percent of professionals were male, 98 percent of technicians were male and 91 percent of sales workers were male.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights noted in 1974 that the FCC was the only regulatory agency to act to eliminate employment discrimination by those it regulates, but it also faulted the FCC's guidelines as vague, and the FCC continued to feel pressure from women.³⁵¹ The FCC laid out more extensive guidelines for broadcasters in 1975, duly reported by Allen, noting that "apparently we have not made clear that an equal employment opportunity program must be active and affirmative," and that practices and procedures "neutral on their face cannot be maintained if they operate to freeze the status quo or perpetuate prior discriminatory employment practices."³⁵²

MRW included statements by FCC Commissioner Charlotte Reid who noted that since 1971, FCC figures indicated that employment of women in full-time jobs had

increased from 23.5 percent to 25.3 percent in 1974.³⁵³

"While the raw number of women employed in broadcasting is not so impressive, it is noteworthy that 36 percent are in the upper-four job categories," she said.³⁵⁴ She noted that women accounted for 13.9 percent of all sales workers as compared to 8.5 percent in 1971. Female officials and managers rose from 8.9 percent in 1971 to 14.4 percent in 1974. She acknowledged, however, that "sex-typing ... appears commonplace, especially in smaller and medium market stations. The oft-encountered term 'traffic girl' did not arise by accident."³⁵⁵

But the action against stations continued, and so did its coverage in *Media Report to Women*. In June of 1976, for example, the Los Angeles Women's Coalition for Better Broadcasting, made up of seven feminist organizations, sued to overturn the FCC's decision renewing the license of KNXT, the CBS affiliate. It claimed the FCC placed an impossibly high standard of proof upon challengers alleging employment discrimination and that women were grossly underrepresented at KNXT. The suit was part of a historic campaign against four West Coast television stations and a radio station.³⁵⁶

Public Broadcasting

A key area of focus for feminists at this time was also public broadcasting and *Media Report to Women* followed closely each step of women's efforts for reform in this area. In November 1975, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting published the *Report of the Task Force on Women in Public Broadcasting*, a document that Allen wrote about at length. It concluded that women failed to achieve the occupational success of men in the industry. It was also clear that men were seen and heard on the air more frequently than women. Although women were not stereotyped on public television to the extent of commercial television, they were overlooked in certain kinds of programming, particularly public affairs. The Task Force made recommendations to the CPB Board of Directors concerning fair and equal treatment of women both on the air and as employees of public broadcasting facilities.³⁵⁷ Efforts at implementing the recommendations were slow and difficult to track.³⁵⁸

MRP reported on a monitoring project by United Methodist Women on "Sex Role Stereotyping in Prime Time Television," which was published July 16, 1976.³⁵⁹ "One of the largest differences found between the television

world and the real world was in employment," the report stated. "U.S. Department of Labor statistics for 1975 indicate that 40 percent of those employed in the nation were female. In our sample of 1,095 characters, 823 were employed ... (and) 22 percent were female."³⁶⁰

The NBC Lawsuit

Allen was an authority on all these efforts and maintained an extensive library of original documents and media coverage of various discrimination cases within the media industry for use in *Media Report* and as background material for scholars wishing to document women's struggle within media. One major effort came in a settlement in 1977 in a class action sex discrimination lawsuit against NBC.³⁶¹

In December 1971, *NBC Nightly News* production assistants Marilyn Schultz and Katherine Powers balked at their usual task of fetching coffee for the men on the staff. They then formulated and distributed a questionnaire to all NBC women employees, uncovering extensive anger about sex discrimination. They called a general lunch-hour meeting and 75 women overflowed a mini conference room, crowding into the halls, and the Women's

Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity at NBC was born. Over the next year the women organized and took their case to personnel and the all-male "president's council" in the NBC board room. NBC executives denied any discrimination in hiring, promotion, or in programming. They claimed that NBC's daytime soap operas, in fact, regularly came to grips with women's issues: adultery, abortion, rape, homosexuality, and incest.³⁶²

The women complained to the New York City Human Rights Commission, and later, 16 of them brought suit. According to the settlement agreement, publicized by Allen, the network promised to hire, train and promote women into the mainstream of all broadcast activities. The agreement also called for NBC to boost a woman's pay when she was promoted to equal the average salary of the male employees in her new grade level who were with NBC five years.

Working with NOW

Allen's documents show the extent to which the National Organization for Women worked to reform media and the importance that women in general placed on such

efforts. For example, in December 1973, Virginia Carabillo, NOW national vice president for public relations, took on the cause of changing sexist language in the National Association of Broadcasters Radio Code and forbidding the use of the term "women's libbers." In her proposal, she said, "Let me underscore here ... that I do not use the term 'women's liberation' to refer to the movement.... The media has made it a perversion. Have you ever heard broadcasters use the phrase 'Black Lib' or 'Chicano Lib' or 'Indian Lib' to describe the civil rights movements?"³⁶³ Carabillo also underscored the rallying point that media portrayals of women had become:

I will point out that women are not a special interest group in the usual sense of the term. We are half the population. When the image of women presented in the media is offensive, it is offensive to women of all social classes, races, religions and ethnic origins. Aside from 'equal pay,' the offensive image of women in the media has been our most unifying issue with which to recruit women."³⁶⁴

NOW also went where media power is measured directly in terms of money - advertising - and produced sophisticated radio and television spots that went to the heart of its cause. Allen worked closely with NOW's activists on media and reported details of the ad situation in *Media Report*.³⁶⁵

One 30-second radio spot featured background sound of a baby crying with the announcer saying:

This healthy normal baby has a handicap... she was born female. When she grows up, her job opportunities will be limited, and her pay low. As a sales clerk, she'll earn half of what a man does. If she goes to college, she'll still earn less than a man with an eighth grade education. Job discrimination based on sex is against the law. And, it's a waste. Think about *your* daughter - she's handicapped too. This message sponsored by the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, New York, N.Y.³⁶⁶

NOW had proposed a women's rights campaign to the Advertising Council for its approval as a public service campaign. Approval by the council, a non-profit association that recommends advertising for the public good to newspapers, magazines, television, and radio stations, was a virtual necessity for nationwide distribution. But the council withheld its recommendation on the grounds that NOW was a political organization engaged in attempting to influence legislation.

NOW countered that the ads, concentrating on equal pay and opportunity for equal work, were covered by existing laws forbidding discrimination against women. The council gave its blessing to the ads and they began airing in spring 1973 when NOW's Legal Defense and Education Fund, a separate, tax-exempt arm, was named to

sponsor the campaign under the council's rules.³⁶⁷

Details of the ad situation were reported by Allen in *Media Report*.³⁶⁸

Protesting Language

Allen devoted many pages of *Media Report* to protests against sexist language. One notable incident occurred on the 6 p.m. news at the ABC affiliate in New York on Nov. 24, 1976, when weather forecaster Tex Antoine made a remark after a news story about rape, saying, "Confucius say, if rape inevitable, relax and enjoy it."³⁶⁹ Allen documented this incident and also revisions of broadcast codes to bar derisive words about women, findings of studies on derogatory language about women, and individual stations' and newspapers' agreements to ban sexist language.

Despite such bans, Allen was frustrated with the ways in which media discussed women in general during the period known as the Second Wave of Feminism, often categorizing them as either liberated or traditional.³⁷⁰ She blamed the media's male-dominated management for portraying women interested in the women's movement as crazies, hysterics and lesbians run amuck. "Where does

the misinformation come from?" she wrote in script at the top of a 1972 *Washington Post* article on what was believed to be the first survey of the characteristics of women in the women's movement.³⁷¹ Allen most likely saved the clipping in her papers because it went to the heart of her complaint about the perception of feminists at the time.

The way the *Post* put it, "The myth, popular among detractors of the women's liberation movement, that it is composed mainly of bra-burners, frustrated females unhappy in their marriages and man-hating lesbians is strongly challenged in a survey published in the March issue of *Psychology Today*."³⁷² One respondent was quoted as saying "typically," according to the *Post*, "'My aloofness to WLM (the women's liberation movement) is due to the press coverage given to the organization. Although I know better, I don't want to be thought of as a neurotic lesbian.'"³⁷³ The *Post* noted that .8 percent of respondents replied that they had become homosexuals as a result of their participation in women's liberation, while 70 percent of women's movement members said child rearing and housework should be shared.

Women's Roles Grow in Television

By the mid to late 1970s, the challenges against media were having an impact. Marlene Sanders became the first woman to anchor a network news show and by 1974 she had presented ABC's "News With a Woman's Touch" for five years. She had long advocated women's use of the "force of law" in trying to make gains in the news industry.³⁷⁴ By summer 1976, there was a proliferation of local women's interest programming, including "Women Alive" in New York, "Woman!" in Buffalo, "Women Unlimited" in Pittsfield, "The Changing World of Women" in New York, "Woman Forum" in Atlanta, "The Woman's Show" in Columbia, "Altogether Now" in Detroit, "Speaking of Women" in Milwaukee, "We: Women Everywhere" in Seattle, "N.O.W. We're Talking" in Boston, and "Womantime & Co." in San Francisco.³⁷⁵ Allen publicized them all.

She took particular interest in programs with an all-woman production team like "Womantime & Co.," which was nationally syndicated on PBS. It was "dedicated to satisfying the informational needs of the stay-at-home woman," according to one of its producers, Roxanne Russell, the first woman news producer in the San Francisco Bay Area.³⁷⁶ "We were trying to get content

that would actually challenge the thinking of women stuck at home," Russell, now a senior producer at CBS News in Washington, D.C., said.³⁷⁷ "Women in the workforce were still a new force ... and the glass ceiling hadn't even been invented because they hadn't gotten that high."³⁷⁸

Generating Research

In addition to reporting on the industry and WIFP associates' activities, *Media Report* frequently solicited help from the network of women who subscribed in conducting studies pertinent to women and media. For example, in a mailing to subscribers in August, 1977, Allen included a request for help on a study proposed by an associate of the news coverage of the state IWY conferences. "Do you have some documentation - examples, local media survey, personal or observed experiences?" she asked.³⁷⁹

Other proposals included "The Media Distribution System as It is Experienced by Women," an ongoing WIFP study designed to expose the ways print media distributors kept women's publications off retail shelves. Allen used *Media Report* to describe the reasons for the study to associates:

Modern technology makes it possible for nearly anyone to publish a book or magazine, produce a film, video or audio tape, or even make a record, but the distribution system probably won't distribute it. We'd like to gather the first-hand experiences of women trying to distribute what they produce, or what other women produce - a collection of testimonials to the realities of the distribution problem, as women experience it... We envision a powerful document showing what women face. It could then be the basis for many suggested corrective remedies. At present, we lack such documented evidence.³⁸⁰

She cited one example in which an associate told of a bookstore unable to carry *Ms.* because the local independent distributor would bring it only if the bookstore would carry other publications he wanted sold such as *Field and Stream*.

Another proposal was for the compilation of a computerized mailing list for women coded by subject matter - an idea proposed by an associate. Another idea was for a study of foundation grants to promote women's media and an examination of the extent to which grants for media projects provide for the dissemination of the results.

There is no indication that these studies were conducted, but Allen worked under the assumption that ideas were to be thrown out to the community, usually via *Media Report*, and projects would be undertaken and completed by those who were interested in doing so.

Changes in the 1980s

By the early 1980s, the tone of the correspondence to *Media Report* took on a more professional air. There were fewer personal notes, there was less discussion about lack of money, there was less anger and confrontation expressed by women, there was more organized activity in regard to conferences, published reports, and government-sponsored events, and there was more positive news coverage. *Media Report* also began to take a more global view, as evidenced in promotional material distributed in its eighth year of publication. The material reflected the confidence *Media Report* had in its mission of increasing awareness of the role of women and participation by women in media. It said *Media Report* reflected Allen's view that "female journalism is something different."³⁸¹

Women, by that time, were represented in media as they had never before been, particularly in television. In correspondence from producers and viewers, Allen was kept up to date on new women-oriented shows, including *Women USA!*, a nationally syndicated show produced at WLWT-TV in Cincinnati that aired locally in prime time.³⁸²

The first *Women USA!*, for example, included panelists such as Congresswoman Bella Abzug on "The Job Market: A Woman's Perspective" and aired June 3, 1980.

The one-hour format included two video packages, a studio audience and interaction between panelists, the audience, and the host. The second show was "Success for Sale" and focused on dressing for success in the business world and at the company picnic "so you don't alienate the boss' wife."³⁸³ The third and fourth shows moved into subject areas that middle-class women likely would only have speculated about a decade before - the two-career family, commuter marriages, daycare, and the tradeoffs of corporate success.

Entertainment television, too, drew Allen's attention as it tackled more complex women's issues and began to focus on the working class, which represented more than 80 percent of employed women. For example, "Alice" awards, named after the television character portrayed by Linda Lavin from 1976-1984, were given in 1986 to "A Time To Triumph," a CBS movie based on the true story of a "housewife" who becomes an army pilot when her ailing husband could no longer work, a "MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour" segment profiling two New York City women struggling to qualify for garbage-collecting

jobs, and "Express: No Work, No Welfare," a KQED-TV program examining the impact of California's workfare law on welfare mothers.³⁸⁴

But the media still managed to present a distorted picture, and Allen continued to point out studies that showed that fact. The National Commission on Working Women, for example, found that while fewer than one in four employed women had managerial or professional jobs, on the 25 programs premiering in the fall of 1986, 61 percent of female characters held those types of high-paying jobs. It found that while nearly half of all employed women held clerical and service jobs, only 17 percent of working women television characters held such jobs.³⁸⁵

Looking Ahead with Optimism

By the mid-1980s, as the founder and chief operating officer of *Media Report*, though she never referred to herself in that type of corporate language, Allen's opinions about where and how women appeared in media mattered. She appeared on a panel at the 1984 Annual Meeting for the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication on the topic, "New Priorities and

the 'Gender Gap'" in which she was optimistic about the future and about what women had accomplished within mass communication.³⁸⁶ She said that 1984 marked the disappearance of women as a "special interest" group and the beginning of a distinct trend: news coverage of women as a majority political force.

She may have been referring to her years of work on *Media Report* and her own efforts at establishing a women's communication network when she said:

This new treatment of women's news arising in the 1980s is the culmination of the growth of an extensive women's communication system of newspapers, magazines and a multitude of organized and semi-organized networks and coalitions built slowly, steadily, and firmly over two and a half decades since the terrible silence of the 1950s.³⁸⁷

She saw this network as the basis of women's political power nationally:

... We in the study of communications must note that it is the ability of this organized network/coalition to reach millions of the public that has created the power (just as all media outreach does) which we now see reflected in the ballot box and thus also in the new media coverage of women's news.³⁸⁸

She noted that by 1984, use of "chairperson" in news stories was common, as was use of last names of women on second reference without courtesy titles (though *The New York Times* was a holdout until June 19, 1986). But more

importantly, she saw communication schools as sources of change, offering the full resources of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and *Media Report to Women* to help in making that change.³⁸⁹

It was as though in 1984 she sensed success culminating from the years of publishing *Media Report* and foresaw a time when it might influence future generations:

Together we can exercise a leadership role not only in helping to prepare students for this new priority in mass communications but in giving guidance to those in all media who are facing news re-definition. Just as we no longer write the demeaning headlines we once did, just as we no longer describe newsmaking women by the color of their clothes, hair, or skin, so hereafter it will be as inexcusable to omit or report poorly those issues that are of concern to more women than men as it would be to omit coverage of an international monetary conference or a change in the federal voting laws.³⁹⁰

In early 1986, Allen announced in *Media Report* that she was "planning to move on to other things. I've long had communications theory to write that I have not had time to do while also doing the *Media Report*."³⁹¹ After 15 years of publishing *Media Report*, Allen sold it in the summer of 1987 to Communications Research Associates, Inc., where it was edited by Sheila Gibbons,

vice president and senior editor of CRA, and remains so to this day.

In announcing the change, Allen said her goal was to devote more time to the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and to her own writing, and she foresaw "another wave of progress" in politics, economics, and social rights for women.³⁹² "We have a lot of media work to do," she wrote to associates. "Every area of women's progress and would-be progress needs a strong communications component. As WIFP Associates, we are in a good position to begin making that kind of contribution."³⁹³

Allen kept the goal of redefining news at the forefront and used her publication as a way of demonstrating her vision of how it could be done. In the process, *Media Report* documented the media activism that played an important role in the women's movement of the 1970s and 1980s. Allen, through her careful and thorough reporting, became known as a reliable source of information and her writing reflected the changes in the media activism movement. She also helped shape change in the movement by raising and emphasizing the causes important to her that would then become priorities with women activists. "It (*Media Report*) got out information

that wasn't getting out anywhere else," said Martha Allen.³⁹⁴

Media Report facilitated the communication network Allen envisioned on media issues and women's contribution to the media democracy movement. "She kept people connected" in the same way that electronic communication connects people today, according to Martha Allen.³⁹⁵ "People felt more isolated, like they were the only ones thinking those things. [Without *Media Report*,] women in mass media didn't know they had solidarity if they wanted it."³⁹⁶

²⁸⁸ Patricia Bathurst, "Facts, actions, ideas, philosophy: It's all there in *Media Report*, *Matrix*, publication of Women in Communications, Summer 1977, 26.

²⁸⁹ Ruth Dowlin, "*Media Report*: Women, Media, Freedom - An International Cause," (promotional material), Feb. 12, 1980, Folder 313, Donna Allen papers.

²⁹⁰ Martha Allen, e-mail to the author, Oct. 7, 2003.

²⁹¹ Ruth Dowlin, "*Media Report*: Women, Media, Freedom - An International Cause," (promotional material), Feb. 12, 1980, Folder 313, Donna Allen papers.

²⁹² Donna Allen, "Female Journalism is Something Different," *Media Report to Women* 7, no. 2 (Feb. 1, 1979): 1.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Donna Allen, "The Bottom-Line Policy-Makers at the Three Major Broadcast News Media," *Media Report to Women* 10, nos. 7 & 8, (July 1-Aug. 1, 1982): 16.

²⁹⁶ Deborah Maher, Business and Professional Women's Foundation press release, Nov. 4, 1978, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.

-
- ²⁹⁷ Donna Allen, "Dear Associates" letter, Sept. 10, 1981, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁹⁸ Donna Allen, "Dear Associates" letter, Sept. 1, 1983, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ²⁹⁹ Associates' Subscription Committee, letter to associates, 1982, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ³⁰⁰ Donna Allen, "Editor Donna Allen Outlines The New 'Media Report' Format," *Media Report to Women* 11, no. 1, (January-February 1983): 24.
- ³⁰¹ Donna Allen, "90.4 % of Top Editors Are Male; Dorothy Journey Sees in 'Pipeline' Hope for Change," *Media Report to Women* 11, no. 1, (January-February 1983): 1.
- ³⁰² Donna Allen, "Publisher Sees Women/Community Concern Less Important Than Sex Details to Shock," *Media Report to Women* 11, no. 1, (January-February 1983): 9.
- ³⁰³ Donna Allen, "Peace Groups Find Media Giving Wide Circulation to 'Red-Baiting' Innuendoes Again," *Media Report to Women* 11, no. 1, (January-February 1983): 10.
- ³⁰⁴ Allen, "Peace Groups," 14-15.
- ³⁰⁵ Allen, "Peace Groups," 18-19.
- ³⁰⁶ Lauren Kessler, *The Dissident Press, Alternative Journalism in American History*, (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1984), 138.
- ³⁰⁷ "Maureen Honey Describes Media's Massive Power to Change Public Attitudes on Women When They Want To," *Media Report to Women* 13, no. 2 (March-April 1985): 10-11.
- ³⁰⁸ Donna Allen, "Donna Allen: We Must Not Forget to Restore Today's Women to Future History," *Media Report to Women* 11, no. 2, (March-April 1983): 24.
- ³⁰⁹ Donna Allen, "Donna Allen: Power Is The Number of People You Can Reach With Your Information - A Positive Approach," *Media Report to Women* 11, no. 3, (May-June 1983): 24.
- ³¹⁰ Donna Allen, "Donna Allen: 'A Radical Feminist Analysis of Mass Media' Upfront in 1985 Index/Directory of Women's Media," *Media Report to Women* 13, no. 1, (January-February 1985): 16.
- ³¹¹ Donna Allen, "Donna Allen: Isn't It Time We Visited Media about their Role in Democracy and Journalistic Excellence?" *Media Report to Women* 13, no. 2, (March-April 1985): 16.
- ³¹² Nemy, Enid, "Feminists Reappraise Direction and Image," *The New York Times*, Nov. 8, 1975, Folder 392, Donna Allen papers.

-
- ³¹³ Allen, "Isn't It Time We Visited Media about their Role in Democracy and Journalistic Excellence?," 16.
- ³¹⁴ Donna Allen, "Donna Allen: Conferences Raising 'Media' as Women's Issue Suggest Progress Through New Media Sisterhood," *Media Report to Women* 14, no. 1, (January-February 1986): 12.
- ³¹⁵ Donna Allen, "Donna Allen: It's Simple As That. The Harder We Work in Our Own Media, the More Mass Media Covers Us, Too," *Media Report to Women*, 15, no. 3, (May-June 1986): 12.
- ³¹⁶ "Some WIFP Projects - Suggested and Ongoing," mailing to *Media Report* subscribers, Aug. 24, 1977, Folder 481, Donna Allen papers.
- ³¹⁷ Michele Grumet, media representative of the L.A. Women's Coalition for Better Broadcasting, letter to Donna Allen, March 7, 1975, Folder 80, Donna Allen papers.
- ³¹⁸ Donna Allen letter to Patricia Strandt, assistant editor *American Teacher*, Oct. 13, 1972, Folder 1, Donna Allen papers.
- ³¹⁹ Ibid.
- ³²⁰ Donna Allen, "Female Takeover August 26," *Media Report to Women* 1, no. 2, (Sept. 29, 1972): 7.
- ³²¹ WPST Passport Radio press release, Aug. 28, 1972, Folder 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ³²² David C. Fuellhart, general manager WPST, letter to Joan Bartl, Aug. 28, 1972, Folder 2, Donna Allen papers.
- ³²³ Diane White, "Who are all those women anyway?" *The Boston Globe*, Jan. 19, 1974, Folder 11, Donna Allen papers.
- ³²⁴ *The New York Times*, Jan. 20, 1974, Folder 11, Donna Allen papers.
- ³²⁵ Kathleen Bonk, interview by author, via telephone, March 23, 2003.
- ³²⁶ Kathleen Bonk, chair, National Media Reform Committee of the National Organization for Women, letter to Michael Pertschuk, chair of the Federal Trade Commission, Nov. 30, 1978, Folder 4, Donna Allen papers.
- ³²⁷ Donna Allen, "Settlement With *The New York Times*: Women Win Numerical Goals and Timetables Providing 1 in 8 Top Corporate Positions and 1 in 4 News and Editorial Positions," *Media Report to Women* 6, no. 13 (Dec. 31, 1978): 1-16.
- ³²⁸ Betsy Wade, "Message to Memorial Celebration for Donna Allen," n/d, document held at the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press.
- ³²⁹ Ibid.

-
- ³³⁰ Donna Allen, *Media Report* 6, no. 13, 4.
- ³³¹ Wade, "Message to Memorial Celebration for Donna Allen."
- ³³² Nancy Dickerson, letter to Donna Allen, Jan. 4, 1973, Folder 12, Donna Allen papers.
- ³³³ Christy Bulkeley, letter to Donna Allen, Jan. 13, 1973, Folder 5, Donna Allen papers.
- ³³⁴ Jill A. Cooper, letter to Donna Allen, July 29, 1974, Folder 73, Donna Allen papers.
- ³³⁵ Mary Ellen Corbett, letter to Donna Allen, March 6, 1975, Folder 9, Donna Allen papers.
- ³³⁶ Hollis Danner, letter to Donna Allen, Feb. 8, 1977, Folder 11, Donna Allen papers.
- ³³⁷ Eileen Shanahan, "Syracuse Unit Drops Challenge to Transfer of a TV Station," *The New York Times*, June 13, 1972, Folder 11, Donna Allen papers.
- ³³⁸ Ibid.
- ³³⁹ Vernon A. Stone, "Attitudes Toward Television Newswomen," *Journal of Broadcasting* 19, vol. 1, (Winter 1973-74): 49-61.
- ³⁴⁰ Martin Mayer, "The Challengers," *TV Guide*, Feb. 3, 1973, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.
- ³⁴¹ Ray Miller, KPRC station manager, letter and Memorandum of Agreement, June 24, 1974, Folder 78, Donna Allen papers.
- ³⁴² Ibid.
- ³⁴³ Ibid.
- ³⁴⁴ Donna Allen, "KPRC-TV Agrees to Broader Coverage of Women's News," *Media Report to Women* 2, no. 8 (Aug. 1, 1974): 11.
- ³⁴⁵ Donna Allen, "Male Predominance at WABC-TV - And Effect on Programming," *Media Report to Women* 1, (June 15, 1972): 5.
- ³⁴⁶ Allen, "Male Predominance," 5-9.
- ³⁴⁷ Donna Allen, "Media Coverage Not a 'Community Problem,'" *Media Report to Women* 3, no. 5 (May 1, 1975): 14.
- ³⁴⁸ Cherie S. Lewis, "Women Challenge TV Licenses to Get Stations to Listen Up," *Mediafile*, Aug/Sept. 1988, 3, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.
- ³⁴⁹ Donna Allen, "According to the FCC Chairman...", *Media Report to Women* 2, no. 1 (Jan. 1, 1974): 1.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ "FCC Opens Inquiry On Broadcasters' EEO Practices," Federal Communications Commission Press Release, 18 July 1975, Folder 104, Donna Allen papers.

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Charlotte T. Reid, statement accompanying FCC statement on official inquiry into broadcasters' EEO practices, Sept. 2, 1975, Folder 104, Donna Allen papers.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ "L.A. Women's Coalition for Better Broadcasting," press release, June 17, 1976, Folder 104, Donna Allen papers.

³⁵⁷ Muriel Cantor, "Women and Public Broadcasting," *Journal of Communication* 27, (Winter 1977): 14-25.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ "UMC News," press release, July 23, 1976, folder 104, Donna Allen papers.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Mary Scott Welch, "How Women Just Like You Are Getting Better Jobs," *Redbook*, Sept. 1977, 3, Folder 75, Donna Allen papers.

³⁶² Ibid.

³⁶³ National Association of Broadcasters, memo to radio code subscribers, Dec. 6, 1973, Folder 78, Donna Allen papers.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Donna Allen, "Advertising Council Approves NOW Public Service Ad Campaign," *Media Report to Women* 4, (May 1, 1973): 5.

³⁶⁶ "Radio Spot: Healthy Normal Baby - 30 Seconds" transcript, National Organization for Women Legal Defense and Education Fund public service announcement, 1973, Folder 377, Donna Allen papers.

³⁶⁷ Beth Fallon, "A breakthrough for women's rights ads: acceptance as public service messages," *New York Daily News*, Feb. 10, 1973, Folder 378, Donna Allen papers.

³⁶⁸ Allen, "Advertising Council approves NOW Public Service Ad Campaign," 5.

³⁶⁹ "Rape Is Not a Joke: Citizens Protest Tex Antoine's Rape Comment," National Organization for Women press release, Dec. 30, 1975, Donna Allen papers.

³⁷⁰ Margaret Crimmins, "Protesting Advertising's View of Women," June 10, 1970 newspaper article (publication unknown). The writer describes a Manhattan ad executive named Franchellie Cadwell as "no part of the bra-burning anti-feminist factions of the Women's Liberation Movement" even though she is outspoken on the "brain-damaged" women portrayed in television advertising. Folder 354, Donna Allen papers.

³⁷¹ "Surveying Women's Lib," The Washington Post, H4, March 9, 1972, Folder 392, Donna Allen papers.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Judith Cummings, "Women in Media Hold Parley Here," *The New York Times*, Dec. 8, 1974, Folder 390, Donna Allen papers.

³⁷⁵ Phyllis Sanders, WCBS, letter to "Dear Broadcasting Executive" offering to help with women's programming formats, Summer 1976, Folder 399, Donna Allen papers.

³⁷⁶ Terry Pimsleur, "Focus, Womantime & Co.," February 1977, KQED-TV newsletter, Folder 400, Donna Allen papers.

³⁷⁷ CBS News producer Roxanne Russell, interview by author, Oct. 23, 2002, Washington, D.C., CBS News Washington bureau.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ "Some WIFP Projects - Suggested and Ongoing," Aug. 24, 1977, mailing, Folder 481, Donna Allen papers.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Dowlin, "Media Report: Women, Media, Freedom - An International Cause."

³⁸² Carole Wilson of WLWT-TV, letter from Cincinnati to Donna Allen, March 21, 1980, Folder 313, Donna Allen papers.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ National Commission on Working Women press release, Nov. 19, 1986, "Analysis of Women At Work on TV Finds Vast Improvement but Warns Against Continued Underrepresentation of Minority, Poor and Working Class Women," Folder 372, Donna Allen papers.

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Allen, Donna, "New Priorities and the 'Gender Gap,'" panel presentation, Aug., 8, 1984, Teaching Standards Plenary on "Shifting Priorities in Mass Communication Education," 1984 Annual National Meeting, Gainesville, Fla., Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Folder 398, Donna Allen papers.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ "Donna Allen: What Do you Do When FCC Folks Don't Know How Much They Don't Know? You Say It Again," *Media Report to Women* 14, no. 1, (January-February 1986): 12.

³⁹² Donna Allen, Dear Associates letter, July 31, 1987, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Martha Allen, interview by author, Oct. 1, 2003, Washington, D.C.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

CHAPTER 7

ALLEN AND TECHNOLOGY

Allen's hopes and dreams for a media of equal access under democratic principles were heavily invested in new technology. She was among the first women communication scholars to seize on the importance of women's access to new technology as a way of gaining agency in the field.

