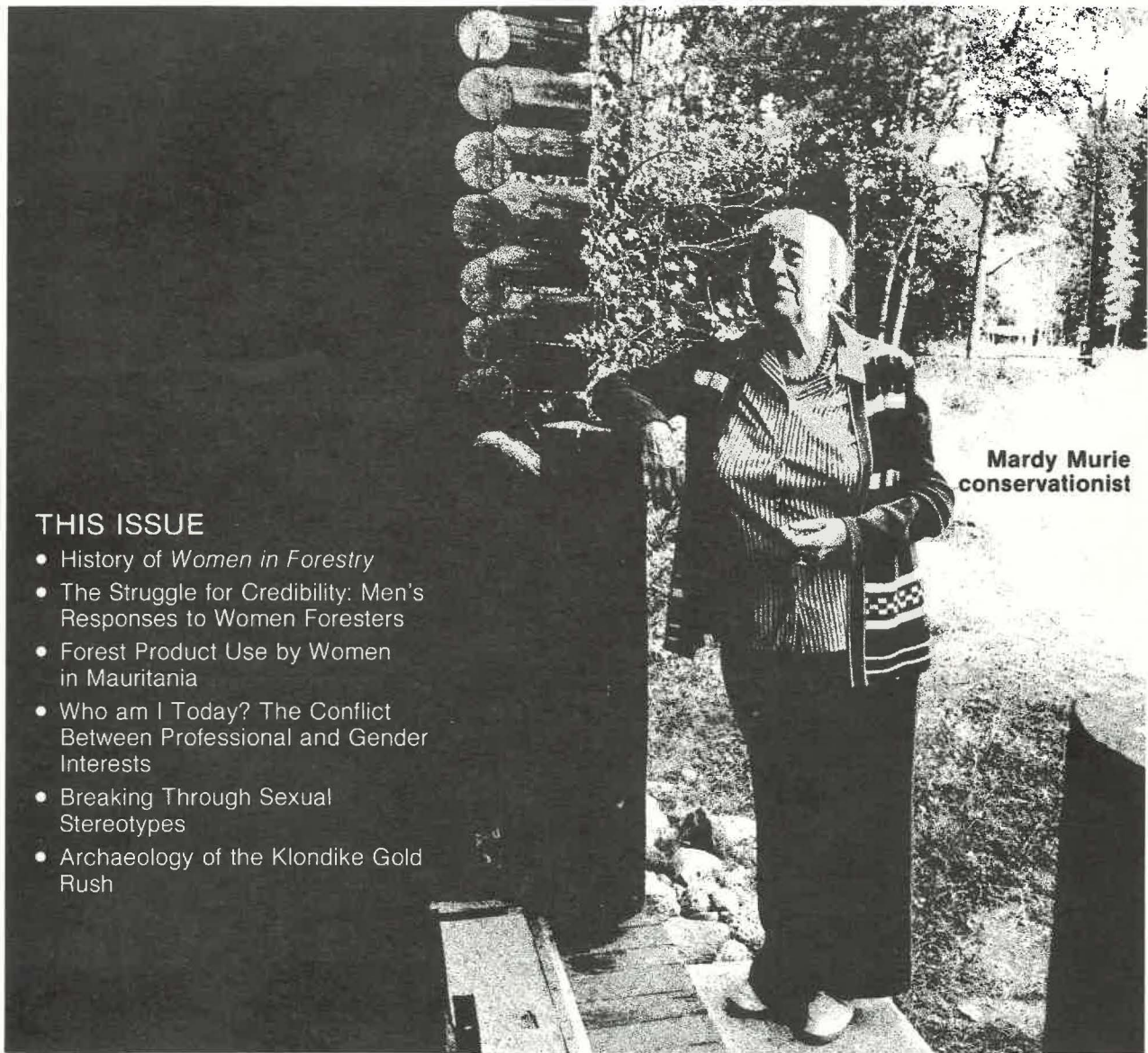


women in **FORESTRY**

VOLUME 5, NUMBER 1

SPRING 1983



Mardy Murie
conservationist

THIS ISSUE

- History of *Women in Forestry*
- The Struggle for Credibility: Men's Responses to Women Foresters
- Forest Product Use by Women in Mauritania
- Who am I Today? The Conflict Between Professional and Gender Interests
- Breaking Through Sexual Stereotypes
- Archaeology of the Klondike Gold Rush

WOMEN IN FORESTRY

Information for Contributors

The quarterly journal *Women in Forestry* aims to provide information and ideas for, from, and about women on topics related to: 1) the natural resource professions and associated social science fields, 2) the use and conservation of natural and cultural resources, and 3) issues of administration and personnel of special interest to women in natural resources. We want to serve as a source of ideas, contacts, and support, to help women in the natural resources reach their professional goals.

