

NEWSLETTER OF THE UCLA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF WOMEN

BY VANGE HEILIGER AND HEATHER COLLETTE-VANDERAA

# TRASHY ROEDTS

Desire and Disposability in Patricia Yaeger's "Luminous Trash:
Throwaway Robots in *Blade Runner*, the *Terminators*, *A.I.,* and *Wall•E*"

Many objects remain unnoticed simply because it never occurs to us to look their way. Most people turn their backs on garbage cans, the dirt underfoot, the waste they leave behind.

Siegfried Kracauer, Theory of Film: The Redemption of Physical Reality (Oxford, 1960)





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This issue is the last of this academic year. We look forward to seeing everyone in the Fall!

 Kathleen McHugh and all the staff of CSW

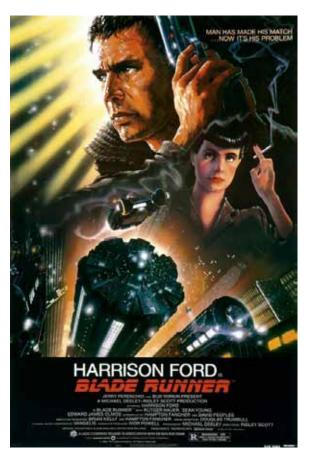
## Trashy Robots, continued from page 1

hat does it mean for humans to desire human-like relationships with robots? What kind of sovereignty do we want to have over our trash? These two seemingly unrelated questions melded together exquisitely during Patricia Yaeger's talk "Luminous Trash: Throwaway Robots in Blade Runner, the Terminators, A.I. and Wall • E." Yaeger directed her audiences' eyes towards robots as trash, and in doing so, linked together present and future possibilities for re-thinking automated relationships, technological power, and wasteful consumption. Yaeger, the Henry Simmons Frieze Collegiate Professor of English and Women's Studies at the University of Michigan, spoke to an overflowing room about our fascination with robots and trash, both of whom—or of which, depending on your comfort level with anthropomorphizing non-human subjects—highlight tensions between our desires and their limits.

Yeager's work presents a meta-commentary on disposable culture, using trash to interrogate our complex and contradictory relationships to technology and commodities. Obsolescence quickly follows a commodity's introduction into our lives, she points out; our computers are in need of upgrades almost as soon as we take them out of the box, and we are encouraged to replace

them completely within three years—almost before the physical object itself shows any signs of wear and tear. In robot movies, this technology turnover becomes personified in robots: commodities who behave both as subjects (who can act) and as objects (that can be disposed of once they are no longer valued). We humans want human-like relationships with our robots, but when our robots become obsolete—which is practically instantaneous—we shift our thinking from one of *relating* to one of *discarding*.

Yaeger suggests that while many humans cease to think about trash once we have discarded an object we deem no longer useful to us, this doesn't mean that the life of the object has ended. Rather, the life of commodities-as-trash persists in what she calls robot time. If durable time is the increasingly brief period when objects are useful to humans, then we can think of robot time as time outside the boundaries of durable time, time that exists before and after durable time. This reveals that commodities have something like half-lives; what we throw away in the trash takes on new life after it is recycled, and again when it is trashed and re-used once again. Yaeger suggests that while commodities are better when they have use-value that transcends 'first use,' most humans don't think of their com-

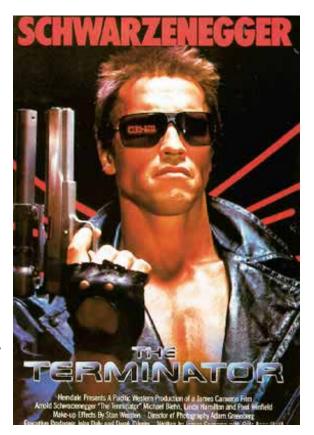


**Blade Runner** (1982) Ridley Scott, Warner Bros.

modities as having value beyond first use. That is, we are accustomed to brief rather than lengthy durable times. This post-WWII shift in thinking accompanied political and economic strategies to increase production and consumption, and with the shortening of durable time, heightened trashy destruction. Robot time, capable of spanning the present and the future, provides long-sighted thinking about trash.

The robots in the four films discussed—Blade Runner, the Terminator movies, A.I., and Wall•E personify the commodified objects that we so desire when they are 'luminous,' that is, shiny and new, but later yearn for after we have thrown them away. Additionally, robots, cyborgs, and androids make us question our humanness. We want to create something 'just like us,' but the more like us they become, the more we fear them in their capacity to throw us away. In Blade Runner, for example, the shared intimacy between maker and cyborg creates an "atmosphere of radiance," in a moment of recognition. We personify commodities but in choosing to see commodities as humanlike, we give them power to make choices: about what to throw away and what to destroy. Robots can choose to trash us, a theme particularly acute in the Terminator series.

Robots connect us to our refuse, illuminating our desires for the new and the old, for relationships of pleasure and consumption, relationships both human-like and commoditized. When a commodity has been anthropomorphized, its inevitable



The Terminator (1984),
James Cameron, Orion Pictures

transformation from being a human-like object to simply 'trash' forces us to confront our personal relationships with the things we throw away. In Yeager's terms, this leaves us with a "strange metallic mourning for that which we throw away." But are we mourning the objects we throw away, a kind of longing for that-which-is-no-longernew? Or are we morning the destruction that



Terminator 2: Judgment Day (1991), James Cameron, Carolco Pictures

our waste creates: the large scale global trashing exemplified in the "vortex of trash," a region in the Pacific Ocean the size of Texas? Yeager assures us that it is both.

Yaeger suggests that in disposing of both old and new commodities, we reveal that our desires



I. See http://oceans.greenpeace.org/en/the-expedition/news/trashing-our-oceans/ocean\_pollution\_animation







Pardon our dust (2005), Spike Jonze, Gap

for commodities may be less motivated by an attempt to gain material status as the one who has the most stuff than by a fetishistic desire for novelty. This desire leads us, as consumers, to live in perpetual futurity, grounded not in the present landscape of our waste, but in a future of needs and wants defined by the new, located a comfortable distance from the refuse of material reality. Robots, at once both disposable and destructive, personify our human needs and desires while they also expose our contemporary role as "the destructive consumer" rather than "the creative producer."

