University of Hawaii

The Women's Studies Program Working Papers Series

Volume 1, Number 3
September 1978

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Vol. I, No. 3
September 1978

The Women's Studies Program Working Papers Series	is a non-profit, interdisciplinary publication of the University of Hawaii, Manoa, Women's Studies Program, devoted to materials relevant to the lives of women in Hawaii and the Pacific. *The Working Papers* are distributed to Women's Studies Programs and Women's Centers throughout the U.S.A. and the Pacific.
Notes to Contributors	Students, community members, scholars in various fields and artists working in appropriate media are invited to submit materials for consideration. See page 76 for instructions regarding the submission of materials.
Correspondence	pertaining to *The Working Papers* should be addressed to Marilyn L. Harman, Editor, *The Working Papers*, Women's Studies Program, 201-B Crawford Hall, 2550 Campus Road, Honolulu, Hawaii, 96822. A limited number of copies of Volume I, Number 2 are available on request.

The Women's Studies Program at the University of Hawaii, Manoa, is a member of the National Women's Studies Association.

Preface

The articles in this issue of *The Working Papers* derive from a number of different disciplines and indicate some of the directions which woman-related research is taking in Hawaii. The lead article examines the relationship between biological and social factors throughout the life cycle and the age of menopause. Drs. Goodman, Grove and Gilbert selected post-menopausal subjects from among 5,000 women screened for breast cancer in Hawaii. The authors found little relationship between ethnic background, social status and various biological processes, and age at menopause. This article complements research published in *The Working Papers*, Vol. I, No. 2, which found no abnormal physiological findings associated with the menopausal state *per se* when a population ascertained for purposes of multiphasic health screening was studied.

Drs. Chandler and Ruch have conducted an evaluation of one of the new institutions which have developed as a result of the feminist movement: the sexual assault treatment center. The particular center studied operates from a hospital setting rather than from a community base. Their report includes information on the sexual assault treatment process, data on adult victims and their assailants, and an analysis of the organization and operation of the treatment center. In its first year of operation, this center has developed a comprehensive sequence of services for victims of sexual assault.

In the Spring of 1978, faculty in the English Department at the University of Hawaii, Manoa, organized a panel entitled, "What is the Text, Anyway?" Nell Altizer, a poet and teacher in the department, was invited to join three other participants to discuss the critical approach that she uses in teaching literature. We are publishing the text of her presentation, the first formal statement in the Department of English of a feminist critic.

Other literary contributions include selections from the work of two Hawaii-born poets. Jody Masako Manabe has published in several local poetry journals and is known for the power and intensity of her work. We are grateful to *Talk Story: An Anthology of Hawaii's Local Writers* (Honolulu: Petronium Press/Talk Story, Inc., 1978) for permission to reprint "Chant of the Fishwife." "Brideprice" is a previously unpublished poem. Laureen Ching's poetry has been widely published in mainland journals. We are particularly pleased to present "Dry Mountain," an enigmatic and haunting poem.

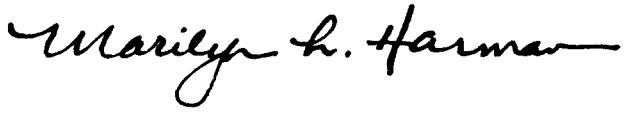
Local archives contain little information about the lives of women in Hawaii. Dr. Alice Chai, in collaboration with her students, has been involved in the process of redeeming some of this history by collecting the life histories of women of various ethnic backgrounds. We are

publishing the life history of an early Korean immigrant woman whose account sheds light on the processes of social and cultural change.

Our final article deals with the important topic of work. Data on women and employment in Hawaii has been largely unavailable since employers have not kept records according to the sex of the worker. The first comprehensive report on women in the state work force was prepared from 1970 census data by Amanda Kautz and published by the State Commission on Manpower and Full Employment. *Employment and Training of Women in Hawaii* is the "beginning text" for the study of women in Hawaii's current work force. It compares the participation and salaries of men and women in the local work force and the participation and salaries of women in the state and national work forces. The report concludes with a strong plea for affirmative action so as to improve women's employment status in the state.

Professors Kelly and Remus have collaborated in analyzing data on graduates of the College of Business Administration, UHM, for evidence of salary differentials between men and women. In spite of the Equal Pay Act of 1963, and in spite of Hawaii's commitment to equal rights, the salaries of male graduates continue to be higher than those of similarly-trained women. In this pilot study, the authors look more closely at possible reasons for this difference.

A number of expressions of appreciation are appropriate here. The authors of the various manuscripts have been quite cooperative in considering changes in their manuscripts -- and kind, also, in resisting my too willful way with their texts. I am also indebted to the invisible readers, some of whom have now donated two years of their expertise to *The Working Papers*. Finally, Robina Tam, Desiree Thompson and Janice Tsuruma have given unstintingly of their technical assistance, while Janice Tsuruma gave most valued editorial help. I am grateful for their work and patience.



Marilyn L. Harman
Editor

Women's Studies at the University of Hawaii:

A Progress Report

Now entering its fourth year of operation as a recognized program, the Women's Studies Program at the University of Hawaii has expanded its course offerings to some 19 upper division courses ranging from Literature by Women and The Female Experience in History to Sex Differences in the Life Cycle, Rape and Sexual Abuse of Women and Children, and Acculturation of Women in Hawaii. Our courses serve some 600 undergraduate and graduate students including 14 Women's Studies majors preparing for professional careers in fields of relevance to women's concerns.

Our Women's Resource Library has been expanded in our new quarters, Crawford Hall, and *The Working Papers Series*, now in its third number, has been widely disseminated throughout the United States and abroad. Our video tape and computer facilities continue to offer the opportunity for advanced work by students and faculty on Women's Studies projects.

Since our last issue, the Women's Studies Program and its faculty have been active in various areas of research, curriculum development and program enrichment at the university and in the community. Three representative articles relating to ongoing research carried out by Women's Studies faculty appear in these pages. The Women's Studies Program has been actively represented on the Coordinating Council of the National Women's Studies Association undertaking responsibilities in the area of recruitment and affiliation. Last year, the Women's Studies Program, in collaboration with the Hawaii Association for Women in Science, held a National Science Foundation sponsored workshop on careers for women in science. This year the Women's Studies Program is hosting a distinguished visiting colleague, Dr. Annette Leleur of Denmark, who is visiting the program on a Danish State Research Foundation award.

Evaluations of the Women's Studies Program by the University of Hawaii academic peer review process, the Western Association of Schools and Colleges and the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs in a nationally conducted study of Women's Studies Programs have all produced results which are extremely satisfying expressions of support for the quality of our efforts. The Hawaii State Legislature gave special recognition in its 1978 session to the work we have undertaken.

We continue, through our academic work and publications and through formal and informal outreach efforts, to express our conviction of the vitality of Women's Studies as an organized, regularly staffed interdisciplinary field and of the demonstrated need for its survival and encouragement as an integrated part of the academic community. Casual commitment to topical offerings of nominal interest to women cannot replace a systematic and comprehensive program of study backed by sound research in existing disciplines which yet has the independence to question long established assumptions and methodologies from a feminist perspective.

All of our faculty have strong bonds to other academic fields and community institutions and groups, through which it is our hope to continue to build a recognized place for Women's Studies at the core of higher education in Hawaii.

Aloha,

Madeleine J. Goodman

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Assistant Professor Women's Studies
and General Science

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Menopause and Life Cycle Variables:

A Biostatistical Investigation

by

Madeleine J. Goodman, Ph.D., John S. Grove, Ph.D., and Fred Gilbert Jr., MD

Introduction

The published research on natural menopause in the medical literature today typically deals with descriptive accounts of menopausal women in relation to diverse clinical symptomology and/or therapeutic measures.[1,2,3,4] Generally, such articles present menopause in the clinical context, where menopausal women display medically or psychologically distressing symptoms which can be treated variously with hormones, sedatives and other drugs. There has been little study of the phenomenon of menopause in the broader context of the general population of middle-aged women, of which only a small minority will require extensive clinical treatment. Menopause research based on exceedingly small sample sizes of pre-selected symptomatic women can therefore in no way be said to reflect the general female population or the general menopausal experience. In previous publications,[5,6] we have demonstrated from a study of Caucasian and Japanese women living in Hawaii that no clinical conditions other than those attributable to the effects of aging were found to be significantly associated with the menopausal state in our sample. While it appears possible to dispel the widespread notion of menopause as a disease state, several important questions remain to be explained with regard to the menopausal experience.

Of general interest remains the ascertainment of the average age at natural menopause and the influence of biological and social factors during the life cycle in contributing to the determination of the age at menopause. More specifically important are the investigation of intra- and inter-cultural differences among populations which might influence the age at menopause and the pattern of associated menopausal symptomology. Current review of the literature reveals that the average age at natural menopause ranges between 48 and 51 in diverse populations worldwide.[7,8,9,10] There have been reports of a trend toward increasing age at menopause in European populations by Frommer[11] which have not been confirmed by other investigators.[10]

A number of factors have been investigated as potential influences on the age of onset of menopause. A positive association between increased parity and increased age at menopause has been reported; and an

association between age at menopause and socio-economic status has also been explored.[12,10] No significant correlation between age at menarche and age at menopause has been found among American women by Trelor[13] or in a sample of menopausal women in England studied by McKinlay and colleagues.[10]

The present study is an investigation into the age at natural menopause for women of diverse ethnic backgrounds who live in the microcosm of Hawaii. A unique opportunity to study several biological and sociological variables in conjunction with menopause was presented in the large body of data gathered through the auspices of a statewide breast cancer screening project. The application of sophisticated multivariate analysis techniques on this large data source facilitated the determination of the statistical association of pertinent life cycle variables with age at menopause while adjusting for the interactions and influences of ethnic background.

Description of the Sample Population

Of the first 5,000 women who underwent breast cancer screening in the State of Hawaii at the Breast Cancer Screening Demonstration Project in the Pacific Health Research Institute in Honolulu in 1974-1975, 509 were selected for the present study sample. In this way it was possible to avoid the bias of studying women who were ascertained solely on the basis of menopausal-related complaints, as menopausal status was irrelevant to eligibility for breast cancer screening at the Breast Cancer Screening Project in Honolulu. The study sample for this investigation included 196 Caucasian, 181 Japanese, 72 Chinese and 60 Hawaiian women. These women were judged to be naturally menopausal. Included in the study sample were only women who reported themselves to be post-menopausal. Excluded were women who had undergone hysterectomies or other procedures which would terminate menses prematurely. Also excluded were women belonging to ethnic groups too infrequent in the larger sample to allow adequate statistical evaluation. And excluded were those women who had undergone menarche before age 9 or subsequent to age 17, and those whose menopause had occured prior to age 35 or subsequent to age 60. The inclusive age ranges were most consistent with documented non-pathological patterns of development.[13,10,14,15] Women born later than 1921 or prior to 1900 were also excluded from the study sample, since they formed, as it were, different generations with respect to the variables under study, and their inclusion only obscured the clarity of the analysis. A requirement of the technique of multivariate analysis employed is that all records compared must be complete for all variables considered. The study sample therefore included only records which were complete for all variables studied.

Of the ethnic groups selected, the Hawaiian group is considered to be the most genetically mixed, including a substantial admixture of other ethnic backgrounds, predominantly Oriental and Caucasian in origin. The Hawaiian group is sometimes referred to as Part-Hawaiian.[16,17]

Objectives

The objectives of this study were threefold:

1. The investigation of the association of age at menopause with biological and sociological variables in the histories of post-menopausal women of four ethnic groups in Hawaii.

2. The determination of the degree of heterogeneity among the groups in the relationships of the study variables to the age at menopause.

3. The establishment of the extent of interaction between membership in each ethnic group and the variables under study.

Factors considered in the regression analysis included variables which related to the duration and pattern of the total fertile period (age at menarche, months spent breast feeding, total number of pregnancies, years use of birth control pills); other gynecological history variables of possible hormonal significance (breasts tender during menses, lump[s] in breast); and socio-economic indicators (income and high school graduation).

Methods

A multiple regression analysis was undertaken to investigate the relationship between age at menopause (the dependent variable) and selected biological and sociological variables of interest (independent variables). For purposes of convenience, Chinese, Japanese, and Hawaiian group classifications were depicted by a series of what are called design variables whose regression coefficients describe deviations from Caucasian values. Analysis of variance of the regression model was performed along with analysis of covariance to adjust for possible sources of bias introduced into the regression model by the linear relationship of ethnic group to the other variables under study. All statistical tests were carried out on the IBM 370/158 computer at the University of Hawaii using the seventh revision of the SPSS statistical program package.

Results

Table 1 displays mean values for Caucasian, Japanese, Chinese and Hawaiian women with respect to socio-economic indicators, anthropometric measures and gynecological and obstetric history. Analysis of variance was used as a simple test of heterogeneity among ethnic groups for the variables presented here.