In her chapter in the 1996 book, *Women Transforming Communications: Global Intersections*, she used a feminist theoretical approach to trace the material structures of "the press" to make her case that the combination of new technology and its use by women would begin to return democracy to journalism.³⁹⁷

Among her key points was that the rise of the "penny press" of the early 1800s marked the demise of the citizenry's First Amendment rights to press access, not the path to it. Instead, she wrote, press access "had become a property right totally based on one's wealth," and that wealth was largely in the hands of male property owners.³⁹⁸ She credited women's access to cheaper offset press technology (and later the Internet) with an "astonishing" change in society that brought about less violence against women, a greater extent of women's participation in politics, and a corresponding increase in women's participation in media.³⁹⁹

Allen's path to becoming an international women's leader on media issues and technology can be traced through her participation in a series of journalism conferences leading up to the international women's conferences that were under the auspices of the United Nations. As evidenced by her own conferences at the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, outlined in Chapter 5, Allen saw women's conferences as an essential social force and still another form of women's media.⁴⁰⁰

Striking a Nerve at *MORE* - a pivotal point

Allen had labored under the assumption that women were interested in media for years, but she knew for certain she had struck a nerve when she moderated a panel discussion, "Women: In the News and the Newsroom," at the Third A.J. Liebling Counter-Convention in New York in 1974.⁴⁰¹ The series of conventions was named for the late New Yorker magazine journalist who specialized in articles of press criticism. It was sponsored by *MORE*, a then-monthly magazine devoted to the appraisal of news-gathering efforts by the press.

Among the approximately 20 panels scheduled were those on national security and the press with author Victor Navasky, *The New York Times'* Seymour Hersh, and

Alger Hiss; the press and the presidency with CBS News anchor Dan Rather and UPI White House correspondent Helen Thomas; success and failure with director Woody Allen and author Erica Jong; and Jewish bias and the press with Noam Chomsky of M.I.T., Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg and others.⁴⁰²

The panel on women was arranged after protests were waged the previous year by NOW about the exclusion of women and topics relating to women from the *MORE* events. It was the first professional conference that galvanized women in their activism regarding media and it marked a pivotal point in Allen's activist career. It was at the first *MORE* conference that Allen was shown the depth of interest in the issues she pursued and it began more than a decade of conferences and alliances in which Allen helped lead the women's media reform effort.

The issues raised at the first *MORE* conference are key to understanding where activist women stood on media at a time in which such concerns were just emerging, and the reaction to the first small women's panel, including national news coverage, spurred Allen and other activists on in their uphill battle to take on the mass media behemoth. Some of the issues - including courtesy titles for women and the placement of women's pages in the

newspaper - were tremendously symbolic for women who had been bristling for years at being called "girl" in newsprint and described by their hairstyles, body types, and clothing.

Allen's panel at the *MORE* Conference was comprised of Elizabeth Peer of *Newsweek*, Eleanor Rieger of ABC-TV Sports, Marilyn Goldsmith of *Newsday*, and Ellen Cohn of the *New York Daily News*. It was assigned the smallest meeting room at the convention, although half the total 1,800 people who registered were women. Interest by conference organizers was clearly underestimated. The panel was held before a crowd of about 200 that overflowed into the hallways and it netted stories in major newspapers, including *The New York Times*.⁴⁰³ A Reuters story printed in *The Christian Science Monitor* proclaimed the panel the most exciting at the conference and said it was the only one at the convention that kept going after its allotted time - "for two hours, more than twice as long as it was scheduled."⁴⁰⁴

A topic that got press coverage was the refusal of the *Times* and other newspapers to use the prefix "Ms." for women's names instead of "Miss" or "Mrs." John Oakes, editor of the *Times* editorial page, responded to a question about it by saying he didn't think it was an

important enough question to answer.⁴⁰⁵ Other women questioned why newspapers continued women's pages, asking, "Can you imagine a black's page?"⁴⁰⁶

Women discussed offensive editorial content, citing one newspaper that referred to India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Israel's outgoing Prime Minister Golda Meir as "Pistol Packing Mamas" in a headline. There were few men in the audience, but when one stood up and said, "Now that women are appearing in increasing numbers in newsrooms ..." he was interrupted by barely audible, but insistent hisses and boos. One woman said, "Only a man would say that." He stammered and sat down.⁴⁰⁷ The rhetoric of the women reflected the growing frustration of women in regard to media.

Cohn told the gathering:

Because we are female, our accomplishments are instantly undervalued, overlooked or, what is most common, treated as trivial or humorous. Sexism - which I consider a social disease that is both congenital and highly contagious and more common than the common cold - is the only form of bigotry whose practice is almost universally socially acceptable and is, in fact, encouraged as if it were good, clean fun.⁴⁰⁸

A participant called the discussion from the audience "electrifying," with women from all over telling stories about how they were tackling sexism on the job.⁴⁰⁹ A consensus emerged from the meeting that a separate

conference for women be held to build a coalition of newswomen across the country that would establish guidelines for fair treatment of women in the news and in the newsroom. Allen was designated its leader with planning help to come from Jacqueline Ceballos, a feminist activist; Joyce Snyder, coordinator of the National Organization for Women's committee on the image of women in the media; and several feminist writers.⁴¹⁰

"The idea for a separate conference grew out of spirited expressions of frustration, resentment and anger" by many of those present for discussion "of what was generally perceived as the media's failure to take women seriously, either on the job or in the news," according to the *Guild Reporter*, a newsletter for a journalism union.⁴¹¹

About a year before it was to be held, Allen and Marsha Dubrow of New York drafted a "Dear Journalist" mailing to notify women of the formation of a network of female journalists to gather for a conference to include topics such as use of language regarding women, effective lobbying for change in editorial material offensive to women, tactics for raising the consciousness of editors and reporters, job opportunities, the mechanics of bringing sex discrimination lawsuits, and creation of a

fund for women fired for "standing up to their editors."⁴¹² Allen and *Media Report to Women*, then in its infancy, were the designated contacts and received dozens of letters of interest.⁴¹³

Allen heard from old friends like Christy Bulkeley, second vice president of Women in Communications, Inc., and editor and publisher of *The Saratogian* in Saratoga Springs, N.Y.; from women who were stalled in their careers; and from other groups working on media-and-women issues.

A planning committee was formed and after a series of meetings in New York, the National Conference on Women and the Media was set to coincide with the Liebling IV *MORE* Conference beginning May 8, 1975.⁴¹⁴ Plans for the workshops included two sections, one on employment titled "The Letter of the Law: Making a Federal Case Out of It" and the other on image of women in the media called "Spirit of the Law: The Image You Save Will Be Your Own."⁴¹⁵

During the morning session, women were to discuss their individual lawsuits as well as those specifically filed against *The New York Times*, *Newsday*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and NBC. Women would also discuss whatever affirmative action programs were in place in

their newsrooms and how they managed to lobby successfully for them. A feminist lawyer was scheduled to outline laws like Title VII that gave rights to women. One session dealt with strategies for eliminating sexism on the job and in the media.

Allen again raised the idea of a network, saying, "One of the purposes of the conference on women and the media is to begin our own network to circulate story ideas, job opportunities and other helpful information."⁴¹⁶ And, she offered *Media Report to Women* as a way of doing that "since we have no funds" to do it any other way.⁴¹⁷

Planners, meanwhile, were compiling guidelines on affirmative action and style based on women's suggestions that were sent to Allen.⁴¹⁸ One suggestion she received was from Paula Kassell. After publishing *New Directions for Women* from her Dover, N.J., home for three years, Kassell found "that practically no women are interested in entering, learning or advancing in the publishing side of journalism."⁴¹⁹

Kassell asked Allen if she could be recognized to speak on that subject at the morning session of the conference.⁴²⁰ "I had never met her," said Kassell.⁴²¹ "I said I would like to come. So, of course, she had me on

the panel. She said she was going to have me on the panel. And, I was on the panel."⁴²²

The National Conference on Women and Media (WAM) was larger than even the plans indicated. It was moderated by Allen with opening remarks by Rep. Bella Abzug, D-N.Y. Women were encouraged to participate from the floor and there was time allotted for an open microphone. The morning panel consisted of Nancy Stanley, a partner at Blank, Goodman, Kelly, Rone & Stanley, a feminist law firm; Annabelle Kerins of *Newsday*; Jewel George of NBC; Megan Rosenfeld of *The Washington Post*; Pamela Meyer of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; Phyllis Malamud of *Newsweek*; Nancy Borman of *Majority Report*; Kasell of *New Directions for Women*; and Janice La Rouché, a feminist career consultant and assertiveness training counselor. The afternoon panel included Loretta Lotman of the National Gay Task Force; Ellen Cohn, *New York Daily News* columnist; Marcia Dubrow, Reuters correspondent; Ellen Frankfort, author of *Vaginal Politics*, and Joyce Snyder, coordinator of the National Media Task Force of NOW.⁴²³

The overall Liebling IV convention drew about 1,700 to New York's Hotel Commodore and included panels headed by Carl Bernstein, then of *The Washington Post*, Gene Roberts of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and Sally Quinn of

The Washington Post on such topics as reporters' self censorship and the art of the interview.⁴²⁴ The National Conference on Women and the Media drew more than 300 women and a handful of men.⁴²⁵

Abzug told the group that women would only attain equal professional responsibility when they "crash into the top management of newspapers, radio, and television."⁴²⁶ She charged that men at the top of the media had distorted vision: "They see with men's eyes, trained over a lifetime to regard women as appendages rather than equals."⁴²⁷

Candor was the order of the day. For example, Snyder, in her prepared remarks, touched on the sensitive issue that having more women in newsrooms did not necessarily make the news produced there more "feminist":

Sadly, not all women and men are feminist and some Queen Bees enjoy their exclusive position, much like the proverbial "only Jew in the country club." These women have kind of undergone a lobotomy in the social consciousness department, and not surprisingly, this is the kind of person that makes good management material. To women like this I can only say: Either you're with us or you're against us.⁴²⁸

The women's conference concluded on Sunday at 2 p.m. with a summation.⁴²⁹ It adopted without dissent two resolutions accusing *MORE* of demeaning women in the choice of its panels and topics, and demanding that *MORE*

consult the women on content for future conferences.⁴³⁰ They were actions that drew an angry response from *MORE* convention organizers who decried being portrayed as "some sort of villain."⁴³¹

A False Start

It was clear that the WAM group, as it was referred to in correspondence, was moving toward breaking the bonds of the *MORE* convention altogether. The women discussed holding other conferences and the possibility of a national media organization growing out of the current conference.⁴³² Allen turned down a motion to make *Media Report to Women* the official voice of such an organization, saying she feared the \$10 subscription rate would exclude some women from participation. But she said *Media Report* would continue to mimeograph and circulate correspondence for the group, which reported expenses of \$171.59 for the conference. After contributions, Allen was apparently left to pay expenses of \$54.06 for postage, paper, and envelopes.

For Kassell, her appearance on Allen's panel was the beginning of a long and fruitful relationship, and Kassell helped engineer some of the Women's Institute for

Freedom of the Press' own women and media conferences (discussed in Chapter 5). "That's how I met Donna," she said, referring to the *MORE* conference.⁴³³ "And, then I found out about the *Media Report* ... and I remember writing to her. I said, 'Where have you been all my life?' You know it's just what I was looking for. Somebody was into exactly what I was into."⁴³⁴

The next opportunity for discussion among those galvanized by the *MORE* conferences came in the form of a "mini-conference" offered to the Women And Media (WAM) group by the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. The mini-conference titled "Women as a New Force in the Media - Strategies for Change" was held Sept. 12, 1975, at the Washington Hilton in Washington, D.C., as part of the Women's Bureau National Conference "Women in the Economy: Full Freedom of Choice" to celebrate the bureau's 55th anniversary and mark International Women's Year.⁴³⁵ There was a general feeling at the mini-conference that those present were aware that the image of women as portrayed by the media was sexist, that working women in media had significant employment problems, and that those two problems were related.⁴³⁶

Allen encouraged participants to join in a discussion she chaired the following day on the formation

of a broad-based coalition of women and organizations interested in the media that could work together for common goals. She had previously discouraged the women from the idea of forming a new women's group, and her reluctance resurfaced at the discussion meeting when she described fruitless efforts since Spring 1974 to start a women-in-media group. She told the women that as a result of her efforts she had a mailing list of about 600 people who were interested but no money or way to get the word out about such a group.⁴³⁷

But the 50 people who attended the meeting forged ahead and laid out a plan to form an organization of women in the media with no exclusive standards of who could belong. The definition of who works in the media was to be self-determined.⁴³⁸

The group voted to form a steering committee to be charged with drawing up a statement of principles with programs and policies to come later. Disagreement among the women centered on a split that would plague Allen throughout her lifelong efforts to reform media - the practical vs. the ideological or the liberal feminist approach vs. the radical feminist approach that she always sought to straddle in her activist efforts. The sharp division came among those who were interested in

job opportunities for women in the media and those who wanted to change media altogether, particularly the portrayal of women.

It was decided that the group name would incorporate the words "media women" and the steering committee would decide its focus.⁴³⁹ Members of the temporary steering committee included Margot Burman, Denise Tabet, Pat Koza, Joyce Starr, Alison Freeman, and Allen of Washington; Sister Francella of Portland, Ore.; Angela Cabrera, Bernice Friedlander, Jewell Jackson McCabe, Ruth Gage-Colby, and Rita Stollman of the New York area; Pat Strandt of Chicago; Molly Hood of Columbus, Ohio; Beverly Eager of Philadelphia; and Rhoda Epstein of Miami.

True to their words, women sent Allen ideas for how the group should be organized and the temporary steering committee met to discuss them on Dec. 11, 1975, at Allen's home.⁴⁴⁰ The recommended name for the group was Media Women in Action and its aim was to create coalitions with various other women's/media groups and to be "an activist spearhead, rather than a professionally oriented group."⁴⁴¹ It tried to resolve the split in goals by stating that its purpose was the "elimination of

sexism in the media, especially in employment practices and the portrayal of women."⁴⁴²

There were some 40 women in leadership positions. Dues were set at \$10 for the calendar year of 1976, and Allen explained the history of how the group was formed and its goals in *Media Report to Women* under the headline "Media Women in Action - New National Group to Coordinate Actions on Media."⁴⁴³

However, just two months later, Allen's frustrations at forming a national group resurfaced when Media Women in Action disbanded for lack of funds and effective coordination. Its leaders were brutally honest in their assessment and refunded half of what each member contributed in funds. Administrator Pat Ridley wrote a "Dear Friend" letter to the membership:

Although the response has been good, and although the need for action is apparently recognized by many, the Coordinating Committee of Media Women in Action has not been able to bring enough women together to handle national campaigns of action on the media. Therefore we are disbanding. However, this is not to discourage other groups from continuing work of this nature on a regional or local basis. We recommend *Media Report to Women* as a way to keep track of national actions by women regarding the media which you may wish to work on.⁴⁴⁴

The failure of Media Women in Action is an illustration of the difficulty of uniting women in a national domestic organization devoted to one issue -

changing media. It demonstrated the difficulty of combining the sometimes competing agendas of women's rights groups and women journalists with the varied approaches to media, including equity within the industry and representation of women within media products. But the lack of a traditional organization may have added to the relevance of Allen's WIFP think tank because WIFP welcomed ideas from across the spectrum of women and media issues. And, Allen's leadership role at the *MORE* conferences and in attempting to form Media Women in Action enhanced her reputation as that of an influential voice on an issue that was about to rise to international importance.

International Women's Year

In January 1975, the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year was established by executive order of the President. Among its top priorities was examination of the media, which it faulted for misleading representations of women and the lack of women in media personnel ranks and in policy-making roles.⁴⁴⁵ Allen was invited to serve as a public member of the commission after women's groups protested that the

Media Committee of the commission was not made up of women actually laboring in the media reform movement. She helped craft the wording of the final recommendations accepted by President Ford at a White House ceremony July 1, 1976, as she sat in the audience.⁴⁴⁶

Media guidelines adopted by the commission illustrated the scope of the media reform movement in which Allen and other women media activists were so intimately involved.⁴⁴⁷ The guidelines stated in part:

The media have enormous impact on the formation and reinforcement of behavior and attitudes. When women are constantly portrayed in stereotyped ways, these images affect their lives and their aspirations. Increasingly during the last year or so, women have become more concerned about the limiting portrayal by the media:

- Women are rarely represented accurately in radio, television, newspapers, magazines, film, entertainment programming and advertising.

- Despite progress in some areas, news relating to women is still very seriously under-reported.

- When women's activities are covered they are usually segregated, subordinated or ridiculed.

- Women constitute only 25-35 percent of all people working in the media and only 5 percent of the media's policy-makers.

Studies of media practices demonstrate that these problems are universal. A variety of women's groups have painstakingly analyzed media output - locally, regionally, and nationally. Their research substantiates a distorted portrayal and lack of news coverage of women.⁴⁴⁸

The guidelines cited the World Plan of Action adopted at the U.N. Conference for International Women's

Year in Mexico City, which recognized the responsibility of the media in creating change:

A major obstacle in improving the status of women lies in public attitudes and values regarding women's roles in society. The mass communication media have great potential as a vehicle for social change and could exercise a significant influence in helping to remove prejudices and stereotypes....⁴⁴⁹

The final report, "... *To Form a More Perfect Union ...*" *Justice for American Women*, presented to the president and released in July 1976, contained not only input from but direct quotes from Allen. She was the one public member of the Media Committee who perhaps could speak most broadly on the years of effort by women to monitor media coverage of women, challenge the licenses of broadcasters, mount legal challenges, demonstrate for change, and establish their own media because she had covered all these activities in *Media Report to Women*.⁴⁵⁰

Allen and other women, weary of the lack of attention of women's issues by the mass media and now armed with federal and U.N. support ideologically, undertook a project to circumvent the mass media by using the most cutting-edge technology available at the time. The women sought to implement a major tenet of the informal women's media network established by Allen -

that women could only be heard accurately and without prejudice if they spoke for themselves.

The National Women's Agenda

By the time of the IWY, Allen had already had her hand in crafting national guidelines for media change as part of the National Women's Agenda, a grassroots movement by women's groups to work together for mutual goals that grew out of the effort to involve women in IWY.⁴⁵¹ It was started with a small foundation grant obtained by the Women's Action Alliance, which was founded in 1970 by Brenda Fasteau and Gloria Steinem of the National Organization for Women.⁴⁵² The National Women's Agenda was an umbrella organization of 76 women's groups that represented more than 30 million women.⁴⁵³

Allen was a co-convenor of the Media Task Force of the National Women's Agenda and as such had the backing and funding of a national organization.⁴⁵⁴ She began pursuing what was becoming her top goal - establishing alternative women's media on a large scale. As a leading media watchdog, she and others could see that women were potentially losing ground more quickly than before as

high technology began transforming the national communications system.

Against that backdrop the National Women's Agenda Project, with Allen's leadership, undertook an effort to create via satellite "a vital information network among over 100 women's organizations which represent over 30 million women."⁴⁵⁵ The women were attempting to enter a domain in which they had virtually no expertise, no monetary backers, and, as it turned out, were decidedly unwelcome.

At the time, long-distance communication in most people's minds was limited to telephone landlines, and live television was a novelty. But during the Nixon administration, the government decided it would not regulate who could launch a communications satellite, the technology of which was first put in the skies by NASA at taxpayer expense. Anyone with the wherewithall to design, build, launch, and operate one could do so, and large corporations did. NASA, under these same rules, had no funding to further develop satellite technology so it began courting public-interest groups to bring pressure for increased development.⁴⁵⁶

Although it's not clear exactly how she learned of the public satellite project, Allen is credited with

alerting the National Women's Agenda (NWA) in mid-January 1977 of the deadline for proposals, which was only a few months off. At the same time, the Public Interest Satellite Association (PISA), which was formed in the fall of 1975 to mobilize a broad-based public effort to explore the public interest uses of satellite communications technology, learned of the interest by the NWA and included the group on its list of public-interest groups with which it was working to prepare proposals for the use of four experimental NASA satellites launched in 1966.⁴⁵⁷

NASA, in cooperation with PISA, sponsored an expenses-paid conference in Arlington, Va., March 27-29, 1977. Fourteen women from NWA were invited in what the group called "an extraordinary opportunity for us to become involved in an area never before open to women."⁴⁵⁸ PISA saw satellite technology at the time as comparable to television in the 1930s, with a lot of potential, a lack of public awareness, and the possibility of being used exclusively by private corporations to the detriment of the public.⁴⁵⁹

"Taxpayers' money was used to launch the first satellites; unorganized taxpayers may well be the last to benefit at all," NWA Director Madeline Lee wrote in a

memo to NWA members. "Women, it almost goes without saying, will be among the last of the last, except that now we have a foot in the door, and our attendance at this conference can be extremely important."⁴⁶⁰ It is clear from Lee's memo that while NASA recognized several public interest areas such as religious groups, state and local citizens' groups, and educational institutions, it had not considered women's groups a separate entity. NWA, however, was determined to "establish our presence as a women's network" in the eyes of NASA.⁴⁶¹ It looked to the women, for awhile at least, as though they might succeed.

At the conference, the women had input on issues pertaining to satellite use in voluntary and social service, elementary and secondary education, religious applications, and public broadcasting. They added or re-did final reports for certain areas, including a section on continuing education and displaced homemakers, and health services. They also took major issue with a statement by the chairman for the state and local communications panel that "the problems of women and minorities were not relevant to their discussion."⁴⁶²

In correspondence to NASA after the conference, the women offered their services to help NASA examine its

materials and programs for sexism. They also offered their assessment of NASA's performance at the conference:

Although in general NASA's people were extremely cordial and helpful, it was disturbing to find some blatantly offensive attitudes displayed - best represented by the statement that "my wife already spends too much time on the telephone. The last thing I want to do is let her near a satellite."⁴⁶³

The Women's Satellite Services Project - a Setback

Called the Women's Satellite Services Project, the NWA's Media Task Force, with Jan Zimmerman of Santa Monica, Calif., as the principal investigator, submitted a formal proposal to NASA May 16, 1977. Zimmerman, who kept Allen informed of all activities, made the women's case thusly:

The National Women's Agenda Project, which is coordinating this effort, represents an unprecedented unanimity of purpose of a remarkable diversity of women. We are hampered in our efforts to attain full equality for women in our society by the difficulty and expense of rapid communication with one another. In addition to demonstrating the feasibility of satellite-provided services, this experiment would be an unprecedented opportunity to gain operational experience with sophisticated technological systems.⁴⁶⁴

Zimmerman provided background:

The NWAP has created a Media Task Force in recognition of the importance of having women control communications systems to meet their unique

needs for information. Already, many of the affiliated groups commit a large share of their budgets to communications efforts. The NWAP has completed a preliminary experiment design and is seeking funding activity.⁴⁶⁵

The approach, project participants said, would be an experimental model that would link the offices of affiliated women's groups in five cities - New York, Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco for "both inter-organizational and intra-office communications through two-way audio, teletype, facsimile, and computer data services on a scheduled basis. Traditionally, women have been the last to learn about and utilize new technology. This experiment ... would be an emphatic end to the game of 'catch-up.'"⁴⁶⁶

In their 35-page application, the women laid out the satellite project as a way to help women move into full participation in American society, to meet the top goals of the National Women's Agenda, to educate women about their choices and available resources, and to bring women up to date on technology. The application said:

If women are to achieve and maintain full equality in a society in which, as Arthur C. Schlesinger, Jr., puts it, "Power is control of the means of communication," it is clear that they must have both knowledge of and access to the communications systems which provide information. If information is to become the product of the 21st century, now is the time for women to learn to handle the systems which provide it.⁴⁶⁷

Specifically, the women had in mind a system that would interconnect the program resources and services provided by the organizations involved in such areas as health, education, and training, and make possible their distribution to a national constituency. They foresaw a distribution system for national organizations involved with women's issues as well as regular teleconferences to connect organizations. They also had visions of expanding the project into a permanent, national information network.⁴⁶⁸

NASA unexpectedly gave quick verbal approval to the NWA for "experimenter" status to obtain space on the Communication Technology Satellite (CTS) for narrow-band (audio, teletype, facsimile, and computer) transmission, and promised written approval by late June 1977.⁴⁶⁹ Zimmerman considered NASA's plan generous, saying it allowed the NWA access to the satellite every other day by sharing it with other users. The NWA would also have late-night time for telex and data interchange and certain other daytime hours for audio conferencing. NASA also offered to loan the NWA its ground terminals, which would have cost NWA \$10,000 each if purchased, and two of them were in convenient cities - San Francisco and Washington, D.C.

"This degree of NASA cooperation is extraordinary," said Zimmerman. "There is some indication that NASA recognizes both the justice of our proposal and the strength of our political force."⁴⁷⁰ The decision was hailed by women's groups, and Allen and WIFP were credited in feminist publications such as *Ms.* with being the first to sponsor efforts to bring access to satellites by women.⁴⁷¹

"I am writing to all members of the large informal network that has grown up around the National Women's Agenda to share a remarkable piece of news," wrote Lee to all members:

Within the next year, women's organizations may well have access to time on a communications satellite, making possible such vital resources as a feminist news service, teleconferencing by phone, and a Washington "hot line" on national legislative activity affecting women Our first problem will be to overcome reactions of disbelief or incomprehension. Women have traditionally been the last to benefit from technological change. The typewriter was thought too complicated for women to use; women driving automobiles was shocking; we have yet to have much direct access to jets or spacecraft. This need not be true of satellites. The idea of a coalition of women's organizations stunned NASA officials at an experimenters' conference in March. The idea of 33 million women learning about satellite technology through their groups had decided impact.⁴⁷²

By December of 1977, dates and times for the demonstration of the satellite were being set to

coordinate with the National Women's Agenda national conference in March of 1978. A two-hour audio teleconference was planned for March 9 with additional time for equipment demonstration. The demonstration site in San Francisco was set at San Francisco University and in Washington at the Metropolitan Hotel at 1143 New Hampshire Ave. NW.⁴⁷³ Some 100 women were expected to attend in San Francisco and 300 in Washington. The women acknowledged the support and cooperation of the Public Service Satellite Consortium, a quasi-governmental agency partly funded by NASA to assist in arranging demonstrations for satellite experimenters, and NASA, in all program material and public information releases.

Zimmerman documented in a 22-page report the series of events leading up to the conference and what turned out to be the disappointing conclusion. Ruth Abram, executive director of the Women's Action Alliance, expressed the women's frustration in a letter to Sen. Birch Bayh in which she noted that none of the government agencies to which the NWA applied for financial help offered funding: "However, our disappointment has been overshadowed by an even more disheartening discovery, which leads us to believe that even had we obtained the

necessary funds, we might well have regretted it," she wrote.⁴⁷⁴

She described how the satellite demonstration was to have been set up at the NWA's annual conference March 9-11, 1978:

Although we were constantly soothed by promises of assistance, the end result was a lack of cooperation. Finally, one month before the conference, we were specifically asked what we planned to send over the system and were warned that possible mention of abortion and lesbian rights was a matter of concern to unnamed individuals who would "look very closely at us."

We canceled our plans for a demonstration immediately rather than participate any further in so flagrant a violation of First Amendment rights.

Our discovery of the depth of contempt for and disinterest in women, of the extent of fear and misunderstanding of the rights of our constituencies, and of the wanton abuse of position in the different NASA agencies and in PSSC (alarmingly free from the scrutiny of civil rights advocates) has left us frustrated, disappointed, and deeply concerned with the regulation and use of millions of taxpayer dollars.⁴⁷⁵

The experience indicated to Zimmerman that only a major restructuring of the government institutions involved would result in a successful satellite experiment.⁴⁷⁶

To put the time frame in perspective, it was not until a year later, on May 6, 1979, that *The Washington Post* hailed the technological revolution in broadcasting with stories on the people's access to satellites, or

what it called "the expanding subculture of grass-roots video guerrillas."⁴⁷⁷ It noted the novelty of a live, three-hour telecast of a May 6, 1979, anti-nuclear demonstration in Washington that was paid for with private funds.⁴⁷⁸

Success at Last

Despite the failure of the NASA satellite experiment, Allen was determined to lead women to the forefront of the technological revolution in communication. Her plan to conduct an interactive satellite transmission at the U.N. World Conference on Women in Copenhagen in mid-July 1980 was met with support from a wide range of groups. And, Allen's solicitations on behalf of WIFP from groups, businesses, corporations, and individuals were met with positive replies. As the result of discussions at the 1979 First Annual Conference on Planning a National and International Communication System for Women sponsored by WIFP, the first international satellite teleconference by women took place between Third World delegates to the Copenhagen conference and women in six United States cities.

Originally, Allen and others had a more ambitious vision of satellite news coverage of the July 1980 Copenhagen conference. But research reported at the Institute's 1980 meeting, April 12-13, revealed that just six hours of coverage of the official U.N. conference and the parallel NGO forum to five-to-10 sites in the United States would cost about \$200,000. Because there was no sending station in Copenhagen, about 500 miles of land lines would have to be laid to Frankfurt, West Germany, at a cost of \$1,000 per mile. From Frankfurt, the signal would cross the ocean via INTELSAT to New York. Land lines to Maine would again be required to reach a domestic satellite. From there it would be easy to reach any part of the United States, but the charge for each local station carrying the broadcast would be \$6,000 to \$10,000 per hour.⁴⁷⁹

The final project was more modest. On June 13, 1980, the International Communication Agency, an independent governmental U.S. agency allied with the State Department to further cultural exchanges, gave a grant eventually totaling \$37,000 to the Institute "... to help increase Americans' competence in international affairs through greater understanding of societies and cultures."⁴⁸⁰ The money funded two closed-circuit

teleconferences between the Copenhagen conference and groups of women at six sites in the United States - Minneapolis, Los Angeles, and Houston on July 21, and Atlanta, Boston, and Washington, D.C., on July 28. The Public Broadcasting Service was commissioned to arrange for transmission to and from their studios at the six sites (video and audio from Copenhagen, audio only to Copenhagen) at a cost to the project that eventually added up to \$40,339.⁴⁸¹ Free legal services were provided by the Northwest Washington firm of Hogan & Hartson.⁴⁸² COMSAT donated \$5,000.⁴⁸³ Other funds were provided by the Communications Workers of America, and Control Data Corporation.⁴⁸⁴ Cox Broadcasting contributed the services of its senior correspondent, Mal Johnson, and underwrote the cost of telephone service to transmit daily reports at a cost of about \$12,000.⁴⁸⁵

Participants in the United States were assembled by the Continuing Committee of the National Women's Conference (the follow up group from the U.S. National Women's Conference in Houston in 1977, later called the National Women's Conference Committee). *Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View* was the title given to the historic four hours of international broadcasting using the most advanced communications technology available.