We seek contributions that will effectively integrate the factual, the personal, and the philosophical aspects of our profession. There is a place to express insights or experiences as brief as a few lines or paragraphs, as well as for articles many pages long. We want *Women in Forestry* to provide interesting, thought-provoking reading, and not to be merely a repository for factual data buried in esoteric technical jargon and statistics.

Look through this issue to get ideas of where and how *you* can contribute. Contributions in the following categories are especially welcome:

- Letters and opinions
- Articles and reports
- Interviews or suggestions for people to interview
- Calendar events, conferences, meetings
- Book reviews and announcements of new publications
- News and notes
- Abstracts or clippings from other publications (provide information on source)
- Announcements and awards
- Positions wanted and positions available
- Requests for specific types of information or answers to earlier requests
- Summaries of research in progress
- Cartoons or other humor (original or clipped with source noted)
- Advertisements

As you can see from this issue, our format is flexible. For material acceptable for publication in *Women in Forestry*, we will provide, as needed, help with editing, illustrations, and layout. Authors of feature articles will be sent a photocopy of the final version of their article for proofing and approval. All letters must include author's name and address, but names will be withheld from publication upon request.

With all contributions, please include your name, job title or specialty, full address, and phone number(s) where you can be contacted most easily. For longer letters, opinions, or articles, please also include a brief biographical sketch (approximately one paragraph) giving both professional and relevant personal information about yourself and your article that might interest readers of *Women in Forestry*.

WOMEN IN FORESTRY

VOLUME 5, NUMBER 1

SPRING 1983

EDITORS

*Dixie Ehrenreich
Molly Stock*

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS

*Melissa Lee
Karen Smith
Kristine Jackson*

PRODUCTION ADVISORS

*George Savage
Maryanne Taglieri*

PRODUCTION ASSISTANTS

*Lorraine Ashland
Carmen Savage*

COVER DESIGN

Maryanne Taglieri

EDITORIAL BOARD

*Martha Avery
Linda Donoghue*

FEATURES

- 3** WOODS-WORKING WOMEN: SEXUAL INTEGRATION IN THE FOREST SERVICE
by Elaine Enarson
- 9** CHANGING SEX ROLES AND ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES *by Jennifer James*
- 19** THE KLONDIKE GOLD RUSH: ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CHILKOOT AND WHITE PASS TRAILS OF SOUTHEAST ALASKA *by Caroline Carley*
- 25** WOMEN FORESTERS: PIONEERING ON A SOCIAL FRONTIER *by Elizabeth Willhite*
- 27** FOREST PRODUCT USE IN MAURITANIA'S BRAKNA REGION *by Melinda Smale*
- 35** WHO AM I? *by Jo Ellen Force*

DEPARTMENTS

- 1** Editorial
- 2** Letters and Opinions
- 17** News and Notes
- 24** Events
- 36** Book Review
- 8** Publications Available
- 15** Research in Progress
- 27** International
- 33** Profile
- 23** Can You Help?

Published jointly by the College of Forestry, Wildlife, and Range Sciences and the Laboratory of Anthropology, University of Idaho.

All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editor, *Women in Forestry*, Department of Forest Resources, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho 83843 (208/885-6444).

Subscriptions are \$15/year (4 issues) for non-students, \$10/year for students. Subscriptions and queries on advertising should be sent to the Editor, *Women in Forestry*, Laboratory of Anthropology, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho 83843.

EDITORIAL



WOMEN IN FORESTRY -- PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE



A few months ago, when word was beginning to get around that we at the University of Idaho would be editing and publishing Women in Forestry, a man asked us, "Just what is this Women in Forestry? Is it a movement? A vision?" Our answer was that Women in Forestry has been, and will continue to be, both.

Women in Forestry is not new, either in concept or in reality as a publication; it began 5 years ago as an outgrowth of a workshop for women foresters, initiated by Linda Donoghue of the North Central Forest Experiment Station, in Portland, Oregon, October 1979. The first issue of Women in Forestry was produced by Mary Vargas Albertson in December 1979. Its stated intent was "to build a communication and support network among career oriented women in the Forest Service" But, like Women in Forestry today, contributions were solicited on a diversity of topics -- human and natural resources, training and development opportunities, book reviews, and the like.