To consume conspicuously, we must trash conspicuously, says Yaeger. We have a commercial fascination with trash, evidenced not only in the destructive landscapes in robot movies, but also in a smorgasbord of destruction in commercials, such as a recent Gap commercial directed

by Spike Jonze. Economic strategies of waste have been more viable than tactics of reuse and recycling, as exemplified in *Wall*•*E* with an advertisement by Buy n Large (BnL), the movie's fictional mega-corporation,:

Too much garbage in your face? There's plenty of space out in space! BnL StarLiners leaving each day. We'll clean up the mess while you're away!

The idea of space being empty, that we can fill it with trash and move on, and thus perpetuate our endless consumption, is another faulty human hubris of avoidance. Robot movies offer up trashing as a regenerative activity, even—or perhaps especially—via the destruction of humans and human presence. Each of the robot movies Yaeger draws upon provides us with spectacles of destruction. James Cameron's 1984 *Terminator* film begins with a garbage truck as vector of arrival for the

Terminator robot, who possesses the power to come back to life when humans try to trash him. In Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* (1982), we view a tension in the landscape of high-tech future, which is simultaneously luminous and decayed. These two films, as well as the circus-like display of robot execution in *A.I.* (2001) and the barren wasteland dotted by trash skyscrapers in *Wall•E* (2008), offer up spectacles of *our* destruction.

Yaeger proposes that robots remind us of our own obsolescence in the face of increasingly "smart" technology. Calling attention to the disposable workforce of childcare, welfare, and social workers in A.I. (2001), and the sole inhabitant of planet Earth, a loveable lonely trash compactor in Wall-E (2008), it appears that throwaway workers and programmed obsolescence bear the marks of gender, race, and class politics. The movie A.I. renders useless the labor



WALL•E (2008), Andrew Stanton,
Pixar Animation Studios/Walt Disney Pictures

apparatuses who no longer serve industrial needs, nor even the emotional and psychological needs of humans. Yet despite the destruction of those robots marked as no longer valuable, humans are afraid of cyborgs, our trash-turned-subjects, taking over. What remains unclear is which humans, if any, will survive the technological takeover: those who create waste or those who reuse it?

During the question and answer session, Yeager suggested there are no clear answers to these questions because it is "complicated thinking about trash." We suggest this complication can

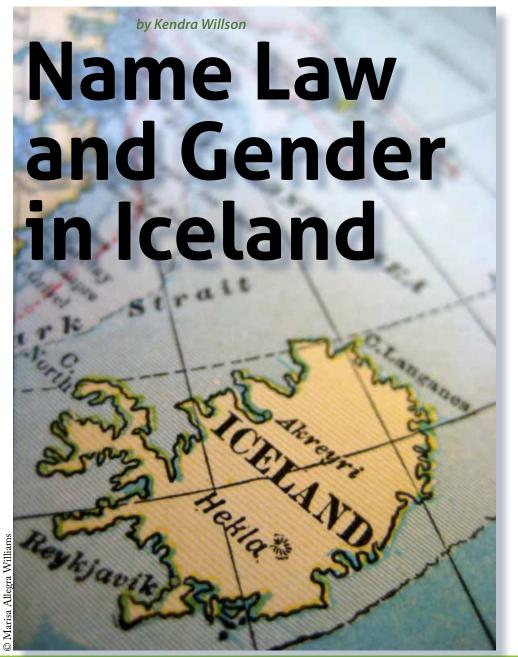
be linked to the unsettling relationship between robots as object and subject: robots themselves can be both disposable objects and subjects who create trash. Robot movies remind us that when we throw robots away or attempt to destroy them, we are also participating in their next half-life creations by removing them from durable time as first-use commodities and allowing them new life as subjects in robot time. Through our acts of trashing, we create the potential means of our own human destruction.

Yaeger's talk was delightful in that it prompted the audience to notice trash, to begin asking questions about trash, and to ask what it might mean to behave ethically in relation to trash. If the point of robots is to call attention to questions of subjectivity and choice, our ability as humans to trash robots and their potential to trash us complicates seemingly over-determined consumer relationships not only to the means of production, but also to the means of destruction. Wall•E, that lovable trash-compacting dumpster-diving robot extraordinaire, finds a plant in a discarded refrigerator, and instead of destroying it per his human instructions, nurtures the plant in an old boot. The use-value of the plant, for Wall•E, occurs in robot time; more than 700 years after humans have declared Earth uninhabitable and "impossible to recolonize." After the humans' flight, it is a robot, operating

with old-fashioned robot values and working steadily in robot time, who sifts through trash and discovers the potential for a human future on Earth. Reveling in the pleasure of trash, Wall•E saves items valuable to a quirky robot, reminding us that it is not a limited understanding of durable time that provides the means for regenerative ecological and human reproduction on earth, but rather, an expansive robot time that considers the endless possibilities in trash.

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A PERSON'S NAME is at once a central marker of personal identity (including gender identity), a linguistic artifact, and a label used to identify individuals at all levels of social organization. Legal monitoring of personal name choice correlates with aspects of state formation and centralization.

The Nordic countries (Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, Finland, Norway) each implemented legislation on personal names between 1828 and 1923. Each country's laws have subsequently been revised several times. In general, the original name laws in the Nordic countries assume an ethnically homogeneous population and treat names as part of the national language. Recent revisions have attempted to take into account increasing immigration and multiculturalism. Changes in family structures and attitudes (for example, women's name changes at marriage, policies regarding children of unmarried parents) are also reflected in name law revisions.

Iceland is known for an extremely successful policy of linguistic purism. The folk belief that the language has remained unchanged since the country was settled in the 9th century AD is central to Icelandic national identity. Many Icelanders are proud of the conservatism of their vocabulary and the morphological complexity of their language, with three grammatical genders, four cases, and myriad inflectional classes.