At this superficial level of comparison certain ethnic differences are observed. Of indicators of socio-economic level, it is interesting that while frequency of high school graduates differs among ethnic groups,

Table 1

Characteristics of Post-Menopausal Women by Ethnic Group

	Total Study Population			Caucasian			Japanese			Chinese			Hawaiian			
	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	F
Year of birth post 1900	505	13.33	5.23	193	12.73	5.07	181	13.99	5.46	72	12.71	4.88	59	14.05	5.21	*
Income in thousands	509	16.35	12.17	196	17.43	11.37	181	15.93	14.22	72	16.58	10.04	60	13.85	9.93	
High School graduate	509	.70	.46	196	.88	.32	181	.53	.50	72	.75	.44	60	.53	.50	* *
Age at menarche	509	13.34	1.50	196	13.31	1.50	181	13.43	1.46	72	13.36	1.44	60	13.12	1.71	
Age at menopause	509	49.88	3.92	196	50.06	4.37	181	49.76	3.32	72	50.29	3.50	60	49.20	3.45	
Age at first birth	432	25.18	4.85	147	26.14	4.60	164	24.96	4.53	67	25.99	4.94	54	22.24	5.23	* *
Total number of pregnancies	509	2.53	1.97	196	1.76	1.71	181	2.77	1.84	72	2.86	1.66	60	3.92	2.41	* *
Ever had abortion/ stillbirth	509	.49	.95	196	.59	1.10	181	.38	.83	72	.44	.69	60	.52	1.00	
Months spent breastfeeding	509	9.74	15.59	196	4.27	8.92	181	14.07	18.81	72	9.68	13.07	60	14.62	19.06	* *
Years on birth control pill	509	.08	.63	196	.07	.51	181	.10	.73	72	.10	.88	60	.02	.13	
Frequency breast tender at menses	509	.46	.50	196	.53	.50	181	.38	.49	72	.53	.50	60	.43	.50	* *
Frequency lump(s) in breast	509	.19	.40	196	.17	.46	181	.16	.37	72	.12	.37	60	.10	.30	* *

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

income levels were not significantly heterogeneous among groups. Further differences can be observed among the groups with respect to age at first birth, total number of offspring and total months spent breastfeeding. Abortion and stillbirth experience as reported here did not vary significantly among ethnic groups. The menopause experience as related through the frequency of hot flashes, seeing a physician for menopausal-related reasons and the use of some medication related to menopausal symptoms did vary among ethnic groups. There was also a variation among the ethnic groups in respect to a history of lump(s) in the breast and recalling a sensation of breast tenderness during menses. In contrast to these differences in the reporting of menopausal and menstrual-related experiences, the reported age at menarche and the age at menopause were strikingly uniform in all the ethnic groups.

With respect to the consistently-reported relationship of age at menarche and year of birth, a clear pattern is observed. Table 2 illustrates the familiar secular trend towards earlier age at menarche in our data, when women of all ethnic groups born between 1900 and 1940 are considered. This decrease in menarcheal age is concordant with observations in other populations of women.

The results of the regression analysis examining the relationship between age at menopause and biological and sociological variables for women of Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese and Part-Hawaiian ethnic groups are presented in Table 3. Variables selected in this regression model were predominantly those of biological interest and those for which some influence upon the age of menopause might be supposed. Of special interest were variables pertaining to patterns of reproduction: age at menarche, months spent breastfeeding and total number of pregnancies. In addition, other variables of possible biological significance which were examined included: years on birth-control pills, breast tenderness during menses and history of lump(s) in breast. Socio-economic level variables consisted of: income and high-school graduation. It is apparent from Table 3 that this regression model does not significantly relate the various biological and socio-economic variables to the age at menopause and the overall fit of the model is poor (R^2 is less than 3%). The multiple regression model did not approach significance and none of the independent variables studied made a major independent contribution to the determination of the age at menopause. As can be seen in Table 3, the Caucasian group is used as a control group to contrast with the three other ethnic groups considered. The intercept, therefore, represents the estimated age at menopause for Caucasians when the other independent variables have values at zero. The regression coefficients of Chinese, Japanese and Part-Hawaiian estimate the deviation from the Caucasian value in age at menopause.

Table 4 presents the magnitude of effects on the age at menopause of three variables of main interest: age at menarche, months spent breastfeeding and total number of pregnancies. The evidence rules out a large effect of any of these variables on age at menopause. It can be

Table 2

Age at Menarche by Year of Birth

Year of Birth	Mean Age at Menarche	Sample Size N
1901	13.7500	8
1902	14.1818	11
1903	14.3333	12
1904	13.8333	18
1905	13.5455	11
1906	13.2857	21
1907	13.2917	24
1908	13.7407	27
1909	13.5000	22
1910	13.2759	29
1911	13.3824	34
1912	12.8788	33
1913	13.5588	34
1914	13.2439	41
1915	13.1714	35
1916	13.4773	44
1917	13.1250	48
1918	13.0152	66
1919	13.2857	70
1920	12.9200	75
1921	12.9524	63
1922	13.0889	90
1923	12.9322	118
1924	13.0294	102
1925	12.8306	124
1926	12.8704	108
1927	13.0089	112
1928	12.7565	115
1929	12.6475	122
1930	12.8384	99
1931	12.5785	121
1932	12.5645	124
1933	12.9286	112
1934	12.4135	104
1935	12.6923	117
1936	12.4250	120
1937	12.7184	103
1938	12.6778	90
1939	12.5294	85
		2,692

Table 3

Multiple Regression of Age at Menopause on
Biological and Sociological Variables

Mean $\overline{Y}$ = 49.88 years
Intercept = 52.21 years
Coefficient of Determination (R^2) = .027
Adjusted for Bias, R^2 = .006
(N = 509)

Variable Name	Regression Coefficient	Standard Error	F
Chinese (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.3700	.5500	0.452
Japanese (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	-.2073	.4410	0.221
Part-Hawaiian (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	-.6054	.6199	0.954
Age at Menarche	-.0603	.1176	.263
Months Spent Breast Feeding	.0195	.0130	2.253
Total Nos. of Pregnancies	-.0968	.0883	1.201
Years on Birth Control Pills	.2566	.2760	.864
Income (in thousands)	.0078	.0153	.260
Finish High School (1 = Yes; 0 = No)	.0492	.4342	.013
Breasts tender during menses	.4280	.3529	1.471
Lump in Breast	-.9444	.4423	4.558

seen from the 95% confidence limits that it is unlikely that an increase in age at menarche of one year would be associated with a decrease in the age at menopause by more than 3 tenths of a year or an increase of more than 2 tenths of a year. For every extra month spent breastfeeding, menopause is not likely to be decreased by more than .007 years or increased by more than .046 years. In other words, these data suggest that if all women spent an additional month breastfeeding, the mean age at menopause would not be likely to be decreased by more than 3 days or increased by more than 17 days. Finally, each additional pregnancy is not likely to be associated with a decrease in the age at menopause of more than .273 years (100 days) or an increase of more than .081 years (30 days). The effect of each of these variables upon the age at menopause can thus be seen to be slight.

Table 4

Approximate 95% Confidence Limits

Effect of	
a) Age at Menarche	$b \pm 2$ s.e. = -.296 to +.175 years per year of age
b) Months Spent Breast Feeding	-.007 to +.046 years per month of breast feeding
c) Total No. of Pregnancies	-.273 to +.080 years per pregnancy

Table 5 displays the results of the analysis of variance of the components of the final regression model. In addition, a test is given for the interaction of ethnic group with the three biological variables of interest discussed above. This tests whether the effects of these three variables on age at menopause differ among ethnic groups. It can be seen from Table 5 that there is no heterogeneity among ethnic groups for regression lines (a). Further, there is no significant effect of

variables listed in (b) on age at menopause after adjusting for ethnic group. Nor do we observe any significant effect on age at menopause from the remaining covariates (c) in the regression model after adjusting for ethnic group and the effect of the three biological variables of interest considered in (b). As is shown in item (d) there is no significant interaction of ethnic group with the variables: age at menarche, months breastfeeding, and total number of pregnancies.

Table 5

Analysis of Variance of Age at Menopause

Source	df	SS	MS	F
a) Ethnic Group	3	48.52	16.17	1.07
b) Age at Menarche, Months Spent Breast Feeding, and Total No. of Pregnancies	3	38.46	12.82	0.84
c) Other Covariates	5	125.42	25.08	1.65
d) Interactions of Ethnic Group with Variables in b	9	195.48	21.72	1.43
e) Residual	489	7396.28	15.13	

In further partitioning the interaction Sum of Squares in Table 6, we find only one marginally-significant interaction at the 5% level between ethnic group and total number of pregnancies. The possibility that this represents a chance finding cannot be ruled out. Even if the interaction itself is of some cultural or possible biological significance, the overall effect of ethnic group interaction with the three biological variables considered remains non-significant.

Table 6

Breakdown of Interactions Sums of Squares

Source	df	SS	MS	F
a) Ethnic Group with Age at Menarche	3	50.41	16.80	1.09
b) Ethnic Group with Months Spent Breast Feeding	3	30.80	10.27	0.66
c) Ethnic Group with Total No. of Pregnancies	3	155.45	51.82	3.35*
d) Total Interactions	9	235.66	26.18	1.69

* $p < .05$

Discussion

One of the most striking findings of our study was the lack of significant heterogeneity among the ethnic groups with respect to age at menopause and the pattern of relationship between age at menopause and the study variables. This is one more item to add to the mounting weight of evidence that ethnic classifications based on skin color and diverse ethnic heritage need not be fruitful divisions for the purposes of biological and physiological study.

The study variables which might seem intuitively most likely to affect age at menopause, such reproductive/hormonal variables as number of pregnancies, months spent breastfeeding and age at menarche, were found to have no significant association with age at menopause. This confirms the findings of Trelor[13] and McKinlay *et al.*[10] with regard to the independence of the ages of menopause and menarche. Our findings do not concur with those of McKinlay *et al.* who found some evidence of a positive association between parity and age at menopause. With respect to the independence of menopause and socio-economic status our findings agree with those of McKinlay and colleagues.

The age at menopause in this study population has shown remarkable stability in relation to year of birth, in accordance with findings of other investigators.[10,18,19,20] No evidence was found to support a secular trend towards the increasing age at menopause in relation to year of birth as hypothesized by Backman[19] and reported by Frommer[11]. A definite trend toward a linear decrease in age at menarche in relation to year of birth was found in this study population in agreement with widely-published findings.

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Brideprice

My father breaks
his long scoop nets
and polishes the edges
so I can bar my windows
from men.

He brings me his sun-
burned lemons and
all the sweet onions
he has hoarded
like fine cigars.

"You must eat them,"
he warns me,
"raw with red rock salt."

Jody Masako Manabe

Chant of the Fishwife

Tonight he casts his heart
into the hollow places.
His line is a hissing eel
over the water.

He is sure she is there.

The farthest wave
is her hair her
laughter sounding
over and over.

Once shell nipples
teased his hook
or long kelp fingers
stole his mirrored lure.

He has not forgotten.

When he snags
the fluted coral
she caresses
even his curses.

Now he brings
the leadless eye
tangled filament
back to shore
empty / bloodless.

His eyes glisten scales.

My feet grow hooks
barbed roots
under the sand.

Jody Masako Manabe

Dry Mountain

I am searching for the women
lost in the valley of No-Name.
Compassless
I ride the spine of a dry mountain
while the sun
stretches each shape
and sinew
of day to night to day.

I carry little
on my journey
save myself
and keep water in a jug
on my belt of many miles.

Midmorning
the women crouch
on loose shadows
like hooded eagles
nesting.

I carry no rope.
No tools.
My only weapon is my tongue.

I weave a ladder down
past rows of dust cobs
and find them headless and hungry
like wild and huge tortoises
my sisters.

Laureen Ching

What Is the Text?

by

Nell G. Altizer

What is the text, anyway? Intimidated by such lofty inquiry -- at once ontological (is this a page I see before me?) and pedagogical (if so, why do I teach it?) -- I take down my dictionary, old friend historian, in search of the concrete ground for this high level of abstraction where I feel uneasy. "Text: ultimately derived from the past participal of the Latin verb, *texere*, to weave." The text is literally, then, a woven thing. "See Indo-European *teks*." I see: "to weave; also to fabricate, especially with an ax..." And, ah! I think, so Kafka says a book should be an ax to break the frozen sea within us. Also "...to make wicker or wattle fabric for mud-covered house walls."[1] Suddenly, I am at home. Images of women weaving, Procne and Penelope, threading and unthreading, the subtle Ariadne, the Parcae, women seated at all the looms and spinning wheels and embroidery frames of history, at quilting bees, in textile mills, making baskets, weaving hala, layering collages of newspapers on cold ghetto walls, cutting words from homespun cloth, darning socks, looping crewel tigers, Mrs. Ramsey, Aunt Jennifer, writing novels, writing poems, Bradstreet, Woolf, and Rich.

By no means am I implying that the feminist critic proceeds in this way. Such crazy-quilt designing, born of a love for the color and texture of words and of a penchant for association rather than disassociation, is mine and mine alone. I do suggest, however, that feminist criticism, an outgrowth of the feminist movement -- which is not a theory, critical or otherwise, but a mode of consciousness, a way of life -- begins in estrangement, although its direction, I believe, is toward reconciliation. Cheri Register, in her succinct *Bibliographical Introduction to Feminist Criticism*, identifies three primary concerns of the feminist critic: an examination of the images of women in inherited literature, most of it by male authors; a systematic study of the critical reception of women authors; and the setting of prescriptive standards for literature that are compatible with a feminist viewpoint.[2] I would add yet a fourth, which is my preoccupation, and that is the establishment, within the literary canon, of women's writings that have been ignored, neglected, or forgotten; the equitable representation of women in contemporary syllabi and anthologies; and the creation of a climate of teaching and criticism that will encourage -- indeed compel -- women to write in the future.

Underlying these four endeavors is, indeed, a negative assumption: something is not quite right in the state of literature. Simply put, it is that writings produced by only a part of the human imagination -- the male part -- purport to be universal, to be representations of all reality. The feminist critic concerned with images of women in literature might begin by testing the text -- whether it is a poem by Catullus, an epic by Milton, or a novel by Faulkner -- against the truth of her experience as a female human being to see whether that image, that character, approaches the universal or is only a cliché, a stereotype, a fantasy. Should she feel uneasy with Lesbia, unconvinced by Eve, and unamused by Eula, she might explore the historical conditions, the social and cultural patterns and the sexual psychology which perhaps contributed to these depictions of women. I have the profoundest respect for this critic, for she must not only read a large body of literature, but also be acquainted with political and cultural history, with civil and canon law, with the visual arts, technology, and science -- in short, with as much knowledge of the past as it is possible to absorb, for such criticism is primarily contextual, in that any text, theological, philosophical, legal, scientific, is relevant to its undertaking.