Allen was the head of the project. It was directed by Annie King Phillips, who had earlier been invited by NASA to participate in workshops on her User Application for Communications Satellite Technology, which related to her interest in non-traditional modes of health-care delivery in remote areas of the United States.⁴⁸⁶ A public health specialist, she had already directed a special telecast from Lexington, Ky., to more than 27 locations at which community health center personnel gathered to interact via two-way audio.⁴⁸⁷

Phillips was chosen as the principal architect and writer of all the WIFP proposals as well as the chief negotiator on funding and technical arrangements specifically because she was not a journalist, so the WIFP could gain experience with the technology itself rather than rely on media "experts."⁴⁸⁸ During the broadcasts, the Third World delegates reported directly to the women in the six U.S. cities and answered questions about the conference and about the lives of women in their countries - without interpretation by reporters or editors, most of whom weren't reporting the story as it related to women's issues anyway.⁴⁸⁹

The world conference was designed to evaluate the progress of women in their efforts to achieve equality

during the U.N. Decade for Women, 1975-1985, with special emphasis on health, education, and employment. It was attended by 1,183 delegates from 133 countries with another 8,000 women attending workshops and sessions as part of the NGO Forum. Allen believed that all women should have access to the conference, not just those who attended. She knew that mainstream media wouldn't provide it, and she was right. There was only one American TV camera shooting for broadcast in Copenhagen and only one broadcasting service represented, WGBH, Boston, for PBS.⁴⁹⁰

The publicity for "Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View" reflected the historic significance the organizers and supporters felt the satellite teleconference held. A press release gave Allen credit for planning and developing the project to give women more accurate coverage of the U.N. women's conferences with participation by diverse groups. Phillips was quoted as saying that the International Communication Agency funding established the credibility of the project. "It clearly shows the world that women reporting about women to women will constitute an exciting moment in television history," she said.⁴⁹¹

Shoshana Riemer, convenor of the Washington Communications Satellite Network, said the project was highly symbolic for women:

To many of us in the women's movement, this event is comparable to and will have as many other positive ramifications as that other significant event that occurred on July 20 - the walk on the moon. This time women are making the giant step forward as they will continue to do through the decade for women and beyond into the 20th century.⁴⁹²

Women's organizations for the teleconference were contacted for participation by the International Women's Year Continuing Committee, including co-chairs Sarah Harder and Ann Turpeau, and the response by potential participants to the event was substantial. Phillips laid out how it would work in a letter to Michael Bennett, chief of the staff office of ICA private sector programs.⁴⁹³ She noted that Harder promised the women "the full support of the International Women's Year Continuing Committee's active contact with 90 national organizations with 380 individual leaders from every state and territory."⁴⁹⁴ The organizations included, for example, NOW, the National Women's Party, the National Council of Negro Women, the Association of American Colleges, Hadassah, the National Abortion Rights Action

League, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the Mexican American Women's Association.

The organizations were to mobilize their members at each of the six regional mini-conference sites well before the actual live satellite broadcast. In pre-broadcast workshops, each region was to formalize questions based on the U.N. conference agenda as well as the NGO Forum agenda. In addition, to be delivered by pouch were videotapes of professionally edited and produced material from the Copenhagen site featuring key participants and world leaders to help workshop attendees formulate questions. Each site was to have a 25-minute videotaped segment in which there would be a general Q and A with the Copenhagen conferees. Then there would be a 10-minute segment in which the conferees could ask in-depth questions about prearranged subject agenda items.

For example, if the subject were women's role in international development, Arvonne Fraser of AID would be interviewed along with her counterparts in other countries, including Annie Jiagge of Ghana, Huang Ganying of the Chinese Women's Federation, and Gulzar Bano of Pakistan. If the subject were women's health, Patricia Harris, leader of the U.S. delegation, and Joan Bernstein, counsel to the U.S. Health and Human Services

Department, could respond along with their counterparts in other countries. All the segments would be produced by a local on-site production team and edited later for use in programming on networks and cable systems, and for use by major women's organizations internationally.

"Interviews will include diverse points of view, including opposing views of key issues, where possible" and will include audience shots and visuals illustrative of the subjects discussed, Phillips wrote. "The program will not be a succession of talking heads."⁴⁹⁵ She noted the diversity of those involved as well as their expertise "relating to an unusually wide range of contacts among women," adding, "We know how to facilitate substantive dialogue among women whose perspectives may appear to conflict."⁴⁹⁶

Some of the questions to be asked included:

--What attitude is there in your country toward the U.N. efforts in the decade on women?

--What changes in the rights of women in the Third World have occurred in the last five years in education, health care, employment, marital and property rights?

--What has been the response to the official U.S. delegation, its papers, its co-chairs? Has the ERA ratification problem in the United States been discussed officially or unofficially?

--What is the difference, if any, in the mood and on the issues, between the official conference and the forum?

--What kinds of U.S. foreign aid programs have been especially beneficial or detrimental for rural women?⁴⁹⁷

During the first telecast, on July 21, for two hours, more than 100 women (the number of women was limited to the space available in a TV studio) gathered in public television studios in Houston (KUHT), Minneapolis (KTCA), and Los Angeles (KCET) to take part in the teleconference via satellite. Panels of women from South America, Asia, Africa, the Middle East and the Caribbean, who were attending the NGO forum and serving as official delegates to the Copenhagen conference, were introduced by Mal Johnson, senior correspondent for Cox Broadcasting, but interacted directly with the American women. On July 28, women gathered in Boston (WGBH), Washington, D.C. (WETA), and Atlanta (WETV) for the second part of the teleconference.

"'Hello Atlanta. Come in Atlanta.'"

"'Yes, this is Atlanta, hello.'"

"'Atlanta, this is Copenhagen. Welcome to
Copenhagen: Woman's View.'"⁴⁹⁸

Such was the way the second teleconference began. Apart from the sheer wonder of the technology, it was a rare event for cross cultural conversation among women, and it yielded some moments of enlightenment. The contrasts were startling, for example, in the responses

to a question about women's political status directed to a panel that included a black woman from South Africa and a white woman from New Zealand. Ernestine Walkingstick, a Cherokee from North Carolina, asked those in Copenhagen via phone line about health services for rural women. In Kenya, came the full visual and audio reply from the Kenyan doctor, whose head was bound in a blue and white kilemba, that women were teaching themselves basic care because there were not enough doctors and nurses in that country to fully staff rural health centers.⁴⁹⁹

Questions were wide-ranging, including topics such as childcare, nuclear waste, and sex discrimination - and what the governments of the world were doing to address these problems. "The value of such dialogue for enlarging international understanding cannot be underestimated," wrote Kathie-Jo Arnoff, an American Association of University Women assistant editor. "Even in the limited four hours of transmission, the communication was an unforgettable experience for the fortunate few who participated."⁵⁰⁰

The teleconferences were seen live on the television monitors at the Bella Center in Copenhagen, where the women's conference was taking place, and the Public Broadcasting System broadcast the two-hour programming

live in 30 cities, its first international teleconference by satellite.⁵⁰¹ The Women's Institute later produced two video programs based on the teleconferences and demand for the tapes was high with letters received continuously by Allen requesting that the tapes be shown on local stations, churches, and union and organizational meetings.⁵⁰² Parts of the teleconferences were replayed on public television stations with permission from the Women's Institute, which was credited with the creation of the broadcasts in television programming guides.⁵⁰³

On to Nairobi

As important as *Dateline Copenhagen* was to Allen, the real goal was to take a substantial first step toward worldwide coverage by satellite of the 1985 World Conference of Women in Nairobi at the end of the U.N. Decade for Women.⁵⁰⁴ "This first satellite communication by women was perhaps as rough a model for our future international communication as the first Model T was for modern automotive transportation," she wrote in the final report on the Copenhagen experiment to ICA as required by the funding agreement:⁵⁰⁵

But it has established an important principle for us: that women-to-women communication using the most modern communications technology - satellites - is feasible. We believe this is the first time anywhere in the world that there has been satellite communication by ordinary people who have arranged and sponsored their own communication. *Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View* was not a program or show planned for women by others, but a teleconference of women by women speaking for themselves to each other ... It was America's broadest cultural gathering - interacting internationally with the broadest cultural gathering of women the world has ever seen. It established that people do not need intermediaries in news information communication, a basic WIFP concept, that, in fact, cultural information is more accurately transmitted by direct dialogue between the principals.⁵⁰⁶

Her vision was of a day when women could gather across continents to participate in a world conference. "It is a lack of information about what is going on of concern to women that keeps them from being able to participate politically in their own self-government," she wrote.⁵⁰⁷

She also wanted to increase women's media coverage in Nairobi. In Copenhagen, a Women's International Press Service provided regular news reports from the conference, and workshops at the concurrent NGO Forum discussed its continuation. A WIFP Interim Committee was formed to explore the idea, which became the focus of the fourth WIFP conference.⁵⁰⁸

By April 5, 1984, the wheels were in motion for a WIFP-sponsored international teleconference from Nairobi, Kenya, site of the Third World Conference of the U.N. Decade for Women. The Nairobi meeting was convened to review the accomplishments by and on behalf of women of the previous 10 years and develop strategies for action to the end of the century.

As usual, the U.N. conference involved delegations appointed by member governments. The larger, unofficial gathering, called Forum '85, was attended by a loosely confederated group of about 150 non-government organizations, such as the World Council of Churches and Amnesty International. While more than 2,000 delegates convened for the U.N. conference, about 13,000 participants flocked to Kenya for the forum.⁵⁰⁹

In terms of public attention and media coverage, there was little comparison between Copenhagen and Nairobi. The news media, after dubbing the Mexico City conference "contentious" and Copenhagen "politically charged," gave the Nairobi conference substantial coverage, and in the end proclaimed it "triumphant" for its "harmonious conclusion" with the adoption of a final document that avoided ideological extremes.⁵¹⁰

But the U.S. mainstream media's conclusion was based on its own coverage, which included more "conflict" stories pertaining to all of the conferences than the overall national average in news stories.⁵¹¹ And, it gave the conferences each very different coverage. For example, the 1975 conference received moderate coverage by national newspapers and most stories were on news pages, while the Copenhagen conference received little coverage with most stories relegated to lifestyle pages.⁵¹² Nairobi received the most coverage with an even division between news and lifestyle pages, and, interestingly, illustrated that the use of the words "feminist/feminism" had reversed completely in the 10-year period of the conferences. Two-thirds of the stories used the words in 1975, while two-thirds did not use the words in 1985. Subjective analysis showed the terms to be more negative in 1975.⁵¹³

None of this proved a surprise to Allen, who had long maintained that news coverage of the conferences, and of women in general, was unfair. She may have been heartened by *Time's* conclusion that the Nairobi meeting appeared to represent an important step toward an international women's movement.⁵¹⁴ But, after all the

effort of Copenhagen, she doubtless took that as faint praise and too little too late.

Nonetheless, Allen benefited by Nairobi's higher profile. She had a bold vision for the teleconference, suggesting that transmission go not only to the United States but to women's groups in Canada, Central and South America, Europe, Asia, Australia, and New Zealand.⁵¹⁵ Communication technology had taken huge leaps by then and Allen was no longer a lone woman in search of a satellite, though her ambitions once again had to be toned down.

While her colleagues were still awed at what she was doing, Allen was already an old hand at exploiting those with access to the heavens for their information-sharing potential. And, the Women's Institute took action to establish what it had long complained did not exist at the women's conferences - an international news service run by women called the Women's International News Service (WINS).⁵¹⁶ By this time Allen was also co-editing her book *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection* in which she was to claim that "for the first time in history women have constructed an extensive and worldwide communication system through which their contributions can now be heard."⁵¹⁷

COMSAT immediately pledged \$5,000 toward the Nairobi satellite project as conceived by Allen.⁵¹⁸ And, Allen learned of Project Share (Satellites for Health And Rural Education) by Intelsat in celebration of its 20th anniversary -- a program designed to demonstrate the societal benefits of applying satellite communications technology to medicine and education by offering satellite usage for free.⁵¹⁹ With her first satellite teleconference under her belt, Allen was a shoe-in for Intelsat's largesse. She made every effort to up the ante for the teleconference in terms of respectability and profile. She set the Washington, D.C., encounter at the National Press Club, which donated its facilities, and inviting Maureen Reagan, the controversial chair of the U.S. delegation, and Dr. Marguerite Kenyatta, head of the Kenya delegation who hosted the conference, to participate.⁵²⁰

The *Dateline Nairobi* teleconferences on July 17 and 24, 1985, were conducted in much the same way as the Copenhagen teleconferences, involving delegates and NGO representatives from Nairobi and women in New York and Boston on July 17, and in Boston and Washington, D.C., on July 24, the day before the last day of the U.N. conference. Allen, herself, who stayed in the United

States during the Copenhagen teleconferences, was in Nairobi and spoke about the teleconference's objectives as it opened at 1:15 p.m. EDT July 17:

The women here today and those on the other side of the globe sharing in this dialogue are demonstrating the potential of a new form of communication - one that permits us, by the most modern technology - satellites, to speak for ourselves - and thereby to dispel and disprove the stereotypes that always result when some people try to speak for others. It is those stereotypes that for centuries and to the present day have kept women divided and oppressed and our contributions limited and unknown.

It is the goal of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press to work for change in the structure of the world's communication systems, from reporting by the few about others to a system that permits all of us an equal right, and the means, to speak for ourselves.

Here today we have participated internationally in a direct, interactive communication without third party intervention or interpretation of us. Our hope is that this example will begin the building of a worldwide system - a true network - in which we speak as equals to each other and in that way create the understanding that is prerequisite to a world of peace and justice. Only when all of us can be heard will we be able to build a world of peace and justice for all of us.⁵²¹

Her success in Nairobi sealed Allen's reputation as a visionary communication activist. Upon her return, Allen received honors and was a sought-after speaker at conferences to give a report card of events at the Nairobi teleconferences.⁵²² The accomplishment was a historic one in that women had never before grasped the

reins of cutting-edge technology for themselves so that they could communicate with each other across the globe and speak to the issues they felt were important for women and society.

³⁹⁷ Donna Allen, "Women and Technology: Transforming Communication and Democracy," *Women Transforming Communications: Global Intersections*, eds. Donna Allen, Ramona R. Rush, Susan J. Kaufman (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1996), 330.

³⁹⁸ Ibid. 324.

³⁹⁹ Ibid. 325.

⁴⁰⁰ "Donna Allen: Conferences Raising 'Media' as Women's Issue Suggest Progress Through New Media Sisterhood," *Media Report to Women*, March-April 1986, Volume 14, No. 2, 12.

⁴⁰¹ Program, *MORE's* Third A.J. Liebling Counter-Convention, May 1974, Folder 490, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁰² Ibid. Program of *MORE's* Third A.J. Liebling Counter-Convention.

⁴⁰³ Martin Arnold article, "'Sexism' and a Sparsity of Ms.'s Draw Women's Fire to Press," *The New York Times*, May 13, 1974, Folder 490, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁰⁴ Reuters article, printed in *The Christian Science Monitor*, "Newswomen Seek Fair Treatment," May 17, 1974, 7D, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁰⁵ Robin Reisig, *The Village Voice*, "Is Journalism an Air-Brushed Profession?," May 16, 1974, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁰⁶ Reuters, "Newswomen Seek Fair Treatment."

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Nancy Heinberg, *The Guild Reporter*, May 24, 1974, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁰⁹ Reuters, "Newswomen Seek Fair Treatment."

⁴¹⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹¹ Heinberg, *The Guild Reporter*.

⁴¹² "Dear Journalist" letter announcing formation of women's network to hold separate women's conference on women and news, June 12, 1974, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴¹³ Tullia Bohen letter, example of dozens of letters Allen received in regard to a separate conference on women and news, May 13, 1974, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴¹⁴ Allen's papers show that those who formed the National Conference on Media and Women planning committee in New York on Oct. 21, 1974, included journalists and activists Marsha Dubrow, Ellen Cohn, Ellen Frankfort, Jacqui Ceballos, Joyce Snyder, Claudia Dreifus, Midge Kovacs, Marjorie Collins, Allen, Vivien Leone, and Mary Lou Shields.

⁴¹⁵ National Conference on Media and Women Planning Committee list, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴¹⁶ National Conference on Women and the Media, Conference Correspondence No. 4, Feb. 21, 1975, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Paula Kassell letter to Donna Allen, April 28, 1975, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ Paula Kassell, former editor *New Directions for Women in New Jersey*, interview by author, May 14, 2002, tape recording, The Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, Washington, D.C.

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Press release, *MORE's* Fourth A.J. Liebling Counter-Convention, 1975, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴²⁴ *Editor & Publisher*, "1,700 attend 4th Liebling convention," May 17, 1975, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴²⁵ *Editor & Publisher*, "Equality lies in attaining top media positions," May 17, 1975, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Joyce Snyder, prepared remarks for the *MORE* A.J. Liebling Counterconvention, National Conference on Women and Media, May 9, 1975, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴²⁹ Program of *MORE's* Fourth A.J. Liebling Counter-Convention, 1975, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

⁴³⁰ Notes on summation meeting of National Conference on Women and the Media at *MORE's* Fourth A.J. Liebling Counter-Convention, 1975, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.

-
- ⁴³¹ Kathy Jones, *MORE*, followup letter to Donna Allen, Nov. 5, 1974, Folder 496, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁴³² Donna Allen letter to WAM mailing list, June 1975, Folder 497, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁴³³ Kassell, interview by author.
- ⁴³⁴ Ibid.
- ⁴³⁵ Carmen R. Maymi, director of the Women's Bureau, letter announcing a mini-conference on women and media, June 1975, Folder 498, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁴³⁶ Donna Allen, "Highlights of Mini-Conference" mailing, Folder 498, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁴³⁷ Report of a meeting Sept. 13, 1975, in Washington, D.C., to discuss forming a national organization of women in the media, Folder 498, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁴³⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴⁰ MWOC Temporary Steering Committee Meeting announcement, Dec. 11, 1975, Folder 499, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁴⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴⁴³ Donna Allen, "Media Women in Action - New National Group to Coordinate Actions on Media," *Media Report to Women* 4, no. 4 (April 1, 1976): 2.
- ⁴⁴⁴ Pat Ridley, administrator of Media Women in Action, letter to members, June 24, 1976, Folder 500, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁴⁴⁵ Media Guidelines leaflet, proposed by the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year, July 1976, Folder 478, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁴⁴⁶ Patricia Carbine of *Ms.* Magazine memo to Jill Ruckelshaus, Feb. 27, 1976, Folder 476, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴⁸ Media guidelines leaflet, July 1976.
- ⁴⁴⁹ Carbine, memo to Jill Ruckelshaus.
- ⁴⁵⁰ Excerpt of the media chapter of the final report of the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year 1975, Folder 477, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁵¹ Lindsay Miller, "70 Women's Groups See Eye to Eye," *New York Post*, June 19, 1975, Folder 487, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁵² Martha Jones, "The Women's Action Alliance Herstory," *Women's Agenda*, Feb. 1976, Folder 488, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁵³ Ricki Fulman, "New feminist umbrella group," *Daily News*, June 20, 1975, Folder 487, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁵⁴ Minutes, Media Task Force of National Women's Agenda, meeting of Oct. 13, 1976, Folder 488, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁵⁵ NASA proposal abstract, May 16, 1977, Folder 515, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁵⁶ Madeline Lee, director of the National Women's Agenda Project, memo to invitees of the NASA Workshop, March 15, 1977, Folder 538, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁵⁷ Public Interest Satellite Association white paper on public-interest use of experimental NASA satellites, n/d, Folder 538, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁵⁸ Madeline Lee, National Women's Agenda director, memo, March 15, 1977, Folder 538, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Madeline Lee letter to Dr. Edward Wolff, Goddard Space Flight Center, April 11, 1977, Folder 538, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴ Jan Zimmerman, Video Productions, Santa Monica, Calif., author of Feminist Network Satellite Proposal to NASA, letter to Allen, April 14, 1977, Folder 538, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Application for Federal Assistance, Telecommunications Demonstration, Non-broadcast Technology, grant submitted to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, April 19, 1978, Folder 516, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Jan Zimmerman memo to Madeline Lee, May 11, 1977, Folder 538, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ "Gazette," *Ms. Magazine*, January 1978, 19, Folder 538, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁷² Madeline Lee memo to constituents, June 17, 1977, Folder 538, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁷³ Jan Zimmerman memo to Jean Braunstein of the Public Service Satellite Consortium, Dec. 5, 1977, Folder 538, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁷⁴ Ruth Abram letter, March 20, 1978, Folder 538, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ Jan Zimmerman report on failed demonstration, April 19, 1978, Folder 540, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁷⁷ Tom Shales, "Home-Grown Video: Television Eases Into the '80s at the No-Nukes Rally," *The Washington Post Style*, May 17, 1979, D3.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Paula Kassell and Susan J. Kaufman, "Planning an International Communications System for Women," in *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*, eds. Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1989), 229.

⁴⁸⁰ "Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View" press release, n/d, Folder 550, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁸¹ Ralph E. Schuetz, associate director, broadcast operations, Public Broadcasting Service, letter, Aug. 1, 1980, Folder 564, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁸² Donna Allen letter to Steven A. Levy, Hogan & Hartson, May 5, 1980, Folder 550, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁸³ Robert Schwartz, vice president COMSAT, letter to Donna Allen, June 10, 1980, Folder 550, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁸⁴ Patsy Fryman, assistant to the president, CWA, letter to Donna Allen, June 6, 1980, Folder 550, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁸⁵ Mal Johnson letter to Donna Allen, May 16, 1980, Folder 550, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁸⁶ "Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View" press release, n/d, Folder 550, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁸ Final Report to the United States International Communication Agency on *Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View*: a project of the

Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, Dec. 4, 1980, Folder 568, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁸⁹ Kassell and Kaufman, "Planning an International Communications System for Women," 229.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View press release, July 20, 1980, Folder 550, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁹² Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View press release, July 20, 1980, Folder 550, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁹³ Annie King Phillips letter to Michael Bennett, chief of the staff office of private sector programs for the U.S. International Communications Agency, May 24, 1980, Folder 559, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ Questions from Minneapolis, untitled memo, n/d, Folder 560, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁹⁸ "Crosscultural Dialogue Via Satellite!" *Graduate Woman*, the American Association of University Women journal, Nov.-Dec. 1980, Folder 555, Donna Allen papers.

⁴⁹⁹ "Dateline Copenhagen: A Window on the World's Women," *Equal Access*, newsletter for Women in Public Telecommunications, Sept.-Oct. 1980, Vol. 4/No. 2, 1-2.

⁵⁰⁰ "Crosscultural Dialogue Via Satellite!"

⁵⁰¹ Anne Turpeau memo, June 3, 1980, Folder 559, Donna Allen papers.

⁵⁰² Final Report to the United States International Communication Agency on *Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View*.

⁵⁰³ TV15 San Diego, television schedule, Sept. 20, 1980, KPBS, Folder 555, Donna Allen papers.

⁵⁰⁴ Emilie Manning, WIFP intern from Sarah Lawrence College, press release, *Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View*, July 1, 1980, Folder 560, Donna Allen papers.

⁵⁰⁵ Final Report to the United States International Communication Agency on *Dateline Copenhagen: Woman's View*.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

-
- ⁵⁰⁷ Donna Allen, "Satellite Coverage of 1980 Conference Needed for Women's 'Right to Know,'" *Media Report to Women* 7, no. 6 (June 1, 1979): 11.
- ⁵⁰⁸ "Origin of 'Women's News International:' NGO Forum, U.N. World Conference of Women," *Media Report to Women* 10, no. 4 (April 1, 1982): 1.
- ⁵⁰⁹ *Time*, Aug. 5, 1985, 38, Folder 556, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹¹ Anne Cooper, Lucinda D. Davenport, *Media Coverage of International Women's Decade: Feminism and Conflict*, presented to the Feminist Scholarship Interest Group, International Communication Association, 36th Annual Conference, Chicago, May 22-26, 1986.
- ⁵¹² *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹⁴ *Time*, Aug. 5, 1985.
- ⁵¹⁵ Mal Johnson letter to Paula Kassell, April 5, 1984, Folder 582, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁵¹⁶ For a detailed description of WINS' operation, see Paula Kassell and Susan Kaufman, "Planning an International Communications System for Women," in *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*, eds. Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1989), 222-237.
- ⁵¹⁷ Donna Allen, "From Opportunity to Strategy: Women Contribute to the Communications Future," in *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*, eds. Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1989), 64.
- ⁵¹⁸ Donna Allen letter to John McLucas, executive vice president, COMSAT, Sept. 1984, Folder 583, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁵¹⁹ David McIntosh, Intelsat Project Share teleconferencing specialist, letter to Donna Allen, Dec. 14, 1984, Folder 582, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁵²⁰ Lillian Levy, director/producer *Dateline Nairobi*, letter to Maureen Reagan, June 26, 1985, Folder 584, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁵²¹ Donna Allen, written remarks for delivery via satellite in Nairobi, Kenya, July 24, 1985, Folder 585, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁵²² National Woman's Party 26th National Biennial Convention agenda, Sept. 27, 1985, Folder 586, Donna Allen papers.

CHAPTER 8

"STANDARD-BEARER OF FEMINISM"

Later Life

By the mid-1970s, through *Media Report to Women* and the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, Allen's position at the center of a network of women within media and activism solidified her reputation as a trustworthy journalist and leader. She was a natural draw at women's meetings and conferences, where she sometimes commanded fees of \$500 but more often than not was compensated very little.⁵²³

The list of speeches she gave during this time was lengthy. It included talks on such topics as "The Changing - and Challenging - Role of Women in Broadcasting Employment and Programming" at a Kentucky Broadcasters Association meeting in November 1976;" "How to Help the Media Live Up to Its Public Responsibility" at a Virginia Press Woman Convention in October 1975; "Nellie Bly - Have You Really Come a Long Way, Baby? (a title chosen by the event coordinator)" at a Women in Communications luncheon in Pittsburgh in April 1977; the image of women in media at a NOW conference in May 1978 in New York; the status of women in media at a Jackson

State University conference on women in mass communication in the Department of Mass Communications; media coverage of women political candidates, the ERA, and other women's issues at a women, media and law conference sponsored by the Virginia Law Women in March 1979; women and media at an American Association of University Women conference in Philadelphia in August 1979; women and media at the Jefferson Literary and Debating Society at the University of Virginia in September 1979; and media at the National Woman's Party convention in Washington in Oct. 1981. In fall of 1978 she was asked by the National Endowment for the Humanities to serve as a panelist and consultant to evaluate applicants for endowment grants, and in 1979 she received Women in Communications' highest award, the Headliner Award. During the early 1970s she also was teaching on women and media at the Baltimore Media Studies Center at Antioch college.⁵²⁴

Women columnists often used the facts she presented in *Media Report* on corporate media ownership and women's health research, such as the use of 2 million women as guinea pigs for the controversial intrauterine device, the Dalkon Shield, in their own writing. They cited her "calm, objective reporting" that could not be found in

mainstream publications.⁵²⁵ She received a constant stream of letters from academics, publishers, producers, researchers, and independent journalists thanking her for the information she published that could not be found elsewhere. *Media Report* was also said to be read by "the media barons" in order to know what "the enemy - a growing number of outraged women and men - are doing and saying about them."⁵²⁶

Allen was deeply involved in a rising tide of media awareness, particularly on the part of women. Women-in-media was a movement whose time had come and Allen helped bring it to that point in public consciousness. She documented a host of studies on women's portrayal and role in media. The Corporation for Public Broadcasting, for example, conducted a study and made recommendations on news coverage of women, portrayal of women in programming and employment in public broadcasting. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation had done the same thing. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights conducted a year-long study on employment and the portrayal of women and minorities on commercial television. The National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year commissioned a study by its Committee on Media, and the California State Commission on the Status of Women

held extensive hearings on the role, portrayal and employment of women in media.⁵²⁷

By this time, guidelines for equal treatment of women and minorities had been drawn up for textbooks, broadcast stations had adopted guidelines, and media monitoring projects were under way by the American Association of University Women, United Methodist Church Women, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

At the Head Table

By the 1980s, Donna Allen was no longer the token woman at the head table as she had felt herself to be in the late 1960s when she turned in frustration from peace and labor activism to media reform. In her 60s, with her shock of upswept white hair and her frugal lifestyle, Allen was friend and confidante to many in the women's movement. She was also a valuable resource for the growing number of feminists who were entering the academic side of media in communication schools around the country, and her ideas could be interpreted within communication theories.

Her notion that women had special knowledge of the oppressive nature of media could be theorized under

certain academic frameworks such as standpoint epistemology and a Marxist critique. What some could see as her essentialist and universalist assumptions about women and media could be interpreted as useful for keeping her radical network together, working in much the same way as other feminist movements such as ecofeminism.