One aspect of Icelandic purism is a historically strict policy on personal names. From 1952 until 1995, foreigners who applied for Icelandic citizenship were obliged to take Icelandic names. In the early 20th century, after some debate (see Willson 2002), Iceland decided to depart from the dominant European trend of adopting fixed surnames and maintain the patronymic system; adoption of new surnames was forbidden after 1925. Only some 7 percent of contemporary Icelanders have surnames inherited in fixed forms

(Ellen Dröfn Gunnarsdóttir 2005). A person's first name remains his or her primary name; hence the telephone catalogue is organized by first name. The "last name" is in most cases a patronymic, based on the father's name with the addition of -son or -dóttir. Ólöf Garðarsdóttir, for example, is the daughter of a man named Garðar. Metronymics formed in the same way from the mother's name are legal but rare (for example, Ingunn Ásdísardóttir, whose mother is Ásdís). Defenders of the patro- (and metro-) nymic system tout its gender equity in that women do not change their names at marriage.

If parents wish to give their child a name that is not on the list of approved first names, they must submit a petition to the committee on personal names (mannanafnanefna). The personal name committee is widely unpopular. Twice since its establishment in 1991 the committee has resigned en masse. An acquaintance who joined the committee after the last group resignation reports having been told, "You must love to be hated." Members of the committee emphasize the difficulty of being charged with enforcing an ambiguous and unpopular law (see Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson 1993). Popular voices object variously that the committee is failing in its gatekeeper function by permitting ugly or ridiculous names and that it is restricting human rights by denying parents the right to name their

children as they wish. I believe this debate reflects uncertainty in society about the role of the family and the state in shaping citizens, as well as tension between tradition and individualism in name choice (see Ólöf Garðarsdóttir 1999).

The law states "a boy shall not be given a girl's name nor a girl a boy's name." This has been interpreted to mean that names must be unambiguous with respect to gender. In most instances, the inflectional class of the name is unambiguous with respect to gender. In the rare instances where a name has been attested both as a man's and as a woman's name, the committee considers the gender of the common noun on which the name is based (if applicable) and then the relative numbers of male and female namebearers (Morgunblaðið 5 July 2002).

One case which attracted media attention concerned the name *Blær*. This name is homophonous with the masculine common noun *blær* ("breeze; nuance; tone"). It is found as a feminine personal name in the novel *Brekku-kotsannáll* (*The fish can sing*) by Nobel laureate Halldór Laxness. In 1989, one woman and five men in Iceland had this name (Guðrún Kvaran and Sigurður Jónsson frá Arnarvatni 1991: 161).

The name *Blær* was registered as a masculine name in 1998. Three subsequent petitions to register it as a feminine name were therefore denied. An article appeared in a linguistic jour-

nal arguing that the name should be masculine because there was no appropriate declension class for feminine nouns of that shape (Margrét Jónsdóttir 2002). *Blær*, like other names over the years, became a "poster child" for opponents of the name policy. The one female Blær in Iceland, Blær Guðmundsdóttir, was quoted in the media saying that the name had never caused her any trouble.

Andri Árnason, then chair of the personal name committee, was interviewed in the newspaper *Morgunblaðið* (5 July 2002) explaining as follows:

The law which specifies that names cannot be borne by both women and men was probably created with the idea in mind that is should be possible to determine from people's names whether they are male or female. As an example one might take the name Blær Hafberg; it is not possible to see from it whether the person in question is a man or a woman. It is the legislative body that makes decisions that it shall be so and the personal name committee operates accordingly.

This statement is typical in emphasizing that the committee does not set policy but simply enforces it, although feedback from the committee was influential in shaping the 1995 revision to the name law. The hypothetical example of *Blær Hafberg* ties the issue of gender-ambiguous first names to the question of surnames. The gender and declinability of surnames were areas of con-

Guðrún Kristín Magnúsdóttir Gunnfríður Jónsdóttir

Markús Örn Antonsson Nína Dögg Filippusdóttir

From 1952 until 1995, foreigners who applied for Icelandic citizenship were obliged to take control of the cont

Haukur Tómasson Örvar Þóreyjarson Smárason

Hilmar Örn Hilmarsson Páll Óskar Hjálmtýsson

The personal name committee is widely unpopular. Twice since its establishment in 1991 the committee has resigned en masse.

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Jóhanna Guðrún Jónsdóttir

be unambiguous with respect to gender.Ingólfsson

Magnús Scheving
Margrét Vilhjálmsdóttir
Marinó Sigurðsson

Þórarinn Eldjárn Þórbergur Þórðarson Jóhanna Sigurðsson

Stephan G. Stephansson

tention in the Icelandic surname debate of the early 20th century (Willson 2002).

Surprisingly, I have not identified in this discourse many voices questioning the general principle that names should indicate the bearer's gender. One blogger (http://begga.blog.is/blog/begga/entry/612/) presents, as a parallel to the *Blær* case, that the name *Sturla* is grammatically feminine but is a man's name (and one borne by prominent figures in early Icelandic history). This is not entirely correct; rather, the masculine name *Sturla* belongs to a declension class most members of which are feminine.

The name laws of most other Nordic countries also stipulate that first names should be unambiguous for gender. This is the case, for example, in Finland, where Finnish, the dominant language, has no grammatical gender and uses the same pronoun for "he" and "she." One could argue in both directions about the relative importance of gender-specific names in Icelandic vs. Finnish. In Icelandic, any adjective and even the way of saying "hello" will take a different form depending on the gender of the name bearer. On the one hand, the grammatical relevance of the person's gender is much greater in Icelandic than in Finnish. On the other hand, the Icelandic language will provide many redundant "clues" to the person's gender (including, in most instances, the person's patronymic),

Garðar Thór Cortes

Gísli Örn Garðarsson

Guðmundur G. Hagalín

Arnaldur Indriðason

whereas in Finnish the first name may be the only indication of the person's gender. Hence if one accepts the notion that a person's sex should be clear from textual references to the person, the information load on the name is greater in Finnish than in a language like Icelandic.