What is the text, then, for the feminist critic who studies the response to the work of women writers? Shifty, elusive, protean, or, as Porgy says of women: a sometime thing. Sometimes I recognize it, sometimes I don't. Carol Ohmann's article, "Emily Brontë in the Hands of Male Critics," amply documents the shift in attitude toward *Wuthering Heights* -- even on the part of those reviewers who condemned it for its monstrousness -- from one of seriousness when it appeared to one of condescension after Charlotte Brontë revealed that its author was her sister.[3] Sexual bias, Ohmann argues, patronizing or avuncular, radically affects what even a contemporary critic sees and does not see in the text, to the point where its very integrity is undermined, not to mention the intelligence of its author. Even the cheeky interrogatives of these articles and chapters -- "What Is the Matter with Emily Jane?" and in a book I am now reading on the poetry of Plath, "Who is Sylvia?" -- traduce the text by sexual analogy. Such "phallic criticism," so called by Mary Ellman in her brilliant book, *Thinking About Women*, treats books by women "as though they themselves were women. And criticism embarks," she continues, "at its happiest, upon an intellectual measuring of busts and hips."[4] Painful as it must be to reproduce the slurs -- the "my eccentric poetess" remarks[5], the surmise by Charlotte Brontë's editor that she would have traded all her talent for a pretty face -- I rather envy the domain of this feminist critic. For one thing, it is limited -- women have not been published for very many years -- for another, the study of critical reception invites us to re-examine our judgments about what is a masterpiece and what is not, or at least to examine our consciences as to how and why we arrive at such judgments ourselves. What function does the limiting adjective "woman" serve when placed before the nouns "writer," "poet," "playwright," "novelist"? Why do we use it at all and never "man" in a similar fashion, as if male were the norm and female the exception? Although she has disclaimed any allegiance to the feminist movement, Elizabeth Bishop was

nevertheless quoted in *Newsweek* as saying that she is deeply offended by those reviews which refer to her, as they invariably do, as a *woman* poet.

Then what, to paraphrase that overwhelming question, do women want in a text? Since it is easier to prescribe negatively than positively, I will begin by saying that we do not want literature that creates those stereotypes of women so well cataloged by Ellman: formlessness, passivity, instability, confinement, piety, materiality, spirituality, irrationality, compliance -- the whore, the mother, the shrew, the witch. That we do not want statements by Norman Mailer that all a writer needs is the remnants of his balls; nor that D.H. Lawrence writes with his penis. Nor textbooks such as Nims' *Western Wind*, in which the chapter on the creative process is titled "Adam's Curse," and does not mention one female poet. We say *no* to all language which implies that to write is to be male and not female.

And, yes, I will say *no* to Roland Barthes' *The Pleasure of the Text*, even though I might have loved it for the irreverent verve of such statements as "the text is (should be) that uninhibited person who shows his [I will add her] behind to the Political Father,"[6] but cannot because it identifies the appetite for prattle as "maternal" and defines, by the *via negativa*, the bliss of the text as not the bliss of an ejaculation. How, not knowing what the latter is, can I know what the former is not? As a writer and a mother I can make no sense, except the most chilling sort, of his statement: "the writer is someone who plays with his mother's body ...in order to glorify it, to embellish it, or in order to dismember it, to take it to the limit of what can be known about the body."[7] I do not even want such academically fashionable critical texts as Harold Bloom's *The Anxiety of Influence*, with its lurid family-romance theory of poetry writing: Son Bashes Dad So He Can Bed Mom, the Muse. So in Bloom's book John Ashbery, the *ephebe*, battles Wallace Stevens, the kenotically-emptying Godfather. But where can we learn of Emily Dickinson's awe and love for Elizabeth Browning, of Margaret Fuller's for George Sand? For these affectionate family romances we must go to Ellen Moers' *Literary Women*, a superb example of the contributions that feminist criticism makes to the history of literature.

What women want from the critics is the admission that women write as well as men. Then perhaps we can get down to the text. But *what* text? In her book, *Silences*, Tillie Olson lists the texts commonly taught in colleges and universities and the number of male and female authors included.[8] Among her discoveries: *The Single Voice: An Anthology of Contemporary Fiction*, 32 men, 2 women. *Short Story Masterpieces*, 36 men, 8 women. *Innovative Fiction, Stories for the Seventies*, 16 men, no women. *The Realm of Fiction,* 45 men, 6 women. *Chief Modern Poets of Britain and America*, 57 men, 6 women. *Contemporary American Poets*, 92 men, 12 women. *The Norton Anthology of Contemporary Poets*, 96 men, 13 women. A book called *The Major Young Poets*, 8 men, no women. *The Voice That is Great Within Us*, 114 men, 23 women. Where, even for the literature of our own time, is the text that fairly represents women? Why, when I tried to order it for my world literature class, did I discover that Mme. de La-

fayette's *The Princess of Cleves* is out of paperback print? Why, when I ordered it for my American literature course this summer, was I notified that Katherine Anne Porter's *Flowering Judas and Other Stories* is out of print? Why are Edna Millay and Amy Lowell and Gertrude Stein left out of the *New Oxford Book of American Poetry?* Because we have not protested, because we do not write, women and men, to these publishers saying we refuse to teach books which do not include a significant amount of women writers. And because we do not teach Mme. de Lafayette and Porter and Bradstreet, their books are out of print.

The restoration of the text to the syllabus and, therefore, to a critical reading by our students, the restoration of the text to simple existence -- such is my task as a feminist and a teacher. When I teach Sophocles, I teach Sappho (even if I have to xerox the poems); when I teach the early English lyric, I slip in a poem or two by Louise Labé; when I teach Shakespeare, I distribute dittoed copies of Virginia Woolf's meditation of what might have happened to Shakespeare's sister should she, too, have had the itch to write; when I teach Marvel, I teach his American contemporary, Anne Bradstreet; when I teach Eighteenth Century poetry, I teach Phyllis Wheatley, for the sorrow of it; when I teach Ibsen's *When We Dead Awaken*, I require that the students read Adrienne Rich's poem and essay of that title. And my students and I often scrutinize the assumptions we bring to a text by considering, as Virginia Woolf invites us to do, that an anonymous poem was written by a woman.

For I will have my students know that women write, have always written, that the desire to weave, to fabricate is human. There may be in my class a young woman writer who moves her hand in solitude like a shuttle across the page and yet who reads texts and, like the young Adrienne Rich, finds "...a terror and a dream, she finds a beautiful pale face, she finds La Belle Dame Sans Merci, she finds Juliet or Tess or Salomé, but precisely what she does not find is that absorbed, drudging, puzzled, sometimes inspired creature, herself, who sits at a desk trying to put words together."[9] I do not want that student to weave those words by day only to unweave them by night in order to survive among the suitors who populate The House of Fiction. Rather, schooled in the works of women and of men, I would have her weave such a text that "the tigers in the panel that she made/Will go on prancing, proud and unafraid."

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7. Barthes, p. 37.

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A Treatment Center For Sexually Assaulted Women and Children: Accomplishments in the Initial Year*

by

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Introduction

The treatment of sexual assault victims by hospitals and other rape-related organizations in the past has been inadequate and often a source of additional trauma for the victim. Many investigators such as Bohmer and Blumberg (1975) have pointed out that the victim is assaulted by the rapist and subsequently victimized by the medical and criminal justice organizations in the community.

As attention has been drawn to the needs of sexual assault victims, treatment centers have been established across the nation to provide crisis and long-range services to women who are victims of rape and other forms of sexual assault. These centers vary considerably in the size, services, staffing, funding, and ideology (Brodyaga *et al.*, 1975), but they are typically young organizations with non-routine tasks and extensive inter-organizational relationships.

This article is based on an evaluation study (Ruch and Chandler, 1978) of a particular sexual assault treatment center (which will be called the SATC) during its first year of operation in a western state.** Included here is a brief history of the Center, a discussion of its goals, organization and services, data on the sexual assaults reported during the first year, a discussion of the achievements of the SATC during its first year of operation, and a summary of recommendations made to the staff of the SATC.

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*Research for this paper was supported by a grant from the treatment center. We would particularly like to acknowledge the advice and assistance throughout this research of Richard A. Harter and Norine P. Hegy, and the editorial assistance of Marilyn Harman.

**Further information about the SATC and a detailed description of the methodology and results of the evaluation research may be obtained by writing the authors.

The study documents that a program can be designed which is helpful to the victims of sexual assault, and which facilitates favorable changes in rape-related organizations in the community.

Procedures

The investigators obtained a contract to evaluate the services provided by the SATC during its initial year, 1976-77. Over 300 women and children were treated by the SATC in this first year of operation.[1] Data for the evaluation report were gathered from several sources, including intake and follow-up interviews, medical-legal records, questionnaires and field observations. Throughout the research process, the investigators made every effort to preserve the confidentiality of the victims. The research staff had limited access to Center records, and all files, stored in locked drawers, were identified by number rather than by name.

Intake interview records contained the victim's description of the sexual assault, the crisis or social worker's assessment of the impact of the sexual assault on the woman, and the worker's determination of her treatment needs. Medical-legal records completed by the examining physician were coded and analyzed to assess the frequency and efficacy of the medical and legal services to the victim. The investigators also analyzed questionnaires in which victims, the SATC staff, the non-SATC hospital staff and personnel in external agencies with rape-related tasks (the Police Department, the Prosecutor's Office) evaluated the quality of the SATC program.

History of the Center

Victims of rape and other forms of sexual assault need medical, social, and legal support services provided in a comprehensive, sensitive, and confidential manner. Both twenty-four hour emergency treatment and follow-up services are necessary to assist the victim with the consequences of sexual victimization. Prior to the opening of the SATC, sexual assault victims were unable to obtain comprehensive medical and legal evidence collection services in one location. The Police Department conducted testing for legal evidence but did not treat the victim for medical injuries, pregnancy prevention, or other medical problems. Some local hospitals would treat sexual assault victims for their medical injuries but did not conduct tests for legal evidence. Thus, a woman had to go to a hospital or private physician for the treatment of physical trauma and to the Police Department for legal evidence collection. Under these conditions, it was possible that appropriate medical treatment would destroy available evidence, while evidence collection might delay necessary medical

treatment. A feasibility study (Chun, 1975) contracted by a hospital in the target community found that nearly half the private physicians refused to testify in sexual assault cases and some even refused medical treatment to sexual assault victims because they feared time-consuming court appearances and hostile cross-examination by defense attorneys. Thus, the trauma of rape and sexual assault was increased for the victim because of the discontinuity and fragmentation of the treatment services needed soon after the attack.

No one of the community agencies which dealt with the victim was in a position to provide emotional support to lessen both the immediate and long-range effects of sexual assault for the victim. In fact, agencies with rape-related tasks such as the Police Department and the Prosecutor's Office could exacerbate the victim's distress in the course of fulfilling their responsibilities. The victim's involvement with these rape-related agencies might extend from six months to a year, and yet throughout this experience, she had no victim-oriented counseling to provide her with emotional support, information about the medical and legal system, or social support services.

In 1975 the State Lesiglature voted to establish the SATC for sexually abused women and children.[2] The SATC is the sole treatment center for victims of sexual assault in the state and is located in its largest urban area.[3]

The SATC has four program objectives:

(1) to provide high quality, continuous medical, social and legal support services to the victims of sexual assault;

(2) to offer comprehensive medical, social and legal support services to sexual assault victims;

(3) to increase the community's awareness of the sexual assault problem in the state and the community services available to victims and their families;

(4) to increase the knowledge base regarding sexual assault in the state.

Organization of the Center

The SATC is administered by a Director who reports to the SATC Management Committee, which is composed of members from community organizations and from the medical staff of the two hospitals where the victims are treated, and to the Administrator of the hospital where the office of the SATC is housed (See Figure 1).