After the first issue, seven more issues were published (April and October 1980; January-February, June-July, August-September, November-December 1981; and Spring-Summer 1982*), almost entirely through the efforts of Linda Donoghue and those who contributed material to these issues.

Women in Forestry contained an eclectic and interesting assortment of articles, clippings, reviews, and announcements for and by women professionals in the natural resources. At times, detailed and revealing exchanges of correspondence among USFS women employees and administration concerning job status and job descriptions were presented verbatim. To new subscribers of Women in Forestry, Linda explained, "We are a group of women who have joined together to share information and resources regarding our work; to give support to one another for individual initiative, self-definition, courage, and a sense of responsibility; to develop a body of knowledge that contains the vital seeds for social change; to personalize a large organization; and to affirm our presence as active, contributing members to the forestry profession."

* A full set of these past issues can be obtained for \$15 (to cover copying and postage costs) from the Editor, College of Forestry, Wildlife, and Range Sciences, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho 83843.

In spite of dramatic network and subscription increases, however, time conflicts and waning written contributions brought an end to Linda Donoghue's editorship of Women in Forestry with the 1982 issue. As two early subscribers to Women in Forestry, we were saddened to learn of the potential demise of such a useful and necessary medium of communication among women natural resource professionals. The overwhelmingly positive response to our recent conference (Women in Natural Resources: An International Perspective, University of Idaho, March 1982) and to our development of a directory of women natural resource professionals showed us what Linda had learned in her work with Women in Forestry -- a lot of women natural resource professionals have information and ideas to share and a desire to get to know about others in the field.

For these reasons, we decided to continue publishing Women in Forestry, on a quarterly basis, from the University of Idaho. Though this is the first issue of the "new" Women in Forestry, and the format and typography are changed, our goals and concepts are very similar to those of the original Women in Forestry, except that we have added one more emphasis to resource management -- that of the cultural resources. Since most archaeologists on the nation's forests, in the parks and the waterways, are women, we want to feature their contribution to the profession as well.

We have been heartened and enthused by the response, both in subscriptions and in written contributions, to our venture, and we sincerely hope to continue to serve as a source of encouragement, support, and professional exposure to women as they work to reach, and effectively integrate, their professional and personal goals in the natural and cultural resource fields.

Molly Stock

Alfred D. Ehrenreich

LETTERS AND OPINIONS

Congratulations on taking over the reins of Women in Forestry, for continuing such a needed project.

Cherry DuLaney
Foresthill, California

A journal like this has been a long time coming!

Patricia Savola
Vancouver, B.C.

Appreciate your emphasis on the philosophical/personal as well as the factual. I'd like to see that connection made more in the work world.

Susan Tait
Berkeley, California

It was with a great deal of pleasure that I read that Women in Forestry will begin publication soon; it is most timely. We, here at Forestry Suppliers, Inc., feel that there is very definitely a place for this publication and we are looking forward to your first issue.

James Craig
Jackson, Mississippi

I am not in favor of the title Women in Forestry. I feel strongly that it is a mistake. There is no benefit to anyone in promoting the separation of women in forestry. I, for one, am tired of being singled out and want to encourage professional incorporation instead of division.

Martha Avery
Corvallis, Oregon

I was very pleased to read the announcement concerning the advent of the journal, Women in Forestry. It is a publication which people in natural resources have needed.

Patricia Grantham
Lolo, Montana

I am chagrined that the name, Women in Forestry, was retained from the previous publication. I have serious reservations about the name because of the sexist and separatist implications. These are the same attributes that we accuse the forestry establishment of and I fear that the use of this title will serve to alienate us even further.

Sharon Rose
Corvallis, Oregon

I am delighted to learn of the forthcoming journal Women in Forestry and am sure it will be a great success. The journal can fill an important role in

developing communication networks, and breaking down the isolation of women in forestry.

Elaine Enarson
Missoula, Montana

While on vacation in Rome a few weeks ago, I stood in the lobby of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization looking at the shiny publications on forestry in the small bookstore, noticing who wrote them, and quickly glancing at the impressive sounding titles and names in the Forestry Department directory. I concluded that this wasn't much of a place for women. Can it be one in the future? Will there be more women foresters, land managers, and agronomists involved in consulting and decision-making on the international level for organizations such as the FAO? I see at least a few barriers for competent women making it to such positions of leadership.

★ Lack of special programs in international forestry at universities. Well integrated programs would include course work in international relations, languages, political science, and area studies. Most women don't have either the time or money for extended university careers and semesters abroad.