Her ideas of media as a hegemonic force, or as her daughter, Dana, saw them, of media as a means of governing, were within the cutting-edge theoretical approaches of the time. Her criticism, with her economic training, of the media monopolies could be seen through the lens of political economy. Her push for women's access to technology was an important focus for gender and women's studies, and her emphasis on the depiction of women in media and the study of media effects were key areas for long-developing bodies of literature in the communication field.

She came to know many key women in mass communication academia through *Media Report to Women*, and like many in communication academia at the time, Allen was seeing the fruits of her labor as more women of academic stature challenged the status quo, particularly in relation to women and media.

This sense that priorities were shifting in mass communication is reflected in a paper Allen wrote for the 1984 annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, as noted in Chapter 6. In it, Allen noted that the 1980s had brought the first exit polling to show that women's political concerns affected the outcome of elections as well as their support for major changes in divorce laws, insurance and credit rules, child abuse laws and rape laws. She saw a connection between women's growing political power, the coverage of women in the media, and the networks and coalitions she was so deeply involved in and had fostered for so many years:

Women's news today is the reporting of the news issues of particular concern to a majority of the population with political power to affect the total population. This new treatment of women's news arising in the 1980s is the culmination of the growth of an extensive women's communication system of newspapers, magazines and a multitude of organized and semi-organized networks and coalitions built slowly, steadily, and firmly over two and a half decades since the terrible silence of the 1950s.

This massive communications system now continuously and increasingly raises critical issues of majority national concern for mass media coverage. And, we in the study of communications must note that it is the ability of this organized network/coalition to reach millions of the public that has created the power which we now see reflected in the ballot box and thus also in the new media coverage of women's news.⁵²⁸

But Allen's success had come at a high price. Though few of her now more than 700 associates in the Women's Institute knew it, by the early 1980s, the 17-hour days and lack of money were wearing on Allen. She sometimes became distraught about falling behind in publishing *Media Report* when conferences, speeches, or other writing had to take precedence. "Donna is exhausted and won't admit it," according to a friend and associate writing at the time. "She has no personal life, no leisure, no time outside her dedication, for which she lives like a monk and a zealot."⁵²⁹ Though she remained strong and was always physically active, even achieving rank in martial arts, friends sometimes worried she would take ill "because she won't stop until she does."⁵³⁰

Women Transforming Communications

Allen sometimes feared that her decade of publishing *Media Report to Women* seemed to be falling on too many deaf or "silenced" ears.⁵³¹ It was at this time in the early 1980s that Dr. Ramona Rush, then an assistant journalism professor, wrote a paper entitled "A Different Call to Arms: Women in the Core of the Communications Revolution," which Allen excerpted in *Media Report*.

Allen did what she often did, which was to send a copy of the excerpted material to the author with a hand-written note calling attention to points of information. The last sentence of the note read, "Is it time to start the revolution again?"⁵³² And, Rush, who later became the first woman dean of a college of communication (at the University of Kentucky), decided that it was.

As Rush remembered it, she and Allen talked on the phone shortly thereafter, each telling the other that she was planning on writing a book on women and communication. A few days later, Rush called Allen to see if she would be willing to write the book together. "After a few minutes of discussion, they decided they would do just that, but that they wanted to invite others to join with them."⁵³³ On April 18, 1984, the first letters of invitation to contributors went out, but finding a publisher that believed there was a market for a "women's" book was grueling and time consuming.

One associate editor at Sage Publications told the women something they would be told over and over again in their scholarly research:

... There is a strong sentiment ... that activist feminism is out of place in the social sciences when one is discussing research. Social science research can be applied to feminist issues and concerns (for example, we publish books dealing with policy issues

that affect women), but our position is that feminist issues should not define the ways in which social science research is conducted, nor should activist positions determine the content of our books."⁵³⁴

The same editor urged the women on, however, and said she was trying to change the publishing policies of her employer.

Undeterred, many of those involved with the book, including Allen, presented their research at a roundtable discussion on "Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection" at the International Communications Association annual convention in Honolulu in May, 1984, with Margaret Gallagher of Paris, international researcher in the field of women and media, as respondent. Participants and authors for the book included some of the foremost women scholars in communication. Five years later, the book *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection* was published by Ablex Publishing. It stood as one of the stalwart feminist books in mass communication education, though it was criticized by some mainstream scholars as low on scholarly merit and by some feminists as needing more theory and more attention to culture, race, and class issues.

In it, Allen, working from a historical accumulation of accounts and perspectives about women and the media, found a four-factor intersection - new technology and democratic communication, a women's worldwide communications system, women's different contributions, and women's communication strategy - that she predicted would lead to a more inclusive and accurate world communications system. Her chapter, "From Opportunity to Strategy: Women Contribute to the Communications Future," took a generally liberal-feminist, big-effects approach to communication, placing women as a whole in opposition to traditional media, reiterating her basic core of beliefs about women's silence in the 1950s equated with their lack of media, and the goal of a women's communication system. She stated her general belief that it was the specific time in history, the 1980s, when a conflagration of events would occur to "create an opportune time for women to make their contributions to communications."⁵³⁵ The four factors for this, she said, were:

1. new technology and rising world demand for more democratic communications have placed us on the threshold of major change in the world communications system,
2. women have built their own worldwide communications media through which their contributions can now be heard,

3. it is newly recognized that women have different and needed contributions to make to communications; and
4. they have developed a strategy to carry their contributions into the media structure.

Allen generally equated change or growth in worldwide communications with a good outcome for women.

Allen, during this time, continued making speeches and appearing in academic settings. In May 1986, she was a panelist at the University of Maryland Women's Studies conference, "Making a Difference: The Impact of Women in the Professions."⁵³⁶ She was a panelist at the International Communications Association convention in May 1986 on a topic near and dear to her heart -- "The Role of Alternative Media Channels and Content in the Coverage of Women's Issues."⁵³⁷ Proposed and put together by Rush, it was designed to give a public forum to what Allen and others had been doing for years in establishing "alternative communication channels" for women and it came in the wake of the success of the broadcast at the U.N. World Conference on Women in Nairobi. In her presentation, Allen gave an assessment of where women's media stood at that time and what their goals were. She estimated that all women's media put together totaled about 4 million to 5 million circulation and that 95 percent of the public never saw it. But she said that

seemingly small contribution helped fill an incalculable percentage of news content that was left out of mainstream media. Without women's media raising issues of importance to women that are eventually picked up by mass media, she reasoned, women's issues would not be covered at all.⁵³⁸

Recognition for Inspiring Others

Allen had made the transition from activism at the grassroots level to academic activism, using all the knowledge she had gained over decades of publishing *Media Report to Women* and allowing the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press to serve as a focal point and think tank for women's activities within media. She stuck to her long-held message, and the women who had partaken of her media analysis, her conferences, her information-sharing, her encouragement and advice, her ground-breaking satellite teleconferences, her publicity on their behalf, and her friendship showed genuine appreciation for her long years of hard work.

At a time when Institute funds were running low, for example, associate and educator Marilyn Bentov, who met Allen in 1977 through contacts at the Corporation for

Public Broadcasting, nominated her for the Warner Communications Wonder Woman Award, a unique endowment for women of achievement over 40 that was established in 1981. She described Allen as a major force in the women's movement worldwide who "informed and united women in a wide range of media and creative enterprises through the publication she created for that purpose, *Media Report to Women*."⁵³⁹ She said that the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, through its annual conferences, "influenced the birth and development of hundreds of new women's projects and associations worldwide." Allen won in 1983 along with 16 other American women out of 1,000 nominees and she took home an unrestricted award of \$7,500, enough to sustain her for quite some time.

Jenette Kahn, president of the foundation that awarded the grants, wrote to Allen in announcing the award:

When reviewing the nominations, both the panels and the Board looked at three major criteria: First was the way you'd already affected the quality of life of the people around you through your compassion, your personal courage, the risks you'd taken, and the new territory you'd pioneered.

Secondly, we looked at your goals for the future and tried to evaluate the significance they might have, not just for others, but for you personally. And, finally, we looked to see that you had demonstrated the strength of character that could make these goals realities.

Not only did you fulfill these criteria, but what came from your nomination form was an overall spirit that shines through your life and touches those you know. In this way, and in your achievements to date, you are an inspiration not just to other women but to all people."⁵⁴⁰

In 1984, Allen served as a Project Censored panelist with Ben Bagdikian of the University of California, Noam Chomsky of MIT, George Gerbner of the Annenberg School at the University of Pennsylvania, and other luminaries. In 1986, Allen was honored as a distinguished contributor to human rights by the National Woman's Party under the auspices of the United Nations Association of the USA.⁵⁴¹ She was recognized for her outstanding contributions to women in communication by the Committee on the Status of Women of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication in March 1988.⁵⁴² Also, in 1988, she was honored by the women's interest group of the American Journalism Historians Association for her role in preserving sources for the history of women in media.

In 1990, in a speech to the Association of Schools of Journalism and Mass Communication meeting in Los Angeles, she urged journalism educators to pay more attention to women's media and other alternative presses. She noted "it is not easy" to publish periodicals or make

broadcasts, to correct stereotypes, or to change "news definitions," as she had tried to do for two decades.⁵⁴³

By the mid-1990s, women in communications academia took note of what a difference a decade could make in the literature of their field.⁵⁴⁴ "No longer do we have to painstakingly find and draw together from alternative sources a literature to represent us all," wrote Rush in the introduction to her and Allen's next volume, *Women Transforming Communications: Global Intersections*, published in 1996 and co-edited by Susan Kaufman. "'Full inclusion' education and educational materials are at our fingertips more and more every day, sometimes even in the traditional media... The multitude of writings now found on women's issues, including those concerned with all aspects of communications, is a sight of choices to behold."⁵⁴⁵ She noted that when *Communications at the Crossroads* came out in 1989, it was challenging and exciting to even be writing about women and communications and to be published, "period."⁵⁴⁶

The newer book still presented a series of differing voices in resistance to a dominant, socially constructed reality, according to Rush, but the voices had become an interactive dialogue and connected "as they never did in the past."⁵⁴⁷ The book also sought to answer critics

about the lack of multicultural voices in *Communications at the Crossroads*. The *Transforming* book was reported to be a difficult one to put together and Allen played mediator to disputes about what should go in it. Allen's essay on "Women and Technology: Transforming Communication and Democracy" ended the collection, which included contributions by Gloria Steinem, Andrea Dworkin, Casey Miller and Kate Swift.

In it, Allen makes the case that several important incidents in the previous three or four decades indicated a transformation of communication. She specifically cited the September 1994 U.N. world population conference in Cairo at which *The New York Times* acknowledged that bringing women to the center of family planning issues was the major change since the 1974 conference in Bucharest when women were not a part of the conference. She reiterated her long-held philosophy that male ownership of mass media was incompatible with democracy. But she stated that in less than four decades after offset press technology drastically reduced the cost of printing, women created their own media and used new communications technology to "offer the public new and very different information."⁵⁴⁸ She said that the astonishing result has been the significant reversal of

three principal male viewpoints "that had silenced women for thousands of years," by effectively excluding them from political participation:⁵⁴⁹

1. silencing women by threat of violence (justified in the male mass media viewpoint as being a minor problem, and acceptable because such violence is "natural" and therefore unavoidable),
2. silencing women by threat of a social disapproval of political participation (justified by the male viewpoint that women's place is in the home, not in politics), and
3. silencing women by exclusive male control of the only means of reaching the majority of the public (justified by the male viewpoint that men can and are speaking for women).⁵⁵⁰

In her chapter, she gave a persuasive history of societal changes for women in conjunction with women's growing presence in media publishing, citing violence against women as one of the concrete areas in which women made their viewpoints part of official U.S. policy via media. She cited *Media Report to Women* as one of the many women-run media outlets that helped create change for women since the 1950s. "The future offers the potential of women's leadership in creating a new communications system for the world," she wrote.⁵⁵¹ And, she said, there is scientific and practical evidence indicating that women may be particularly suited to "lead the way toward a more equitable and more democratic system of communication than the one run by men for thousands of

years.”⁵⁵² Women, she said, are natural communicators with highly developed verbal abilities, a proclivity for sharing over competition, and the tendency to create cooperation rather than hierarchies. She saw new media technology such as electronic mail as the potential key to an international distribution system of a new democratic structure for communications:

If women continue the present course of expanding communication to each other and the public, it will only be a matter of time, however distant it may seem now, until we will have created a new world communication system that, by equalizing communication to all of us, equalizes the political power we define as democracy.⁵⁵³

Allen continued to see technology as the key to a women's communication system in her final years. In 1997, she wrote an editorial in *Media Report to Women* in which she noted that 36 percent of Internet users were women and that women outnumbered men in the 11-20-year-old range. She noted her long-held goal that as many women as possible should be able to participate at the U.N. World Conferences on Women came true in 1995 in Beijing via e-mail, electronic lobbying, and Web page visits. Women, she argued, had gone from being information consumers to being information creators. "Women worldwide are therefore building their own

communications systems, to speak their information for themselves.”⁵⁵⁴

A Death that Reverberated

In her later years, Allen continued writing editorials for *Media Report* even though she no longer published it. She noted that some of her goals for women and media had been realized. She praised the women leaders of the Iranian Resistance Movement, for example, for using the Internet and other means of communication to further their resistance efforts against the Iranian government. She noted that the Iranian women leaders were part of an international conference by the Women's Human Rights International Association in June 1996 that was attended by 25,000, the largest such gathering since the U.N. World Conference on Women in Beijing, and that the event was transmitted live via satellite to Iran and other parts of the world. She referred to the first worldwide conference on women and media in 1994 in Bangkok and a book that it inspired called, *Women's Experiences in Media*, published in May 1997.

In Spring 1999, just weeks before her death, Allen wrote with optimism about the Internet and the changing media landscape. She quoted a headline from the time:

"The question is not whether the new electronic media will survive but whether the traditional media will survive.'"⁵⁵⁵ And, she noted the power of the Internet in political decision-making, particularly when Congress was flooded with e-mails during the Clinton impeachment controversy. "... Women, the least-heard citizens under the present media structure, are suddenly being heard - are suddenly participating in the decision-making - wholly because the new technology has made it possible. They and other citizens who shared that view turned impeachment back."⁵⁵⁶ She saw the Internet as an essential tool in what women had always excelled in - networking.

Allen, herself, was the quintessential networker, according to those who knew her, and it was this networking capacity that endeared her to hundreds, if not thousands, of women over her lifetime. When Allen died July 19, 1999, at age 78 just three years after the publication of *Women Transforming Communications*, the loss reverberated through women's networks with roots in the peace, civil rights, and women's movements and across generational and geographical boundaries.

The New York Times ran a 664-word obituary seven days after her death stating that Allen died of a heart attack at a hospital that the family would not identify.

The Washington Post declined to run an obituary because of the family's decision not to release information about her death. The *Times* obit was a respectful tribute, calling Allen an early standard-bearer of feminism "who kept an eye on the news and communications industry from her Washington home."⁵⁵⁷ It said:

Dr. Allen came to social and political activism as a young woman, organizing farm workers on the West Coast and writing pamphlets for the American Federation of Labor in Washington. In the early 1950's, she became involved with the League of Women Voters, which was scrutinizing the Truman Administration's loyalty program from government employees. At the time, there was widespread fear of Communist infiltration and subversion. Dr. Allen strongly objected to loyalty oaths and their general acceptance by the press. From this, Dr. Allen developed a lifelong interest in communications and the role of women in the field.⁵⁵⁸

The obituary also touched on Allen's peace activities, her run-in with HUAC, her founding of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and *Media Report to Women*, her educational background, and her books. It highlighted an incident in which Allen, representing the group that wanted the House Un-American Activities Committee abolished, sat in the audience when HUAC delved into the Ku Klux Klan in 1965. "As the investigators sorted out such mysterious denizens as klaliffs, klokards and kludds, Dr. Allen sported a button

proclaiming: 'I am not now nor have I ever been a member of H.U.A.C.' "⁵⁵⁹

Allen's obituary ran on the Associate Press wire and was picked up and printed by newspapers nationally and perhaps internationally. But it was the notices in women's media that went into depth about her contribution. For example, Jennifer Abod wrote Allen's obituary in the feminist publication *off our backs*, saying:

There are some people who, you think, are going to be around forever... Donna Allen will be greatly missed by numbers of people in several different worlds because she walked in so many. She is irreplaceable in mine. The Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press was a resource and an umbrella organization for all of my media projects for over 20 years, although only on a few rare occasions have we been in the same room at the same time...⁵⁶⁰

On a sunny Sunday, Sept. 26, 1999, a memorial for Allen was held in the courtyard at the National Women's Party Headquarters on Capitol Hill with almost 100 activists, friends, and family gathering from across the country. Many of those who knew Donna during her days of peace activism were unaware of all she had done in media, and vice versa.

HUAC foe Frank Wilkinson, one of the founders of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, flew

from Los Angeles and credited Donna with playing a vital role in the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee. "She was so brilliant, yet so modest," he said.⁵⁶¹ He told of Donna's admonishment to those who worked with her that no woman was to make coffee, cook, or do the cleaning. "For me, in every sense of the word, Donna was my role model," he said.⁵⁶²

Legendary reporter Sarah McClendon, now deceased, was one of the first to speak at the memorial. Others included Martha Burk, who was encouraged by Donna to found the Feminist Faxnet. Ramona Rush, Allen's co-editor on her two media books, Fran Hosken, WIN News editor and publisher, and many others shared stories. "Donna was such a strategist," said Marty Langelan, president of the National Woman's Party.⁵⁶³ "She represented all the optimism of the women's movement."

Messages came from those who could not attend, including Maurine Beasley, Annette Samuels, and Gloria Steinem. Robin Morgan wrote, "She was such a central and permanent part of the national and global feminist landscape that I think we got spoiled and assumed we'd have her around forever."⁵⁶⁴ Betsy Wade of *The New York Times* said, "I think of Donna as a scribe in the Dark

Ages, recording and keeping alive the fragments of humanism... She let women speak for themselves."⁵⁶⁵

In 2000, she was the focus of a panel at the annual Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Convention entitled "Donna Allen: The impact of one woman's ideas on Mass Communication research." On Aug. 3-4, 2001, a Dr. Donna Allen Symposium was held at the Freedom Forum in Virginia in which many of the women with whom Allen had worked over the years introduced research in the area of women in journalism education that followed up on a study done by Ramona Rush and Carol Oukrop 30 years before.

The results of the research were planned for publication in a book in fall 2004. It was to contain tributes to Allen and her assessment of and visions for the status of women in professional and academic journalism as expressed in *Media Report to Women*.

Shortly after the symposium, the Commission on the Status of Women of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication announced the creation of the Donna Allen Award for feminist activism in journalism and mass communication in spring 2001. According to commission co-chair Terry Lueck, the award, endowed with a \$5,000 grant from the Freedom Forum and

individual contributions, recognizes an individual who continues the activism for which Allen was known, and it has served to rededicate the commission to activism.⁵⁶⁶

⁵²³ James C. Allison II, general manager WLAP, Lexington, Ky., letter to solicit Allen's services as a speaker for broadcasters luncheon, Sept. 24, 1978, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.

⁵²⁴ Abod, Jennifer, "Donna Allen: A life devoted to feminist media," *off our backs* 29, no. 8 (August 1999) 14.

⁵²⁵ Edith Kermit Roosevelt, column, "Between the Lines," *The New Hampshire Sunday News*, Dec. 28, 1975, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.

⁵²⁶ Ibid.

⁵²⁷ Donna Allen, speech, "How to Help the Media Live Up to Its Public Responsibility," Oct. 4, 1975, Box 2, Donna Allen papers.

⁵²⁸ Donna Allen, paper for delivery, panel presentation Aug. 8, 1984, Teaching Standards Plenary on "Shifting Priorities in Mass Communications Education," Annual National Meeting, Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Folder 511, Donna Allen papers.

⁵²⁹ Marilyn Bentov, nomination form to Wonder Woman Foundation, July 15, 1982, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ Ramona R. Rush and Donna Allen, "Preface," in *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection* (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1989), x.

⁵³² Ibid.

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Rush and Allen, xi.

⁵³⁵ Donna Allen, "From Opportunity to Strategy: Women Contribute to the Communications Future," in *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*, (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1989), 59-77.

⁵³⁶ Evelyn T. Beck, director of the University of Maryland Women's Studies Program, letter, May 14, 1986, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.

⁵³⁷ Ramona Rush letter, Jan. 30, 1986, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.

⁵³⁸ Donna Allen, paper for delivery to the International Communication Association, "Women's Media Role: Raising Our Issues for Mass Media Coverage for Public Debate and Decision Making," May 25, 1986.

⁵³⁹ Bentov, nomination form.

⁵⁴⁰ Jenette Kahn, president, The Wonder Woman Foundation, Inc., letter, Sept. 14, 1983, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.

⁵⁴¹ Human Rights Day Community Luncheon flier, Dec. 10, 1986, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.

⁵⁴² Lana F. Rakow, chair, Committee on the Status of Women of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, letter, March 15, 1988, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.

⁵⁴³ Donna Allen, "Women, Minorities and Freedom of the Press," *Newspaper Research Journal* 11 (Summer 1990): 13.

⁵⁴⁴ Donna Allen, Ramona R. Rush, Susan J. Kaufman, "Preface," *Women Transforming Communications: Global Intersections* (Thousand Oaks, Calif., Sage Publications, 1996), ix.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁶ Allen, Rush, and Kaufman, "Preface," x.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ Donna Allen, "Women and Technology: Transforming Communication and Democracy," in *Women Transforming Communications: Global Intersections*, Donna Allen, Ramona R. Rush, Susan J. Kaufman, eds., (Thousand Oaks, Calif., Sage Publications, 1996): 325.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Allen, "Women and Technology," 330.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ Allen, "Women and Technology," 331.

⁵⁵⁴ Donna Allen, "Donna Allen's Comment: Women Are Creating Their Own Communications Systems," *Media Report to Women*, (Winter 1997): 9.

⁵⁵⁵ Donna Allen, "Donna Allen's Comment: Major Impact of the Internet Is In Its New Content," *Media Report to Women*, (Spring 1999): 15.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Wolfgang Saxon, "Donna Allen, 78, a Feminist and an Organizer," *The New York Times*, Section B, July 26, 1999, 9.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ Jennifer Abod, "Donna Allen: A life devoted to feminist media," *off our backs*, August 1999.

⁵⁶¹ Martha Leslie Allen, "Friends, Colleagues, Family Remember Donna Allen At A Memorial Celebration of Her Life and Work," *Media Report to Women*, (Fall 1999): 15.

⁵⁶² Ibid.

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁶ "Commission Creates Donna Allen Award," In Brief column, *Women's Words*, newsletter for the Commission on the Status of Women of the AEJMC 10, no. 2 (Spring 2001): 4.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION: CONTRIBUTOR TO HISTORY

In terms of the historical record, Donna Allen's name is probably most familiar to those studying the history of women and media for the *Media Report to Women* archives. Many who were influenced by her work and even worked on projects begun by her, as Jennifer Abod of *off our backs*, said, never knew her name.⁵⁶⁷ According to Dana Densmore:

...She was not recognized in a way that I think she should have been and that she would have liked to have been, which was for her ideas, her analysis to get out to people, to be heard by more than her daughters, to be *gotten* by more than a few people.⁵⁶⁸

Part of the problem, according to historians, is that much of journalism history is the study of journalists at paid work. Many women important to the field were never paid and let men take credit for their work, often by virtue of the fact that they were married to the men.⁵⁶⁹ Allen did not define herself in relation to the men in her life or to financial success.⁵⁷⁰ Had Allen's Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press been a bastion of wealthy media barons, there would be no doubt of her place in media history. Instead, it was a community-building "believable space" made up of well-

worn furniture set in a stately house in a city neighborhood - a center of women's bonding in the historical and traditional senses.^{571 572}

But newer traditions of history reveal the value of research on women's previously unrecognized work as community-builders because such work laid the foundation for the formal institutions of society, which generally were taken over by men.⁵⁷³ In Allen's case, her efforts helped establish a global community of women struggling to build an equitable society through communication and media for the benefit of all.

Her focus was the women at the margins, the ones with barely the means to pay \$10 to subscribe to her publication each year or to travel to her conferences, and she was able to organize them on an international scale. She did this by being among those to first recognize in its modern-day development that mass media was a social force of tremendous magnitude. Her mission became educating women about the power of mass communication and how she felt it was misused, and creating a network of women to challenge it. She believed ultimately that women were powerless in society because they had no mass communication venues of their

own and she sought to help supply and foster those alternatives.

Allen struggled throughout her life to fashion a universal theory or macro analysis of media and women, and this is what made her compelling and different from other media activists. This big-picture outlook fed her ability to bring together women who wanted to change media from the outside and women who worked as reporters, editors, and writers and wanted more opportunity on the inside. It is why the Women's Institute was more of a symbolic center of an activist network than a brick-and-mortar headquarters of a professional organization. All ideas were open for discussion with the understanding that some of them would thrive and grow when women picked them up and took action on them in groups. This sky's-the-limit approach led Allen to think globally and made her a leader not just in U.S. media activism but in the international arena. It also literally led her skyward with her grasp of the technological revolution and her demonstration to those she influenced that individual citizens had a right to satellites and any other form of communication available to corporations or government.

In 2003, leading media scholars such as Robert McChesney, professor of communication at the University

of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, called urgently for reform of communication policy.⁵⁷⁴ McChesney and others have pressed for a grassroots media democracy movement, and the issue has grown as citizens have become concerned with the corporate takeover of media outlets and with media content they believe does little to serve the greater good.⁵⁷⁵ This dissertation shows that women contributed significantly to that action at the grass roots level 30 years ago. It also shows that while the modern women's movement was centered in the 1970s, and much has been written about that, the 1980s was the decade in which women's activism in media took hold. It documents the strong link between the women's movement and media - a link not thoroughly explored beyond how media covered the movement - and it describes the sometimes stormy history of that relationship. It shows, too, the importance of women and media issues at the international level and it supports the notion that the feminist movement had roots in the labor and peace movements - a connection not often readily acknowledged by the founders of the modern women's movement.⁵⁷⁶

Networking

Allen had an uncanny ability to get along with women of various political views. Her networking acumen, her positive approach, and her vast knowledge of women's struggle in media have afforded her a place in history by a generation of women academics in the communication field, where the great majority of leading theorists are male. After years of tracking the media and women's presses, she knew better than anyone the lengths to which women had gone in challenging the existing media system and its misleading representation of women, and in trying to climb the ranks in the industry on both the professional and academic sides.

Her expertise in that regard was demonstrated in the fact that she was one of the architects of the wording regarding media of the final recommendations by the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year 1975. And, at a time when women were struggling just to enter the communication field, she put women and technology at the forefront in pursuing the historic satellite teleconferences of the U.N. conferences in Copenhagen and Nairobi. It is a little-known contribution to the history of women and technology within communication that occurred long before the

Internet sparked debate about the elimination of media gatekeepers.

She also noted that issues like violence against women and reproductive health first came to light in the alternative press, illustrating her theory that women who wrote for publications outside the mainstream could influence mass media. And, her encouragement of journalists and academics like Sue Kaufman is well-documented. The establishment of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press served, as Kaufman said, as a site for feminist theory and activism that made women feel legitimate in the eyes of the discipline:

She knew that the cutting edge - the breaking, important issues were being raised in that alternative press. And she'd bring us together in places like ... I remember one woman who published a newspaper on jujitsu ... and she'd intersect these folks, and suddenly we'd be meeting at the National Press Club ... and it became *OUR* press club.⁵⁷⁷

The way Marilyn Bentov, a WIFP associate, put it, Allen and her activities had an "amplifying effect:"⁵⁷⁸

Her capacity to inspire others resides in her strong intelligence, positive attitude, determination, creativity, and unwavering concern and respect for others. For Donna, people and good works take top priority; money's purpose is to help them. Through WIFP and *Media Report to Women* she has influenced the birth and development of women-held major stock ownership in TV stations, health programs for African women, and support for the women employees who sued *The New York Times* for discrimination - and won!⁵⁷⁹

Allen counted among her friends and associates the leading activists of the women's movement and the stalwarts of communication academia, particularly on women's issues. But Allen did not seek out social status and did not travel directly in the circles of the intellectual elite of the Left, even eschewing their principles as too-much-thinking and too-little-action. She was a true believer who had no agenda for personal enrichment.

This dissertation reveals how Allen's ideas wound their way through the history of women's activism within media. It illuminates the level of that activism and names many of those involved in women's efforts to reform media. It shows the behind-the-scenes struggle that women had keeping in touch with each other and working against the dominant media culture.

The women are shown for the most part to be outsiders in a changing media world whose jobs as activists and as journalists were made harder as a result of their gender. The study shows how Allen was a leading figure of her time in combining activism, journalism, academic study, and education in a life-long effort to change media. The narrative endeavors to contextualize

Allen and place her activities within her historical period. It also shows how the federal government and federal law interacted with women in media reform at a particular time in history.

By revealing the details of how women struggled to build coalitions, organize conferences, fight discrimination, and make technological breakthroughs, I document the emergence in the latter part of the 20th century of women's agency in an important area of the public sphere -- the media. Through Allen, the history and goals of the struggle are shown. The language women used is utilized verbatim when possible, and the dead ends to which the road to reform sometimes led are also uncovered.

This is not a "great woman" success story in the tradition of biographical history that is often criticized as universalist by women and critical theorists. It is a chronicle of success, but also of the challenges of social activism undertaken by a woman who wrote her own script. As Carolyn Heilbrun wrote:

... Romances, which end when the woman is married at a very young age, are the only stories for women that end with the sense of peace, all passion spent, that we find in the lives of men. I have read many moving lives of women, but they are painful, the price is high, the anxiety is intense, because there

is no script to follow, no story portraying how one is to act, let alone any alternative stories.⁵⁸⁰

A Woman of Vision

Those who knew Allen often described her as a visionary who was never satisfied with the status quo. "She was a very quiet, firm, persistent person. She was just always self-confident. She was on a mission. She always had a vision. She would always force you to stretch yourself and challenge you. She would always push for more," said Kathy Bonk.⁵⁸¹

Some of Allen's ideas, once considered radical, are taken for granted today - unmediated communication with citizens speaking for themselves via the Internet, and trepidation about the consolidation of media corporations among them. With the advent of the Internet, global communication networks among groups are a reality, and women activists, journalists, and writers now exploit that network in ways that Allen foresaw many years ago.