I interviewed a transgender Swede who had taken the name Mia Hedvigsdotter. Uppsala University accepted this name, but the national registry did not. Swedish law does not allow people to adopt "gender-inappropriate" names unless they have completed a full biological sex change, whereas Norwegian law simply requires a "transgender identity." The Swedish law, however, is being combated by grassroots groups. I have not yet seen signs of a debate over the principle of gender-specific names in Iceland.

In the United States, some parents view a gender-neutral name as an advantage for a daughter. Names tend to evolve from masculine to unisex to feminine (Barry and Harper 1982). The absence of such a trend in Iceland may relate to the grammatical structure of the language. A recent Bible translation which aimed to render scripture in "the language of both sexes" (mál beggja kynja) was attacked by linguists for distorting the language to the point of incomprehensibility (Guðrún Þórhallsdóttir 2005). The lack of interest in unisex names may also be connected to the fact that the most prevalent forms

of feminism in Iceland have tended to emphasize equal rights without necessarily questioning sexual difference.

Author's Note: This research forms part of a larger project on "Personal name law in the Nordic countries: models of language and citizenship."

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## Where Are the Voices!

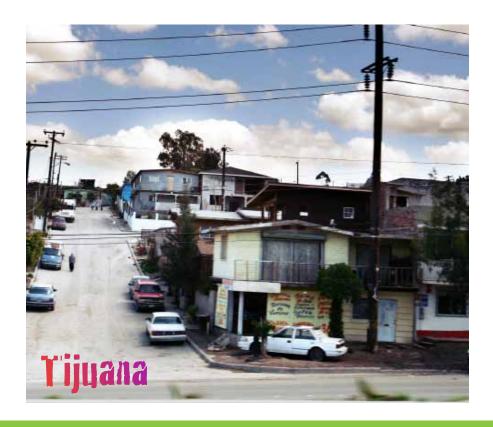
## Moving Beyond HIV in the Lives of Female Sex Workers

by Shonali M. Choudhury

Lijuana promises different things to different people. Throughout Mexico people in difficult circumstances dream of moving to the US-Mexico border in search of better economic opportunities and the chance to be closer to the American dream. Men of means from the United States and other countries flock to Tijuana in search of new and exciting sexual adventures. At the crossroads, we find women working in the sex industry in order to give their families a better life and at the same time servicing men seeking sex.

Women working in the commercial sex industry in Tijuana find themselves in a precarious

social position because they are violating the norms of sexual purity demanded of "good women" in order to provide for their children. Grounded in feminist constructivism, my research studies the process of forming a positive self-image and negotiating health in the lives of establishment-based female sex workers in Tijuana. In this research I find that the women working in the commercial sex industry have a strong drive to form a positive self-image as a way to manage their lives and challenge notions that they are women of little to no value. Social interactions both inside and outside the world of commercial



sex are central to shaping the self-image of women working in the commercial sex industry and their capacity to take control of their lives and health. My research suggests that the key processes that contribute to a positive self-image amongst female sex workers in Tijuana include being a good mother, having supportive sisterly relationships with women, managing relationships with men, legitimizing sex work, and rejecting the victim label.

My research concludes that public health interventions that aim to improve the health and well-being of female sex workers should take into account their existing strengths and resources. Programs should incorporate the reinforcement of values that are central to most women working in the commercial sex industry. The importance of supportive female figures in their lives can be replicated in a community health model in which sex workers are trained to be "promotoras" (big sister community health workers). Interventions that target sex workers should also take

into account their own holistic concepts of mental and physical health because narrowly targeting reproductive health undermines their positive self-image as women of value rather than sex objects.

The inspiration for working on this research project came from a class on health in Latin America at the UCLA School of Public Health. For this class I wrote a critical literature review of what has been labeled a "public health crisis" related to female sex workers and HIV in Tijuana. In the preparation of this paper, what struck me was that the voices of women were lacking from most of the discourses on the topic. Researchers were quick to assume that women working in the sex industry are to blame for HIV crossing over from high-risk populations to low-risk populations or that female sex workers are helpless victims caught in a lifetime of desperation. I asked myself how we could possibly talk about a public health crisis and not involve the "public" or the community.

As a doctoral student in the Department of Community Health

I find that the women working in the commercial sex industry have a strong drive to form a positive self-image as a way to manage their lives and challenge notions that they are women of little to no value.

Sciences in the School of Public Health with a subconcentration in Women's Studies, I decided to use my training and my dedication to issues related to community and women's health to address the significant gaps in the literature in regards to the health and wellbeing of women working in the commercial sex industry in Tijuana.

As a resident of Southern California, the US-Mexico border is a significant part of my social world. Although prior to this research project I had spent vast amounts of time in Mexico, I had never been to Tijuana. I decided to embark on an adventure, and I drove my car to the border and crossed into Mexico by foot. Crossing the border was a very interesting experience. You walk a few feet and cross through a turnstile gate and all of a sudden you are in a very different world. Although the process of crossing the border is relatively easy and you are not

I had many informal conversations with these women to find out about their lives, their concerns, and their priorities. Hearing their stories helped me realize that as public health scholars, we cannot forget about the faces and voices of the people and communities with whom we work.

asked for any documentation of citizenship, you are greeted by men in fatigues and masks carrying semi-automatic weapons. The military and police are not worried about illegal immigration into Mexico but rather are responding to the government call for a crack down on drug trafficking. One's confidence that their presence is making the city safer is shattered by the news stories about corruption within law enforcement.