★ Lack of opportunities for "field apprenticeships" in international forestry. While many may start an international career with a voluntary organization, which may or may not match skills with the assignment, there are few places to go after one has "paid one's dues" as a volunteer. The gap between a Peace Corps person fresh out of forestry school and a senior forester in the AID, FAO, etc., is very large. Where does one acquire technical experience overseas, as well as the cultural finesse needed for such work?

★ Lack of adequate role models or mentors for women in this area. Without a solid mentor system for women in the forest sciences, there is not much hope of women infiltrating the system. Our universities offer little support for the beginning work of preparing women for the international scene. Too large a task falls upon a very few tenured women forestry professors.

★ Cultural barriers. Participating governments may always constitute the biggest obstacle for women undertaking nontraditional careers overseas. These cultural barriers should not be underestimated.

All of this sounds dismal for women in forestry wishing to take their expertise to countries where it is desperately needed. I'd like to hear from other women who are making careers in international forestry, or are considering one. Women in Forestry would be a good place to update information on what women in developing countries are doing in natural resources, and to offer up bits of hope and some alternatives for women in the U.S.

Vai Chambers
Dufur, Oregon

Editor's note: The new Women in Forestry now includes a special department dealing with international natural resource issues.

WOODS-WORKING WOMEN: SEXUAL INTEGRATION IN THE FOREST SERVICE

Elaine Enarson
Faculty Affiliate
Department of Sociology
University of Montana
Missoula, Montana 59812

Who are these women, and why do they want men's jobs? The 50 women I interviewed provided no single answer. Working in various Forest Service jobs on two forests in the Pacific Northwest Region, the women ranged from 20 to 63 years old, though their average age was 30 (25 for the temporary workers). They live with and without men, in roughly equal proportions; among them are only seven school-aged children. These women run the gamut of physical size, shape, and conditioning; they are feminists and traditionalists, new and experienced workers. They are a wonderfully diverse group.

What they do share is a deep attraction to the natural world and outdoor work. As one man remarked, "You couldn't tie her to a desk--it would be a crime." Though not all westerners by birth, most were reared to know and cherish the woods, and they share with the men at work an affinity and respect for the natural environment.

Overwhelmingly, of course, they work not so much for love of timber or fire, but primarily for an adequate income. Some took Forest Service jobs because the Forest Service is the major employer in their area, but a few traveled thousands of miles after years of study to take professional positions here. They come to the job eager for the chance to do physical work ("that good tired feeling"), to do meaningful work (with "the good guys, in the dirty white hat"), and to develop new skills and interests ("you're not going down to wait tables every day, you do different things").

The lives of these women were often transformed; careers and interests and futures developed that, after years of "women's work," paid and unpaid, had never before seemed possible. For some there was plenty of encouragement for unusual work; for others the decision to branch out was made cautiously, sometimes after years of experience handling the complementary office work of their jobs. Some deliberately took clerical positions to get a foot in, and hoped for upward mobility. Most permanent workers had years of exper-

Elaine has a B.A. from the University of California at Santa Cruz and a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Oregon. This report was condensed from: Enarson, E. 1981. *Sexuality at Work: A Study of Outdoor Working Women in the Forest Service*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon, Eugene. 397 pp. Elaine's work was facilitated by the Federal Women's Program. She conducted in-depth tape recorded interviews with 50 field-working women (19 temporary, 31 permanent), 7 male unit managers, and 15 past or present male co-workers or supervisors, 5 of whom live with the women interviewed.

In 1981, Elaine moved to Missoula with her family (which now includes a toddler and a new baby expected this summer), and is working to revise her dissertation into book form. She recently shared her research findings with the Federal Women's Program managers and others of USFS Region 1. Elaine hopes to continue this line of research in the future.

ience as temporaries, and most temporaries want permanent work, though consistent seasonal employment is ideal for others.

The women came to field work with widely varying degrees of experience. Seven of them had earned two-year technical degrees in forestry and four were professional foresters, but most came to their new jobs with little practical experience, whether operating and servicing power tools or working long hours in harsh conditions. They had enjoyed outdoor activities with their families as children and were not strangers to the woods, but most had previously split time and energy between outdoor and indoor work. There were often anxious moments as they began their new field jobs and wondered if they would measure up, but after the initial conditioning period common to all workers, this was rarely a problem.

However a woman enters the Forest Service--whatever her experience or education--field work typically has more different contexts and meanings for her than for most men. In forestry, with its stereotypically masculine aura, she is an especially visible outsider. Regardless of individual inclination, a woman enters this workplace representing the "second sex." This marginal status underlies every encounter and relationship she will have at work, just as it defines her social status in other parts of her life.