In developing her ideas, Allen expressed the frustration of a generation of media activists:

These wealthy individuals with a monopoly control over the only means of reaching the American people are therefore in a position to persuade Americans that they have been given all the essential facts upon which to make their

judgments and political decisions. Other views, they tell us, are only minority views, less important, extremist, or unpatriotic. In fact, to give these other views a hearing at all, they say, is proof of how fair the media are.

This situation describes not a free press but a controlled press - a press controlled by a handful of very wealthy individuals representing a single economic class. They assume (whether they really believe it or not) that the interests of other Americans are identical to their own. But what are their interests? Profit-making and the control of ideas to maintain the status quo.⁵⁸²

Armed with those ideas, Allen, like other feminists, posed a radical challenge to existing systems of knowledge by attempting to reveal the gender politics informing them.⁵⁸³ But she was unique in the ways that she did it, seeking a separate system of communication for women, which she went so far as to further in varying ways over her lifetime.

This dissertation is largely a record of Allen's life as an activist, thinker, organizer, and contributor to women's history in communication, with the goal of making her a subject of her experience rather than an object of research. In the process, it became a selected history of women's efforts at media reform during the second wave of the women's movement.

Allen's Theoretical Framework

Allen was decidedly "media-centric" - that is she believed journalism and media to be of key importance to the operations of society and that the media was central to historical events and processes.⁵⁸⁴ Allen took action on these beliefs throughout her life based on such assumptions. These are assumptions with which media scholars sometimes take exception today.

Her position also fell generally within the Marxist critical tradition within communication theory, which considers mass media "a means of production" and a part of the monopolistic ownership of the capitalist class, nationally or internationally organized to serve the interests of that class.⁵⁸⁵ But she also took a feminist cultural approach, which is activist in nature, acknowledging that representations of women cannot change unless the structures of patriarchal economic and social relations also change.⁵⁸⁶ Allen also had her own independent outlook - radicalism in the purest sense by working toward an overthrow of the existing media system by those whom she believed to be of superior ability: women.

Although Allen's theories often coincided with those of critical academics, she offered a gender dimension in looking at historical analyses of media and globalization, particularly in terms of public policy.⁵⁸⁷ Allen was aware of the feminist idea of standpoint epistemology, believing strongly that those who were oppressed had a clearer view of the realities of the ruling hierarchy. She relayed that philosophy in terms of the seemingly overwhelming power of the mass media in her times. She also no doubt foresaw the increasing difficulty in advocating on media and media ownership as deregulation became a priority in government and as global financial power grew.⁵⁸⁸

Allen's presence in these theoretical perspectives is largely speculative because, although she wrote prolifically on her ideology, she did not write in-depth, preferring instead to live her theory through activism. Her daughter, Dana, in particular, encouraged her mother to write a book outlining her ideas on media as a means of governing. According to Densmore:

The media are giving you the information that they think is important for you to know, that is to say the information that will lead you to the conclusions that they want you to come to. That was her big contribution... It has to be shown how it works and the trouble is that was a big huge book and writing was not easy for her.⁵⁸⁹

A draft of the introduction to Allen's proposed book shows that Allen planned to use women's access to communication as the basis for developments in women's history - that all people operate, not at "the mercy of ... cycles of history nor mysterious forces deep in their psyches," but "based on the information they have at a given time."⁵⁹⁰ The solution to the powerlessness of women "is also the solution that provides equality of political power for all people," she wrote. "It is found, in the working out of the theory, to lie in all people having equal opportunity to communicate their information."⁵⁹¹ The book, it appears, would adhere to Allen's basic thesis that women are oppressed because of their lack of access to communication to others.

Kaufman, for one, theorized that to complete such a book would have been too limiting for Allen. "I knew her well enough to say that she would not do that because that would define and limit. She was too busy doing. She was too busy doing."⁵⁹²

Martha Allen agreed that her mother saw her networking as of paramount importance, even in the later years of her life. "We'd talk about the importance of her cutting out some of these other activities and just doing

the writing ... but those meetings were important. Those connections."⁵⁹³

The Mosquito in the Cupboard

International researcher Margaret Gallagher, who recently called for a reconnection between feminist scholarship and feminist politics, knew Allen starting in 1979 and worked with her on one of the later projects of her life. The project was an edited collection of regional essays prepared for the international conference "Women Empowering Communication" in Bangkok in 1994. Allen contributed the essay for the conference on North America. She called it "Women in Media, Women's Media: The Search for Linkages in North America" and it showed that she saw her original themes as just as pertinent in 1994 as she did in 1972. She wrote about the need to bridge the gap between women's groups and associations outside and inside the media if women's experiences and viewpoints were to get a better hearing.⁵⁹⁴

Gallagher, who counts herself as part of the global women's democratic communication system that Allen started building 30 years ago, described Allen's contribution to communication via a proverb:

"If you think you're too small to make a change, try sleeping in a cupboard with a mosquito." I hope it's not inappropriate to admit that this image of the mosquito reminds me of Donna in many ways: small, sharp, quick, unstoppable - and leaving a mark on countless individuals.⁵⁹⁵

Colleagues remain in awe of Allen's commitment to her cause. "From the minute she was born until the minute she died, she was an activist," said her co-editor Ramona Rush.⁵⁹⁶ "Who has that kind of stamina and that kind of guts and that kind of ability to stay with it even though you're not exactly subjected to heroic praise?"⁵⁹⁷

Even those who study the overall effects of mass media messages understand that personal influence is an important factor in the transmission of ideas.⁵⁹⁸ As such theorists suggest, Allen can be seen as an originator of ideas as well as a "great disseminator," those "people who have an important forum - national or international - and who are respected and listened to by a number of people."⁵⁹⁹ While it is difficult to demonstrate the effect of such influence on a social environment, this dissertation shows that Allen stood at the heart of the feminist media movement and her connections with others served as the lifeblood of networks important to the movement's momentum.

In the broader sense of the field of communication, this dissertation adds to the diversity of the history of mass communication and contributes to the literature of the role of communication in social change. It also adheres to a major goal of communication research as outlined by James Carey - keeping political democracy as it relates to communication at the forefront.⁶⁰⁰

Allen would most likely agree that a biographical approach to history such as this dissertation could not be a substitute for someone speaking for herself. But biography can achieve that which autobiography cannot, for instance, "transcending the life of the immediate subject by placing that person in the context of historical events."⁶⁰¹ Allen's history is one that transcended the life of one woman.

⁵⁶⁷ Jennifer Abod, "Donna Allen: A life devoted to feminist media," *off our backs*, August 1999.

⁵⁶⁸ Dana Densmore, interview by author, Tape recording, Sept. 10, 2001, Washington, D.C.

⁵⁶⁹ Susan Henry, "Changing Media History Through Women's History," in *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values*, ed. Pamela J. Creedon (London: Sage Publications, 1989), 48.

⁵⁷⁰ Susan Henry, "Private Lives: An Added Dimension for Understanding Journalism History," *Journalism History* 6, vol. 4 (Winter 1979-80): 99.

⁵⁷¹ Sue Kaufman, interview with author, Tape recording, Feb. 15, 2002, Chicago.

-
- ⁵⁷² Henry, *Challenging Gender Values*, 46.
- ⁵⁷³ Henry, *Challenging Gender Values*, 45.
- ⁵⁷⁴ Robert W. McChesney, "Moment of truth for media and democracy," mass e-mail to info@mediareform.net subscribers, Oct. 8, 2003.
- ⁵⁷⁵ Robert W. McChesney and John Nichols, *Our Media Not Theirs: The Democratic Struggle Against Corporate Media* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002), 10.
- ⁵⁷⁶ Daniel Horowitz, *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 7.
- ⁵⁷⁷ Sue Kaufman, "Donna, Donna, Donna," oral presentation at the Dr. Donna Allen Memorial Symposium, Arlington, Va., Aug. 3, 2001.
- ⁵⁷⁸ Marilyn Bentov, nomination form for the Wonder Woman Foundation award, n/d, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁸⁰ Carolyn Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), 39.
- ⁵⁸¹ Kathy Bonk, formerly of NOW, interview by author, March 10, 2003.
- ⁵⁸² Donna Allen, "Up Against the Media," *The Liberated Voice*, July 10, 1968, Box 3, Donna Allen papers.
- ⁵⁸³ Patricia Madoo Lengermann and Jill Niebrugge, "Contemporary Feminist Theory," in *Sociological Theory*, ed. George Ritzer (New York: McGraw-Hill), 436-478.
- ⁵⁸⁴ Michael Schudson, "Toward a Troubleshooting Manual for Journalism History," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, Autumn 1997, 463.
- ⁵⁸⁵ Denis McQuail, *Theories of Mass Communication* (London: Sage 1994), 63.
- ⁵⁸⁶ Cynthia M. Lont, "Feminist Critique of Mass Communication Research," in *Transforming Visions: Feminist Critiques in Communication Studies*, eds. Sheryl Perlmutter Bowen and Nancy Wyatt (Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, 1993), 241.
- ⁵⁸⁷ Carolyn M. Byerly, "Inside Conglomeration: Toward a Feminist Analysis of Media Mergers," paper for delivery at the Dr. Donna Allen Memorial Symposium, Aug. 3-4, 2001.
- ⁵⁸⁸ Bonk, interview by author.
- ⁵⁸⁹ Densmore, interview by author.

⁵⁹⁰ Donna Allen, *Introduction*, privately held at the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid.

⁵⁹² Kaufman, interview by author.

⁵⁹³ Martha Leslie Allen, interview by author, Tape recording, July 19, 2001, Washington, D.C.

⁵⁹⁴ Margaret Gallagher, "The Mosquito in the Cupboard: Theory and Practice in Feminism and Media," paper for delivery to the Dr. Donna Allen Memorial Symposium, Aug. 3, 2001.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ Ramona R. Rush, telephone interview by author, May 29, 2001.

⁵⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁸ Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications* (New York: The Free Press, 1955), 32.

⁵⁹⁹ Elmo Roper, "Foreword," in *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications* (New York: The Free Press, 1955), xvii.

⁶⁰⁰ James W. Carey, panel comments, "History of Mass Communication Research: Are We Telling the Whole Story?" 86th Annual Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Convention, Kansas City, Mo., July 31, 2003.

⁶⁰¹ James D. Startt and Wm. David Sloan, *Historical Methods in Mass Communication* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989), 142.

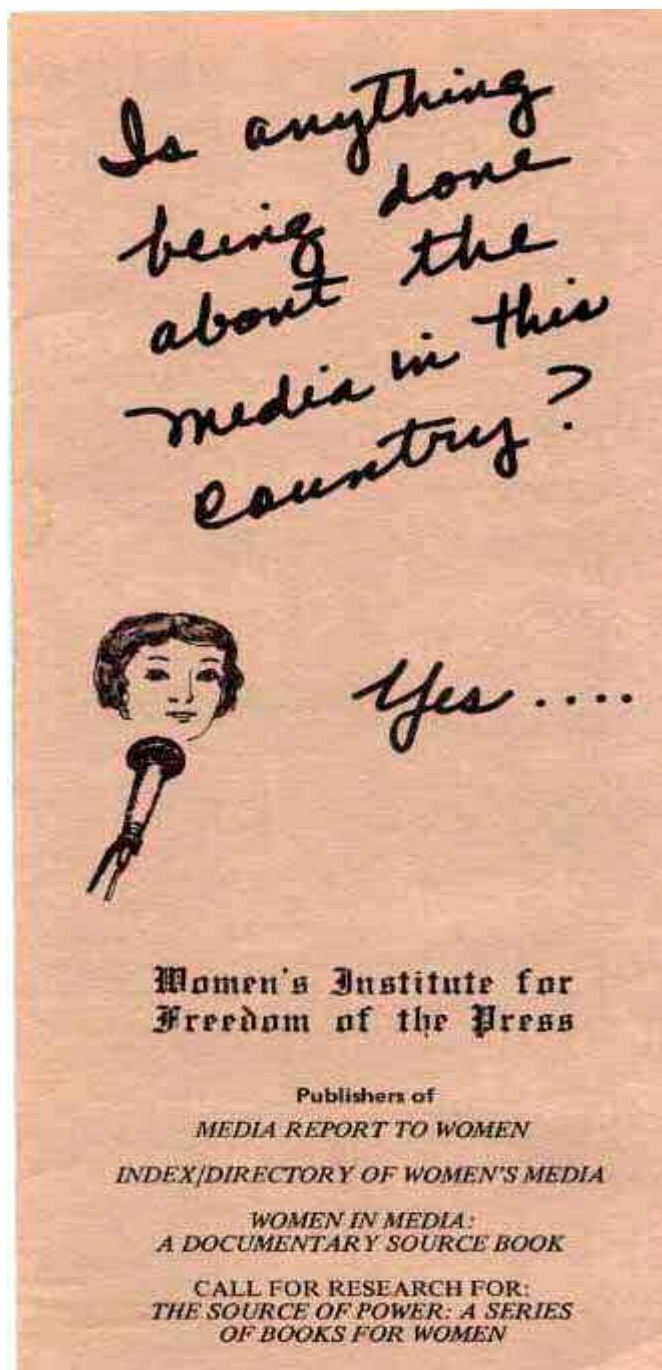
TIMELINE OF DONNA ALLEN'S LIFE

- 1920 Allen was born in Petoskey, Mich., to Caspar and Louise Rehkopf
- 1924 Martha Henderson Rehkopf's Walloon Lake hotel burned down
- 1929 Rehkopf family moved from Petoskey to Chicago
- 1939 Allen graduated from Morton High School; worked as a stringer for a Petoskey newspaper; enrolled in Morton Junior College
- 1941 Allen graduated from Morton Junior College
- 1942 Allen entered Duke University
- 1942 Donna Claire Rehkopf and Russell Allen were married
- 1943 Donna Allen graduated from Duke University; the Allens moved to Arlington, Va., and Russell Allen called to military duty; the Allens moved to Fresno, Calif.
- 1944 Donna Allen returned to Washington, D.C., area while husband was in South Pacific
- 1945 Dana Densmore Allen born
- 1946 Allens enrolled at the University of Chicago; Indra Dean Allen born
- 1947 Allen worked as research assistant for Prof. Paul Douglas
- 1948 Martha Leslie Allen born; Allen began work for the National Labor Bureau in Chicago
- 1949 Allen family moved to Albany, N.Y.
- 1950 Mark Mitchell Allen born
- 1952 Allen graduated from the University of Chicago; Department of Justice began monitoring Allen's activities as a peace activist
- 1953 Allen lived in Schenectady, N.Y.; taught at Cornell University's School of Industrial and Labor Relations
- 1957 Donna Allen and family moved to Cleveland Park, Washington, D.C.
- 1961 Women's Strike for Peace founded as Women for Peace; Allen led march on Soviet embassy in WSP-led national strike
- 1962 Nationally publicized WSP confrontation with House Un-American Activities Committee; Allen's arrested in Paris and spoke to peace rally of 5,000 in Vienna

- 1964 Allen's book, *Fringe Benefits: Wages or Social Obligation?* was published by Cornell University Press; Allen confronted HUAC; Russell Allen moved to East Lansing, Mich., taking children
- 1964-1965 Allen made more than 50 speeches nationwide on HUAC and disarmament; known as WSP's expert on economics of disarmament
- 1965 Allen convicted of contempt of Congress
- 1966 Allen's conviction overturned
- 1967 Allen's first speeches on media began
- 1968 Miss America pageant protest by women's movement; Allen decided media coverage sabotaged the women's movement; Allen's public debate on women's role in society in the *National Guardian*; Allen's revised edition of *Fringe Benefits* published; Allen organized precursor to WIFP, Americans for Equal Access to the Media
- 1969 Allen gave speech "So, You Think You Have a Free Press" in Pittsburgh
- 1970 "Black Six" case in which Martha Allen jailed; Allens divorced
- 1971 Allen obtained her Ph.D. from Howard University
- 1972 The U.N. General Assembly proclaimed 1975 as International Women's Year
- 1972 Allen founded the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press
- 1972 Allen began mimeographed newsletter *Media Report to Women*
- 1974 WIFP incorporated as a non-profit organization; first women and media panel at *MORE's* A.J. Liebling Counter-Convention
- 1975 Allen invited to serve as public member of National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year; U.N. World Conference on the International Women's Year met in Mexico City; U.N. General Assembly adopted World Plan of Action and established 1976-1985 as the U.N. Decade for Women; First WIFP international women's media directory published; National Women's Agenda, women's umbrella organization, formed with Allen as co-convenor of the media task force; second *MORE* conference, called the National Conference on Women and Media (WAM); WAM's Media Women in Action group formed, then disbanded
- 1976 Final recommendations of National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year accepted by

- President Ford with Allen's input on wording on media guidelines
- 1977 The Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press published *Women in Media: A Documentary Sourcebook* by Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons; National Women's Conference held in Houston; Allen notified National Women's Agenda of public satellite project; NASA approved National Women's Agenda satellite plan
- 1978 Settlement of *The New York Times'* discrimination lawsuit; 13th issue of *Media Report to Women* devoted to settlement; NASA grant application for satellite teleconference withdrawn; First WIFP planning meeting
- 1979 First WIFP Conference on Planning a National and International Communications System for Women was held at the National Press Club
- 1980 WIFP granted association status at United Nations; WIFP sponsored international satellite teleconferences at the U.N. Mid-Decade (Second) World Conference on Women that met in Copenhagen, Denmark; Second WIFP conference
- 1981 Third Annual WIFP Conference on Planning a National and International Communications System for Women
- 1982 Fourth WIFP conference with 123 women from 50 countries
- 1983 Fifth WIFP conference with 72 in attendance; *Media Report to Women* doubled in size; Allen given Wonder Woman Award; Allen announced research sabbatical
- 1984 Sixth and final WIFP conference, plan for Women's International News Service at Nairobi cemented
- 1985 WIFP sponsored international satellite teleconferences at the U.N. Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi, Kenya
- 1986 Allen honored by American Journalism Historian Association for role in preserving sources for the history of women in media
- 1987 Allen transferred ownership of *Media Report to Women*; submitted her papers to the Women and Media Collection at the University of Missouri; wrote narrative of her life
- 1989 *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*, co-edited by Allen and Ramona Rush, was published
- 1990 Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press began publication of booklet series with *The Source of Power for Women: A Strategy to Equalize Media*

- Outreach*; Directory of Women's Media transferred to National Council for Research on Women
- 1991 The second WIFP booklet, *Media Without Democracy*, was published
- 1993 The third WIFP booklet, *What's Wrong With the Mass Media for the Women Half of the Population - Rebuilding the System*, was published
- 1994 Publication of the *Directory of Women's Media* lapsed
- 1995 The fourth WIFP booklet, *The Media Technology Road to Democracy and Equality*, was published
- 1996 Publication of *Women Transforming Communications: Global Intersections*, co-edited by Allen, Rush, and Sue Kaufman
- 1999 Allen's death; *The New York Times* called her a "standard-bearer" of feminism; Memorial held at National Women's Party Headquarters
- 2000 Publication of *Directory of Women's Media resumed*; Allen was subject of Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication panel
- 2001 Allen the subject of Freedom Forum symposium; Creation of Donna Allen award for feminist activism in journalism by the Commission on the Status of Women at AEJMC; Russell Allen died
- 2002 The fifth WIFP booklet, *Media Democracy: Past, Present, and Future*, published
- 2002 *Ms.* published its 30th anniversary issue, naming WIFP as one of the national organizations making up "the tree of feminist life"
- 2003 Allen the subject of Library of Congress presentation on *Women of Vision*



Appendix B: WIFP brochure with associates' statement, 1978.

MEDIA REPORT TO WOMEN

What Women Are Doing and Thinking About the Communications Media

A Monthly

FACTS

MEDIA AS THEY ARE . . .

- **Monitoring studies** of the portrayal of women in television and radio, newspapers and magazines, records, textbooks, advertising; coverage of women's news, sports, health, safety, etc.
- **Statistics** on employment of women and minorities in broadcasting, print, film, and other media, especially in policy-making jobs—news directors, assignment editors, film writers, directors.
- **Extent and progress of women's media** in U.S. and internationally — newspaper, magazine & book publishing, news services, filmmaking, etc.



ACTIONS

CHANGES BEING MADE . . .

- **Agreements** negotiated between media and women's organizations for fuller coverage of the news, more accurate portrayal of groups in the society, more representative employment of minorities and women, and advisory committees to assist in programing.
- **Founding of new papers, magazines, journals, and other media businesses by women.** Release of new media products, films, records, tapes, etc.
- **Conferences and convention workshops** held on women-and-media subjects, recommendations of actions, demonstrations, negotiations, studies undertaken, media reform groups organized.
- **Legal actions** — broadcast license challenges, EEOC complaints, FTC petitions, law suits. Excerpts or complete texts given.

PHILOSOPHY

WHAT MEDIA SHOULD DO . . .

- Women's thinking on increasing the effectiveness of media in keeping the public informed.
- Defining "news" to include all people.
- Differences between female journalism and male journalism. The three principles of feminist journalism that guide news judgments in *Media Report to Women*:
 1. No attacks on people.
 2. Priority for facts over opinion.
 3. People should speak for themselves.

Media Report is for everyone . . .

Mass media affects all of us. It is not a concern only of women in media, but of everyone in this country. The impact of media on our lives is enormous, and more women than ever are putting their ideas and energies into this critical area of concern. Since it was founded by WIFP in 1972, *Media Report to Women* has been the principal source of information about this rapidly growing women's media movement. *Media Report* is packed with ideas being tried out by women in all parts of the world. A subscription will keep you up-to-date on this area of vital importance to us all. See the back panel for special rates.



International Standard Serial Number: 0145-9651

Media Report to Women
INDEX/DIRECTORY

THE ANNOTATED INDEX. For speakers, scholars, writers, historians, teachers of journalism and communications, women's studies, and students. Indexes all past *Media Reports* since 1972 (when WIFP and *Media Report to Women* were founded) in over 100 subject matter categories. Each entry is annotated, with brief descriptions of the news item or document, where it may be found, date of issue and page number. For 5 years the Index accumulates in each year's *Index/Directory* and then is available separately (see below for 1972-1976 Annotated Index) and a new 5-year period begins to accumulate.

Categories include: Advertising, Black Women, Daytime Programming, Broadcasting, Employment, Film, Language Usage, Monitoring, Music, News Coverage, Public Broadcasting, Publishing, Radio, and a hundred other such categories.

THE DIRECTORY OF FEMINIST MEDIA. *This is the only such directory in existence — both up-to-date and inclusive of all forms of media. The women's movement is reached through its media.*

- Updated annually and issued each January 1, with all entries written by the groups or persons themselves, giving phone numbers and contact people.
- Arranged geographically by zip code and country to readily find media groups and women in any area.
- Lists over 500 women's media groups and individuals in these categories:

Periodicals; Presses/Publishers; News Services; Columns; Radio and TV groups; Regular Women's Programs; Video and Cable groups; Film groups; Multi-Media; Art/Graphics/Theater; Music groups; Speakers Bureaus; Courses on Women & Media; Media organizations/Media Change groups; Distributors; Bookstores & Mail Order; Special Library Collections; Selected Directories, Catalogs; Individual Media Women.

The *Index/Directory* is \$8.00. ISBN: 0-930470-03-6.

THE 5-YEAR ANNOTATED INDEX — 1972-1976

When the annual *Index/Directory* (see above) has accumulated five years of Index, the five years' Index is published separately for \$5. *Because each item is annotated, the 5-Year Annotated Index—1972-1976 can be read as a history of the women's media movement.*

**WOMEN IN MEDIA:
A DOCUMENTARY SOURCE BOOK**

by Maurine Beasley and Sheila Silver

Dr. Beasley and Ms. Silver, who teach journalism at the University of Maryland, present 30 documents from 1790 to the present day, prefacing each with a discussion of the historical context and significance of the document. The book in this way traces the movement to bring changes in the media for women. It provides material for journalism, communications, and women's studies teachers who seek to enrich their curricular material with the contributions of women and the role women played in developing today's journalism — as well as the role they are now playing in creating a new journalism for tomorrow. Includes 12 pages of bibliographical notes, \$5.95 paperback (teacher's examination copy \$5) 30% discount for 3 or more.

ISBN: 0-930470-00-1

TEACHING MATERIALS ON WOMEN & MEDIA.

Many media critics say that the place to begin is in the journalism schools where the journalists of tomorrow are being trained without knowledge of the role of women in media or the new demands of women for changes in the old journalism. WIFP therefore gives priority to providing the needed teaching materials both for courses on Women & Media and for units on women in all other media and related courses.

DOCUMENTS NOT AVAILABLE ELSEWHERE.

Documents, reports and court decisions affecting women and media which cannot be obtained in print are made available to the public by being published in *Media Report to Women*. Special rates (40% discount) are available to classes using the *Media Report* as a text.

CONTEST FOR BEST COURSE OUTLINE.

WIFP offers four \$50 prizes annually for the best course outlines on women and media, and publishes and circulates the winning and runner-up course outlines to provide a continuing source of ideas to communications, journalism, and women's studies departments.

CALL FOR RESEARCH.

A 4-page outline of research possibilities in the field of media for scholars (or students looking for publishable thesis or dissertation topics) is available free. It describes the kind of research by women that WIFP is engaged in and will consider for publication in its series on communication, *The Source of Power: A Series of Books for Women*.

The Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press is a Program Member of the National Women's Studies Association.

ORDER FORM

- ☐ I would like to contribute to WIFP's work.
(Gifts to WIFP are tax-exempt.)
- ☐ I am interested in becoming a WIFP Associate.
- ☐ I would like to subscribe to *Media Report to Women* for ☐ 1 year-\$20 ☐ 2 years-\$38
- ☐ Special rate for individual women (only when paid by personal check or money order) for:
☐ 1 year-\$15 ☐ 2 years-\$27 ☐ 3 years-\$39
- ☐ Single issues and sample copies \$1.50 each.
- ☐ Current INDEX/DIRECTORY — \$8.00
- ☐ Combination Subscription — *Media Report* with next *Index/Directory* mailed on Dec. 31 for: ☐ 1 year-\$27 ☐ 2 years-\$52
- ☐ Back volumes of *Media Report to Women*:
☐ Spiral Bound ☐ Loose ☐ Vol. 3 (1975) \$20
☐ Vol. 1 (1972-73) \$6 ☐ Vol. 4 (1976) \$20
☐ Vol. 2 (1974) \$20 ☐ Vol. 5 (1977) \$20
Each subsequent volume \$20.
- ☐ Five Year Index (1972-1976) to *Media Report to Women*. Annotated. \$5.00
- ☐ *Women in Media: A Documentary Source Book* by Dr. Maurine Beasley and Sheila Silver \$5.95. Teacher's examination copy \$5.
Bulk orders for classes—3 or more, 30% off.
- ☐ Call for Research. Free. How many? _____
- ☐ Copies of this brochure. Free. How many? _____

TOTAL ENCLOSED

(Make checks payable to Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press — or just WIFP — or to Media Report to Women.)

MAIL YOUR ORDER TO:

Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press
3306 Ross Place, N.W.
Washington, DC 20008
(202) 966-7783 or 363-0812

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press

WIFP IS — a place where new ideas about the communications media are encouraged, examined, researched, and published.

WIFP IS — a communication system itself — for women who seek to improve the nation's communications system.

WIFP IS — a support network for media women (in both male-owned media and women-owned media) and concerned women in the general public acting to expand freedom of the press to provide more constructive information that respects people's personal dignity instead of attacking them, doing them violence, or insulting their intelligence and ability to judge for and speak for themselves.

All of the WIFP activities are supported by the general public. Your contributions will enable us to do more. If you are as concerned as we are that work for media change must expand now in a constructive and Constitutional way, please mark the top box on the back panel and send us your check or money order immediately. (We are a tax-exempt and non-profit organization.)

This brochure will tell you what we do and what we print, and the back panel provides a form on which you may order any of the information you find described here.

Dr. Donna Allen, Director



THE ASSOCIATES AND WIFP NETWORK

More than 600 women are Associates of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, constituting a **national support network** and communication system among media women and media-concerned women. The Associates have many different backgrounds and beliefs, but they share in common the *Associates Statement* shown below. New Associates are welcome.

In addition to supporting the Institute's work in various ways, the WIFP Associates also undertake **special projects**, such as examining the ways in which the nation's media distribution system fails to serve the needs of women, studying the relative proportion of grants that goes to women's media, monitoring news coverage of women's events and issues, and surveying communications schools' teaching materials and their compliance with Title IX's prohibition against discrimination. Associates have formed an Advisory Committee to assist WIFP's work on teaching materials for media courses in any department.

Cooperative efforts among women's media in both print and nonprint—video and film, are also undertaken by Associates under the WIFP Network umbrella.

The Associates hold regional and national meetings to discuss projects and plan new cooperative efforts.

ASSOCIATES STATEMENT

For our constitutional right to "freedom of the press" to be meaningful, there must be a realistic means of exercising it — for all of us, not just for the multi-millionaires among us. In a country as intellectually and technologically creative as ours, we are sure a better way to provide a means of communication to all who need it can be devised. . . . We wish to indicate by our association with the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and its work on this problem that we, too, desire more national attention to the issue.