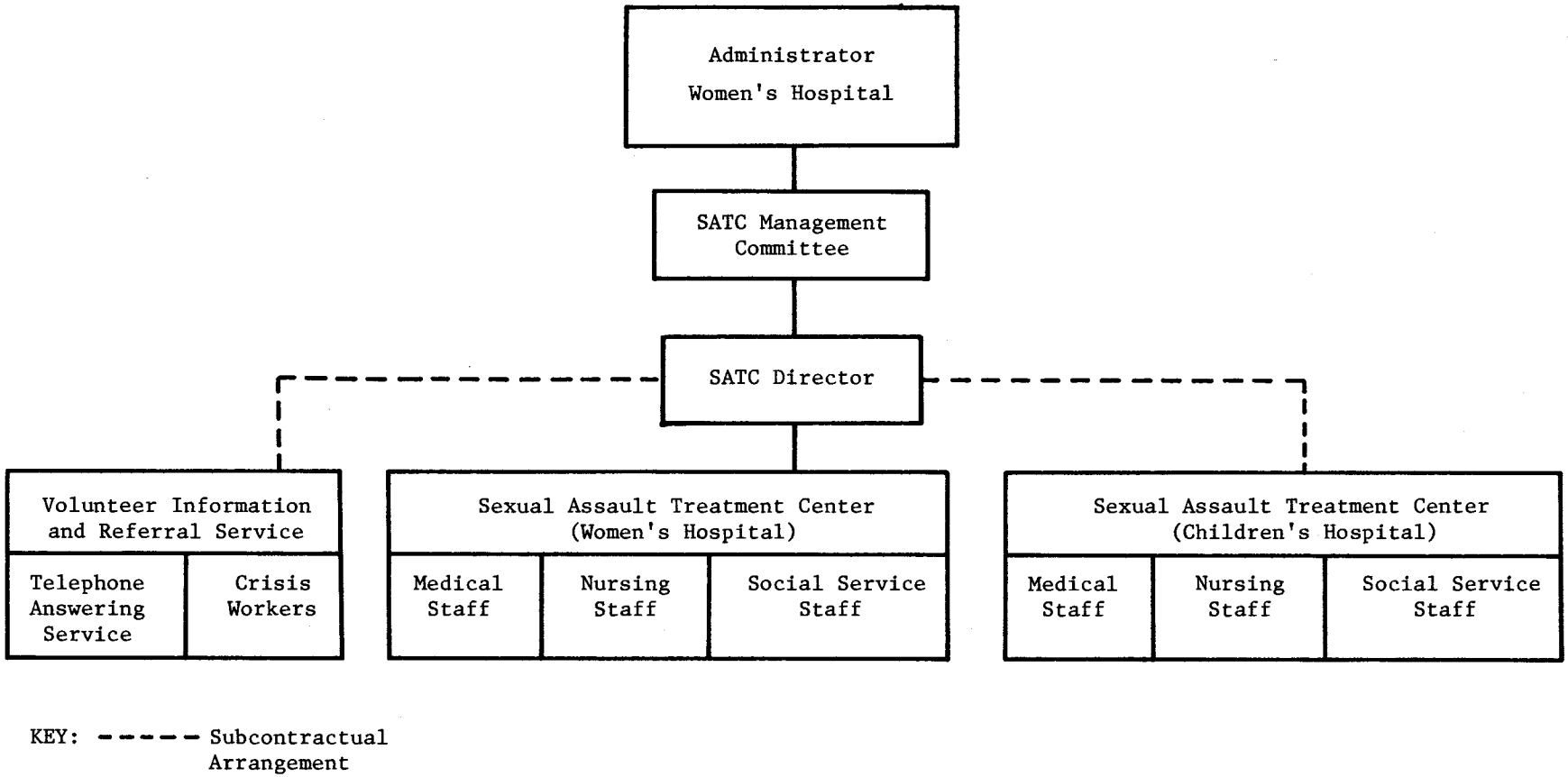


Figure 1

Schematic Representation of the
Organizational Units of the Sexual Assault Treatment Center

The Center provides services to adult female victims at a gynecological hospital (which will be referred to as Women's Hospital). The SATC subcontracts the treatment services for children of both sexes to the Crisis Clinic at a pediatric hospital (which will be referred to as Children's Hospital). The SATC staff at both hospitals consists of medical, nursing, and social service staff who have had specialized training in the treatment of sexual assault cases. Resident physicians, supervised by the SATC medical consultant, are on call twenty-four hours a day to perform the medical examinations and legal evidence collection tests.

The social and legal support services are provided by an SATC staff social worker when the victim is admitted to the hospital during the regular office hours, and by a crisis worker if the case is admitted at night or during weekends and holidays. Victims who return to the SATC for follow-up medical services see a physician in the hospital outpatient clinic and the SATC social worker during regular office hours. Additional follow-up social and legal support services are provided victims by the staff social worker in the SATC office.

The Center presently contracts with Volunteer Information and Referral Service (VIRS) to provide 1) the twenty-four hour rape hotline answering service and 2) a team of crisis workers to assist the victim when the SATC office is closed. VIRS is responsible for hiring, training, scheduling, coordinating and supervising both the telephone workers and the crisis workers.

The SATC treatment staff is composed of both a small, permanent core of personnel (the SATC director, staff social workers, and clerical staff) and also of crisis teams formed from a larger pool of medical, nursing, and crisis intervention staff. The actual composition of the victim-focused treatment units depends on the age of the victim, the time of admittance, whether legal evidence can be collected, and other variables.

The Center and its Relationship

With Other Organizations in the Task Environment

Providing appropriate treatment for sexually-abused women and children is a complex, non-routine organizational task. The staff of a sexual assault treatment center must not only develop new services for victims, but also work with long-established community agencies to integrate services or procedures which have previously been offered independently of each other.

The SATC is involved in a series of complex interrelationships with other organizations in the task environment (See Figure 2). As has been mentioned, the Center subcontracts portions of the sexual assault treat-

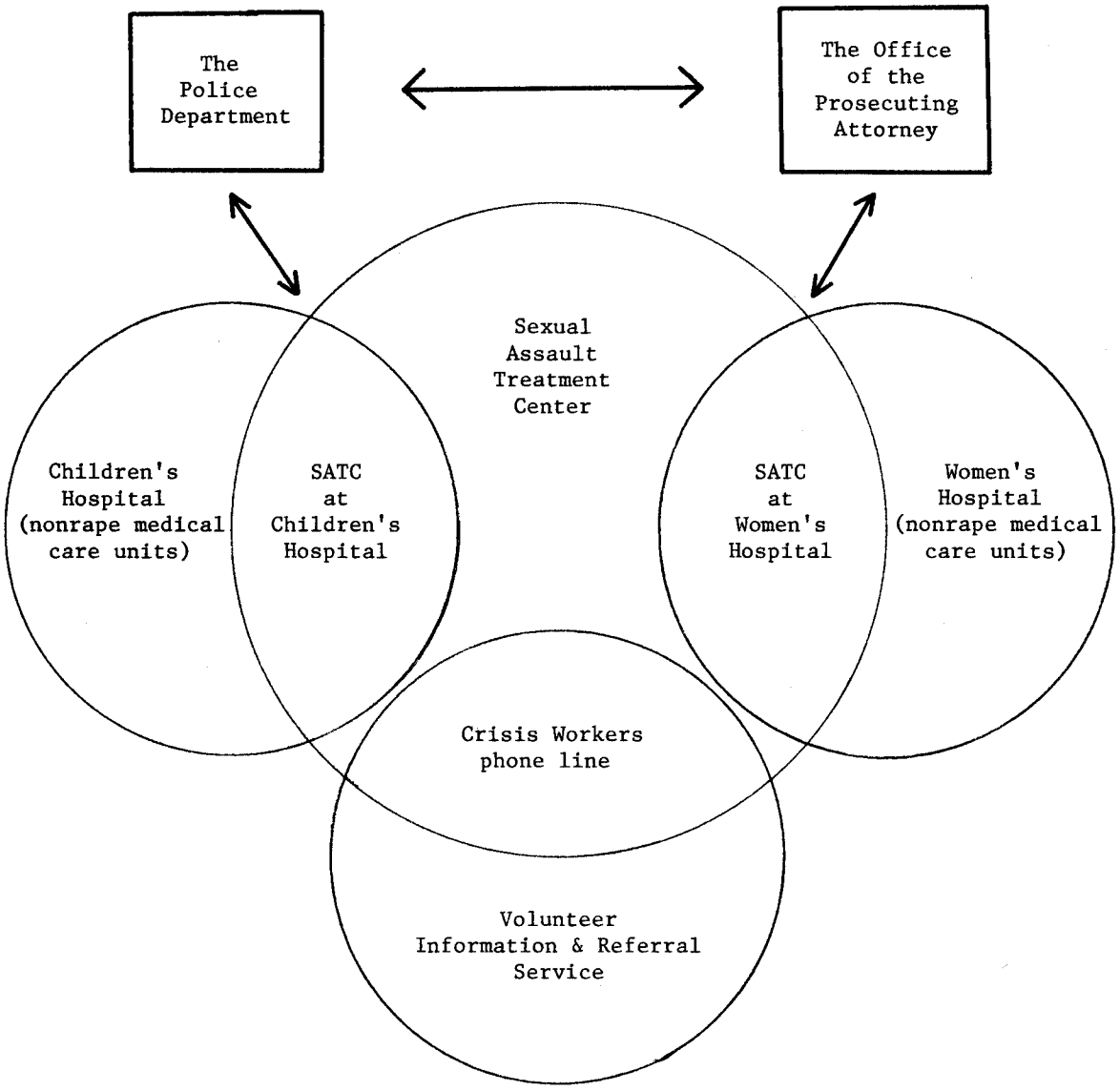
ment process to two organizations: The Crisis Clinic at Children's Hospital and the Volunteer Information and Referral Service (VIRS). Each of these organizations has primary tasks and an administration of its own; however, in order to provide high-quality, comprehensive and continuous service to the victims of sexual assault, these three organizations must coordinate their work, developing clear lines of authority and responsibility.

The Police Department and the Prosecuting Attorney's Office are organizations outside the sexual assault treatment process with rape-related responsibilities which have important consequences for both the victims of sexual assault and the SATC staff. The primary responsibility of these agencies is not to the victim, but to the law; however, there is a complex series of interrelationships between these agencies and the SATC. If the Police distress the victim while questioning her, then this experience may add to the traumatic effects of the assault and have treatment implications for the staff at the Center. On the other hand, if the SATC fails to collect usable evidence (e.g., if the physician forgets to perform a test or conducts it improperly), then the progress of the rape case through the criminal justice system may be adversely affected. The social worker at the SATC also performs many services which assist the Police and the Prosecutors, including arranging for the evidence to be picked up and preparing the victim for the trial. Thus, although the main responsibility of the staff of the SATC is to support and advocate for the victim, the staff also works closely with other community agencies such as the Police and the Prosecuting Attorney's office.

Services Provided by the Center

All known sexual assault victims (except adult males) are referred to the Center by the Police Department and other community agencies such as People Against Rape, Child Protective Services Center, and mental health agencies. The SATC provides a twenty-four hour rape crisis telephone line to give sexual assault victims information and refer them to the Center. Victims may also come directly to the Center for treatment. If the victim calls the Police Department first, she is questioned by a patrol officer and detective and then brought to the SATC.

A sexual assault victim requesting services from the SATC shortly after the assault (usually within forty-eight hours) may receive medical, legal and crisis intervention services. Eighty-one percent (81%) of the 194 women treated at the SATC during its first year received these emergency medical-legal services. Victims are encouraged by the Center to report the assault to the Police or to file a third-party report (the victim gives information about the assault and the assailant to the Police without disclosing her name); however, treatment is provided to all adult victims regardless of whether they report the assault to the legal authorities.[4]



KEY: Circles -- Organizations in the Rape Crisis Treatment System

Boxes -- Other Organizations in the Environment with Rape-related Tasks

Figure 2

The Sexual Assault Treatment Center as a System
and Other Rape-Related Organizations
in the Task Environment

Women entering the SATC several days after the assault may obtain medical and counseling services, but since potential legal evidence such as seminal fluid or sperm has disintegrated, legal evidence collection is not possible. In situations where medical care has been obtained elsewhere or the assault has occurred some time ago, the victims receive counseling and other social and legal support services from the SATC social worker. Follow-up medical, social and legal support services are also available to all victims at the SATC.

Medical Services

The medical services offered at crisis intake include an examination for physical trauma and gynecological damage, and testing for pregnancy and venereal disease. Blood tests and urine tests are conducted and sent to the hospital laboratory. Results of the pregnancy test are made available to the woman before the conclusion of the examination. Prophylactic pregnancy treatment (DES hormones) is offered to women who could become pregnant as a result of the sexual assault. Antibiotic medication is administered to the women for protection against venereal disease. The medical services typically needed by the victim are provided free of charge; however, should a woman need additional medical or surgical treatment as a result of the assault, this treatment would also be provided at the hospital at regular medical rates.

Legal Evidence Collecting Services

Since sexual assault is a violent crime, the Center assists women in obtaining legal evidence regarding their assault for later use in the criminal prosecution of the assailant. Even a woman who is undecided about whether to prosecute the assailant is advised to have legal evidence collected, since after forty-eight hours all the legal evidence may have disintegrated. Listed below are the legal tests recommended by the Prosecuting Attorney's Office and available at the SATC. These tests provide evidence of sexual penetration or other contact with the assailant which will support the charge of rape or sexual abuse in court.

1) photographs (to provide evidence of injury)

2) nail scrapings (to provide evidence of contact with the assailant)

3) pubic hair combings (to provide evidence of sexual contact)

4) Woods lamp scan (to provide evidence of seminal fluid on the woman's body)

5) urine test (to provide evidence of sperm)

6) wet mount (to provide evidence of sperm)

7) Pap smear (to provide evidence of sperm)

8) acid phosphatase (to provide evidence of seminal fluid)

Ninety-nine percent (99%) of the 156 women who entered the emergency room had legal evidence collected.

Crisis Social Services

Before the Center opened, no facility provided emotional support and counseling specifically for women traumatized by sexual assault. Now, trained counselors are available to sexual assault victims on a twenty-four hour basis. The package of social services provided to each woman depends upon her particular needs, but may include 1) transportation to the SATC, 2) information and support during the medical-legal examination, 3) counseling for the victim and her family, 4) follow-up medical appointments, 5) information about the criminal justice system, 6) information about the Criminal Injuries Compensation Program, 7) assistance with housing arrangements, 8) referrals to other community agencies, and 9) transportation home and assistance in providing adequate security.

Table 1 shows the distribution of social services provided victims at the SATC during its first year.

Follow-Up Medical, Social, and Legal Support Services

The SATC provides medical, legal and social follow-up services. The medical services offered include repeat pregnancy testing, repeat venereal disease testing, and pregnancy termination.

The legal and social services available include 1) information and counseling for the victim and family, 2) information and assistance with the legal process, 3) information about medical implications of the assault and assistance with obtaining the necessary medical appointments, 4) referrals to appropriate community agencies, and other services requested by victims. Table 2 shows the services provided victims at the follow-up session, usually about two weeks after the assault. Most victims came to the SATC for follow-up counseling, but medical and legal support services and referrals to other social service agencies were also frequently provided.

Table 1

Social and Legal Support Services to Victims at Intake

	Number of Women Receiving the Services	Percentage of Cases
Social support and information during the medical examination	107	88
Counseling to the victim	57	47
Information about the criminal justice system	46	38
Information about Criminal Injuries Compensation	34	28
Transportation	32	26
Counseling to the victim's family	14	12
Notifying family of the assault	14	12
Information about third-party reporting	8	7
Housing arrangements for the victim	2	2
Other services for the victim	10	8
	(121)*	(268)**

*Based on interviews with victims admitted from February through September.
**Percentages add to more than 100 since a victim may receive more than one service.