A woman entering a field job today also joins an organization in transition. Is she a "token" still, only reluctantly taken on because "they need one of 'em on the crew and nobody else would take her?" Is she also a pioneer, working always in sexually lopsided groups, though rarely these days a true "first"? Today, women in the woods are both exceptional and routine. They are unlikely now to be lumped together on all-woman crews and rarely meet men who never before have seen a woman in the field, yet in most situations their number can be counted on one hand. Paradoxically, there is some sentiment that women are no longer a significant "minority" although they continue to be highly visible, clustered in marginal positions and subject to scrutiny and comment around the districts and the region.

PATTERNS OF SEXUAL SEGREGATION: Sources of Change and Stability

Many in the Forest Service can recall vividly the days when women were only clerical workers, and the first field-going woman was an event. Despite exaggerated attention to women in nontraditional jobs, most women continue to be employed in sex-segregated occupations, and this remains true of the Forest Service, too, with women continuing to dominate lower-level clerical and administrative jobs, as well as all but the top positions in the tree nurseries.

Granted, today more women can find outdoors work, but here, too, they confront low pay, slow promotion, limited mobility, and keen competition, especially for permanent jobs above the entry-level slots most occupy. The 50 women interviewed include

eight women employed at or below the GS 3 level; only the top three have reached the level of GS 9. Most are GS 4's (40%) and GS 5's (20%). Of this same group, 66% have attended two or more years of college, and 58% of the temporaries and 45% of the permanent women have earned either two or four-year degrees. (Of the seasonal workers, 84% have two or more years of higher education, yet 90% are employed at or below the level of GS 4.)

In an era of high unemployment and restricted federal employment, permanent positions become an indication of job status and stability. Therefore, women field workers are more likely to be employed seasonally than full-time. Managers guard precious job "ceilings" carefully and, especially at the higher levels, are reluctant to expend permanent positions. In tree nurseries there has been some progress in securing regular appointments for women who have worked several years, sometimes more than a decade, as "temporary" seasonal labor. Seasonal workers, male and female, share a host of problems associated with the jobs they are likely to fill (particularly in fire prevention and control) and their marginal economic and social status as "just a temporary, just a body."

The concentration of women at the bottom ranks is not surprising, given the shrinking labor force, competition for permanent positions, and the fairly recent entry of women into those permanent field and staff slots which are the recruitment grounds for higher positions.

Power and authority are jealously guarded in any organization, and the issue of female authority can become a litmus test of acceptance. Supervisors and co-workers agree that women often make capable and responsible crew bosses, and are generally accepted by male peers. It is simply very rare for women to have any substantial supervisory experience. Even more rarely does she exercise effective control over men, as she is more often a "straw boss" in these kinds of jobs, and acts from relative powerlessness herself. Even so, the situation is occasionally explosive.

The woman inspecting work done under contract is in a different situation, as she represents the authority of the Forest Service in the enforcement of the contract conditions. Perhaps because private resentments cannot be allowed to surface and threaten continued successful contract work with the organization, she is generally seen as an effective (some say superior) inspector, although her authority may be asserted and received differently.

Physically demanding outdoor work is even more traditionally male than the exercise of power and authority. With increasing age and status, many men work more selectively in the field ("I pick my days out!"), but most also regret the increased indoor administrative work that comes with tenure and promotion. Acceptance for women comes easier when they can assume more of the distasteful work (for example, routine bureaucratic tasks) and thus "free" men for more field work. The ratio of indoor to outdoor work (and job status and ratings) may change over time in field positions held more by women than by men. There is a deep-rooted identification of the most demanding and challenging field work with men, no doubt linked to the long tradition of esteem for woodsmen of the Northwest. Already there is ribbing by loggers of Forest Service men who do work "women can do." One man makes this same point about the well-known resistance to women in fire:

"It's the last macho department they have, you know! They start putting women in there, they lose all that--that's supposedly in there."

Correspondingly, men tend to emphasize the outer limits of physical differences between the sexes: build, strength, and endurance. The significance of these differences varies more with attitude than with actual working conditions, and many women note that the rigors of routine field work are often exaggerated. Because of their visibility (most especially in failure) stories of women who cannot or will not do heavy labor are widely circulated, and even the strongest women sometimes doubt their own ability at first. Managers with an eye on productivity statistics, and experienced technicians and supervisors, point out that by and large women who take their work seriously are equal to the task, and their judgment, determination, and education often make them superior workers.