We have differences in views among us and we would propose different solutions and work at many different proposals, some of us in our existing media and some of us outside it. . . . But we are united in our desire to encourage meaningful change that expands the exercise of our Constitutional right to communicate in the media we find most suitable to our message, no less than the right exercised by some Americans who presently are able to communicate their information to millions of others.

We know that changes in the structure of mass communications are going to come; too many people are now being left out. The question is on what principles is that re-structuring going to be made? We want to have something to say about how the communications system of the future is going to develop.

We want to work together in a more visible way with other women who feel as we do to register our unity and our conviction that we must aid each other in obtaining the help and funding we need for our projects and to encourage the greater total funding for all our efforts to see socially constructive changes in the nation's communications system.

—Excerpts from the Associates Statement

The Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press is a member of the National Women's Agenda Coalition.

The Six Point Communications Program

of the
Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press

To restructure the world's
communications systems on the
basis of democracy and equality.



1 Democracy's Two Requirements.

- 1) EVERYONE must have an equal opportunity to be heard so their information can be taken into account in the decision-making, which enables them to participate as political equals in self-government — the very definition of democracy.
- 2) SOCIETY NEEDS everyone's information in order to reach viable decisions — the goal of democracy.

2 The present media structure does not meet either of these two requirements.

- 1) Fewer than 1% of the population is able to reach the general public with their information. (In the U.S. owners of four main TV networks alone reach 98% of American households 7 days a week, 24 hours a day. And all mass media owners, small or large, do not total more than 2 million people, less than 1% of the population.)
- 2) Society's decisions based primarily on information selected for us by an unrepresentative 1% of our population (media owners are mostly wealthy white males) cannot be viable.

Appendix C: WIFP brochure outlining Allen's philosophy, n.d.

3 But, people worldwide are now building a new communications structure to meet the needs of democracy.

The long-unheard people of the world are creating a new communications structure which enables them to speak for themselves, using new technologies from World War II's offset press which made print media affordable for anyone (giving rise to the "underground press" and new people's movements for the environment, civil rights, peace, women's equality, and more) to the now even more accessible and affordable electronic media that reaches an estimated 70 million people worldwide with 20 million users of over 10 million World Wide Web sites, and with internet and data traffic growing at a rate of 80% a year. America OnLine serves 80 million e-mail messages per day.

Women, who are the majority of the population worldwide, are already becoming the majority users in some areas of the technology. In the U.S. women are now over 45% of online users, up from 25% in two years, and by 2005 will be 60%, present estimates say.



5 But it is still our responsibility as citizens to correct the present media structure's violations of democracy.

While we build our own communications system, it is still our citizen duty in a democracy to correct the undemocratic favoritism to a minority on the basis of their wealth, color or gender. Proposals on how to do this need to be offered, circulated, discussed, and supported; conferences held, legislation sought, and regulations petitioned for change, as for example, in licensing the airwaves, protecting micro-radio, and in other ways to apply common-carrier status to all communications media, especially to protect the new technologies for increased equal and open communication of all people.

We need to restore the equal protection of our Constitutional First Amendment free press right as the citizen right originally intended as part of the Bill of Rights for individuals, and to directly challenge its interpretation as a corporate property right when the Supreme Court stated in 1886 that a corporation was a "person" under the Constitution. We need to launch a class action suit to overturn the 1886 ruling and affirm the First Amendment as a *citizen* right.

MEDIA OUTREACH IS POLITICAL POWER AND MUST BE EQUAL IN A DEMOCRACY

WIFP is a non-profit, tax-exempt organization founded in 1972 to increase communication by women (and all people) speaking for ourselves through all technologies, so that our information can be heard and be taken into account by as many of the public as can now hear male information, opinions, and perspectives.

We are a network of over 700 media women and media-concerned women exploring ways to restructure the world's communications systems so everyone's information can be equally taken into account in the political decision-making as democracy requires.

Thanks to new communications technology, we can now envision for the first time in modern history the political equality that is the definition of democracy — and even hasten its arrival by vigorously expanding our use of the new media technology.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, PUBLICATIONS LIST OR WIFP BOOKLET SERIES:

Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press
3306 Ross Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008-3332

Phone/Fax: (202) 966-7783

E-mail: wifponline@igc.apc.org

World Wide Web: <http://www.igc.org/wifp/>



Dr. Donna Allen, President
Dr. Martha Leslie Allen, Director

Computer-Layout Ulrike Barten

4 New information heard now by the public for the first time is bringing new decisions redefining society's values.

For example, after thousands of years of the belief that violence to women was a minor problem, or man's right, it took only two decades of women speaking for themselves in their own media to communicate enough new information to result in a 1994 U.S. federal law condemning violence to women and appropriating over \$2 billion to begin taking steps to eliminate it. Similar efforts worldwide were supported by the 188 nations meeting in Beijing at the September 1995 U.N. Fourth World Conference of Women, and further progress is continuing at a steadily increasing rate in every part of the world.

Society is seeing progress from new information in four major issue areas: 1) survival issues: health, safety, and peace; 2) independence issues: economic equality, education; 3) political issues: equality in participation and representation; and 4) communication issues: equal access to the whole public by all of us speaking for ourselves.

6 It is the majority's job to make democracy work—and thus is as the world's majority the special task of women.

Creating a communications structure in which people can speak for themselves has long been a primary goal of women, as both the majority in the world and the majority of every race, creed, color, or other identity. Women have made communication equality their priority task especially since the 1960s in building their own media with the then-new technologies, and now electronic media. Key among eight characteristics that distinguish women's media from men-owned media are qualities that indicate women can offer suitable leadership to restructure media and increase democratic equality of communication for all people based on women's characteristically non-attack, non-competitive, non-hierarchical, open forum media approach.

Women see democratization of communication as "women's work" to nurture more diversity of information that will result in decisions that are more peaceful and more respectful of others as needed in a democratic society.

Peace Workers Convicted !



Dr. Pauling, Mrs. Eaton, Dr. Spock Testify for 3 Against HUAC

DEFENDANTS AND WITNESSES: Dr. Benjamin Spock, renowned child specialist and co-chairman of SANE; Mrs. Anne Eaton (seated), peace worker and wife of industrialist Cyrus Eaton, founder of the Pugwash Conferences; Defendant Russ Nixon, general manager of the *National Guardian*; Defendant Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, artist and founder of Women Strike for Peace; Dr. Linus Pauling, winner of two Nobel Prizes, in Peace and Chemistry; Defendant Mrs. Donna Allen, economist, Legislative Chairman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Women Strike for Peace leader.

Secret Hearings

Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Allen and Mr. Nixon refused to testify except in public. They were not granted a public hearing but instead were cited, indicted, and convicted. Charge: contempt of Congress.

Why were they called in the first place?

HUAC claimed it was investigating: "Strategy, tactics, and activities of members of the Communist Party and Communist organizations in aiding entry into the U.S. of aliens inadmissible under provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act."

Who were the "inadmissible aliens"?

REIN: . . . this Committee was . . . investigating the propriety of actions taken by the State Department and the Justice Department in admitting one particular alien . . .

What was wrong with this "one particular alien"?

Was it his "peace-line"?

What was the real purpose of the HUAC secret hearing?

The Trial

In the summer of 1963, the *National Guardian* invited Japanese peace leader and law school dean, Professor Kaoru Yasui to the United States for a ten-day lecture tour. *Guardian* General Manager Russ Nixon, Mrs. Dagmar Wilson and Mrs. Donna Allen visited the State Department to request a visa for the Professor. It was granted. One year later, the three were served subpoenas by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

" . . . one of the reasons why we decided to call him (Russ Nixon) and Donna Allen and Dagmar Wilson, was the fact that it was the Committee's knowledge that they had visited the State Department. We had previously taken testimony (from State Department people) on this matter and had been denied information as to what transpired at this meeting in the State Department. The Committee was most desirous of finding out what had gone on . . ." So testified Francis J. McNamara, HUAC staff director and sole witness called by the Government's attorney, Joseph A. Lowther, at the contempt of Congress trial of the 3 on April 7th and 8th. This extreme concern with the details of a perfectly open, legal visit by three citizens to the State Department was curious indeed.

A REPORT FROM THE TRIAL TRANSCRIPT

Appendix D: Defenders of 3 Against HUAC pamphlet

3 WIN REVERSALS IN CONTEMPT CASES

Peace Leaders' Silence at
House Hearing Upheld

By FRED P. GRAHAM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2—The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia threw out today the contempt of Congress convictions of two leaders of Women Strike for Peace and a New York newspaper publisher.

The action marked another judicial rebuff for the House Un-American Activities Committee, which had cited them for refusing to answer questions at a closed subcommittee hearing on Dec. 7, 1964.

The women, Mrs. Dagmar Wilson and Mrs. Donna Allen of Washington, and the publisher of The National Guardian, Russell Nixon, had protested that the closed session violated their freedom of speech because it deprived them of the opportunity to deny publicly any implication that they had been involved in subversive activities.

Urged Dean's Tour

They were summoned for questioning in connection with a lecture tour in 1963 by Kaoru Yasui, a Japanese law school dean and pacifist. They contended that they had openly urged the State Department to admit Mr. Yasui to the United States for the tour.

In overturning their convictions, the court perpetuated a five-year losing streak by the Un-American Activities Committee at the hands of the Federal courts.

As in the five other convictions that have been reversed since 1961, the court declined today to say whether the committee's procedures violated the witnesses' freedom of speech, and instead based its decision on an error in the handling of the case.



Associated Press

CLEARED OF CONTEMPT: Mrs. Donna Allen, left, Russell Nixon and Mrs. Dagmar Wilson at court in Washington last year. Yesterday, contempt conviction was reversed.

In a 2-to-1 ruling, it held that the Speaker of the House John W. McCormack erred in transmitting the committee's contempt citation to the United States attorney here for trial, believing that he had no discretion to inquire into its validity.

Under a 1963 contempt statute, when Congress is not in session and a committee issues a citation, the Speaker or President Pro Tem of the Senate "shall . . . certify" the case to the appropriate United States attorney for prosecution.

Other Option Seen

In an opinion by Judge Harold Leventhal, joined by retired Supreme Court Justice Samuel F. Reed, sitting as a circuit judge, the court ruled that Mr. McCormack was mistaken in believing this gave him no option but to transmit the case.

Judge Leventhal reasoned that, since each house votes on all contempt citations issued during a session, the speaker must have some discretion or committee could escape any review of their actions simply by

operating when Congress is not in session.

Judge John A. Danaher dissented, saying the plain words of the law require the speaker to transmit contempt citations.

Suspended Sentences

The three were convicted on June 4, 1965, and given suspended sentences of four to 12 months and \$100 fines.

Alfred M. Nittle, counsel for the committee, hinted today that the defendants might not be tried again. He said a second trial might constitute double jeopardy.

The last conviction for contempt of the House Committee to survive court review was in 1961, when the Supreme Court upheld the convictions of two Georgia men, Frank Wilkinson and Carl Braden, who refused to answer questions about alleged subversive influence in the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Since then the high court has found procedural flaws in all five Un-American activities Committee contempt cases brought before it.

Media Report to Women is a publication of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press

MEDIA REPORT TO WOMEN

What Women Are Doing and Thinking About the Communications Media

3306 Ross Place, N.W. Washington, D. C. 20008 (202) 363-0812

ISSN: 0145-9651

\$2.00

Editor, Dr. Donna Allen

Volume 6, Number 13

December 31, 1978

Associate Editor, Martha Leslie Allen

SETTLEMENT WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES: WOMEN WIN NUMERICAL GOALS AND TIMETABLES PROVIDING 1 IN 8 TOP CORPORATE POSITIONS AND 1 IN 4 NEWS AND EDITORIAL POSITIONS

(This Special 13th Issue of Media Report to Women is devoted entirely to the unprecedented settlement reached by the women employees of the New York Times and the Times management.)

On October 6, 1978 an agreement settling the sex-discrimination suit brought against the *New York Times* by its women employees was filed in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York. The case originated with 90 charges against the *Times* in a Complaint to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 1972 and 1973.

When no action followed, on November 7, 1974, the *Times* was sued in federal court by Elizabeth Wade Boylan, then the Foreign Copy Desk Head; Louise Carini, Benefits Administration Clerk of the General Accounting Department; Joan Cook, Reporter; Nancy Davis, Telephone Solicitor in the Advertising Department; Grace Glueck, Art Reporter; Eileen Shanahan, Domestic Correspondent; and Andrea Skinner, News Clerk. On April 11, 1977 the District Court certified the case as a class action, so that these women were acting on behalf of themselves and 545 other women employees covered by the New York Newspaper Guild contract.

The following are excerpts from the women's Oct. 6 press release statement announcing the settlement of their suit, *Elizabeth Boylan et. al., Plaintiffs, v. The New York Times Company, Defendant*:

"The agreement settling the sex-discrimination suit brought against The New York Times by its women employees, which was filed today in U.S. District Court, includes an affirmative action program for the placement of women in top jobs on the newspaper that is 'unprecedented.' Under the settlement, The Times pledges to place significant numbers of women at every level in every news and commercial department of the newspaper. . . . [See column 2.]

A NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

Every month of the year, *Media Report to Women* reports progress of women in all forms of media. Occasionally there's so much progress we have to have a 13th issue. This 13th issue of 1978 is required by the significant victory of the women at the *New York Times* who have won the settlement described herein after 6 years of perseverance. This issue contains as much as we could pack into its 16 pages of the documents and background information about the situation at the *New York Times*, the suit, and the settlement.

FOR HISTORY. These documents are printed to preserve them for the historical record and to make them accessible to scholars — historians, law schools, women's studies departments, sociologists, and particularly for journalism schools which have a great void in their preparation of students for what life really is like out in the newspaper world, especially for women.

FOR WOMEN. These documents are printed also to let women know that this progress has been made (because we know this information is what inspires them to accelerate the progress elsewhere) in the vital movement to include the female majority of the population in the mass media — especially in employment, which we believe to be a prerequisite to obtaining equal and fair news coverage of what women are doing and thinking in our society (and not just what male editors think, or want to think, we are doing and thinking).

FOR SOCIETY. In this movement for better media, the agreement won by the women at the *New York Times* is a signal victory for all of society.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Grace Glueck's Introduction of Harriet Rabb	2
Picture of the Plaintiffs and their Attorneys	3, 15
Excerpts from the Depositions	3-5, 10, 16
Male Domination at the New York Times	4-5
Analysis of Ten Years of Times's Salary Data	5-7
The Agreement	8-9
The Previous Elusive Affirmative Action Plan	10
The Affirmative Action Plan	11
Profile sketches of the Plaintiffs	12
"How We Got the News Out"	12-15
How the Times Wanted to Tell the Story	13
Some Issues: The Effect on Content	16

WOMEN IN TOP CORPORATE POSITIONS

"The unprecedented aspect of the affirmative action plan is the *Times*'s commitment to place women in one out of every eight of the top corporate positions during the four-year life of the settlement. I know that there has never been an affirmative action plan in the media, and I believe there has never been one in any other industry, which set goals for filling the top corporate offices."

"The jobs covered by the one-in-eight goal include those of president and publisher, all of the vice presidents, the secretary and assistant secretary, treasurer and assistant treasurer and executives such as the directors of corporate development, industrial relations and manufacturing.

TOP NEWS AND EDITORIAL POSITIONS

"Women will be placed in one in four of the top positions in the news and editorial departments between now and the end of 1982 . . . metropolitan editor, foreign news editor, national news editor, sports editor, financial editor, Washington bureau chief, editors of The New York Times Magazine, the Book Review and of every major section of the newspaper, plus the posts of executive editor and managing editor.

BACK PAY FOR 550 WOMEN

"The 550 women covered by the class action suit will share in a back-pay award of \$233,500. The *Times* women will receive their back pay in the form of annuities which mature when the holders reach age 60, but which may be cashed at any time the holder desires.

"The *Times* decided to offer the annuities in an effort to camouflage the fact that they were giving back pay.

"The fact is, the *Times* will pay, and the amount it will pay per plaintiff is comparable to or better than what has been achieved in other sex-discrimination cases in the media. The cash amounts in the *Reader's Digest* and N.B.C. settlements were widely publicized, but the numbers of women involved in those cases were five to ten times larger than the number of women covered in the settlement at the *Times*."

Appendix F: The unusual 13th issue of *Media Report to Women*, devoted entirely to *The New York Times* discrimination case (reprinted by permission).

GRACE GLUECK TRIBUTE TO ATTORNEY HARRIET RABB RECALLS BEGINNINGS OF SUIT AT "TIMES"

Grace Glueck, an art-news reporter for the *New York Times* and a named plaintiff in the suit, gave the following introduction to Attorney Harriet Rabb when they were both invited to speak before the Thursday Caucus of the National Women's Political Caucus on October 26, 1978 in New York City. Both the introduction and the talk by Ms. Rabb were taped by radio station WNYC for future broadcast. Mildred Jeffries, the national chair of the National Women's Political Caucus, presided.

"DYNAMIC NATURAL FORCE KNOWN AS HARRIET RABB"

"Back in 1972 in those dark days before we were aware that there was a dynamic natural force known as Harriet Rabb, a bunch of us started the Women's Caucus at The New York Times. The time was ripe — even overripe — for us to do so. The women's movement was well under way and already our sisters at Newsweek, the Reader's Digest and N.B.C. were beginning to sock it to their respective managements.

"To show you the necessity of concerted action on our part, let me tell you a little story. About 1970, after Abe Rosenthal, Arthur Gelb and others in an all-male cast had been promoted into the paper's top editorial jobs, I sent a note to Punch Sulzberger, our publisher, congratulating him on this forward step but asking why no women had been included. My male colleagues thought this was a very cute thing for me to do. They beamed benignly, as well they might. Back came a note from the publisher saying that the point was well-taken, that he would consult with 'key management executives' when they came back from vacation. But apparently they never did. And some years later, well after we had started our group action, one of the men in The Times hierarchy told me, 'Grace, you scared us with that note. We thought you had troops and we were waiting for the other shoe to drop.'

"At that time, of course, there was no other shoe, and I was too naive then to realize that the bastions of male supremacy are never breached by memos. It takes time, energy, a group of outraged and committed women banded together — and certainly not least, the services of a dedicated lawyer. We have been particularly blessed in that regard, and I'll get back to that in a minute....

REFUSAL TO USE 'MS.' SYMPTOM OF BASIC RIGIDITY

"In the beginning, even as a group, we had on our white gloves and party manners. How we got started was that in 1972 Grace Lichtenstein was kvetching about the fact that The Times would not permit the use of the title 'Ms.' in the paper. Several of us, including Grace, of course, got to thinking that this style rigidity was symptomatic of more basic problems. And so we began what you might call a group grope, meeting several times before drawing up a petition to the publisher and his board members. We pointed out the inequities of male-female salaries, the total absence of women in management jobs and the stringent patterns of our non-promotion. The managing editor then took it upon himself to call us troublemakers into his office and complain that our action was 'devisive.' But the publisher met with us, was very polite, and genially appointed several committees of men to cope — hoping, I suppose, that we would go away.

WE WOULD NOT GO AWAY

"We would not go away. We met, talked, negotiated, negotiated, talked and met with these men for months. Nothing happened. Somebody — I believe it was Grace Lichtenstein again — suggested that we consult with Harriet Rabb, whose pro bono Employment Rights Project at Columbia University had already taken on the Newsweek case. By March, 1973, Harriet had drafted our facts for presentation to the state and federal offices of Equal Employment Opportunity. It was a token gesture. They were logjammed, and again, nothing happened. We waited well beyond the statutory nine months we needed to wait before filing a court action, in the foolhardy belief that management was still negotiating seriously with us.

"But then, finally ready to take off the white gloves, we consulted with our counsel and decided early in 1974 to take our case to court. It was not an easy decision. We were aware — Harriet helped us become aware — of the angst that the trial process would

entail. A lot of dirty linen would be washed, and some of us might be hurt, personally and even professionally. Aside from that, there would be much painful digging on our part, not only for the hard facts to prove discrimination, but in our own psyches, to examine the relationship between ourselves and the great institution to which — for better or for worse — many of us had committed our working lives. Sentimental as it sounds, we loved The Times — by and large — and our solid feeling was that by improving our own lot, we would also improve the paper.

"What a motley, uninitiated crew we were, reporters and classified saleswomen, data processors and clerks, some timid and indecisive, some uppity and ready for battle. And most fortunately into our midst had come this soft-spoken Southern lawyer, feisty, well-organized, quick on the draw, a thorough-going professional, yet very human — someone who seemed to make our concerns her own and was able to energize all of us. It was Harriet who provided the underpinnings and structure that carried us along. She prepared us, not only factually but emotionally, to bring the case to court....

"I want to note too, that she — and we — had the assistance of a man, the co-director of the Employment Rights Project, Howard Rubin (stand up, Howard), who we were at first prepared to tolerate but soon grew to love. We have in fact given serious consideration to declaring Howard an honorary woman. I can't begin to tell you how much hard, slogging work they and their staff have put into preparation of this case, how unstinting they have been of their time and with what good humor they have dealt with all the ups and downs of it. None of our questions, no matter how dumb, or how late at night, ever went unanswered. We could not have been better served.

"Before allowing Harriet finally to take the stand, I want to say a few words about the settlement itself. Despite The Times's mangement's extravagant and cavalier attempts to downgrade it, it is an excellent settlement and one with which we are very satisfied....

"Our settlement provides back pay that, on a per capita basis, compares well with other 'media' cases, and we have elected to spread those payments throughout the entire class of 550 women. For another thing, it provides a very strong affirmative action program that will give women a shot at one in eight of the very top jobs on the paper, including that of president and publisher, and one in four of the top positions in the news and editorial departments, including that of executive editor and managing editor. In other departments, the goal range is from 25 to 50 per cent. Considering where we were in 1972 this is the sun and the moon and the stars. You can be sure we will see that these goals are met.

BETSY WADE . . . JOAN COOK . . . EILEEN SHANAHAN

"While we are proud of all our sisters at The Times who supported and helped us, as well as those who were more directly involved in the suit, I want to single out several fellow-plaintiffs who were of crucial importance: Betsy Wade, without whose drive and organizational genius the Caucus could not have functioned; Joan Cook, an irreverent tower of strength who made us laugh when laughter was needed, and Eileen Shanahan, The Times's former ace economics reporter, now assistant secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, who was instrumental in shaping the original manifesto and our masterful victory press release. For myself, I consider it a privilege and an honor to have worked with these cherished colleagues over the past six years. I consider my role in the suit the most important thing I have done in my professional career.

"And now, Harriet, over to you."

MEDIA REPORT TO WOMEN, 3306 Ross Place, N.W., Washington, DC 20008. (202) 363-0812. Issued monthly on the first of each month. Subscription prices: \$20 per year. Special rate for individual women when paid by personal check or money order, \$15. Single copies \$1.50. Second class postage paid at Washington, DC. Ad rates for Media Report to Women: Corporations: 75 cents per word. Individuals: 50 cents per word. Deadline: 10th of each month.

December 31, 1978

2

N.Y. TIMES FAR BELOW NATIONAL AVERAGE ON WOMEN, AND WORSE ON REPORTERS, EDITORS

[Continued from preceding page.]

John M. Abowd, lecturer, econometrics, Princeton University:

"Part of the contract between The Times and the Guild provides for the grouping of jobs into levels or 'Groups.' Each Salary Group, or group of jobs, has a minimum salary assigned to it. Any person assigned to any job within that group must be paid at least that minimum salary. The Times is permitted, however, to pay any employee more than the required minimum.

"In order to determine whether The Times awarded salaries above the Guild minimum differently to men and women . . . I first considered the determination of the size of the sex differentials in salary premiums above the minimum for the active full time employees as of January 1, 1976. I found that overall men received \$100 a week (\$5200 a year) more than women with the same characteristics, and after controlling for the effect of higher salary group, this result was of high statistical significance. For the same group of people, I found, using the logarithmic form, that males earned 21.2% more than females and that the result was highly significant.

HIRES SINCE 1965: \$5,130 PER YEAR MORE FOR MEN

"I also looked only at the group of people hired since 1965. For that group men earned \$5130.84 a year (\$98.67 a week) more than females; in the log form it was 20% more than females. . . .

"From these studies, I conclude that The Times rewards its male employees with substantially more salary above the Union minimum than it pays to its female employees.

"I also conclude that the difference in the salaries paid to males and females is not due only to the fact that males occupy higher salary groups (ranks) but also the result of males being paid significantly more than females within the same group even after controlling for education, work experience and length of service at The Times. . . .

EVERY WAY YOU LOOK AT IT, WOMEN END UP PAID LESS

Mark Killingsworth, professor of economics, Barnard College:

"The first regression equation . . . [using 2,153 Times employees] shows that, on average, women were paid \$71.84 per week — \$3,735 per year — less than men with the same education, length of Times service, total years of work experience, and who worked in the same Division at The Times. . . .

WOMEN REPORTERS & EDITORS PAID \$77/WEEK LESS

"I also considered persons in the specific occupation of editors and reporters. . . . I found that, on average, women are paid almost

\$4,000 per year (76.87 per week) less than are men with the same personal and historical characteristics who are employed in the same category, that of editors and reporters. . . .

DIFFERENCES IN AVERAGE SALARY AT THE "N.Y. TIMES"

	Men Paid Per Week	More than Women: Per Year
Professional	\$ 85.78	\$ 4,460.56
Office and Clerical	27.57	1,433.64
Sales workers	134.21	6,982.04

(Dr. Mark Killingsworth testimony.)

40% OF ALL WORKERS ARE WOMEN; 26% AT THE TIMES

"The study of whether The Times discriminates by not hiring women and by placing women in some jobs but not others starts with the fact that as of January 1, 1976, women were 26.2% of the total number of full-time active-status Times employees . . . while women make up about 40% of the labor force in the United States and of employment in the New York SMSA [Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area]. . . .

"In sum, compared to the behavior observed in labor markets relevant to The Times' hiring in different occupational categories, The Times appears to 'underutilize' women substantially — not only in a great variety of occupations, ranging from service-worker jobs to professional, technical and kindred jobs, but also in the vast majority (45 out of 59) of occupations in which the Times employs persons in Guild-represented or Guild-exempt positions. Finally, the extent of this 'under-utilization' is, on the whole, quite substantial — that is, the deviations between the percent female in given occupation at The Times and the percent female in that occupation in the relevant labor market are in many cases quite large.

41% EDITORS & REPORTERS ARE WOMEN; 16% AT TIMES

"The most obvious example concerns the three-digit Census occupational category, 'editors and reporters.' Women constituted 40.6% of the labor force in this occupational category in the overall U.S. (the figure for the New York SMSA was 44.9%) in 1970, but were only 16.3% of persons in this category at The Times in 1976. Of course, this is a substantial deviation in percentage terms. It is particularly noteworthy because in absolute terms persons in this category—578—are almost one-fourth of total Times employment in Guild- and Guild-exempt positions. If The Times had drawn on women for its 'editors and reporters' jobs at the same rate prevailing in the country as a whole, 40.6% in 1970, then 234 of its 578 employees in this category would have been female, vs. only 93 actual female employees — a difference of 141.

36% ARTISTS ARE WOMEN; 3% AT THE TIMES

"A similar example is artists ('painters and sculptors,' to use the Census three-digit occupation terminology). Women constituted 36.4% of the experienced civilian labor force in this category in the U.S. as a whole in 1970, but were only 2.9% of Times employees in this category in 1976. In this case, had The Times used women at the same rate prevailing in the country as a whole, 11 more of the 35 employees in this category in 1976 would have been women.

"These two examples — editors and reporters, and artists — refer to persons at the upper end of the occupational distribution. However, similar patterns are observed among occupations in the middle or lower end of the occupational distribution. For example, in the 'cleaners' category, women constituted 34.4% of the New York SMSA employed population in 1970, but were only 12% of employment at The Times in this category in 1976. Had The Times hired women in this category at the same rate prevailing in the New York SMSA as a whole, an additional 26 of the 116 total employees in this occupational category at The Times in 1976 would have been women. . . ."

PUBLISHER SAYS — IT IS N.Y. TIMES' PHILOSOPHY TO REFLECT THE WORK FORCE IN OUR AREA

Q What was the basis of your decision to seek to expand the number of women in certain categories, those you have described, across the board at The Times?

Sulzberger: It has, generally speaking, been my philosophy and the philosophy of the newspaper to have as close a profile in our work force to the work force that exists in the — in our area.

Q When you speak about in the area, do you mean in the professional area; for example, reporters or managers, or do you mean literally in a geographical area?

Sulzberger: I was referring in that context to the geographical area.

Q Does The Times select its reporters and editors, rim kind of editors, from among those persons in New York who have those skills, or is your labor market national for jobs like that?

Sulzberger: Our labor market is national.

(Pages 25-26, Deposition of Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Publisher of New York Times, February 23, 1978)

TEXT OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN N.Y. TIMES AND ITS WOMEN EMPLOYEES SETTLING THEIR SUIT

Here and on pages 9 and 11 is the text of the agreement settling *Elizabeth Boylan, et al. v. The New York Times Company*:

"FINAL DECREE IN FULL RESOLUTION OF ACTION"

"This decree is in full and final resolution of this action commenced by the named plaintiffs on November 7, 1974 by the filing of a complaint making certain claims and charges that defendant The New York Times Company ('The Times') had violated and was continuing to violate Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. §§ 2000e et seq. ('Title VII'). The Times denied all such claims and charges contained in both the original and amended complaints.

"On April 11, 1977 the action was certified by the Court as a class action. . . .