Once you move past the guns, you encounter a hodgepodge of bars and craft vendors desperately seeking your patronage and the US dollar. Walking down the main street, if you look closely, you can see women standing on the corners luring men with as simple a sign as a wink. At first the environment seems shocking and unfamiliar. But things change when you get to know your surroundings and the people in the community.

organization the Bi-National Center for Human Rights, I was able to make contacts in the community, and I started talking to women working in the sex industry. Engaging in these conversations changed everything. I was no longer in a strange environment but rather just sharing life stories with other women. Prior to officially starting the research project, I had many informal conversations with these women to find out about their lives, their concerns, and their priorities. Hearing their stories helped me realize that as public health scholars, we cannot forget about the faces and voices of the people and communities with whom we work. As I continued to gather data through in-depth interviews, I learned a great deal about the lives of these women that was not uncovered in other research with this community. My research reveals how women working in the sex industry are engaged in a constant struggle to form a positive self image. By engaging with the community I developed a model for public

Through the nonprofit

health action that starts from the voices of the women rather than making judgments about their lives and health priorities. While HIV is an important factor in their lives, it is only part of a larger struggle to live fulfilling lives and provide the best life possible for their children and families.

Shonali M. Choudhury finished her Ph.D. in May 2009 at the UCLA School of Public Health with a concentration in Community Health Sciences and a subconcentration in Women's Studies. She specializes in health promotion among marginalized women, reproductive health, and the application of feminist research methods in public health. For her dissertation research she spent extensive time working in the field with women working in the commercial sex industry in Tijuana, Mexico. She was awarded the Elizabeth Blackwell, MD, award in June 2009 for her paper "As Prostitutes, We Control Our Bodies": Perceptions of Health and Body in the Lives of Establishment-Based Female Sex Workers in Tijuana.

# Fifth Avenue's First Lady DOROTHY SHAVER

Largely forgotten except in fashion and some business histories, Dorothy Shaver was a trailblazing female executive at Lord & Taylor department store in New York City. Upon her promotion to president of the company in 1945, Time magazine dubbed her "Fifth Avenue's First Lady."1 Born in Arkansas in 1893, Dorothy Shaver worked at Lord & Taylor from 1924 until her death in 1959, climbing up the corporate ladder rung by rung. Shaver's rise from comparison shopper to president distinguished her from other leading female executives such as Beatrice Fox Auerbach of G. Fox & Co.

and Hortense Odlum of Bonwit
Teller, who both attained their high
positions through their husbands.
In this sense, Dorothy Shaver was
unique because she became president, as *Life* magazine reported,
"exactly as a man would have done—by vote of the male directors of
the Associated Dry Goods Corporation, which controls [the store]."<sup>2</sup>

During her life, Dorothy Shaver was a well-known leader of the American fashion industry. Even though fashion historians have discussed her important role in promoting American fashion designers like Claire McCardell and American fashion itself, her life has yet to

be explored in depth. The basic question motivating my research asks what distinguishing factors allowed Dorothy Shaver to achieve such business success. In answering this

question, my dissertation examines the life of an important woman to analyze larger issues involving the nature of women's roles within the development of the fashion industry, American consumer culture, and American business.

In the fall of 2008, with the support of a CSW Travel Grant, I travelled to Washington, D.C., to conduct research at the Smithsonian Lord & Taylor department store on 5th Avenue between 38th and 39th in New York City. The store moved to this 10-story Italian Renaissance Revival building when it was completed in 1914. In 2007 the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission designated the building a city landmark. Dorothy Shaver's office was on the ninth floor.



ANYONE WHO HAS UNDERTAKEN ARCHIVAL RESEARCH CAN ATTEST THAT EVEN WITH AN **EXCELLENT FINDING AID, YOU NEVER KNOW** EXACTLY WHAT YOU WILL COME ACROSS INSIDE THE MANY FOLDERS AND BOXES. FOR EXAMPLE, IN GOING THROUGH SHAVER'S CORRESPONDENCE, I DISCOVERED SEVERAL LETTERS TO AND FROM PROMINENT BUSINESSMEN, INCLUDING THOMAS J. WATSON, SR., WHO WAS HEAD OF IBM FROM 1914 TO 1956. FURTHER INVESTIGATION REVEALED A BUSINESS FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO THAT LASTED SEVERAL YEARS.

National Museum of American History. At the Archives Center, I combed through The Dorothy Shaver Papers collection. Assembled by Shaver's sister after her death, the collection holds the bulk of her business papers including speeches, periodical clippings, photos, letters, other documents, and recordings. Anyone who has undertaken archival research can attest that even with an excellent finding aid, you never know exactly what you will come across inside the many folders and boxes. For example, in going through Shaver's correspondence, I discovered several letters to and from prominent businessmen, including Thomas J. Watson, Sr., head of IBM from 1914 to 1956. Further investigation revealed a business friendship between the two that lasted several years. This discovery was very exciting, because scholars of women in business such as Kathy Peiss and Angel Kwolek-Folland have generally characterized businesswomen in female-centric industries like beauty and fashion as being somewhat insular, excluded from more male-dominated networks and businesses like IBM.3 Yet Dorothy Shaver's connection to Tom Watson points to how we might rethink this characterization in an effort to truly "incorporate" women into business history and business into women's history.

The Dorothy Shaver Papers collection also includes numerous articles that sought Shaver's thoughts on the issue of women's increasing presence in business. She repeatedly stated that men and women have equal mental capacities and talents for business success. She also expressed her

belief that women should have the same opportunities as men. With Shaver in charge, Lord & Taylor's policies towards women were very progressive; the company allowed and encouraged women to return to work after having children. On the other hand, Shaver also saw the sexes as distinct and believed that women were still primarily wives and mothers. In her own life, however, Dorothy Shaver was neither a wife nor a mother; she never married, never had children, and resided much of her life with her similarly single and childless sister, Elsie, in a spacious Manhattan apartment. Her own life reflected a far less traditional worldview than the one she imagined for other career women or her female customers. Closely examining the debate about career women that Dorothy Shaver's papers reveal

is essential to understanding the opportunities, limitations, and choices that businesswomen, particularly female executives like Shaver, confronted in the period that prefigured the movement for civil rights and secondwave feminism.