There is some feeling that women excel in such specialized staff positions as wildlife biologist or geologist. In general, however, they rarely hold these jobs, nor the more prestigious jobs in the powerful department of fire and timber. The female forester enjoys an enviable position relative to other women in the field, and the gradual professionalization of the role of forester seems to have facilitated her entry. On the other hand, the continuing trend of contracting traditional Forest Service work may not be so advantageous, at least for women in low-level technician and laborer jobs. With some exceptions, the affirmative action record of private industry is not notable, and women may face more restricted opportunities as more of this work is done under contract in the private sector.

Upward mobility jobs provide some (limited) mobility for women interested in trading an office job for field work. There is some suggestion that jobs redefined as upward mobility positions are also defined as "good for women," which may represent the first step in new patterns of sex segregation. Stereotypes about women's presumed strengths and weaknesses enter here as elsewhere. The dominance of women in fire lookout and tree nursery jobs, for instance, is taken to reflect their presumed tolerance for monotony and tedium. Women field workers are often seen as "good with people" (and thus good on fire patrol or as wilderness guards), as more conscientious than men (and therefore more reliable tree planters), and generally better suited for work in reforestation than timber, or recreation than engineering.

Whatever the rationale (and one is always available), women are still very carefully placed and guided, with attention to prevailing stereotypes, prior district experiences, and the personal preferences and prejudices of the decision-makers. Therefore women "firsts" in one place may be routine in others; women's employment on survey, brush disposal, and tanker crews all show this variation. On project fires the sex segregation of work is still very vivid, though now women work both in traditional (e.g., time-keeper) and nontraditional (e.g., management team or fire line) positions. On the job in general, familiar patterns often emerge in new contexts. Ostensibly sharing the same work, women may more often work with hand than with power tools, and men more often take the steeper unit to traverse. He may check out the vehicle while she smooths over tensions in the group, and when she does drive, he will not want the middle seat she usually occupies. If only by sheer force of numbers and tradition, males will likely dominate jobs calling for the most rugged physical activity, as well as those with opportunity for discretion, independence, and confrontation with danger and uncertainty.

WOMEN AT WORK: Affection, Humor, and Hostility

While women have become a familiar sight in the woods (except to the occasional tourist stopped short

by the sight of braids emerging from under a hard hat), it is not necessarily true that new ground is broken in relationships between the sexes. What are the terms of acceptance and limits of tolerance? What do women and men argue about and where do they find common ground, as they share the work, the lunch-breaks, and the "keggers" too? What about romance and jealousy, flirtation and fear?

A portrait rich in sexual imagery emerged from my conversations with the women, including co-worker romance and affairs, sexual innuendo in everyday routines, and sexual harassment and abuse.

In general, sexual relationships are probably no more common here than in other similar workplaces. In field work particularly, close friendships are often formed quickly, and the seasonal labor force tends to be young and unattached. By no means, however, is romance and sex at work restricted to field or seasonal workers or to the lower levels of the organization. These relationships cause more fear and worry than they warrant, for while there are exceptions (and the best intentions are sometimes contradicted), most women and men consciously try to separate their personal and work lives.

When couples do form, they are likely to be people in different work groups or departments, though sexual friendships also develop within crews. Lovers generally attempt (unsuccessfully) to keep their relationship private and divorced from work, but the isolation and closeness of the work and community means "there are no secrets in this organization." At work, the resentment or jealousy or disapproval of others are sometimes issues, and occasionally special arrangements are necessary to separate lovers. It is also true that good working partnerships have been transformed through romance into excellent ones, and beneficial (if irregular) lines of communication opened within the organization.

Because of their respective organizational positions, women tend to be unequal to their lovers in terms of job status, power, and options. Thus, in some ways affairs can help women, as they may gain access to inside circles of information (some say to jobs), meet influential people, and develop helpful contacts. There are special risks too, and such affairs often end badly for women. There is evidence of involuntary transfer, lost support, limited job assignments, and the continuing strength of the double standard of morality; if the situation becomes intolerable, she will be the first to leave. Some affairs end by legitimation through marriage or re-marriage, raising new problems for continued employment in the same area, and joint transfer or resignation is also an option. In both cases, women's careers are likely to take second place. Others end in scandal, as the minority status of the women field-worker makes her involvement extremely visible and, as a newcomer, she is ignorant of the sexual history of the workplace. Whether she is a professional or technician, a temporary re-hire or a career worker, her professional and personal reputation are one, and both follow and precede her as she moves through this very mobile organization.