"After extensive discovery, the filing of trial briefs and proposed findings of fact, the parties have reached the agreement set forth herein in full and final resolution of all charges, claims and issues raised or which might have been raised in this action, subject to approval of the Court. The parties have determined that resolution of this action on the terms and conditions set forth herein, is in the best interests of all parties to this action. Consistent with the foregoing, the Court being fully apprised,

"IT IS ORDERED, ADJUDGED AND DECREED as follows:

"I. **THE CLASS.** For purposes of this Decree the class shall consist of '(A) all women employed by The Times on November 7, 1974 who are currently working for The Times and are covered by The New York Newspaper Guild collective bargaining agreement, including correspondents and reporters in domestic and foreign bureaus as well as women excluded from The New York Newspaper Guild jurisdiction who occupy posts as assistants to ranking executives.'

"The list of class members is set forth in Exhibit B hereto and includes 44 persons, as to whose inclusion the parties have previously been in dispute. . . .

"II. **NONADMISSION AND NONDETERMINATION.** The Times has maintained throughout this litigation and continues to maintain that it is and has been in full and complete compliance with the provisions of Title VII and all other laws, regulations, rules and orders governing discrimination in employment. This Decree shall not constitute evidence of any violation of Title VII or any other law, regulation, rule or order and by agreeing to and entering voluntarily into this Decree, there is no admission by The Times, express or implied, that it has violated Title VII or any other law, regulation, rule or order and this Decree shall not be interpreted or construed as constituting or containing any such admission. The Times does not admit any discriminatory employment practices, past or present, nor does it admit that it has discriminated wrongfully in any respect in the past or at present. No evidence has been taken by the Court and no findings of any kind have been issued by the Court. There has been no determination that The Times has violated any law, regulation, rule or order of the United States or of any agency of the United States government with respect to discrimination in employment.

"III. **EFFECT OF DECREE.** This Decree, if ultimately approved, is final and binding, as of the date of final approval and entry of this Decree, upon The Times, the named plaintiffs and all members of the class as defined in this Decree as to all claims raised in this action, or which could have been raised in this action, against The Times by the named plaintiffs or any member of the class. . . . By entering into this Decree, the named plaintiffs, and each member of the class as defined herein, hereby waive any and all rights to commence any action, proceeding or arbitration or to file any complaint, charge or grievance relating to or arising out of a claim of sex discrimination with regard to acts, conduct, non-conduct or status prior to or as of the date on which notice of this

Decree is directed to the class as defined herein.

"IV. **EFFECTIVE DATE OF DECREE.** This Decree shall become effective on the thirty-fifth (35th) day after its final approval and entry by the Court. . . .

"V. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION.

"A. As part of this Decree The Times has agreed to put into effect as of January 1, 1979 an Affirmative Action Plan ('The Plan') for women. . . . The Plan will continue in effect until December 31, 1982.

"B. The Times shall file Reports with counsel for plaintiffs on or before March 1, 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1983, each report covering the calendar year immediately preceding. Said reports may be shown by said counsel to such persons as said counsel deems necessary, including representatives of the Women's Caucus of The Times, to review and evaluate actions of The Times under the Plan. In said Reports The Times will provide the following information: a) The number of males and females in each job group as defined by the Plan; b) The number of available positions filled in each job group which are included in the calculation of interim goals and the number of such positions filled by women; and c) The name of each person, indicating sex and date and title of position filled, filling an opening within each job group and a notation as to whether such action was used in the calculation of interim goals. The Times shall also provide on the dates set forth above, information to plaintiffs' counsel, which shall be held in confidence by plaintiffs' counsel and not revealed to any person except as may be agreed to by The Times or directed by the Court or Voluntary Master, as to the salary of each woman filling a position and, where she is replacing someone, the salary of her predecessor.

"C. The Times will maintain records of offers of employment in each job group, including inquiries made by The Times as to the interest of applicants or employees in positions. Such records will be retained until at least June 1, 1983 and will be made available only to plaintiffs' counsel upon request in the event a dispute arises with regard to the meeting of any interim goals as defined in the Plan.

"D. The Times will inform plaintiffs' counsel of the creation of each new position in Guild jurisdiction or Guild exempt, and the assignment of such position to a job group. Plaintiffs' counsel will have 30 days to dispute such assignment, and, in the event agreement cannot be reached, the matter shall be resolved as specified in Section VI hereof.

"The Times will be filing the goals and interim goals in the Plan as part of its Affirmative Action Plan required by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs ('OFCCP'). In the event that the OFCCP requires any goal or interim goal for women to be raised said increased goal will become part of the Plan. . . .

"F. It is understood that in the event The Times has met its goal with respect to any job group as of December 31, 1981 and as of either December 31, 1979 or December 31, 1980 there shall be no goal or interim goal in that job category under this Decree for calendar year 1982. It is further understood that in the event The Times has met the goal for any job group, except O&M-1: Business, that there shall be no interim goal in that group until such time as the number of women in said group falls below 80% of the number required to satisfy the goal. The Times shall inform plaintiffs' counsel at such time as a goal is met and at such time as the number of women falls below said 80% so as to require an interim goal.

"G. All goals in this Decree shall not be construed as quotas, but as goals which shall be achieved through affirmative and non-discriminatory efforts, nor shall they be treated as maximum numbers or percentages of women or as any upper limit on the number of women to be hired or promoted by The Times.

[Continued on next page.]

TEXT OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN N.Y. TIMES AND ITS WOMEN EMPLOYEES SETTLING THEIR SUIT

[Continued from preceding page.]

"H. Before hiring a new employee, The Times pursuant to its continuing policy shall give first consideration to incumbent employees. During the term of this Decree, at the time of any plant-wide posting, a copy of the posting shall be delivered to the office or representatives of the Women's Caucus of The Times. If any member of the class requests an interview for a position within Guild salary Groups 1-9 she is to be interviewed and is to be informed in writing whether or not she received the job. If she does not receive the job and requests advice as to her qualifications, she will be advised as to specific steps she might take to improve her qualifications for future available positions (e.g., specific courses or training she might take or specific skills or work experience she might acquire).

"I. Where but for a lack of direct experience in performing a job in Guild salary Groups 1-9, a class member, in the reasonable business judgment of The Times, would be qualified to fill a position for which she applied within said salary Groups, The Times will give her first consideration over non-Times employees for the position. This paragraph shall be construed so as not to conflict with the provisions of the collective bargaining agreement between The Times and The Newspaper Guild of New York. . . .

"J. Within 30 days of the effective date of this Decree, defendant shall appoint an Administrator agreed upon by the parties who shall be responsible for the administration of this Decree and for the filing and verifying of all Reports required by this Decree. . . . The Administrator shall be responsible for receiving all complaints under this Decree by individual women or the Women's Caucus of The Times. . . . Within 15 days of the registering of any such complaints, the Administrator shall meet with the complainant who may be accompanied by a representative of the Women's Caucus and/or by counsel or such other person as may be agreed to. . . . In the event that the complaint is not resolved the Administrator shall within 30 days after the meeting issue to the complainant a written explanation of the circumstances. . . .

"VI. DURATION AND ENFORCEMENT. . . .

"B. . . . Within 30 days after the decision of the Administrator or within 60 days of the event giving rise to a complaint not referred to the Administrator, any disputes concerning alleged violations of the terms of this Decree may be submitted to a Voluntary Master who will serve as a mediator and will make findings and recommendations. Upon his resignation from the federal district court for the Southern District of New York effective October 31, 1978, the Honorable Sol Schreiber has agreed to serve without remuneration at the request of both parties, subject to the approval of the Court, as a Voluntary Master for the duration of this Decree. In the event that Magistrate Schreiber resigns as Voluntary Master and the parties are unable to agree on a replacement, disputes shall be submitted directly to the Court which shall maintain continuing jurisdiction throughout the duration of this Decree. Both parties reserve the right to appeal any findings or recommendations of the Master to the Court within 30 days of their issuance. . . .

"C. The failure to meet any particular goal shall not, by itself, constitute a violation of this Decree. In the event a goal has not been met and the matter is not resolved by the parties, plaintiffs shall have the right, subject to Section VI-B above, to move the Court for such relief and sanctions as the Court may deem appropriate. Defendant shall have the right to demonstrate, and shall

Attorneys for The Women's Caucus at the New York Times were Harriet Rabb and Howard J. Rubin, Employment Rights Project, 435 West 116th Street, New York, NY 10027. (212) 280-4291. Attorneys for the New York Times were Cahill Gordon & Reindel, 80 Pine Street, New York, NY 10005 (212) 825-0100.

bear the burden of going forward with evidence, that it engaged in a good faith effort to attain the goal. . . .

"VII. MONETARY PROVISIONS.

"A. Within 30 days of the effective date of this Decree The Times shall cause the purchase and delivery to plaintiffs' counsel, by such methods as it deems appropriate, of annuities which shall have a cumulative current cash value of \$233,500, the substantial majority of said amount to be received by long-term female employees of The Times. Said annuities shall be purchased in the names of named plaintiffs and class members set forth in Exhibit B hereto. The amounts of said annuities have been calculated as follows: (i) 20 years of service and over — \$1,000; (ii) 15 to 20 years — \$500; (iii) 10 to 15 years — \$300; (iv) 5 to 10 years — \$200; and (v) less than 5 years — \$100. Years of service shall be measured as of December 31, 1978. . . . Every named plaintiff or class member, including those who have left The Times, shall have years of service measured as if she were still at The Times on December 31, 1978. Service shall be measured from the most recent hire date.

"The annuities shall provide that the recipient named plaintiff or class member may hold that annuity to age 60 and that the recipient shall be entitled to cash in the annuity for its cash value at the time of receipt. All expenses incurred for the purchase or such redemption of the annuities shall be paid by The Times and shall not be included in the aforesaid \$233,500.

"B. The Times shall within 30 days of the effective date of this Decree establish a fund of \$15,000, said sum to be distributed within said 30 day period in equal amounts to each of the fifteen named plaintiffs and other class members, set forth in Exhibit C hereto, who testified in this litigation on behalf of the class.

"C. The Times shall within 30 days of the effective date of this Decree cause to be paid the amount of \$1,500, in the name of the Women's Caucus of The New York Times, to an escrow agent to be designated by plaintiffs' counsel. The Women's Caucus shall designate two representatives who shall jointly have the authority to authorize the escrow agent to issue checks from this fund. The money in the escrow fund is to be used toward defraying fees, costs and expenses incurred by the Women's Caucus in the administration or enforcement of this Decree. . . . Any money remaining in the escrow fund 180 days after the last report due under this Decree is filed shall be given to the Women's Caucus to be used for whatever purpose the Caucus so chooses for the benefit of women employees.

"D. . . . Defendant has agreed, with respect to plaintiffs' expenses, costs and attorneys' fees to plaintiffs' counsel of record, to pay if directed by the Court \$100,000 in expenses, costs and attorneys' fees. . . . up to and including \$50,000 in costs and expenses and \$50,000 in attorneys' fees. . . . Should the Court order The Times to pay less than \$100,000 for plaintiffs' counsel fees, costs and expenses, any amount of the \$100,000 not so paid will be paid by The Times to the Women's Caucus of The Times in the names of their designated representatives."

"VIII. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WOMEN'S CAUCUS. . . .

"Within 30 days of the effective date of this Decree, plaintiffs' counsel shall forward to The Times the names and addresses of two representatives of the Women's Caucus of The Times, to both of whom shall be forwarded all decisions, notices or writings to be directed to the Women's Caucus, as provided for in this Decree. These representatives are authorized to receive payment in their names on behalf of the Women's Caucus of The Times. The names and addresses of successors to these representatives shall immediately be forwarded to The Times."

[Continued on page 11, Text of Affirmative Action Plan.]

WHY THE WOMEN NEEDED A WRITTEN AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PLAN WITH TIMETABLES

"190. In the mid-1960's, Times personnel began writing memoranda about the desirability of making the Times an equal opportunity employer. However, all memoranda concerning this subject refer to minority group members; none refer to women until after June 14, 1972, the date a group of Times women sent a memorandum to the Publisher expressing their dissatisfaction with the situation of women at the newspaper. . . .

"193. A formal affirmative action plan for women was not begun until after and as a result of meetings on the subject between members of the plaintiffs' class and Times management. (Sulzberger Deposition, p. 31)

"194. The Times did not have any written affirmative action plan or program for the employment of women until late 1974. When the plan was developed, it was a hiring plan only; it contained no numerical goals for promotion. . . .

"196. There were no changes in New York Times employment procedures or standards as a result of the 1974 affirmative action plan. (Sulzberger Deposition, p. 75; Phelan Deposition, p. 619; McCabe Deposition, pp. 76, 248, 249, 252; Millones Deposition, pp. 426, 431)"

THE PUBLISHER DESCRIBES AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PLAN [Also see bottom half of page 13.]

Q. When did The Times formalize an affirmative action plan for women?
Sulzberger: You want the date?
Q. Not the month and day, but the year, if you can recall.
Sulzberger: I can't recall. I'm sorry. . . .
Q. Do you recall if it was before a group of women made an appointment to come and see you . . . and your senior colleagues with regard to the employment of women at The Times?

Sulzberger: My mind and dates have lost me. I don't recall. I'm sorry. Whether it was written down, or if anything was written down prior to that date, I don't recall. It's very easy to look and see.

Q. What would one look for if one were to look and see?
Sulzberger: To see if it was written down.
Q. How would you describe the writing in which the affirmative action plan for women appears formally?

Sulzberger: I'm not sure I could describe it. I would have to look. . . .
Q. At the time when the affirmative action plan for women was not formalized — and I can't give you a date because we don't have one — but in that period of time what was your role in establishing and overseeing the policy?

Sulzberger: Substantially the same as it is today.
Q. And what is that?
Sulzberger: That we made every best effort to insure that women on The Times got a fair shake across the board.
Q. Do you recall why you decided to formalize the affirmative action policy for women?

Sulzberger: Yes.
Q. Why was that?
Sulzberger: My recollection is, as a result of the meeting with the women, we decided to put down in writing what we were already doing, in response to their request. . . .

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PLAN IS "CONTINUING"

Q. At any time from 1965 to date had The Times made efforts, special efforts to recruit women for employment at the Times?

Sulzberger: Yes.
Q. Are you familiar with those efforts?
Sulzberger: All of those efforts?
Q. In a general way are you familiar with them?
Sulzberger: In a general way?

Q. Yes.
Sulzberger: Yes.
Q. Have The Times' efforts in this regard varied in kind at any time between 1965 and the present?

Sulzberger: I don't know what you mean by "in kind."
Q. I am trying to find out what the efforts were. If there was some period of time when they changed substantially, either some new program was undertaken or a new policy was developed at any time since 1965, can you date a period of time when the efforts changed? Then I am going to ask you to describe the efforts.

Sulzberger: I can't date any substantial meaningful change. There is no spot I can say where you went from low gear to high gear, in other words, no. It is continuing. . . .

JOT OF THIS, JOT OF THAT, JUMBLE IT TOGETHER . . .

Q. Do you recall when The Times established numerical goals for women in any jobs or job groups or salary group levels, if it ever did?

Sulzberger: When we established goals?
Q. Yes. Numerical goals, specific goals.
Sulzberger: Yes.
Q. When was that?
Sulzberger: You have lost me on the date. I don't remember what the date was.

Q. Do you recall any department in which the numerical goals were met?

Sulzberger: . . . Practically every department. . . .
Q. Do you recall by what dates, for example, the News Department met its goal for filling jobs for women in the 9 to 0 category, if it did?

MAN IN CHARGE: HOW THE "AAP" WAS(n't) IMPLEMENTED

"John J. McCabe was, until 1978, a Senior Vice President of the Times. From early 1963 through 1968 he was Assistant Controller of the Times. From 1968 through 1972, he was Controller. From 1971 until September 1975, he was a Senior Vice President (responsible for Advertising, Circulation, Promotion and Sales Presentation (Development) at the Times). In all these positions, he made decisions on the hiring, promotion and compensation of Times employees, and supervised other managers who made such decisions.

"As Vice President, Controller, and Assistant Controller, Mr. McCabe did not give his subordinates instructions or guidelines on the criteria to use or the qualities to look for in making decisions and recommendations on the hiring and promotion of Times employees, nor did he give them instructions or guidelines on how to test or measure job qualifications; nor did Mr. McCabe receive such instructions or guidelines from his superiors. Mr. McCabe did inform his subordinates that the Times had an affirmative action policy with respect to women. . . ."

From Joint Proposed Pre-Trial Order, 74 Civ. 4891

Sulzberger: Well, the goal is an elusive target. The goal moves every year. You set the goal constantly up, and you are always — you are always heading towards the goal. . . . As far as I'm concerned, nobody ever meets their goal. I keep moving the goal.

Q. On what basis do you decide how to establish the numerical goal?
Sulzberger: You take a look at the profile of your staff; you take a look at the age of your staff; you take a look at the job that you wish to perform, whether you are going to let the department grow in size because there is a new task to perform, or whether you are going to shrink the staff because you want to phase out that activity, or whether you are going to stay even. And you take the whole thing and you jumble it together and get some kind of an idea of the opportunities that are going to be facing you in the year ahead, and then you make a somewhat arbitrary decision, that you are going to endeavor to fill those opportunities, if they arise, with a given number of women and a given number of Blacks, et cetera. . . .

THE GOAL "DISAPPEARED OFF OF THE BOARD"

Q. . . . In the second paragraph [of 2-page memorandum, Exhibit 8] you describe a conceiving of that goal as "right." In what sense did you think of it as being right; what did you mean?

Sulzberger: What I mean by "right" is that is what I believe to be correct. That's the way I was brought up to think.

Q. And on what basis did you pick the number 45% as being right? . . .
Sulzberger: The number 45.8 was a number that was recommended to me by Mr. Mortimer, to the best of my recollection, as being the correct percentage to put into this memorandum.

Exactly how Mr. Mortimer arrived at the 45.8 and the 14.6 I'm not exactly sure. I'm sure that he explained it to me, but I'm also sure I have forgotten.

Q. Prior to the time of this memo in July of 1973, do you recall whether there was a stated percentage or numerical goals with respect to the employment of women, or is this —

Sulzberger: I don't recall any stated — written stated percentage. No, I do not.

Q. The last paragraph on the first page . . . "Our present situation is . . . so deficient." . . . In what respect was The Times' then present situation so deficient?

Sulzberger: It was my understanding that the actual numbers that we had were shy by a margin of the 45.8%. And as this was a goal, and a goal in my language is something, as I have told you, that is up there and quite high, and you never really quite get to, it was obvious to me that if we were going to take a major step forward, that we had to get the lead out and get going.

Q. Do you know how deficient the then present situation was; by what margin The Times missed?

Sulzberger: We refined those numbers following this memorandum because this was too broad. This was too much of a cannon. And you couldn't address yourselves, it became very apparent, in a cannon-like fashion to the situation.

We had to take our company and break it down into the component pieces and look at the individual pieces. And when we did that, the 45.8% number disappeared off of the — off of the board, and we came up with other numbers and other goals, ones that we could deal with in a practical manner.

Deposition of Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, Publisher of New York Times
Pages 30-31, 59-60, 70-73, 113-114, 137-141. February 23, 1978.

TEXT OF THE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PLAN THE WOMEN WON IN THEIR AGREEMENT

"AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAM FOR WOMEN"

"This document constitutes the Affirmative Action Plan (the 'Plan') of The New York Times ('The Times') with respect to employment of women, to become effective on January 1, 1979. The purpose of the Plan, which modifies the Affirmative Action Plan for women presently filed with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, is to assure equality of employment opportunities for women consistent with all applicable laws, regulations, orders and constitutional provisions. The Plan reflects the continued intention of The Times to achieve through application of affirmative efforts and non-discriminatory standards a fair and appropriate representation of women.

"To this end, The Times has divided its work force into appropriate job groups and has established goals and interim goals for women. It has been and remains the policy of The Times, through continued adherence to affirmative efforts, to attract and identify well qualified candidates, including women, for all positions.

"The Times does not intend to commit itself or recruit, hire, promote, select, assign or transfer any person, regardless of sex, other than a person whom The Times believes at the time of any such personnel action, is well qualified. . . . Nothing in this Plan is intended in any way to restrict the exclusive right of The Times in the exercise of its business judgment to alter, change or modify the size or configuration of its work force complement. . . .

"CALCULATION OF GOALS AND INTERIM GOALS"

"Set forth in this Plan are goals and interim goals for women expressed in terms of percentages. Interim goals are the minimum percentages at which The Times commits as a goal to fill available positions on an annual basis within job groups, except in the case of job group 'O&M-1: Business' where the interim goal shall be treated as a goal for each group of 8 positions whenever they occur. 'Available Positions' shall be defined as those positions filled by hire, by transfer or promotion from one Guild salary group to a higher salary group (up to promotion to group 10) or by transfer or promotion from one job group to another, except for transfers between job groups 'Professional - 2A, 2B and 2C: News.'

"In the event the Times has met the goal for any job group, there shall be no interim goal in that group until such time as the number of women in the group falls below 80% of the number required to satisfy the goal. As of September 1978, the Times female work force in job groups O&M-4: Business, O&M-2: News, Prof-2: Business, Tech-3: Com. Eq., Sales-3, and O&C-3 is at or over the goal for the group. The interim goal specified herein for each job group listed above will be activated if and when the number of women in such job group falls below 80% of the number required to satisfy the goal.

"No positions filled by reason of automation and/or job security agreements, or by reason of reslotting, shall be included in the calculation of satisfaction of interim goals.

"The Times will give to each person filling an available position the responsibilities and authority appropriate to that position.

"For the purpose of calculation of satisfaction of an interim goal, if precise satisfaction of the interim goal would result in the filling of available positions by other than a whole number of persons then the following rule applies: if more than half a position 'fill' is involved then the interim goal shall be the next higher whole number of positions, if half or less the interim goal shall be the next lower whole number of positions.

"In the event that The Times fails to satisfy an interim goal in any category in a year by less than 50%, or by less than one person, The Times shall have the right to treat the interim goal as a two year goal and satisfy it cumulatively for the two year period. The Times shall notify plaintiffs' counsel of its choice at the time of its

Report to them for each calendar year. In the event that The Times fails to meet an interim goal by more than 50%, plaintiffs shall have the right to immediately seek enforcement.

"GOALS AND INTERIM GOALS"

JOB GROUP	GOAL	Interim GOAL	JOB GROUP	GOAL	Interim GOAL
O&M-1: Business	10%	12.5%	Tech-1: Data	30 %	40 %
O&M-2: Business	20%	25 %	Tech-2: En/Pro	15 %	33.3%
O&M-3: Business	20%	25 %	Tech-3: Com.Eq.	15 %	20 %
O&M-4: Business	20%	25 %	Sales-1	22 %	25 %
O&M-1: News	25%	25 %	Sales-2	22 %	30 %
O&M-2: News	25%	25 %	Sales-3	40 %	40 %
Prof-1: Business	16.8%	25 %	O&C-1	38.3%	40 %
Prof-2: Business	16.8%	25 %	O&C-1: News, Index & Morgue	38.3%	40 %
Prof-1: News	25%	25 %	O&C-2	70.8%	70.8%
Prof-2(a): News	30%	33.3%	O&C-3	40 %	40 %
Prof-2(b): News	30%	33.3%	Service-1	40 %	50 %
Prof-2(c): News	25%	30 %	Service-2	40 %	50 %

"JOB GROUPS"

"The job groups established for the purpose of this Plan and the titles within each job group utilized for the calculation of goals and interim goals are set forth in the following listing.

[Note: Five of the above 24 Job Groups are reproduced here for illustration.]

O & M-1: NEWS	Editor, Metropolitan	Editor, News
Executive Editor	Editor, National	Editor, Home
Editor-Editorial Page	Editor, Picture	Editor, Regional
Managing Editor	Editor, Sports	Editor, Sports Mon.
Assistant Managing Editor	Editor, Op Ed Page	Editor, Travel
Deputy Managing Editor	Editor, Book Review	Sr. Editor, Style/Liv
Ass't Editorial Page Edit.	Editor, Magazine	Wash. Bur. Chief
Editor, Family/Style	Editor, Week in Review	Exec. Editor, Times
Editor, Finance & Business	Editor, Arts & Leisure	News Service
Editor, Foreign	Editor, Real Estate	Manager, News Res.
O & M-2: NEWS	Ass't to Managing Editor	Administrative Ass't
Assistant to Exec. Editor	Assistant-Editor-Manager (News Service)	Manager (Morgue)
O & M-1: BUSINESS	Assistant Treasurer	Director of Research Dev & Tech Support
President, Publisher, Chairm.	Assistant Secretary	Director of Manuf'g
Executive Vice President	General Attorney	Newsp. Controller
Senior Vice President	Corporate Controller	Director-Corp. Dev.
Vice President	Ass't Dir of Personnel	Dir -Adv'g Promo, and Research
Treasurer	Medical Director	Manager-Circula
Secretary	Director of Industrial Relations	Director-Mgt. Info Systems
		Corporate Director -Internal Audit
PROF-1: NEWS	Bureau Chief Foreign	Chief-Domestic Bur
Associate Editor (News Service)	Editor	Dir.-Science News
Deputy Editor, Index	Desk Head	Art Director
Assistant to Editor	Assistant Editor	Assoc. Editor (Columnist)
Chief Librarian	Chief-U.N. Bureau	Assistant Deskhead
		Deputy Editor-Mag
PROF-2(a): NEWS	Correspondent Foreign	Reporter Rewrite M/W
Columnist	Editorial Writer	Military Correspond
Correspondent Domestic (& Chief Cong. Corre)	Critic	Publishing Corresp
	Reporter	Correspond.-Sports

HOW WE GOT THE NEWS OUT

Betsy Wade (Elizabeth Boylan) and Joan Cook wrote the following, (pp. 12-15) account of the women's own news dissemination:

"The lawyers for the Women's Caucus and the lawyers for The Times were to go before Magistrate Sol Schreiber at 10 A.M. Friday, Oct. 6, for preliminary approval of the settlement in our sex-discrimination suit.

"In normal times, we might have been naive enough and over-worked enough to have put on our court clothes, gone to Foley Square and assumed nature would take its course: television cameras would pan, reporters would cluster with pads and all that. But these were not normal times: By Oct. 6, the strike at The Times and The News would be nearly two months along. The Post resumed publication on Oct. 5. Magazines and weekly newspapers were attempting to fill the gap and most local television and radio stations were doubling their coverage of what they considered news events, but without the guidance of the two daily morning papers. So we ran scared and worked the phones and typewriters for a full day and until midnight Thursday, Oct. 5. If we had it to do again, we would do it the same way, only more so, and for the help it may provide others, here is an account of what we did.

"First of all, our case had its hardy group of fans. Throughout the four years we were in court and even for two years before that, a few reporters and freelancers had been after us for interviews and 'in-depth' information on our case. The name plaintiffs had agreed informally not to submit to solitary interviews because we felt our case was well-stated in the court materials and all we could do was anger the judge or drive our opponents into some sort of retaliation against us.

"But people kept calling, and after each mention in Media Report to Women, for instance, and after the article in Ms. and another in New Times and a racy item in New York magazine (we had nothing to do with any of these), there would be a new burst of phone calls. We got to know these writers, mostly women, and we wrote down their names and addresses against the day we would have something to say.

"We had made two exceptions to our no-interview rule: A student Grace Glueck met at N.Y.U. on a lecture date decided to do her major paper on the case, and a student at Columbia did likewise. We all spent considerable time with these two women with the agreement that none of the material would be published until after the case was concluded. The way these things go, both women were out working by the time the case was done, and one of them did use some of her material, with our permission, in an article on a broader subject in Seven Days that was published just as the case was due for trial.

"These writers gave us a start on our list of contacts, and this is probably Point 1 for those preparing to give news out: If anyone calls you from a publication, get the name, address and phone number, including home phone, and put it in a file.

"The second part of our list of contacts was the news agency offices in New York. By accident we had discovered a valuable tip two months before, when we were organizing a demonstration in support of the jailed reporter M.A. Farber: If you call the right numbers at AP, UPI and Reuters at a late hour, say 1 A.M., someone will always answer and take down your material carefully.

"Getting the right number is a trick, because the numbers in the [Continued on next page.]

THE FAMOUS SEVEN "NAMED PLAINTIFFS" — Brief Profiles

The following brief profiles of the seven "Named Plaintiffs" were compiled by the women themselves.

GRACE GLUECK. Grace is currently an art news reporter and columnist for The Times. She joined the staff in the Fifties. Before that she was an advertising copywriter. She became Culture Editor in 1972, a post she left in 1973 to return to reporting. Grace says that from the beginning she was struck by the fact that women were given so few opportunities on the paper and had no real voice in policy. Now that the case is settled, she says, "I look forward to better treatment for women, but the fight has only begun."

BETSY WADE. Now assistant travel editor. At time suit began, was head of foreign copy desk. At Times 22 years. Graduate of Barnard and Columbia School of Journalism. First job in journalism was at Herald Tribune where she was maternity replacement for Joan Cook. An international vice president of The Newspaper Guild, now in second term. Born in New York City.

LOUISE CARINI. Benefits administration clerk in the General Accounting Department. At The Times since 1951, in the accounting department all the time. Born in Italy, came to the United States at the age of 10. Says her brother, an accountant, encouraged her to join the suit.

ANDREA SKINNER. At The Times 13 years. Now news clerk in Sunday fashion department. Does the children's fashion sections. Used to teach kindergarten and traces her interest in children to this. Worked for New York City Welfare Department and came to Times from Mademoiselle. Born in Minneapolis. Says basic interest in fashion and design came from her mother, who was skilled in sewing.

JOAN COOK. At The Times 19 years. Now on day rewrite bank. Before Times, worked for Herald Tribune in New York and Paris, for King Features, the Detroit News and Minneapolis Star-Journal. Married, has three children and a grandchild.