Table 2

Social and Legal Support Services to Victims at First Follow-up

	Number of Women Receiving the Service	Percentage of Cases
Counseling to victim and/or the family	48	80
Social support and information during the medical examination	25	42
Legal advocacy	12	20
Referral to other social service agencies	8	13
Information or assistance with Criminal Injuries Compensation	7	12
Pregnancy or venereal disease counseling	5	8
Third-party reporting	3	5
Police intervention	3	5
Other services for the victim	7	12
	(60)*	(197)**

*Based on interviews with returning victims from March through September.
**Percentages add to more than 100 since a victim may receive more than one service.

Data on the Victims and the Sexual Assault

Information was gathered during the evaluation research on the victims who were treated at the Center during its first year and on the circumstances in which the sexual assaults occurred.

The Victims

The adult women admitted to the hospital range in age from teenagers to women in their seventies, but over half of the victims (57 percent) are in their twenties (See Table 3). While more than half (57 percent) of the women are unmarried, a number of married (19 percent) and divorced (14 percent) women are also sexual assault victims (See Table 4). As shown in Table 5, the largest ethnic group utilizing the SATC is Caucasian (66 percent), but 34 percent of the victims are from a variety of other ethnic backgrounds, especially Asian-American and Pacific Islanders. Eighty-five percent (85%) of the women treated at the SATC live in the city and county in which the Center is located; the remainder are visitors from elsewhere in the State, other parts of the United States, or foreign countries. It is important to note that these statistics reflect only those women utilizing the SATC during its first year of operation. There is no way to determine the actual frequency of sexual assault in the community because not all women report assaults to a public agency. Nevertheless, the evaluation data indicate that women of all ages and ethnic backgrounds are victims of sexual assault.

Table 3

Age of Victims

	Number of Women	% of Cases
Teens	41	21
Twenties	110	57
Thirties	26	14
Forties	9	5
Fifties	5	3
Sixties	1	0
Seventies and older	1	0
	(193)	(100)

Table 4

Marital Status of Victims

	Number of Women	% of Cases
Single	106	57
Married	35	19
Widowed	4	2
Divorced	26	14
Separated	14	8
	(185)	(100)

Table 5

Ethnicity of Victims

	Number of Women	% of Cases
Caucasian	128	66
Japanese	17	9
Pacific Islanders	17	9
Filipina and mixed Filipina	6	3
Korean	6	3
Black	5	3
Chinese	1	1
Other ethnic groups	13	6
	(193)	(100)

The Characteristics of the Assault and the Assailant

The assailant, as described by the victims, is typically a stranger or an acquaintance (See Table 6). The victim most frequently encounters the assailant in her own home. In 71 percent of the attacks in the home, the assailant gained entry into the victim's home illegally (See Tables 7 and 8). In 23 percent of the total cases, more than one man is present during the assault. When more than one man is present, the woman has a 50 percent probability of being subjected to a group rape (See Tables 9 and 10).

Table 6

Relationship to the Assailant

	Number of Women	% of Cases
Stranger	99	53
Acquaintance	61	32
Friend	8	4
Business or school associate	4	2
Intimate	4	2
Date	3	2
Other persons	10	5
	(189)	(100)

Table 7

Place of Encounter with Assailant

	Number of Women	% of Cases
Victim's home	35	30
On the street	26	22
Bar or discotheque	17	15
Other person's home	8	7
Assailant's home	5	4
Business or school	3	3
Hitch-hiking	1	1
Other public places	12	10
Other private places	9	8
	(116)	(100)

Table 8

Assailant's Entry into Victim's Home

	Number of Women	% of Cases
Legal	9	29
Illegal	22	71
	(31)*	(100)

*N = 35 where encounter is in victim's home, but data on the means of entry are missing in 4 cases.

Table 9

Number of Assailants Present During the Assault

	Number of Women	% of Cases
One	147	77
Two	28	15
Three	4	2
Four	3	2
Five	5	3
Six	2	1
Nine	1	0
	(190)	(100)

Table 10

Number of Men Sexually Assaulting the Woman

	Number of Women	% of Cases
One	158	91
Two	11	6
Three	2	1
Five	1	1
Six	2	1
	(174)	(100)

Over three quarters (77 percent) of the women admitted to the SATC report their assault to the Police (See Table 11). Seven percent file a third-party report (the victim gives information anonymously to the Police about the sexual assault), and 10 percent do not report their assault to the Police.

Table 11

Reporting Status of SATC Cases

	Number of Women	% of Cases
Reporting	150	77
Third-party reporting	14	7
Not reporting	20	10
Undecided	7	4
Other	3	2
	(194)	(100)

Accomplishments of the Center During Its First Year

The results of the evaluation research indicate that the SATC program has largely succeeded in fulfilling its treatment goals of providing comprehensive, continuous, and high quality services to the victims of sexual assault. The findings from the evaluation report (Ruch and Chandler, 1978) presented in this paper were selected to illustrate both the considerable accomplishments which the Center made during its first year of operation in terms of providing services to sexually-abused women and also some of the obstacles which were encountered by this organization.

The Number of Victims Receiving Services from the Center

The SATC provided services to 194 adult women and 109 children of both sexes during 1976-77. Approximately half (48 percent) of the adult victims returned to the Center for follow-up medical care and counseling services. Thus, the admittance data indicate that the Center provided treatment services to a large number of both women and children who were sexually victimized during its first year of operation.

The Importance of Twenty-four Hour Services for Victims

The admission data indicate that sexual assault generally occurs during hours when regular community agencies are closed. As shown in Table 12, only 23 percent of the victims are admitted to the hospital for medical-legal examinations during regular SATC office hours, but 77 percent are admitted during evenings, weekends, and holidays. This distribution reflects the time periods when sexual assaults occur, as women typically come to the Center within hours of the assault. These data also demonstrate clearly the importance of having emergency services available to rape victims twenty-four hours a day.

Table 12

Distribution of Emergency Medical-Legal Cases by Time of Day

Time of Admission to Emergency Room	Number of Women Admitted	% of Cases
During SATC office hours (Monday-Friday, 8:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m.)	21	23
Outside regular office hours		
Saturday, Sunday or holidays, 8:00 a.m. - 4:30 p.m.	19	21
Daily, 4:30 p.m. - midnight	14	16
Daily, midnight - 8:00 a.m.	36	40
	(90)	(100)

Table 13

Victim's Evaluation of the Services

		Not Very	Somewhat	Very	Total	
		%	%	%	%	Number of Cases
Patrol Officer	Sympathetic	4	38	58	100	24
	Helpful	12	17	71	100	27
	Competent	9	13	78	100	23
	Efficient	4	13	83	100	24
Detective	Sympathetic	3	7	90	100	30
	Helpful	--	10	90	100	30
	Competent	4	8	88	100	26
	Efficient	7	7	86	100	29
Crisis Worker	Sympathetic	3	6	91	100	35
	Helpful	3	9	88	100	34
	Competent	3	9	88	100	33
	Efficient	3	6	91	100	34
Doctor	Sympathetic	--	12	88	100	42
	Helpful	--	2	98	100	41
	Competent	--	8	92	100	39
	Efficient	7	10	83	100	41
Nurse	Sympathetic	--	37	63	100	30
	Helpful	--	24	76	100	29
	Competent	--	14	86	100	28
	Efficient	--	21	79	100	29
Social Worker	Sympathetic	--	--	100	100	40
	Helpful	--	--	100	100	39
	Competent	--	3	97	100	38
	Efficient	--	--	100	100	39
Prosecuting Attorney	Sympathetic	33	11	56	100	9
	Helpful	33	22	45	100	9
	Competent	22	33	45	100	9
	Efficient	33	11	56	100	9

Comprehensiveness of the Services for Victims of Sexual Assault

The evaluators concluded that the Center was successful in developing a comprehensive program of treatment services suited to the diverse needs of sexual assault victims. The program has three major components (medical, legal and social) each of which consists of a comprehensive package of services for the victim. For instance, the legal evidence collection services involve a battery of tests recommended by the Prosecuting Attorney's Office as necessary for the prosecution of a rape or sexual abuse charge. The Center has a standardized package of medical services appropriate for the treatment of sexual assault victims; other medical services are also available at the hospital if needed by a particular victim. The social services also form a package developed for the victim and include both counseling for rape trauma and legal advocacy and support services.

Continuity of the Treatment Program

The social service workers provide continuity for the victim during the initial treatment process and throughout the months following the assault. The victim is met at the hospital by the SATC staff social worker or crisis worker who provides her with counseling, medical and legal information, emotional support, and transportation home.

The impact of the sexual assault can be quite long-range, especially when the victim is involved in the criminal justice system as a witness, which may last from six months to a year. Continued assistance is provided by the staff social worker, who helps the victim with the legal process by providing information, serving as legal advocate, and arranging with volunteer advocates to accompany her to the trial. The social worker also provides follow-up counseling for the victim and her family to ease the long-term trauma frequently resulting from sexual victimization.

Quality of the Services

The quality of the services was assessed by analyzing the hospital records and by obtaining the victim's perceptions of the treatment services. The records were examined to determine if the test was done, and if so, whether the result was positive or negative. When a test was not performed, the record was searched to determine if the woman had refused to consent to the test, the physician had decided that the test was unnecessary for a stated reason, or that no notation was given as to why the test was not performed. The records were also analyzed to determine if treatments (such as the pregnancy preventative DES) were administered and if the woman consented to the treatment. The findings indicated that the medical care provided the victims was generally competent, but there was also noticeable variability between the treatment patterns of dif-

ferent physicians and some legal tests had higher yields than others. The results of the analysis of the medical test, legal tests, and medical treatments provided the victims are described in detail in the evaluation report (Ruch and Chandler, 1978).

The victim's assessment of the services is obtained by a questionnaire administered at follow-up about two weeks following the assault. As indicated in Table 13, the victims are highly appreciative of the SATC personnel, especially the physician, social worker, and crisis worker. The high ratings for competence and sympathy indicate quite clearly that hospital personnel can be trained and sensitized to the problems of sexual assault victims.

The victim's assessment of some personnel in agencies with rape-related tasks (such as the Police Department and the Prosecutor's Office) was noticeably lower; at the same time, the high rating given the Police Detectives (who have special rape-related training) indicates that it is possible to sensitize personnel in these agencies to the needs of the rape victim.

Analysis of questionnaires distributed to personnel in relevant agencies in the community indicate that the SATC is also highly regarded by other organizations in the task environment, especially the Police Department. Thus, the SATC has clearly met its objectives during its first year by contributing a variety of greatly needed services to both adult and child sex abuse victims and to the community as a whole.

Obstacles Encountered in the Provision of Services to Victims of Sexual Assault

The results of the evaluation study document that a program can be designed and implemented which is helpful to the victims of sexual assault. The Center was studied during its first year of operation, and even in this early stage of development, it offered a wide variety of needed services with competence and sensitivity. The evaluation research was conducted during the first year of the Center's existence so that data could be generated and utilized as a basis for additional program planning and change. As would be expected, the evaluation isolated some areas in which there were organizational problems or which needed further development. The following sections discuss briefly the areas of concern which stem from the internal and external pressures on the Center.

Problems Stemming from the Hospital Setting

The SATC was housed in a hospital setting because of the victims' need for medical treatment. However, the location of the Center in a hospital also influenced the development of the Center and some of the problems encountered during its first year.

(1) The SATC used two separate hospitals so that specialized care for women and children could be provided. The location of services at separate facilities made the administration of service delivery and staff more difficult. A merger of the two hospitals is planned for 1978, a move which may simplify administrative functions.

(2) The SATC service areas are located in separate areas of each hospital. The victim goes to the emergency room for medical care, legal tests, and crisis intervention services, and then to the clinic within the hospital for follow-up medical services. Subsequent counseling with an SATC social worker is done at the SATC office. While the SATC has brought the services for each victim under one roof, the services could be brought even closer together for the convenience of the victim. The separation of service areas may also make it difficult for the victim to identify the SATC as a coordinated unit and may diminish the number of women returning for follow-up services.

(3) The development of the SATC program reflects the medical setting in which the Center is housed. While sexual assault has both social and medical consequences for most victims, greater emphasis has been given the provision of medical-legal services, as indicated by the allocation of funds, planning, record keeping, etc., during the first year.

Problems with Sub-Contracting Agencies

Another source of difficulties for the Center are the subcontracting arrangements with other organizations which comprise the system of sexual assault treatment services. The SATC subcontracted the hiring, training, and supervision of the telephone workers and crisis workers to VIRS. The crisis workers and telephone answering service coordinate the arrival of the victim at the hospital and then provide a victim advocate and counselor for the victim as she proceeds through the treatment system.

The supervision and coordination by two discrete organizations resulted in control problems. For example, the crisis team members were unclear as to which agency exercised authority over them. The training of the crisis workers is another problem area. There are no strict criteria regarding prior training or educational skills which the individual must possess to be hired as a crisis worker (e.g., training in crisis intervention, counseling, rape victimology). Once hired, the crisis workers are trained in crisis intervention skills by the VIRS, and the SATC Director instructs the crisis workers on how to assist the physician during the medical and legal examination. However, there is no standardized training on crisis intervention specifically with sexual assault victims, counseling of victims and their families, treatment needs of victims, resources available in the community, and the criminal justice system. Both would increase the consistency and quality of the crisis services to the victims. Despite this problem, the evaluation report found high patient satisfaction with the crisis services.