Whether or not it goes further (and it usually does not), everyday interaction around the office and on the road often has a sexual quality. To different degrees, all women entering this unusual work setting are seen as potential sexual partners by at least some men, or as partners in suggestive and playful innuendo. Some men do describe women on the proverbial one-to-ten scale, and can recall in vivid detail the appearance of women met years ago at fire camp or of women seeking jobs; they keep tabs on women's involvement with other men in and out of work, and test her

attitude toward the jokes, and pin-ups, and the language. While this atmosphere complicates things (for some men as well as women), it also contributes to the real sense of companionship and solidarity of many groups.

For women, this scrutiny is part of what going to work each day entails. Some find the close attention unbearable--has she put on weight? broken up or taken up with a man? what does she look like in a skirt? To others, it is an enjoyable part of being a woman around men. Regardless of her personal feelings, all women must somehow come to terms with it, and in this each woman is a kind of living precedent for others. Must all the flirtation and innuendo be "toned down" or the warehouse and office be "cleaned up" to accommodate the newest woman? On one district, men scrambled up steep hillsides to meet the "new girl" as she was driven around and introduced; later, she learned her predecessor had "gone over the hill" with several men at work, and this history fundamentally shaped her working situation. Another faced the unpleasant "Gloria Steinem" treatment because the relationship between the crew and the woman before her had so deteriorated. In these and other ways, women field workers are very much interdependent, and a certain responsibility toward others is felt by many women.

This atmosphere also affects home lives, sometimes forcing difficult decisions. Because of the notoriety of some districts and crews, fire camps and training sessions, women have opted out of possibilities, to avoid painful suspicion, gossip, and rumor. Most field-going women live with men who have come to terms with the questions raised by women and men working closely together. Women complain more of supervisors who have not yet accepted this, and still make job assignments accordingly. Similarly, some excellent partnerships have been deliberately discouraged by more powerful people because of this same presumption of sexual interest and motivation.

Jealousy, even of friendship and intimacy, does remain an issue, and can tear apart a small community, particularly in remote compound situations. Today no less than in the past, women field workers working closely with men move in an extremely charged situation, especially at first. Their behavior and demeanor will be carefully monitored and they will bear the brunt of mistrust and jealousy.

This sexual coloring of interaction at work can be very difficult. Some women want only to be "a worker first and a woman second," and sometimes all the flirting and snickering, the "sexy" calendars and the dirty jokes ask too much. Counter strategies--"projecting a universal No," cultivating an image as "Polly Puritan" or as a "taken woman"--are only marginally satisfactory. For other women, all this makes special friendships at work even closer, and adds a rare and valued dimension to her rapport with men at work. Casual participation in this sexual culture can become a symbol of acceptance:

"He said it's more fun now that he's getting to know me. When he first went out with me into the woods he felt kind of uncomfortable, that he couldn't be himself, that he was supposed to be this gentleman and everything. But now he feels like he can be himself, and jokes around, says dirty little comments and things like that to me! I joke back with him and everything."

These real differences in feeling about the taken-for-granted sexual atmosphere at work are important. The larger question is the quality of work in the woods, the conditions of change and the terms of

acceptance, for there is no meaningful distinction between rumor about women's behavior in the woods started by loggers or by "the Forest Service boys."

Instances of sexual harassment and abuse do occur. Women have told of men who expose themselves or masturbate in front of women, who strike or threaten to strike women, and who intimidate by aggressive physical attention, persistent "passes" or sexual obscenity. There are also men who do not turn their backs while urinating in the woods, or who follow women into the bushes, who leer and pry, and regularly manage to fondle or pinch or touch in passing--even men who snap brassieres.* There was, however, no evidence in this study of sexual extortion by supervisors with control over women's jobs and working conditions.

The formal organizational definition of sexual harassment is very broadly interpreted by different managers, supervisors, and workers. Some confuse it with sex discrimination *per se*, while others feel it should refer only to aggressive physical contact. As yet, no routine consensus operates even among women on boundaries between the acceptable and unacceptable. Sexual harassment seems a red herring to some women, and is treated like "a running joke" by some men, and generally the question complicates an already uncertain relationship between women and men at work. Ironically, women who speak out against harassment may eventually transfer or quit, while some of the most abusive men repeat their actions and keep their jobs.