What allowed Dorothy Shaver to succeed was not just a keen sense of business and management, but also a talent for selling. Shaver understood how modern advertising was no longer just concerned with selling products, but was also about selling ideas and lifestyles, since desire more and more trumped necessity in buying. With the late nineteenth-century shift to mass production, mass consumption increasingly became a defining feature of American life, culture, and identity. Dorothy Shaver understood this dramatic change and realized that to sell women's

fashion, retailers needed to focus less on the clothes themselves and more on the images and ideas they came to represent.

Lord & Taylor's 1945 advertising campaign, "The American Look," best characterizes Shaver's approach. The key feature of "The American Look" in fashion, as Dorothy Shaver saw it, was American women themselves. The campaign featured a photo essay in the April 1, 1945 issue of *Life* magazine that pictured seven attractive young women and asked, "What is the American Look?" Each of the women was featured in a different setting to embody supposed characteristics of all American women, including cleanliness, confidence, agelessness, domesticity, naturalness, good grooming, glamour, and simplicity. The essay argued that American G.I.s missed the "look" of

American girls, and letters to Dorothy Shaver from American soldiers who had seen the *Life* article back up the assertion. To these lonely men, the young models represented the ideal of American womanhood.

The Lord & Taylor "American Look" campaign, launched just months before the end of World War II, demonstrated how much American identity and consumerism had become bound up in each other. Dorothy Shaver and other leaders in the fashion industry were trying to sell a form of Americanism to women who were not only to consume, but were also to embody these values on domestic and international stages. Shaver argued that the "American Look" showed the world Americans' freedom, prosperity, and youth, what would offer a stark contrast to communism during the

Cold War. She envisioned that the "American Look" would be copied around the world and that Americans would rival the French as fashion leaders.

Ultimately my work on Dorothy Shaver will increase our understanding of the history of women in business and the roles they played in shaping American consumer culture that has come to be a defining feature of our identities and lives as Americans and as women.

Author's Note: I thank the Center for the Study of Women again for



their generous support of my research and Professors Jan Reiff, Kathryn Norberg,

Ellen Dubois, Eleanor Kaufman, and Mary Yeager for their essential insights into this research project.

Stephanie Amerian is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History in the U.S. field. She earned her M.A. in History at UCLA in 2007 and her B.A. in History at UC, Berkeley in 2004.

#### Notes

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- 3. See Kathy Peiss, Hope in a Jar:
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#### **CSW TRAVEL GRANTS PROGRAM**

This program assists UCLA graduate students with travel expenses related to their research on women, gender, and sexuality and enables them to present papers at professional conferences. Students may apply for a grant to fund travel that has occurred since the last award deadline (the prior 6 months) or travel that will occur within the following 6 months. Awards may be used only for transportation costs to and from the conference or place of research. Awards are given twice a year. Check the CSW website for requirements and deadlines.





## KAY WARREN ON GENDER, CLASS, AND THE UNWILLING VICTIMS OF HUMAN TRAFFICKING LAW

by Janell Rothenberg

ver the last decade, human trafficking has emerged as a legal category of prosecutable criminal behavior. The 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, created international guidelines for the identification and prosecution of human trafficking under the auspices of the UN Office on

Drugs and Crime. More than 110 UN member states are signatories to this protocol while actual attempts to translate it into practice continue to face major obstacles.

In a recent talk, Kay Warren, Tillinghast Professor of International Studies and Anthropology at Brown University, traced the framing of trafficking victims and perpetuators from the discourse of the UN protocol to the particular practices of prosecution. Speaking at the Department of Anthropology's Culture, Power and Social Change Group on May 7, Warren demonstrated contestation over the category of trafficking victim through an ethnographic account of one particular human trafficking case in Colombia. Under external, international pressure, the case began in 2003 as a trial over human trafficking

between Colombia and Singapore. By 2006, it had become a case of prostitution and collaboration in criminal enterprises. During this period, Warren also witnessed the Colombian legal system change. In 2003, the country's courts were still an inquisitorial system, marked by lengthy judicial interrogation and document proliferation. All of this was changed by 2005 into an adversarial system



emphasizing plea bargains and efficiency, adopted under pressure from the US.

The UN protocol was designed to clearly distinguish between the trafficking victim and perpetrator. Resulting from the strong influence of anti-prostitution activists in the drafting of the protocol, the definition of human trafficking was given the distinctive quality of sexual exploitation. In the UN protocol, trafficking victims are framed as innocent, duped, non-consenting women and children, while perpetrators are described as wielding coercion and violence to exploit their victims transnationally. In the 2003-2006 Colombian case, Warren found a more ambiguous legal drama. Some women identified as trafficked were unwilling to play the role of duped victims. They gave the impression of having been labor migrants, consenting to leave and earn money to support their families. Poor men, who started

as accused traffickers, gained innocence via their class position. These local recruiters were characterized by the defense as too poor to have benefited from human trafficking. Therefore, Warren argued, "victimhood was shifted, partially and momentarily, onto an unexpected category of protagonists." The "real" perpetrators became those men with the capital and mobility to utilize transnational economic networks. The lack of suitable victims required to pursue a case of human trafficking forced the prosecution to reframe the crime. The shift in prosecution from being "victim-centered" to "criminal enterprise centered" resulted from the complicated ways that globally circulated legal discourse interacted with the local realities of prosecution in Colombia. Following the process of "writing the victim" from the text of the UN protocol to the changing arguments in a Colombian courtroom, Warren put into question international

Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, adopted and opened for signature, ratification, and accession by General Assembly resolution 55/25 of 15 November 2000

norms and practices surrounding human trafficking.

Kay Warren's current book project is entitled Human Trafficking, Global Solutions, and Local Realities Across the Pacific Rim. Her other books include Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala (Princeton University, 1998) and Women of the Andes: Patriarchy and Social Change in Two Peruvian Towns, coauthored with Susan Bourque (University of Michigan, 1981).

Janell Rothenberg is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Anthropology at UCLA.