The services of the telephone workers are also obtained by subcontract. The initial telephone contact, either with the Police or with the victim, is extremely important. The telephone worker must obtain correct information about the age of the victim, direct the victim to the appropriate hospital, and coordinate the arrival of the crisis worker with the victim's arrival at the hospital. The VIRS staffs the twenty-four hour rape crisis line with volunteers, trained in crisis call work. However, there is no specific training given regarding the special needs of sexual assault victims. A related problem is that the phone answerers do not always obtain correct information about the age of the victim and have referred the victims to the wrong hospital. The evaluation data indicate that minors were sent to the adult treatment center in five percent of the cases. The result is that the victim must then either be sent to the appropriate hospital or is treated by a staff which is less trained and familiar with the problems of the victim. This is especially a problem with victims who are very young or who are incest cases. Thus, the subcontracting relationships were beneficial in some ways, but the relationship between the two distinct organizations was also a source of problems for the sexual assault treatment center.[5]

Problems Stemming from External Forces

Other problems are related to external pressures. The admittance data indicate that 81 percent of the women receive emergency medical-legal examinations, testing and counseling. Only nine percent of the victims come to the Center initially for non-emergency medical treatment and counseling, while another ten percent request only counseling and legal support services. The high proportion of women receiving emergency medical-legal services may reflect the high proportion of women who were referred to the SATC by the police (64 percent of all victims) and the dependence of the Center on law enforcement organizations for referrals during the first year of operation. This dependence in turn affected the SATC, which emphasized the legal aspects of the program. Only a few victims continue in the legal system to trial but a high proportion of the program funds and energy has been given to treating sexual assault victims for their medical needs and obtaining legal evidence for trials. These of course are important aspects of the program, but the social service components of the program have been understaffed and not given adequate priority.

The emphasis on legal evidence collection is also indicated by the finding that only one percent of the victims examined in the emergency room refused to have the legal testing conducted. Women are given emergency medical-legal services when they have been assaulted within the previous two days since evidence is potentially collectable. The low refusal rate indicates that the option to have the medical services without having the legal testing is not being made clear to the victims. Rather, the system is established to perform both medical and legal examinations and the women is encouraged to have both. The emphasis on the collection of legal evidence partly reflects the concern that a woman in trauma may decide not to have the legal tests done and then regret this decision when it is too late to have evidence collected. However, this policy may also reflect external pressures on the organization for approval from other rape-related agencies (the Police and the Prosecutors) and for continued funding from the State government.

Despite the significant efforts of the Center to assist the woman with legal support services, the criminal justice system continues to be a source of problems for the victim and the Center. During the Center's first year, well over a hundred women were tested for legal evidence (costing nearly $100 per patient) and yet only seven cases continued in the criminal justice system through preliminary hearing and grand jury and were prosecuted in court.

Hopefully, the provision of witnesses supported by strong legal evidence will create pressure on the Prosecutor's Office to increase the number of assailants who are brought to trial (currently many cases are screened out by the Prosecutors who take only a few of the strongest cases), but in the meantime there is the inherent danger of subjecting the woman to lengthy testing soon after a sexual assault and raising her expectations that "justice will be done," when this is unlikely.

Recommendations for Program Planning and Change

The evaluation report delineated a number of specific suggestions for program planning.

(1) The merger of the Women's and Children's Hospitals (planned for 1978) will consolidate the services into one hospital setting. Following the merger, the SATC should be consolidated into one area within the hospital where the victims could receive all necessary crisis and long-term services. This consolidation would also facilitate the supervision and administration of the services.

(2) The SATC has subcontracted with the VIRS to provide a twenty-four hour crisis telephone line and a team of crisis intervention workers. The subcontract to VIRS has made hiring, firing and monitoring of the crisis workers difficult. To increase coordination and clarify the lines of authority, it is recommended that the crisis workers be hired, trained, and supervised by the SATC. The subcontract with VIRS should be limited to the provision of a twenty-four hour rape crisis telephone line.

(3) To counterbalance the early emphasis on medical and legal crisis services, the Center should give greater priority to the social service aspects of the program and increase the social work staff. This change would enable the Center to do more public information and community outreach, especially to groups of women who may be underrepresented in the utilization of the services; provide more long-range counseling; and deal with the increased caseload which is anticipated during the Center's second year of operation as more people learn of the services and the cases admitted during the first year enter the judicial system.

(4) A problem which is still unresolved is the delivery of immediate crisis intervention services to women who first contact the Police, rather than the Center. The current arrangement is that when a victim notifies the Police, she is first questioned by the patrol officer and then by the detective. When these interviews are completed, the victim is brought to the hospital by the Police where she is met by the crisis worker or social worker. Increased comprehensiveness of services would be obtained if the SATC arranged with the Police to permit the crisis worker's involvement with the victim earlier in the process.

(5) A source of strain and distress for the victim is the criminal justice system. As shown in Table 13, the few victims who have gone through the system as witnesses for the prosecution give the Prosecuting Attorneys very low ratings relative to the ratings of other personnel. Victims complain of having three attorneys (for preliminary hearing, grand jury, and trial), inadequate information about the status of their case, attorneys who are unprepared for the trial or who are insensitive to the victim, etc. Part of this problem may be that the Office of the Prose-

cuting Attorney is not part of the sexual assault treatment system (see Figure 2) and is primarily non-victim-oriented in its priorities and goals. However, the Police Department has a special Rape Investigation Unit whose detectives are specially trained in the investigation of sexual assault cases and who are sympathetic toward the victim. The Police detectives, while similar to the Prosecutors in that their organization is non-victim-oriented, receive very positive ratings from the victims. The Police patrol officers receive lower ratings, but these officers only receive four hours of instruction about sexual assault and are not specialized in this area. The high ratings of the detectives in the Rape Unit indicate that the organizations which affect the rape victim can be made more responsive to the needs of the victim even though they are not part of the treatment system. It is recommended that the Prosecuting Attorney's Office follow the model of the Police Department and establish a special unit to try the rape cases. The attorneys in the unit would become expert in this type of case and would not be rotated through cases every three months as is the usual procedure. Thus, a system of organizations may be created which facilitates the progress of the victim and her case rather than adding to the distress and trauma suffered by the victim of sexual assault.

References

1. This report is based on the data obtained on the 194 adult female victims. Data on services to children will be presented in a separate paper.

2. The enabling legislation included adult women and children of both sexes but not adult men. The Center has recently requested the State Legislature for additional funds so that the services can be extended to adult male sexual assault victims.

3. The City and County in which the SATC is located has a population of 630,528 according to the most recent census, conducted in 1970.

4. There are legal restrictions on the Center when minors are involved. The Center must report incest cases to the Child Protective Services Center and the parents must give consent for medical treatment for children under the age of fourteen.

5. Following the evaluation, the SATC has taken responsibility for the hiring, training, and supervision of the crisis worker team.

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The Life History of an Early Korean Immigrant Woman in Hawaii

by

Alice Y. Chai, Ph.D.

Introduction

Anthropologists generally observe and analyze whole cultures or societies, or segments thereof; however, some anthropological problems yield to narrower and more individualized analytical frameworks.[1] The life history is one of the anthropological methods used to develop information about cultural change, mobility, deviance, values, socialization and personality. The subject of a life history must have a sense of individuality, knowledge of social history, and an awareness of the processes of personal and historical change. These characteristics are most strongly developed in mature men and women with a strong sense of ethnic identity. Women's life histories are particularly needed because information obtained from or about women is underrepresented in ethnographic sources and life-history literature. In the course of my research in Hawaii, my students and I have collected many life histories of women in various ethnic groups. Many other life histories still need to be told.

In contrast to other Asian immigrant groups in Hawaii, the early Korean immigrants were predominantly Christian men and women who were influenced or recruited by American missionaries in Korea. Concerned about the limited opportunities available to Korean women, the American women missionaries in Korea opened schools where single Korean Christian women could learn to read and write in Korean as well as English. The American missionary women (many of whom were single themselves) also introduced the concept of freedom to Korean women. "Although the missionaries were preaching freedom in a religious context, the young women would interpret this to include personal freedom...."[2] At school they experienced physical freedom from seclusion at home. Later, many of them emigrated from Korea to escape intolerable marriages or families who had disowned them because of their Christian beliefs. After the Japanese annexation of Korea, Korean women in Hawaii would further develop the idea of freedom

to include political freedom, an ideal which they supported through their involvement in the Korean Independence Movement activities in America.[3]

I have known Mrs. A. for the past fifteen years. She knew my mother, my father, and both sets of my grandparents in Korea. I also know most of her children and friends in Honolulu. Though I visited her apartment on many social occasions, she and I arranged to meet in private with a tape recorder, to produce her life history. She gave me a chronological outline of her life before our interviews began. I used open-ended interviewing methods, supplementing her account with questions based on material from our informal visits and my own knowledge of life in Korea and America. We talked together in Korean, and I translated the transcripts from Korean into English. What follows is Mrs. A.'s account of her life in Korea and Hawaii.

Early Education in Korea

I was born in 1895 and spent most of my childhood and adolescence in P'yŏngyang, the capital of the province of P'yŏngan Namdo in North Korea. My mother's home was Sonch'ŏn, P'yŏngan Namdo. In my family, there were four of us, three girls and one boy. I had one older and one younger sister, and one younger brother. All of us were four years apart. My younger sister married after graduating from elementary school. I brought my younger brother to Hawaii when he was still a boy and sent him to Mid-Pacific Institute and to the University of Hawaii. He went back to Korea, got married and came back to Hawaii to live with his family. Unfortunately, he died soon after he had come.

My father was a great businessman, known as "the hero of P'yŏngyang." He had a gold mine, a coal mine and a lot of other businesses. He was also called "the casanova of the province" because he had *kisaeng ch'ŏp* (concubines), always two or three. My mother had to face a hard life because of him, but he was simply following Korean customs. Almost all wealthy Korean men had concubines.

I hardly knew my father because he lived elsewhere with his many concubines. Though he had many businesses, he also had too many concubines to support, and he could not send us any money. Fortunately, my mother's family was well-to-do. Even so, at one time she had to sell our big house and move into a smaller house. My younger brother, her only son, was still too young to support us then.

In 1905, when I was nine years old, my friend told me there was a school where young girls could get an education in Namsanjae (South Mountain Hilltop). She wanted me to go there with her. We walked into the school one morning, wrote our names down on the roster, and started

to study from that moment. The school was called *sŏje* or *sŏdang* (study hall). It was a mission school.

Formal education for girls in Korea was first introduced by American missionaries. Before the time of the missionaries, girls stayed home to learn feminine duties and virtues. Only a few upper-class women learned the Korean alphabet at home, in order to be able to write letters and to read women's etiquette books. Girls and women were secluded in the domestic sphere and were not to be seen by males outside the family. But the American missionaries had said that in order to be baptised in Christian churches, girls had to be able to read the Bible in Korean. Not only did girls learn the Korean alphabet in church, but then they asked to go to the schools which the missionaries started.

In North Korea at that time, people had a more liberal attitude toward girls' education than did people in South Korea, and Christian families thought more favorably about educating their daughters than did the non-Christian families. In P'yŏngyang, both the general public and the government encouraged girls' education. In the beginning, my family did not oppose my going to school, but they objected later because of financial difficulties. Though I was Christian and my family non-Christian, they never actively stood in my way of getting an education.

Our school started around 8 o'clock in the morning. The school had a small bell just like a church bell. Not every house had a clock, so students went to school when they heard the school bell ringing. I wanted to ring the bell myself every morning, which meant that I had to leave home early without breakfast and walk for over thirty minutes to reach the school. Since our family did not eat breakfast until about 9 o'clock, I went to school without breakfast for about two years. My mother used to cry, worrying about my health.

We carried our school books wrapped in *bojaegi* (a square piece of cloth). The books were so precious that we tied them in the cloth, then bound them around our chest and cradled them like a baby. We also carried a small slate board for solving math problems. On our way to school, many merchants used to ask to look at our math problems and solutions. They praised us for our good work. Some even asked whose daughter I was, asking to see whether or not I might make a suitable bride for someone in their family or social class.

The school day started out with one hour of chapel. After chapel we went to classes in Korean, Chinese, English, math, calligraphy and art. There were two Korean women teaching the Korean language class, one Korean man teaching Chinese, and one missionary, an American woman, teaching English. Every class had about ten students. I can never forget the American missionary teacher's sincerity. We did not even know how to draw an apple in that art class, but Miss Robins used to hold our hands and draw thin lines together with us. I am still thankful for her patience and kindness.

We learned everything by rote memorization. I still remember a phrase we memorized and said before our meal, "Our hands are dirty, let's wash them and eat." According to the old Confucian tradition, we memorized one thousand Chinese characters. When we had mastered them, we brought a big brass pot full of Korean cake to school and celebrated the occasion with all the students and teachers. We also learned English for two years to prepare for Ewha Girls' Middle School in Seoul. At the annual spring sport events, all students, boys and girls from their respective schools, marched through the city attracting the attention of the whole town.

I graduated in 1910, the year Korea was annexed to Japan. I had completed the sixth grade. We learned English songs, some whose meaning we still did not fully understand, for our graduation ceremony. It was the happiest occasion of my life. The missionaries presented each graduate with a rose bouquet. The governor even gave a party with lots of good food and praises for the graduates.

There were seven of us in my graduating class. We were the third class to graduate from our school. Four among the seven graduates wanted to go to Ewha Girls' Middle School in Seoul. Our school principal, Miss Robins, could not let us go by ourselves, so she accompanied us to Ewha. We were admitted to the second year there because we had more Chinese and English credits than did students from other schools.

I remember that in Seoul, girls and women were wearing *changot* (a hood with a short cape) on the street to cover their faces. In P'yongyang, we had worn *satkat* (straw hats) when we went outside. We laughed at each other because the *changot* looked so old fashioned. We could only see each other's eyes.

Unfortunately, for most of us our stay in Seoul was not long. I was only fifteen years old at the time and it was the first time I or any one of us had been away from home. We were so homesick we just couldn't stand being away. After crying for forty days, three of us went back home to P'yŏngyang.