EILEEN SHANAHAN. Came to Times in Nov. of 1962 from U.S. Treasury Dept., where she had been Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs — at that time she was the highest ranking woman in the Treasury Dept. Prior to working with the T. Dept., she had a long career in business reportage working for the Journal of Commerce and the United Press. She left the NYT in Jan. of '77 to become Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs in the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare. She became a plaintiff when, through Betsy and Grace G., she became aware of the long history of salary discrimination in the Washington Bureau. This despite the number of awards and accolades she received during her career with the Times. She was born in Wash. D.C. Of the case Eileen says, "I think the suit and the settlement we won made many thinking people across the country aware that even our most prestigious institutions do engage in sex discrimination. As a result I think other women and minorities too will have an easier time establishing the credibility of their charges of discrimination with or without lawsuits. This suit will help many others in the battle against discrimination."

NANCY DAVIS. The youngest of the plaintiffs, Nancy was born in Albany, N.Y. and came to the Times in 1972, not her first job, but her first job of any account since school, she says. She was a telephone solicitor in the Advertising Dept. until 1976 when she left to take another job with a publishing concern. She tried again and again to get out of the telephone solicitor category into outside sales where the men and the money are, but without success. Nancy says of the case, "I feel really good about it because it accomplished more for more people. It may be the most important thing I'll be involved in in my lifetime."

To reach any of the women, write to them c/o The Women's Caucus At The New York Times, New York Times, 229 West 43rd Street, New York, NY 10036.

WOULD THE CONTENT OF THE "TIMES" BE DIFFERENT IF THE STAFF WERE PREDOMINANTLY WOMEN?

Media Report to Women's last page has always been devoted to "thinking" items — new ideas or thoughtful questions posed. Below are a few of many thoughtful issues which arose in *Boylan v New York Times Company*. Although content issues were presumably beyond the legal reach, as a First Amendment issue, they cropped up often. Here are a few to think about.

FEMALE KNOWLEDGE

(Excerpts from Deposition of A. M. Rosenthal, Executive Editor, questioned by Harriet Rabb, February 14, 1978.)

Q The memo says in Paragraph 3 "We have only one woman on the Metropolitan staff now and we need more." Was it your view that the Times needed more women on the Metropolitan staff?

Rosenthal: That's exactly what I wrote. Yes. . . . [W]e like to have a staff as varied as possible. . . .

Q Is there some professional respect in which women add variety to a staff as compared to men?

Rosenthal: Certainly.

Q And what is that?

Rosenthal: Sometimes they may have different knowledge and different perceptions.

Q Because they are women?

Rosenthal: Certainly. . . . I think it's self-evident. . . . We have a column, for instance, called "Hers" . . . written by a woman. The reason we have it written by a woman is that we feel there are such things as male perceptions and female perceptions, on occasion.

Q Do you have any columns written by men to express a male perception?

Rosenthal: No.

Q Why?

Rosenthal: Because we didn't think it necessary because so many of our reporters are men.

& PERCEPTIONS

Q Was the Hers column developed because there were not so many reporters who were women?

Rosenthal: It was developed because there was a movement based on a feminine perception of life. It's a female perception: the women's movement. And we were interested in writing more about it.

Q Is the Hers column about the women's liberation movement — . . . ?

Rosenthal: No. . . . I didn't say it was. . . . I was referring to the female perception of life. . . . There was a movement based on female — on the feminine perception of life to a large — to some extent, and we were simply interested in reflecting more of the feminine perception. There are many other phrases to describe it. "Female perception" is simply one.

* * *

TO KEEP OUT WOMEN'S KNOWLEDGE & PERCEPTIONS?

"During the period when John Leonard was Editor of the Book Review and Dan Schwartz was Sunday Editor of the Times, Schwartz declined to hire a woman suggested by Leonard for hiring and indicated that women were not suitable as writers on the Book Review staff." (From "Plaintiffs' Proposed Findings of Fact" based on John Leonard Testimony.)

December 31, 1978

"The broader significance of this agreement is that we now expect the top management levels of the paper to open to all the previously excluded groups in our society and we expect this will affect the attitudes of our society."

— Betsy Wade
(Plaintiff Elizabeth Boylan)

BUT NOT IN THE REGULAR NEWS

Q In what respect did you believe The Times ought to have women on the National staff?

Rosenthal: Well, because we were — National staff jobs are considered by some to be desirable and promotions within reportorial ranks. We were engaged in an attempt to promote women and to add women to our various staffs. Period.

Q Was there any other reason you thought there ought to be women on the National staff apart from an effort to chalk up a promotion for a woman? . . . to give a promotion to a woman because she was a woman?

Rosenthal: I won't answer it that way.

Q Was there any other reason why you thought there ought to be women on the National staff?

Rosenthal: I think I have listed them all: that we were engaged in an attempt to have more — promote more women, to have more women on the staffs, and felt that — we felt it was an appropriate thing to do.

Q Is there anything about the knowledge, perspective, experience of women that would have added variety to the National staff?

Rosenthal: Not particularly that I can think of, to the National staff.

DOES AN ALL-MALE STAFF CAUSE SEXIST PICTURES?

The first two items that follow are Facts agreed upon by the parties in "Joint Proposed Pre-Trial Order" and the third one, numbered 129 (based on the Deposition of Peter Millones, Assistant Managing Editor) is from "Plaintiffs' Proposed Findings of Fact":

"The Times employs photographers who take the pictures which appear in the Times. Until November, 1973, there had never been a woman photographer at the Times. As of August, 1978, there are three women photographers."

"Until April, 1977, there had never been a woman in any of the editor jobs on the Picture Desk."

"129. The Times has a Picture Desk on which there were, in January, 1976, 1 Picture Desk Editor, 1 Assistant Picture Editor, 6 Assistants to the Picture Editor, 2 Picture Deskpersons, and News Assistants and News Clerks.

"The Picture Desk editors' duties include: making assignments to photographers, reviewing pictures 'cropping' them for use in the paper, ordering graphic materials and writing captions."

16

WOMEN'S INSTITUTE FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

3306 Ross Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008
(202) 363-0812 or 966-7783

- \$20 1 year subscription to *Media Report to Women*
- \$15 Special rate for individual women (paying by personal check or MO)
- \$8 1979 Index/Directory of Women's Media
 - Annotated Index to *Media Report to Women*, 1977 & 1978
 - Directory of Women's Media (Periodicals, Presses/Publishers, News Services, Film Groups, Video, Music, Art and much more) as well as Individual Media Women & Media-Concerned Women
- \$5 5-year annotated Index to *Media Report to Women* 1972-1976
- \$5.95 *Women in Media: A Documentary Source Book* by Dr. Maurine Beasley and Sheila Silver. 1790 to the Present Day.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Media Report to Women is published by the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and is printed by Anaconda Press, 1320 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 232-0200. Catherine Bilzor, Proprietor.

MEDIA REPORT TO WOMEN
3306 Ross Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

Second Class Postage Paid
at Washington, D.C.



Appendix G: Donna Allen with WIFP associates and women attending the fourth annual conference on planning a national and international communications system for women in April 1992. (WIFP photo)



Appendix H: Donna Allen and daughter Martha Allen in February 1979 on Ross Place, Washington, D.C. (WIFP photo)



Appendix I: Donna Allen rose at 4 a.m. and worked until 10 p.m., 1982. (WIFP photo)

152ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1999 Responsive Database Services, Inc.

Contemporary Women's Issues

Copyright 1999 Off Our Backs, Inc.

Off Our Backs

August 1999

SECTION: Vol. xxix, No. 8; Pg. 14; ISSN: 0030-0071

CWI-ACC-NO: 02172942

LENGTH: 2323 words

HEADLINE: Donna Allen: A life devoted to feminist media

HIGHLIGHT:

The full text includes discussion of Dr Donna Allen, founder and president of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press

BODY:

There are some people who, you think, are going to be around forever. For me, Dr. Donna Allen, the president and founder of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, the annual Directory of Women's Media, and the Media Index, was one of those people. On Wednesday July twenty-first, I called Donna to tell her that the precious research material she had given me only three weeks previously for my work on feminist radio was very helpful, that I was already delving into those back issues of women's papers that she had so presciently mined and indexed for 15 years.

My call prompted a phone message that I had never heard in the more than 20 years that I had been calling her. "Donna will be away for three weeks. Please leave a message or call at her other office." Ah, Donna is taking a vacation, I thought gladly because, as far as I dialed the other office--gladly because, as far as I knew, Donna never took a vacation. Her daughter Martha answered and told me that there had been some recent "unexpected news" ...Donna died of a heart attack on Monday July 19th

Donna Allen was involved in social justice movements -- civil rights, peace and other efforts -- since the early nine-teen-fifties, and became active in women's liberation in the 1960s. She tirelessly advocated for women to exercise their First Amendment rights, change the media, and create a new communication system for the world. She authored *Media without Democracy* and *What to Do about it* (1991) and co-edited *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection* (1989). She was an economist, a historian and an educator. In early 1970, Dr. Allen was an Associate Professor and taught media economics and women and media for Antioch college, Baltimore Media Studies Center. Over the years she (as women's Institute for Freedom of the Press) produced books and pamphlets on how to achieve equality for women in the media and on the meaning of the first amendment for women. [(1.)]

Donna Allen will be greatly missed by numbers of people in several different worlds because she walked in so many. She is irreplaceable in mine. The Womens

Appendix J: Donna Allen obituary by Jennifer Abod of *off our backs*. (Lexis/Nexis; reprinted by permission.)

Institute for Freedom of the Press was a resource and an umbrella organization for all of my media projects for over twenty years, although only a few rare occasions have we been in the same room at the same time. Whenever I called to tell Donna about my efforts to obtain funding for a training project or a production, she would praise and encourage my work, then ask, How can I help? She would write strong, supportive letters and, as my umbrella nonprofit organization, would receive the funds and pass them to me, taking only a tiny percentage to help support the institute. Early this past spring when I called to tell Donna that I had decided to write about feminist radio, she was delighted and offered me materials that she had been collecting since the 1970s. We made plans for my going to her place in Washington this summer.

I first came in contact with Donna when she founded the Women's Institute in 1972, during a time when I was passionately involved with the New Haven Women's Liberation Rock Band. Donna wanted any woman involved in media or performance to know about a yearly directory she was putting together so that women could find out what other women were doing all over the country. It was up to us to send in our information if we wanted to be included. I remember the first media directory I saw. There were names of women's bands, producers, videographers, and radio broadcaster, newspapers and periodicals that I never knew existed. There was documented evidence of our existence and a growing feminist culture. There was documented evidence of our existence and a growing feminist culture. Donna's work enabled feminist cultural workers, as many of us called ourselves at the time, to know of and to find each other, which continues to be crucial to our survival and development as feminist women.

Allen believed that: Women must be able to communicate with each other is they are to discover that there are others of similar experience with whom to take action. Hearing instead the claim that these male-owned media are also speaking for women, individual women would conclude that their different viewpoints must be wrong. They fear trusting their own judgement though it is based on their own experience. The effect is to silence women and to prevent joint corrective action. The woman who is beaten, for example, but does not know that any other women suffer such attacks, knows she cannot alone (and so will not) take corrective action, or even speak up about it. If other women do not hear her they cannot assist her or tell others of the need for corrective or supportive action. (allen, p.325)

From the very beginning, Donna knew the importance of a support and communication network among feminists who were trying to build a new culture and re-define the existing one. As feminists in the media and as women producers or musicians, we did not have many people telling us that what we were doing was important and valuable. When I moved from music to broadcasting in 1976, the media report and the directory were just as informative and necessary to my work. Donna Allen devoted a large portion of her life to encouraging us in our efforts by codifying what we were doing--even though some of us who benefited from the existence of Women's Institute for freedom of the Press and several of her other endeavors never knew her name. Her name, or praise, or money was never her aim. Even when I visited her a short time and wanted to take her picture and have her sign my book, she was so busy that she would not take time out from showing me what she felt it was important for me to know we'd do it some other time, she said. Sadly, there will be not other time.

As I was travelling to Washington on an exceedingly hot June day to make my

first visit to the Institute (now as an assistant professor working in a university) just three and a half weeks before she died, I was excited, having always wondered what the Media Institute for Women looked like. How did she do the Report, I also wondered. It turns out that the Institute is in a brown three-story house that Donna has rented and lived in for over 40 years. It is fronted by a wide wooden porch holding a weathered wicker chair and beat up sofa. It is also substantially hidden by heavy pines, which made the heat even more oppressive. Donna looked thinner and paler than I remembered. Her white hair was as usual comfortably pulled back off her face. Her no-nonsense, crinkly brown eyes, her very white skin and quick smile were the same as I remembered. With a wiry hug she welcomed me into a cluttered hallway that was no cooler than the porch. On one wall hung some of the prestigious awards that she has received for her work as a media communication pioneer, including one from The Committee on the Status of Women of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (1988) and a special citation from the Women's Roundtable of the America Journalism Historian Association for her efforts to preserve women's history in the media. [(2.)]

She indicated the stairs to the second floor where several student tenants lived but we did not mount them. Donna's living quarters were on the third floor. From the hallway we entered a living room-turned workroom/office. Two brown desks strewn with papers and files sat tightly facing each other their sides pressed hard against the front windows and the breezeless outside porch. Donna pointed proudly to this area where the Media Report had been prepared for 15 years, from 1972-1987, the first five years by mimeograph. When the mimeo machine broke down, her daughter Martha Allen typeset the report, the content of which was based on materials from women's papers. Donna would go through every women's papers/periodical (there were about 600) and clip anything that dealt with women's communication and media. She summarized each article and organized them to create the Media Report. The women's papers voluntarily sent Donna a subscription and received the Media Report in exchange. [(3.)] The monthly publication highlighted the activities of women within both the commercial and noncommercial media worlds.

Donna believed that women should not simply try to gain access to media owned by men but should instead develop their own (Beasley, 160). She saw media activism as a "two-tiered" approach. The first tier consists of feminist media, the second consists of women working their way into the commercial mass media. Allen was convinced that the ideas expressed in women's media eventually make their way into the general media through the efforts of women reporters and editors. (Beasley, 1992, p. 165) During the 1970s when women were suing newspapers and broadcast stations, receiving grants and awards for our work, trying to establish all-women's radio stations, and forming women's rock bands, we could read about it all in the Media Report, which let us to know that numbers of us were generating activity and creativity, making changes on whatever media front we stood. The day I visited the institute, a woman was interviewing Donna, who gave me a few files that she had prepared and took me through the dining room and a narrow hallway into a small kitchen that was a familiar relic of the mid-sixties in every way, from the yellow refrigerator with its short rounded top to the wooden cupboards and the women's liberation poster on the wall, to the shallow porcelain white sink with its rounded edges, to the weathered linoleum floor. There was no fan and no breeze coming through the two kitchen windows, which opened onto a small wooden table covered with an oil-cloth. As she went into the workroom/office for her interview, I sat with a

shares with me will be going into my article and that I was looking forward to her editor's eyes as the project moved forward. Of course she agreed. Another quick, wiry hug and I was off, even as she was sitting down to write a letter of recommendation, one of several projects still awaiting her on that hot Saturday evening before she would finally lie down to rest. [(4.)]

by jennifer abod

Copyright 1999 Off Our Backs, Inc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: NOTES

[1.] One publication put out by the Institute is Women in Media: A Documentary Source Book, by Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons in 1997. Several other publications are in the works.

[2.] In 1979 Dr. Allen won a Headliner award, the highest award bestowed by Women in Communications, Inc. In 1983 she won a "Wonder Woman Award" from the Wonder Woman Foundation for personal courage, strength of character, risk-taking and pioneering new territory. (Beasley, 1992 p.154)

[3.] She told me that the original Media Report was only nine pages long because that is what you could send out with only one stamp. The publication reached about 2000 subscribers, 55 of which were libraries. Allen sold the Media Report in 1987 to another publisher (as cited in Beasley, 1992) Although Allen continued to write for it, the new exchange system with women's papers.

[4.] Contributions to continue the work of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press are always needed and can be sent to in care of: Dr. Martha Allen 3306 Ross Place Rd., NW Washington, DC 20008

References:

Allen, Donna, Rush, Ramona R. & Kaufman, Susan J. (Eds.) (1996). Women Transforming Communications Global Intersections. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Beasley, Maurine H. (Summer-Fall 1992). Donna Allen and the Women's Institute: A Feminist Perspective on the First Amendment." Vol. IX, Nos.3 & 4. published by the American Journalism Historians Association

Thanks to Angela Bowen for suggesting and editing this tribute.

TYPE: Journal; Personal Overview/Profile; Fulltext

JOURNAL-CODE: OFFOURBA

LOAD-DATE: November 24, 1999

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Allen, Donna. Papers at the National Women and Media Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

Allen, Martha. Papers privately held, Washington, D.C.

Kassell, Paula. Papers privately held, Dover, N.J.

Media Report to Women. 1972-1988.

National Archives. U.S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Donna Densmore Allen (sic)," File 395218, Washington, D.C.

Peace Collection. Swarthmore College, McCabe Library, Swarthmore, Pa.

Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press. Archives, Washington, D.C.

Selected Works by Donna Allen

Allen, Donna. *Fringe Benefits: Wages or Social Obligation?* Ithaca, N.Y.: W.F. Humphrey Press, Inc., 1964.

_____. *The Six Point Communications Program*. Washington, D.C.: The Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, n/d.

_____. "The Women's Revolution: The Political Significance of the Genetic Differences Between Men and Women." *No More Fun & Games! a journal of female liberation*. The First Revolution 5, July 1971, 103.

Allen, Donna and Martha Leslie Allen, *The Index/Directory of Women's Media*, Washington, D.C.: The Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1975-1989.

_____. "Women in the Mass Media." *The Baltimore Sunpapers and the University of Maryland College of Journalism Distinguished Lecture Series*. Freedom of the Press for Women, March 29, 1977.

_____. "Media and Democracy: Why We Don't Have National Health Insurance," [photocopy]. Private collection, Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, Washington, D.C.

_____. "Women's Media Role: Raising Our Issues for Mass Media Coverage for Public Debate and Decision Making," paper for delivery to the International Communication Association, May 25, 1986.

Rush, Ramona R., and Donna Allen, eds. *Communications at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*. Norwood, N.J.: New Jersey Ablex Publishing Corporation, 1989.

_____. *The Source of Power for Women: A Strategy to Equalize Media Outreach*. Washington, D.C.: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1990.

_____. "Women, Minorities and Freedom of the Press," *Newspaper Research Journal* 11 (Summer 1990): 10-17.

_____. *Media Without Democracy, And What To Do About It*. Washington, D.C.: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1991.

_____. *What's Wrong With Mass Media for the Women Half of the Population—Rebuilding the System*. Washington, D.C.: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1993.

_____. *The Media Technology Road to Democracy and Equality*. Washington, D.C.: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 1995.

Allen, Donna, Ramona R. Rush and Susan J. Kaufman. *Women Transforming Communications: Global Intersections*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1996.

Interviews

Allen, Martha Leslie. Interview by author, 31 May 2001; 6 June 2001; 19 July 2001; Washington, D.C., tape recording, Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, Washington, D.C.

Bick, Barbara. Interview by author, 23 November 2001; Washington, D.C., tape recording, private residence, Washington, D.C.

Bonk, Kathleen. Interview by author via telephone, 10 March 2003.

Densmore, Dana. Interview by author, 10 September 2001, Washington, D.C., tape recording, Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, Washington, D.C.

Kassell, Paula. Interview by author, 14 May 2002, Washington, D.C., tape recording, Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, Washington, D.C.

Kaufman, Sue. Interview by author, 15 February 2002, Chicago, Ill., tape recording, The University Professionals of Illinois, Chicago, Ill.

Rehkopf, Donald. Interview by author, 16 February 2002, Chicago, Ill., tape recording, private residence, Chicago, Ill.

Rush, Ramona R. Interview by author via telephone, 29 May, 2001.

Russell, Roxanne. Interview by author, 23 October 2002, Washington, D.C., tape recording, CBS News Washington.

Articles

Abod, Jennifer. "Donna Allen: A life devoted to feminist media," *off our backs* 29 (August 1999): 14.

- Armstrong, Toni. "Donna Allen," *Hot Wire* 9, no. 1 (January 1993): 20-23.
- Armstrong, Toni. "Hello World Media, It's Dr. Allen Calling," *Hot Wire* 10, no. 1 (January 1994): 42-45.
- Bathurst, Patricia. "Facts, actions, ideas, philosophy: It's all there in *Media Report*." *Matrix* (Summer 1977): 26.
- Beasley, Maurine H. "Donna Allen and the Women's Institute: A Feminist Perspective on the First Amendment," *American Journalism* 9, no. 3/4 (1992): 154-166.
- _____. "Donna Allen, 1921-1999," *Journalism History* 25 (1999): 84.
- _____. "Recent Directions for the Study of Women's History in American Journalism," *Journalism Studies* 2, no. 2 (2001): 207-220.
- Borolussi, Vicki. "Educator-editor transcends the classroom," *Women in Education* 1 (Fall 1981): 2-3.
- Cantor, Muriel. "Women and Public Broadcasting," *Journal of Communication* 27 (Winter 1977): 14-25.
- Cloud, Barbara. "The Variety of Journalism History: 26 Years of Scholarship," *Journalism History* 26, no. 4 (Winter 2000-2001): 141-146.
- Dervin, Brenda. "The Potential Contribution of Feminist Scholarship to the Field of Communication," *Journal of Communication* (Autumn 1987): 107-114.
- Henry, Susan J. "Private Lives: An Added Dimension for Understanding Journalism History," *Journalism History* 6, no. 4 (Winter 1979-80): 98-102.
- _____. "Dissonant Notes of a Retiring Feminist: Doris E. Fleischman's Later Years," *Journal of Public Relations Research* 10, no. 1 (1998): 1-33.
- Press, Andrea. "The Ongoing Feminist Revolution." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 6 (2): 196-202.

- Rakow, Lana F. "Rethinking Gender Research in Communication." *Journal of Communication* 36 (4): 11-26.
- _____. "Feminist Studies: The Next Stage," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* (June 1989): 209-214.
- Saxon, Wolfgang. "Donna Allen, 78, Feminist and an Organizer." *The New York Times* B (July 26, 1999): 9.
- Schudson, Michael. "Toward a Troubleshooting Manual for Journalism History," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 74 (Autumn 1987): 463-476.
- Stone, Vernon A. "Attitudes Toward Television Newswomen," *Journal of Broadcasting* 19 (Winter 1973-74): 49-61.
- Swerdlow, Amy. "Ladies Day at the Capitol: Women Strike for Peace Versus HUAC," *Feminist Studies* 8 (Fall 1982): 493-520.
- Women's Words*, "Commission Creates Donna Allen Award." Newsletter for the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Commission on the Status of Women 10 (Spring 2001): 4.

Books and Book Chapters

- Beasley, Maurine H. and Sheila Gibbons. *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism*. Washington, D.C.: American University Press, 1993. 2d ed., State College, Pa.: Strata Publishing, 2002.
- Berelson, Bernard R., Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. "Political Processes: The Role of the Mass Media." In *The Process and Effects of Mass Communication*, ed. Wilbur Schramm and Donald F. Roberts, 57-71. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1971.

- Berg, B.L. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1998.
- Bowker, Geoffrey C., and Susan Leigh Star. *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1999.
- Bradley, Patricia, *Mass Media and the Shaping of American Feminism, 1963-1975*. Jackson, Miss.: The University Press of Mississippi, 2003.
- Carter, Cynthia, Gill Branston and Stuart Allan. *News, Gender and Power*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Cirksena, Kathryn and Lisa Cuklanz, "Male is to Female As _____ is to _____: A Guided Tour of Five Feminist Frameworks for Communication Studies." In *Women Making Meaning: New Feminist Directions in Communication*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Creedon, Pamela J. "The Challenge of Re-visioning Gender Values." In *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values*, ed. Pamela J. Creedon, 13-33. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1989.
- Curran, James and Michael Gurevitch. *Mass Media and Society*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.
- Davies, Ross. *Women and Work*. London: Arrow Books, 1975.
- Denzin, Norman K. and Yvonne S. Lincoln. *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1998.
- Dines, Gail and Jean M. Humez. *Gender, Race and Class in Media*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1995.
- Douglas, Susan. *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media*. New York: Times Books, 1995.
- Emery, Michael and Edwin Emery. *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*. Needham Heights, Mass.: Allyn & Bacon, 1996.

- Freeman, Jo. *The politics of women's liberation*. New York: Longman, 1975.
- Foss, Karen A., and Sonja K. Foss. "Incorporating the Feminist Perspective in Communication Scholarship: A Research Commentary." In *Doing Research on Women's Communication: Perspectives on Theory and Method*, ed. Kathryn Carter and Carole Spitzack, 65-94. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1989.
- Grewal, Inderpal and Caren Kaplan. *Scattered Hegemonies: Transnational Feminist Practices and Questions of Postmodernity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Grossberg, Lawrence, Ellen Wartella and D. Charles Whitney. *MediaMaking: Mass Media in a Popular Culture*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1998.
- Harding, Sandra. *Feminism and methodology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Heilbrun, Carolyn, *Writing a Woman's Life*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1988.
- Horowitz, Daniel. *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998.
- Howell, Sharon. *Reflections of Ourselves: The Mass Media and the Women's Movement, 1963 to the Present*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1990.
- Katz, Elihu and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications*. New York: The Free Press, 1955.
- Kelly, Liz, Sheila Burton, and Linda Regan. "Researching Women's Lives or Studying Women's Oppression? Reflections on What Constitutes Feminist Research." In *Researching Women's Lives from a Feminist Perspective*, ed. Mary Maynard and June Purvis, 27-48. Bristol, Pa.: Taylor & Francis, Inc., 1994.

- Kessler, Lauren. *The Dissident Press, Alternative Journalism in American History*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1984.
- Kessler-Harris, Alice. *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- King, Katie. *Theory in its Feminist Travels: Conversations in U.S. Women's Movements*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
- Lengermann, Patricia Madoo and Jill Niebrugge. "Contemporary Feminist Theory." In *Sociological Theory*, ed. George Ritzer, 436-478. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996.
- Lont, Cynthia M. "Feminist Critique of Mass Communication Research." In *Transforming Visions: Feminist Critiques in Communication Studies*, ed. Sheryl Perlmutter Bowen and Nancy Wyatt, 231-248. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press, 1993.
- McChesney, Robert W. and John Nichols, *Our Media Not Theirs: The Democratic Struggle Against Corporate Media*. New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002.
- McMahan, Eva M. and Kim Lacy Rogers, *Interactive Oral History Interviewing*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1994.
- McQuail, Denis. *Mass Communication Theory: an Introduction*. London: Sage Publications, 1994.
- Rakow, Lana F. "The Field Reconsidered." In *Women Making Meaning: New Feminist Directions in Communication*, 1-17. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Reinharz, Shulamit. *Feminist Methods in Social Research*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Robertson, Nan. *The Girls in the Balcony: Women, Men and the New York Times*. New York: Random House, 1992.
- Rush, Ramona R. & Autumn Grubb-Swetnam. "Feminist Approaches." In *An Integrated Approach to Communication Theory and Research*, ed. Michael B.

- Salwen and Don W. Stacks, 497-518. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 1996.
- Sloan, Wm. David, James G. Stovall and James D. Startt, Eds. *The Media in America: A History*. Scottsdale, Ariz.: Gorsuch Scarisbrick. 1989.
- Smith, Marilyn Crafton. "Women's Movement Media and Cultural Politics." In *Women in Mass Communication: Challenging Gender Values*, ed. Pamela J. Creedon, 278-298. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1989.
- Spradley, James P. *The Ethnographic Interview*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace, 1979.
- Startt, James D. and Wm. David Sloan. *Historical Methods in Mass Communication*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1989.
- Startt, James D. and Wm. David Sloan, Eds. *The Significance of the Media in American History*. Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 1994.
- Steiner, Linda. "The History and Structure of Women's Alternative Media." In *Women Making Meaning: New Feminist Directions in Communication*, ed. Lana F. Rakow, 121-143. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Sturgeon, Noel. *Ecofeminist Natures: Race, Gender, Feminist Theory and Political Action*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Swerdlow, Amy. *Women Strike For Peace: Traditional Motherhood and Radical Politics in the 1960s*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Van Maanen, John. *Qualitative Methodology*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1983.
- Van Zoonen, Liesbet. *Feminist Media Studies*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications. 1994.
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Ed. Carol H. Poston. 2d ed, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1988.

Other Sources

Allen, Martha Leslie. "The Development of Communications Networks Among Women 1963-1983." Ph.D. diss., Howard University, 1988.

_____. "Donna's Life and Work," paper for delivery to the Dr. Donna Allen Symposium, Freedom Forum, Arlington, Va., Aug. 13, 2001.

Allen, Martha Leslie, Julia Beizer, Pamela Bradshaw, Lydia Carey, Valerie DeMatteo, Francesca Harding, Ann Keller, Wan-pin Kuo, and Joanne Lipson. *Media Democracy: Past, Present, and Future*. Washington, D.C.: Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press, 2002.

Byerly, Carolyn M. "Inside Conglomeration: Toward a Feminist Analysis of Media Mergers," paper for delivery at the Dr. Donna Allen Symposium, Arlington, Va., Aug. 3-4, 2001.

Cooper, Anne and Lucinda D. Davenport, *Media Coverage of International Women's Decade: Feminism and Conflict*, Paper presented at the Feminist Scholarship Interest Group, International Communication Association, Chicago, Ill., 22-26 May 1986.

Gallagher, Margaret, "The Mosquito in the Cupboard: Theory and Practice in Feminism and Media," paper for delivery to the Dr. Donna Allen Symposium, Arlington, Va., Aug. 3, 2001.

Kaufman, Susan. "Donna, Donna, Donna," speech to the Dr. Donna Allen Symposium, Freedom Forum, Arlington, Va., Aug. 3, 2001.

Wade, Betsy. "Message to Memorial Celebration for Donna Allen." *Reading at Journalism and Women Symposium*, Sept. 24, 1999, Sundance, Utah.