The annual CSW Awards luncheon was held on June 9, 2009, at the UCLA Faculty Center. Some of the recipients are shown above. *Top row, left to right:* Cristina F. Rosa, Shonali M. Choudhury, Darby Saxbe, Laurel Westrup, Sonja Kim, and Asmara Carbado. *Bottom row, left to right:* Katie Oliviero, Emily Susan Carman, Beverly Ann Woodard, Gabrielle Thomas, and Cailin Crockett



## **PENNY KANNER**



Barbara "Penny" Kanner received a Ph.D. in the Department of History at UCLA. Kanner has taught at UCLA Extension, Mount St. Mary's College, Occidental College, and held a faculty appointment at UCLA. She has been a Research Scholar at the Center for the Study of Women since 1990. She authored a number of works on British women's autobiographies

including Women in Context: Two Hundred Years of British Women Autobiographers, a Reference Guide and Reader (Prentice Hall, 1997). Her research interests also include bibliomethodology as an analytical tool. In her essay, "Growing into History" in the book Voices of Women Historians (Indiana UP, 1999), she noted that she endowed the Mary Wollstonecraft Award at the Center

for the Study of Women in 1983 after "seeing that professional encouragement for women graduate students was pitifully inadequate in all disciplines." More recently, she generously endowed the George Eliot Dissertation Award and the Elizabeth Blackwell, M.D., Awards. She has served as President of the West Coast Association of Women Historians and the Conference Group on Women's History.



## **ELIZABETH BLACKWELL, M.D., AWARDS**

Named for the first woman to graduate from medical school and made possible by the generosity of Barbara "Penny" Kanner, Ph.D., these awards honor a publishable research report, thesis, dissertation, or published article relating to women, health, or women in health-related sciences.





Shonali M. Choudhury received her Ph.D. in the Department of Community Health Sciences in the School of Public Health at UCLA with a subconcentration in Women's Studies. She specializes in health promotion among marginalized women, reproductive health, and the application of feminist research methods in public health. For her dissertation research she spent extensive

time working in the field with women in the commercial sex industry in Tijuana, Mexico. She received the Blackwell Award for her paper, "'As Prostitutes, We Control Our Bodies': Perceptions of Health and Body in the Lives of Establishment-Based Female Sex Workers in Tijuana."

Sonja Kim received her Ph.D. in the Korean History program at UCLA and will take a position as Assistant Professor in the Department of Asian and Asian American Studies at SUNY Binghamton in the Fall of 2009. Her Blackwell Award—winning article, "'Limiting Birth': Birth Control in Colonial Korea (1910–1945)," was published in *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* (2008).



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Amanda K. Jessen is a Point Scholar and recently received her B.A in International Development Studies (IDS) with a minor in Women's Studies. Jessen received the Elizabeth Blackwell, M.D., Award from CSW for her IDS senior seminar paper, entitled "Food Insecurity and Hunger as a Gendered Crisis: A Case Study of Southern Sudan."



Jessen intends to pursue publication of this article and will continue to research the many ways in which women are marginalized by conflict. Jessen plans to join the Peace Corps and serve for two years teaching English in Eastern Europe/Central Asia.



**GEORGE ELIOT DISSERTATION AWARD** 

Named for the nineteenth-century English novelist and made possible by the generosity of Barbara "Penny" Kanner, Ph.D., this award honors an outstanding doctoral dissertation pertaining to women or gen Emily Susan Carman completed her Ph.D. in in the Cinema and Media Studies program in the Department of Film, Television, and Digital Media in Fall 2008. Her dissertation is entitled "Independent Stardoms: Female Film Star Labor, Agency, and the Studio System in the 1930s."



## MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT DISSERTATION AWARD

Named for the author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792) and made possible by the generosity of Barbara "Penny" Kanner, Ph.D., this award honors an outstanding doctoral dissertation pertaining to women or gender that uses historical materials and methods.

Elizabeth Morgan received her Ph.D. in the Department of Musicology with a dissertation entitled "The Virtuous Virtuosa: Women at the Pianoforte in England, 1780–1820." She holds bachelor's and master's degrees in piano performance from The Juilliard School.



## **JEAN STONE**



Jean Stone, born Jean Factor, collaborated with her husband, Irving Stone, as a researcher and editor on eighteen biographical novels. For over five decades, she was involved with and supported UCLA. Stone had a long and productive relationship with CSW. Her relationship with the Center began with her participation in the Friends of CSW in the late 1980s. She attended many

CSW-sponsored talks and, after 1990, when she made her first contribution to CSW, she never missed the annual Awards Luncheon. Stone, who passed away in 2004, cared deeply about the graduate students whose research on women embodied the promise of the next generation of women scholars. Her commitment to graduate students is reflected in the dissertation fellowships she

established. On more than one occasion, she noted how much pleasure she derived from supporting stellar young scholars and their research. In addition to the fellowships she established during her life, her legacy to UCLA now includes the Irving and Jean Stone Dissertation Year Fellowships.



## JEAN STONE DISSERTATION RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

Made possible by the generosity of Mrs.

Jean Stone, this fellowship helps fund an exceptional graduate student dissertation research project focusing on women or gender.

Kathryn E. "Katie" Oliviero is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Women's Studies. Her dissertation explores how sensationalism, performance, and affect are used by twenty-first century conservative movements to compose citizenship, intimacy, life, and nation as vulnerable.



## PAULA STONE RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

This fellowship, which was established by
Mrs. Jean Stone to honor her daughter, Paula
Stone, helps fund an exceptional dissertation
research project focusing on women and the
law with preference given to research on
women in the criminal/legal justice system.

Jennifer Lynne Musto is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Women's Studies. Her dissertation project, "Institutionalizing Protection, Professionalizing Victim Management: Explorations of Multi-Professional Anti-Trafficking Work in the Netherlands," charts and takes theoretical stock of Dutch efforts to protect trafficked persons and investigates

whether such protective interventions have helped to empower trafficked persons in general and illegal migrants in particular.



## CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF WOMEN/ GRADUATE DIVISION IRVING AND JEAN STONE DISSERTATION YEAR FELLOWSHIPS

Made possible by the generosity of Mrs.

Jean Stone, these fellowships support
exceptionally promising doctoral students
whose dissertation topic pertains to gender,
sexuality, and/or women's issues and who are
at the dissertation writing stage.

Cristina F. Rosa is a doctoral candidate in Culture and Performance Studies in the Department of World Arts and Cultures. Her dissertation is "Moving Scripts: Ginga, Choreography, and the Formation of Gendered and National Identities in Brazil."

Laurel Westrup is a doctoral candidate in Cinema and Media Studies in the Department of Film, Television, and Digital







Media. Her dissertation is "Reanimating Rock: Film and Television, Rock Music, and the Political Economy of Death, 1960–2005."

Nimmi Gowrinathan is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Political Science. Her dissertation is "Why Women Rebel? State Repression and Female Participation in Sri Lanka." Stacy Macías is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Women's Studies.

Her dissertation is "Counter-Feminities:
Gender, Sexual, and Racial Formations in
Latina Cultural Productions." Jennifer
Lynne Musto is a doctoral candidate in
the Department of Women's Studies. Her
dissertation is "Institutionalizing Protection,
Professionalizing Victim Management:
Explorations of Multi-Professional AntiTrafficking Work in the Netherlands."



**CONSTANCE COINER AWARDS** 

Created to honor the memory and continue the work of Constance Coiner, Ph.D., and her daughter Ana Duarte-Coiner and made possible through donations of family and friends, the Constance Coiner Awards support research on feminist and working-class issues and honor excellence in teaching and a commitment to teaching as activism.

Darby Saxbe will receive her Ph.D. in the Department of Psychology in June 2009. Her research focuses on stress physiology, health, and well-being within the context of close relationships and families. Her primary research advisor is Rena Repetti and her research home base has been UCLA's Center for the Everyday Lives of Families (CELF). Passionate about developing research

father, and daughter
methodologies that report on everyday
life "from the ground," and on conducting
research that illuminates pathways between
psychosocial functioning and physical
health outcomes, with an emphasis on
understanding women's health from a
feminist perspective, she is a predoctoral
clinical intern with the Greater Los Angeles
Veterans Adminstration Health Services.

Darby Saxbe with her husban

She hopes to pursue an academic career that integrates research, teaching, mentorship, and clinical work, and to remain engaged in political and community issues relevant to gender, class, and health.





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Asmara Carbado is a third-year transfer student majoring in the Department of History, with a minor in Civic Engagement. A McNair scholar, she is working on a research project entitled "Intersectionality: An Intellectual History of an Idea." She is deeply interested in how social movements related to race and gender relate to the lives

of women of color. Carbado is interning at Justice Corps where she assists litigants, many of whom are poor women of color, with completing and filing documents for cases regarding family law issues. Through her academic, artistic, and volunteer work, Asmara's goal is to promote legal, public policy, and academic approaches to gender

that reflect the multiple identities of women. Carbado plans to obtain a Ph.D in history and a J.D. and hopes to teach women and the law and critical race theory.

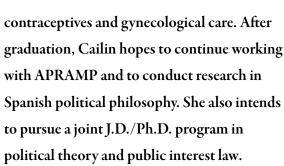


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Cailin Crockett is a third-year double major in Spanish and Political Science, with a concentration in Political Theory. Inspired by her grandmother, mother, and sister, she has been engaged in community activism and feminist issues from an early age. She has played a leadership role in Bruin Feminists for Equality. She has helped to start Vox, an on-campus advocacy group, which facilitates

support groups for teen moms and recently lobbied California assemblypersons in Sacramento in support of lowering healthcare costs for individuals below the poverty line. While studying abroad in Spain during Fall quarter, she volunteered as a part of the mobile clinic team for APRAMP, a nonprofit group whose mission is to empower female sex workers and provide them with safe







## **MYRNA HANT**



Myrna A. Hant received her Ph.D. in Education from UCLA with a dissertation entitled "Life Satisfaction of the Well Elderly." She had previously completed two Master's degrees, one in English Literature and the other in Business Administration. Dr. Hant was inducted into Phi Beta Kappa and Phi Delta Kappa for her Bachelor's in Sociology from UCLA. She also received a Certificate

in Gerontology from the University of Southern California. She was a college administrator at Chapman University as well as an instructor in Women's Studies. Presently she teaches Women's Studies courses as well as courses focusing on later life issues. She has been a CSW Research Scholar since 2001. She is also Chair of the Board of P.A.T.H. (People Assisting the Homeless). In 2006, she established the Renaissance Award, an undergraduate scholarship that rewards the rebirth of academic aspirations among women whose college careers were interrupted or delayed by family and/ or career obligations and that encourages achievement in the pursuit of a bachelor's degree at UCLA.



## **RENAISSANCE AWARDS**

Made possible through the generosity of Myrna Hant, Ph.D., this award supports the renewed academic aspirations of women whose college careers were interrupted or delayed. The recipients are UCLA undergraduate women who returned or are returning to college after a period of years.



Gabrielle M. Thomas is a student in the Department of Women's Studies. Her research interests focus on the psychosocial development of the adolescent female and the issues that teen girls face in today's society. After graduating from high school, she received a license as an aesthetician and then started My Beauty Inc. to help empower girls through workshops on goal setting,

money matters, college planning, healthy eating, fitness, fashion, and etiquette—more than two thousand girls have participated.

Wanting to lead by example and set a standard of academic excellence, Thomas enrolled in college when she was 23. Her goal is to continue her studies and receive an M.A. in Education from Harvard. Beverly Ann Woodard is a student in the Department of

Women's Studies, with a minor in African-American Studies. She is a first-generation college student and the proud mother of three children. The recipient of the Blue and Gold Scholarship and the Chancellor's Award for 2009, she is currently conducting research on gospel music with Professor Cheryl Keyes in the Department of Ethnomusicology.





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