When I arrived at P'yŏngyang station, an old man who had been our family servant for several years met me there with a big brown dog. I was surprised and asked why no other family members had come to meet me. He said that my mother and younger brother and sister had gone to Sonch'ŏn to bring back the last harvest. My father had sold the land without my mother's knowledge. In those days, any legal and business transaction could be carried out without a wife's signature or her consent. I had not known about this hardship, because my mother had not mentioned this to me in her letters.

I slept overnight at the family house and then walked seventy *li* (twenty-one miles) to Sonch'ŏn to see my mother. As I was approaching the farm at Sonch'ŏn it was sunset. The smoke was coming out of the

chimneys of the farmhouses. Walking down the rice paddies I felt sad and melancholic. Whenever I think about my return home from Ewha, I still feel very sad.

When Miss Robins discovered we had come home, she scolded us and told us that she would not help us enter any other school in the future. She was embarrassed by our behavior. At that point it seemed we had no choice but to stay home and get ready to be married.

My mother talked only about my marriage. She told me that since I was a girl, an elementary education was good enough for me. She wanted me to learn to sew and to get married. I, on the other hand, wanted to study more and to be like Miss Mary Whang, who had founded many girls' schools and was lecturing around the country without getting married. She was an extraordinary lady in her forties who rented public auditoriums all over Korea to speak about founding her Jinmyŏng Girls' Schools for Queen Ŏm.

At that time my family's business was going down and my mother said she did not have any money for school. My father was supporting too many concubines and my mother was not living well. I finally said to my mother, "All right, I am going to sew and get married." I made a small wicker trunk full of Korean dresses in a short time, since I was already a pretty good seamstress.

But as I thought things over, I realized that I still did not want to get married. I could not go back to school openly, so the only way left for me was to run away from home. I talked with another Christian friend who was about to be married, and we secretly planned our escape. She sought help from her brother-in-law. I sought help from an acquaintance who owed money to my mother. Since my mother could read but could not write, I had written down many things for her. I knew where her money was, who owed money to her, how much money we owed, and so on. I knew that a person who used to be my father's secretary had borrowed some money from her. I went to him and got twenty *yen*, enough to buy my train ticket to Seoul and to pay for a few months' school expenses.

Since there was no Methodist girls' middle school in P'yŏngyang, we had to go back to Ewha. At one o'clock in the morning, my friend and I got on a train to Seoul. When we arrived there, we got on a rickshaw at South Gate and went to Ewha. We went to the school principal, Miss Fry, and apologized and asked her to take us back. She accepted us. We were so happy to be back at school that we studied harder than before. My twenty *yen* soon ran out after four months. I wrote to my mother and apologized for running away from home with her money. She forgave me and sent me money for three more months.

It became more and more difficult for her to send me money, and finally she asked me to come back home. She also told me she was very sad that she had to live without me, who had helped her with bookkeeping

and other business matters. I could not sleep for many nights when I heard from her. I told Miss Fry about my situation and she gave me a scholarship to graduate. In spite of my concern for my mother and my worries about money, I was an active, fun-loving girl. Everyone at Ewha called me "the happy, smiling girl."

In the spring of 1913, nine of us graduated from Ewha Girls' Middle School. Ours was the sixth class to graduate. Some of us married, some went into teaching. There was one girl who was only fifteen years old. She was too young to be a teacher, and she had nothing else to do. The missionaries started Ewha College so she could continue her education. She was Helen Kim, who later became Dr. Helen Kim, the President of Ewha Women's University after Korea was liberated from Japan in 1945.

I went to Chinnampo with my mother, younger sister and younger brother to teach at Samsŏng School. After a year of teaching there, I went to Ewha to teach in 1914, and then to Suwon Middle School in 1915. In the evenings, I taught housewives and on Saturdays, I taught kindergarten classes. I was working hard and I was very happy. In 1918, I was the Dean of Students at P'yŏngyang Girls' Seminary for one semester. Since I was the only Christian in my family, principals at the schools where I taught protected me from people critical about my non-Christian family background. They said, "Don't criticize her family background because she is a good Christian and a good teacher herself, regardless of her family."

Study Abroad in Japan

At that time the highest ideal of my friends and I was to study and work for our own country without getting married. Some of us even made oaths as blood sisters by pricking our arms and vowing that our life mission would be the noble cause of Korean independence. American women missionaries who were single were very good examples for us. They showed us that it was possible for women not to get married if we got an education to prepare ourselves for our future professions. We educated Korean women were also inspired by the democratic ideals of America to resist Japanese domination and to work for our political and personal freedom.

At that time I wanted to go to America to study but I had no money to go. A minister in Seoul and another teacher told me that they would help me to obtain a scholarship so I could go to Japan to study at Yokohama Girls' Seminary. I paid my travel expenses and they helped me with my room and board. I was accepted into the second year and I could have graduated in three years. But, before I finished the last year, I met Mr. A. and decided to come to Hawaii to get married.

During the Japanese occupation of Korea, Koreans could not leave

Korea to study in America. There were only two exceptions to this policy as far as I know, and one of these people came to America as a nanny for an American missionary teacher's children. Some male political exiles also went secretly to America via China, though no women succeeded using this route. A friend and I used to say that we would recruit twelve people to rent a ship to go to America secretly. Eventually, I had to get married to go to America.

In 1917, the minister from Seoul wrote and said that his good friend, Mr. A., was coming to see me. He was on his way back to Hawaii after visiting his parents in Korea. At that time I was lecturing to Korean picture brides-to-be who were getting ready to go to Hawaii and the mainland. The girls were staying at a Korean hotel in Yokohama. They were very small and had thick make-up on. They wanted to go outside but they did not know any Japanese. Since I was practically raised by American missionaries, I went every Sunday afternoon to the Korean hotel to lecture on American customs. Mr. A. was there for two Sundays also. He heard me talk to the girls and thought I was a very, very smart girl. After he went back to Hawaii, he wrote to me, and proposed to me in one of his letters.

Mr. A. was born in Munsan, Kyŏnggido, which is the location of Panmunjŏm, the demilitarized zone which now divides North and South Korea. Mr. A. had already been married, but his first wife had gone back to Korea. Her return was due both to her barrenness and to a misunderstanding which she had with her husband. A Korean minister's daughter who had studied at the same school with me in Japan had asked Mr. A. to look up her uncle in Ewa to see if he could help her with her school fees. Her father had not been able to afford to help her. Mr. A. went to see the uncle and found him to be in no situation to help her either. He then told his wife that he wanted to help this student in the name of her uncle so that it would not look bad to others. His wife accused him of having a secret wife in Japan and left him to return to Korea.

When vacation time came, the school principal took me to a Kamakura resort where women missionaries stayed during the summers. I was considering Mr. A.'s proposal. During the vacation I wrote a paper on the status and role of Christian women in the world and my teachers praised my writing, calling me a "woman philosopher." But the more I considered, the more I knew that I did not want to study theology in Japan. I had suffered much due to financial difficulties in my two-years stay there. I also did not know what I was going to do if I were to go back to Korea after graduation. I thought that I could work for my country even after my marriage in Hawaii. I thought I would like to work there for Korean immigrant women. So, I made up my mind to get married, and to go to Hawaii.

Life in Hawaii

Before I left for Hawaii, I went to Munsan to see my future parents-in-law, to Ewha to see my old friends, and to Hiroshima to visit two friends of mine. These were two sisters, former classmates of mine from Namsanjae School, who were now studying at Hiroshima Normal School. When I arrived at the dormitory, my friends told me I could not stay there because we were under surveillance by Japanese secret police. I left Hiroshima without staying overnight. I saw secret agents looking for Korean political activists in every train station. Although I was very sad to leave my friends and family, I was very much relieved to be able to be free from constant Japanese surveillance.

On December 31, 1918, the year before the Korean Independence uprising, I sailed from Yokohama on a Japanese ship, S.S. Shunyo. It took me nine days to come to Hawaii. There were about nine Korean picture brides-to-be from the Southern provinces of Kyongsang on the ship. We arrived in Honolulu on January 8, 1919.

It was a holiday and the authorities said they could not release me on a holiday. I spoke up in Japanese and English without any interpreter and they were impressed. They let me come out, saying, "If everybody in this world were like you, there would be no problem."

I got married on January 9th at the First Korean Methodist Church in Honolulu. Mr. A., who had immigrated to Hawaii in 1903 or 1905, had only worked on the plantation for six months before starting his own business. He began by peddling everyday goods. Later he opened a grocery store in Waipahu, then a tailor shop with nineteen workers, and, finally, a general merchandise store in Honolulu. He was one of the most successful Korean business men in Hawaii at that time.

Though he was not a highly-educated man, he was a moral and philanthropic man. He worked for many causes, including Korean independence. He was generous with his money and time in assisting Koreans in need. He trained many Korean tailors. He gave many good students financial help. On one occasion, sixteen young Korean men from China got off a ship wearing Chinese clothes. Mr. A. gave every one of them a new suit, made at his tailor shop.

Nobody called him "Mr.," but "teacher" because he was such a gentleman. He usually took off his ties only when he came home for the evenings. Once he wore a sports shirt and slacks made out of shark skin without a necktie to the Korean Nationalist Association meeting, and people told him that he did not look like himself.

We were married for twenty-eight years and had five children, four girls and one boy. He died suddenly in 1947. Mr. A. and I had been planning to go back to his home town, Munsan, in Korea. We owned a rice

field there and we were planning to live there. We had even bought clothes and shoes for the trip when he suddenly died. I gave all his clothes and shoes to another man who was going back to Korea. It was such a shock because he had never complained about an illness in his life. I did not stop crying for one month. I visited his grave everyday and people thought I was going out of my mind. Then, I met Dr. K. and married him one year later, in 1948.

Besides raising my five children, I devoted myself to the cause of Korean independence and to Korean women in Hawaii through women's organizations and church groups. Today Korean young men and women in Hawaii don't have the spirit we had at that time. Those of us who are over seventy years old loved our country so much that we did everything we possibly could for Korean independence. Today, we can't find that kind of women. Nobody can understand us. They would laugh at us today. But we wanted to work for our country rather than to get married. After getting ourselves educated, we wanted to awaken other Korean women through education to work for Korean independence. Our education was not for ourselves or even for our families, but for our beloved country. There was no egotism or individualism in our minds at that time. We only worked for Korea.

I don't know how many thousands of dollars we made for the Korean independence movement. We collected money and sent it to the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai. At that time, everything was secret. We went from house to house to collect money. If we hadn't sent money, how could the Korean Provisional Government officials have survived?

One of our Korean women, the treasurer of our group, was carrying money to deliver to a person in Korea when she was caught by the Japanese police. They put her in jail for about one year. If I had stayed in Korea, I might have been killed by the Japanese during the March 1, 1919, Korean Independence uprising. Many of my former classmates were killed, injured or imprisoned in that uprising.

I belong to the Korean Women's Nationalist Association. This women's group was also a fellowship group, and we had a good time together whenever we met. We cooked, ate lunch together, sang and danced among ourselves. Now our group does charity work, but before we only worked for Korean independence. We visited each others' houses every day, and those who had cars gave rides to those who did not. We did not depend on men or on our children for our activities. We did all these things by ourselves.

When I look back on my life, I think I had a strong sense of independence and determination to open closed doors and to overcome all kinds of barriers by myself. In my childhood, my grandparents died early, my father lived apart from us, my older sister was married and only my mother, myself, one younger sister and one younger brother were living together in my house. My mother considered me to be the "oldest son"

and consulted with me on all matters. I came to Hawaii hoping eventually to bring my mother and to free her from all the sufferings caused her by my father's infidelity. But, when my father had lost all his money he returned to my mother. She felt helpless when I left for Hawaii and she died nine months after I left Korea saying, "I am going to die because my second daughter has left me." Whenever I think of my mother's undeserved suffering and my past life, I cannot help but feel very heavy and sad in my heart.

But I am glad that I came to Hawaii. If I had stayed in Korea I might be carrying water jars or I might have been killed in the Korean independence uprising. I am grateful that my husband understood and supported my work for Korean independence and for Korean women in Hawaii. I was happiest when I was raising my five children and I am forever grateful to God who gave me a strong faith in Him to live my life as well as I did. I am also grateful to Uncle Sam for giving my children opportunities to become good American citizens.

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Business Women in Hawaii:

A Study of Income Disparity

by

Lane Kelly, Ph.D. and William Remus, Ph.D.

Introduction

With the Equal Pay Act of 1963, America made a commitment to equal pay for equal work irregardless of the worker's sex. In this study we examine data on graduates of the University of Hawaii College of Business Administration to determine if that commitment is being met.

The aggregate salary comparisons for the United States are readily available. In 1970, the U.S. Government reported women in the labor force earned a median annual income of $5,440, while men earned a median of $9,184.[1] By 1976 women's median annual income increased to $8,312, however, men's income had risen to $13,859.[2] While women earned 59.4% of men's median income in 1970, that figure had barely increased to 59.6% in 1976. Nationwide the gap did not appear to be closing.

The aggregate figures, however, can be misleading for at least four reasons. First, since women are more often employed in seasonal or part-time work than men, we might expect their average salary to be lower. Second, while women are often classified in the same employment category in government records as are men (e.g. in mining or in agriculture), women are more likely to have low-paid positions (such as secretarial and clerical positions) within the employment category. Third, the participation rate of women in the national labor force increased faster than the participation rate of men from 1940 to 1970.[3] Women may therefore hold a disproportionate number of entry-level jobs in the national work force. Since these jobs are generally the lowest paid, the pay difference between the sexes may be a function of differences in experience. Fourth, the amount of professional education may differ between men and women.

In spite of these factors which might justify a difference in pay between men and women, national studies show that even when hours of work, type of work and previous experience are comparable, women's pay is lower than that of men.[4] Even in jobs which have traditionally been con-

sidered "appropriate" for women and where women cluster, the pay is more likely to be lower for women than for men performing the same work.[5] In this study we analyze data on men and women of comparable educational background who have prepared for a professional career in business to see whether or not their careers and salaries are comparable.

Women in Hawaii

The analysis of the status of women in Hawaii's labor force is just beginning. The most complete information to date on women and employment in the state has been provided by the State Commission on Manpower and Full Employment in its report Employment and Training of Women in Hawaii.[6] The report indicates that there are significant differences between the national and the state labor forces. Hawaii's women participate to a greater extent in the state labor force than do women in the national labor force; the percentage of women in the state labor force has been four or more percentage points higher than the national rates over the last several decades.[7] In 1970, 41 percent of the state civilian labor force was women, as compared to 38 percent women in the national civilian labor force.[8]

Hawaii is also unique in the ethnic composition of its labor force. The resident population of the Islands in 1970 was approximately 33.5 percent Caucasian, 26.8 percent Japanese, 16.2 percent Part Hawaiian, 7.9 percent Filipino, 7.9 percent mixed other than Part Hawaiian, 3.9 percent Chinese, 1.0 percent unmixed Hawaiian, 0.9 percent Korean and 2.0 percent Samoan, other or unknown.[9] The participation rates vary widely across these ethnic groups. Japanese women have a 57 percent participation rate in the state labor force, Chinese women a 54 percent rate, Korean women a 53 percent rate, Hawaiian and Filipino women a 48 percent rate, Black women a 42 percent rate and Caucasian women a 41 percent participation rate.[10]

The report of the State Commission indicates that generally, the overall trends in women's employment and earnings in Hawaii are similar to the national trends; that is, there are local industries in which the earnings of women lag behind those of men.[11]

> "Among major industries, the largest gap between earnings of year-round women and men workers was in the finance, insurance and real estate sector. Only 14 percent of experienced civilian women were in professional or management occupations in this sector, while 70 percent were in clerical work, but 43 percent of men were in professional or management occupations while only 14 percent were in clerical work. The median earnings for

> year-round women workers in these enterprises, $5,362 in 1969, was only 49 percent of the $10,897 median for men.
>
> "The gap in year-round earnings was also high in manufacturing, the trade sector, and construction. Gaps were relatively smallest in public administration; agriculture, forestry and fisheries; and entertainment and recreational services."

The ratio of the state median of civilian women's earnings to men's was 52.2 percent in 1969; however, when this figure is corrected to show only workers employed for the entire year, the ratio was 58.1 percent.[12]

Procedures and Purposes of the Survey

Data were gathered in Fall, 1977, by a mail survey of 2,597 graduates of the College of Business Administration. Forty-eight percent, or 1,237 graduates, replied. It was initially our intent to analyze the comparative employment pattern for men and women graduates in all age groups; however, we were unable to obtain comparative data on men and women graduates over 28 years of age since there were so few women graduates over 28. Consequently, this study focuses on comparative data for graduates in the 22 to 28 year-old age group (n = 298). Of this number, 76 respondents were women.

The Bachelors of Business Administration is a professional program that prepares students for administrative and professional positions in business organizations. The subject matter is pragmatic and job related. It may be inferred that male and female students who major in business have similar career motives, since women desiring a more traditional role would find other majors with broader educational objectives more suitable. The choice of the business major suggests plans for a work career. Ninety-five percent of the graduates of the College of Business Administration take a job at the end of their undergraduate education; this is a much higher percentage than graduates with Bachelors degrees in other fields at the University of Hawaii.

The survey was designed to control for ethnicity, career orientation, training, type of job, salary, unemployment and supervisory experience. The sample was further reduced to control for age. While the study did not control for institutionalized sexism or for employment advantages which male students may have had as a result of family-related or informal support networks, the questionnaire did provide both men and women with the opportunity to evaluate the usefulness of their training in business to their present career.

Results of the Survey Analysis

The enrollment in the College of Business does not reflect the proportions of Americans of various ethnic ancestries in the Islands' population. The high value put on the business career by the Chinese and Japanese has led to large enrollments from these groups. The percentage of respondents by ethnic group in Table 1 reflects this enrollment pattern, with 63.8% of the respondents from the Japanese group, 19.8% from the Chinese group, and less than 7% from the Caucasian group. Only 25.5% of the respondents in this sample were women. The table also indicates that there are differential enrollments of men and women by ethnic group (X^2 = 11.21 with 3 d.f., sig. = 0.0106). The reader should note the disproportional percentage of Chinese female respondents.

Table 1

Ethnicity of Respondents

	Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Other	Row Total
Male	15 6.8%	35 15.8%	146 65.8%	26 11.7%	222 74.5%
Female	5 6.6%	24 31.6%	44 57.9%	3 3.9%	76 25.5%
Column Total	20 6.7%	59 19.8%	190 63.8%	29 9.7%	298 100.00%

As shown in Table 2, women selected different majors than did men from the College of Business' offerings (X^2 = 12.35 with 8 d.f., sig. = 0.1362). The difference shown in this table indicates that women avoid the management major.

One critical variable of interest is the unemployment rate. As shown in Table 3 the unemployment rate for alumni women was 1.3% while the unemployment rate for men was .5%. This difference is not significant (X^2 = .29 with 2 d.f., sig. = 0.8651). Apparently women are not discriminated against in terms of finding a job. As shown in Table 4, there is no significant difference between men and women in terms of who employs them (X^2 = 10.5 with 6 d.f., sig. = 0.10). Thus, there seems to be no particular sector of the local economy which bars women from jobs. Also, as shown in Table 5, there would appear to be no significant difference in the location of jobs taken (X^2 = 1.17 with 3 d.f., sig. = 0.76). Both men and women who responded strongly prefer to stay in Hawaii.

Table 6 reveals a significant difference in salaries earned between men and women (X^2 = 15.7 with 8 d.f., sig. = 0.04). A higher proportion of women earn between $7,500 and $10,000, while a higher proportion of men earn between $15,000 and $25,000. This salary differential occurs for women of all ethnic backgrounds.

The lower salaries result, in part, from the type of jobs women take versus the type men take. As would be predicted by Table 2, men tend more toward the better-paying management positions than do women. Table 7 explicitly shows the significant differences between men and women in the type of job taken. Women are over-represented in the clerical jobs while men are over-represented in the managerial jobs. Thus, the salary differential is at least partly attributable to the type of job taken: It is not yet clear whether the difference in kinds of jobs taken results from discrimination on the part of employers or from traditional choices made by the women in the group studied. The salary differences are strongest in the private sector; however, they are <u>not</u> found within the tourist or public sectors.

There are other key differences between men and women alumni worthy of note. Women earned significantly better grades at the College of Business than men. Thus the differential salaries cannot be attributed to lack of mastery of the business subjects. Also, women are generally more satisfied with their education than men. Women believe that their education is more relevant to the job they take and that it better fulfills their educational expectations.

These findings have been collaborated with other survey data. In particular, the 1975-76 College of Business graduates experience the same differential salary problem.

Table 2

Area of Specialization at University of Hawaii

	Accounting	Finance	Bus. Econ. & Stat.	Foreign Trade	Management	Marketing	Personal & Ind. Rel.	Real Estate	T.I.M.	Row Total
Male	70 35.9%	10 5.1%	23 11.8%	1 0.5%	31 15.9%	27 13.8%	16 8.2%	6 3.1%	11 5.6%	195 100.0%
Female	31 45.6%	3 4.4%	13 19.1%	0 0.0%	2 2.9%	6 8.8%	7 10.3%	1 1.5%	5 7.4%	68 100.0%
Column Total	101 38.4%	13 4.9%	36 13.7%	1 0.4%	33 12.5%	33 12.5%	23 8.7%	7 2.7%	16 6.1%	

Table 3

Employment Status

	Unemployed	Employed	Unemployed Not Looking For Work	Other	Row Total
Male	7 3.1%	190 85.3%	1 .4%	25 11.2%	223 100.0%
Female	1 1.4%	64 87.6%	1 1.4%	7 9.6%	73 100.0%
Column Total	8 2.7%	258 85.8%	2 .7%	32 10.8%	

Unemployment Rates: Males .52%

Females 1.3%

Table 4

Current Employer

	Private Industry	Tourist Industry	Government	Military	Non-Profit Organization	Self-Employed	Other	Row Total
Male	139 64.4%	12 5.6%	32 14.8%	7 3.2%	11 5.1%	11 5.1%	4 1.9%	216 100.0%
Female	44 57.9%	7 9.2%	15 19.7%	2 2.6%	3 3.9%	0 0.0%	5 6.6%	76 100.0%
Column Total	183 62.7%	19 6.5%	47 16.1%	9 3.1%	14 4.8%	11 3.8%	9 3.1%	

Table 5

Location of Job

	Oahu	Neighbor Island	U.S. Mainland	Foreign Country	Row Total
Male	193 87.7%	10 4.5%	14 6.4%	3 1.4%	220 100.0%
Female	68 89.5%	3 3.9%	3 3.9%	2 2.6%	76 100.0%
Column Total	261 88.2%	13 4.4%	17 5.7%	5 1.7%	

Table 6

Salary

	Under $5,999	$6,000 To $7,499	$7,500 To $9,999	$10,000 To $14,999	$15,000 To $19,999	$20,000 To $24,999	$25,000 To $29,999	$30,000 Plus	Don't Know Varies	Row Total
Male	13 6.1%	11 5.1%	42 19.6%	90 42.1%	37 17.3%	13 6.1%	4 1.9%	1 0.5%	3 1.4%	214 100.1%
Female	3 4.2%	9 12.5%	24 33.3%	28 38.9%	6 8.3%	1 1.4%	1 1.4%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	72 100.0%
Column Total	16 5.6%	20 7.0%	66 23.1%	118 41.3%	43 15.0%	14 4.9%	5 1.7%	1 0.3%	3 1.0%	

Table 7

Occupation	Males		Females	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Accounting	51	23.8	23	31.1
Analyst	5	2.3	3	4.1
Administrative Specialist	13	6.1	2	2.7
Buyer-Purchasing	1	0.5	0	0.0
Banking & Finance	11	5.1	3	4.1
Clerical	13	6.1	22	29.7
Communications	1	0.5	0	0.0
Computer Service	5	2.3	2	2.7
Construction	4	1.9	0	0.0
Education	2	0.9	0	0.0
Engineering	1	0.5	0	0.0
Law	5	2.3	0	0.0
Law Enforcement & Protection	2	0.9	1	1.4
Managers & Supervisors	54	25.2	11	14.9
Marketing	2	0.9	1	1.4
Military	5	2.3	0	0.0
Self Employed	5	2.3	0	0.0
Personnel & Industrial Rel.	2	0.9	2	2.7
Planner	0	0.0	1	1.4
Research	3	1.4	1	1.4
Sales	15	7.0	0	0.0
Technician	1	0.5	0	0.0
Transportation	4	1.9	1	1.4
Other	7	3.3	1	1.4
Medicine	1	0.5	0	0.0
Social Services	1	0.5	0	0.0

Discussion

Higher education is the traditional vehicle for social mobility. Many of the social programs have provided funds for training and education as a means of improving minority group's social position. An examination of the surnames of managers and professionals in Hawaii illustrate the impact of recently gained higher education of the males of Hawaii's ethnic groups -- especially the recent success of the Japanese and Chinese males. It appears that females are also using higher education as their strategy for equality. In 1970 it was not unusual for 80 percent of the students in business classes to be male. In 1978, it is not unusual to find that 50 percent of the class enrollment is female.

Has the strategy been successful? In terms of unemployment, yes. There is little difference in the two groups' unemployment rates. However, more females end up in clerical positions than males; more males end up in managerial positions. Fifty-seven percent of the female alumni weren't supervising anyone while 66 percent of the male alumni were supervisors. Since managers earn more than clerks, female graduates earn less than their male counterparts.

If the success criterion for the degree in business administration is an elimination of the income gap, it has not been successful; however the gap is closing. The median annual income of the male alumni was approximately $12,277, that of females about $10,000, or about 81.4 percent of that of males. This is an improvement over the national sex pay difference of about 60 percent. Further the disparity in incomes varies with the type of job taken. For the entire sample, the median female income was 81.4 percent of the male median income. But in accounting women only received 79.5 percent while female managers received 82 percent and female clerical workers 86 percent of the male median income. Looking at the remaining occupational groups, females earned 98.31% of male salaries.

It is still unclear as to why there is the difference in occupations. There are two possibilities -- social conditioning and discrimination. On the one hand our current research shows that the female student in the College of Business Administration describes her role expectations differently than the male of her ethnic group and that the female students tend to describe the traits necessary to be a successful manager as basically male traits.[13] We have also found that there are differences between the sexes and between ethnic groups on attitudes that are related to managerial success. The other edge of the sword is discrimination. Traditionally, employers tend to pay women less than men and have tended to see management positions as male positions. Further research is required to examine the role of discrimination and social conditioning in explaining the pay differences of the sexes in Hawaii.

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Notes on the Authors

Nell G. Altizer, Assistant Professor in the Department of English, University of Hawaii, Manoa (UHM), is working on a manuscript of poems. She is co-author of *Heath's College Handbook of Composition* (1978) and author of the workbook which accompanies it and which includes the voices of women and minorities.

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Pictures

Submit photographs or pictures of art work as glossy prints. Include a sheet with artist's name and address, picture title, date, medium and other relevant data.

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1. Type all copy double-spaced on standard bond paper. Allow 2-inch margins at the top and bottom of all pages, and generous margins on the sides.

2. Title the first page of the manuscript two inches from the top of the page. Begin the text two inches below the title. On a separate page, type the title and the author's name and address.

3. Present charts and tables separately from written copy.

4. Submit footnotes double-spaced on a separate page (or pages) following the last page of the text. Second and subsequent references to previously-cited works should be made by the authors' last name and, in case of previous citations to works by the same author, the title of the work. For further information, consult the *MLA Style Sheet*.