There are no easy solutions. Though counselors and others anticipate more complaints on these grounds, it is now much easier to object to ill-fitting field clothes or lack of job training. Women who exercise their right to object through formal channels face gossip, ridicule, and ostracism from both women and men. By and large, women act in isolation, and it is always simpler to go along; no one wants to be "the kind of woman" to bring sexual harassment charges. In the absence of alternative networks of support and a critical mass of women in all work groups, women's loyalties will continue to be divided. There seems now to be a spirit of competitive tolerance (who is more "easy-going"? who the better "sport"?), even as women continue to have secret doubts about working in remote areas with certain men, and privately count themselves lucky not to have had to confront the full force of male hostility and contempt.

STRATEGIES AND STYLES

"Field-going women . . . are a gutsy bunch. They fight for everything they get."

Competence is the field-going woman's first and last defense, and demonstrating competence often means working harder and caring more. Humor, too, is an ally. Many of the most successful women are very verbal and quick with just the right retort to the "cracks" and "comments" so many women complain of. Versions of "playing dumb," including pretending sexual naivete, are evident, as is the strategy of surprise attack, including physical response to physical gestures. Sheer avoidance of contemptuous men or no-win situations is also a tactic, when made possible by sympathetic supervisors. More rarely, women turn to direct action, including personal confrontation with

*These stories were repeated to me in confidence. With very few exceptions, these incidents were not reported even in informal counseling with the EEO counselor. They simply became part of the underground network of warning and advice (e.g., to avoid working alone with a particular man because of another woman's experience with him).

sullen co-workers or biased supervisors, complaints through formal channels, or direct appeals to key administrative people in and out of the unit. Learning how best to handle different kinds of situations is a critical part of the field-working woman's on-the-job training.

As workers of the "wrong" sex, women are powerfully motivated to do well and to be as unobtrusive as possible, to be "a good sport" and "just one of the guys." Different ways of presenting herself are available, including the familiar ones of the "little sister," the team mascot or mother, the "loose woman"--even what some describe as the "macho woman." Some concentrate on personal relations within the crew or bake cookies, while others do daily battle and earn destructive reputations as "women's libbers" or "rabble rousers." These are not neat and stable patterns, nor are they mutually exclusive. Women and men move among and between these and other ways of getting on, as circumstances and feelings change.

This is the context for the dynamics of testing and proving, helping and protecting, which are so evident in reports of daily interaction at work. The newcomer is tested and retested, by men newer than she, strange men at fire camps, professional men at training sessions, and so forth. She is literally "put through the paces," and with a special intensity because she is assumed physically incapable. Help is offered and occasionally insisted upon, even as other men refuse routine courtesies (the "you asked for it" syndrome). This help, whether in fording a stream or splitting the load unevenly, is difficult to refuse neutrally, and often is tempting to accept. Yet it is highly symbolic, and merges quickly into disrespect and protectiveness. The supervisor who not only helps new women learn their jobs, but also makes of them "his girls," backed up by his reputation and power, creates a very different context for them than for the man working alongside, even when both are working the same fire line, and it is a difference which matters.

Ultimately all the testing and proving, giving and refusing of help becomes a test of attitude. Will she insist on pulling her own weight, or will she need (or want, or accept) help? Beyond minimal and universal standards of stamina and intelligence, the relative ability or disability of the newcomer rests here. What is important is not whether she wears or does not wear a bra, or asks for or refuses help from men, but the attitude it is taken to represent. The equation of ability with attitude means that the group "pet" may not be up to the job but will be cheerfully "carried," while another woman who insists upon her full share is seen as "trying to prove something" by a crew preferring more docile women. More important than walking out of the unit first after a long day, or being gung-ho to climb trees for cones is a willingness and ability to conform to prevailing expectations and preferred models. These may change over time, be negotiable and flexible, be unclear and contradictory, and they may be different for the contractors in the woods and the man in the office doing the performance ratings. Flexibility seems to be the heart of the distinction between the woman who "wants to prove something" and the "easy-going" woman who blends right in.

These strategies and styles have implications too for women's relations with each other. Some women consciously disassociate themselves from others on the crew, women in the office, or those involved with women's programs or activities which emphasize rather than minimize gender differences. Others are committed to improving the status of all women in the organization and identify with other women. All women, however, like to think of themselves as being in some way acceptable and accepted, though at present the

conditions of acceptance and the meaning of being "just one of the guys" are in flux, and deep-rooted differences here divide women from women as well as from men.

CONCLUSION

Women have entered nearly every corner of the Forest Service, though not in large numbers. Many feel isolated from others sharing similar experiences, and often they wonder how their male co-workers and friends truly feel about working with them; they would like to be able to meet and talk more freely about these things. They wonder, too, what the future holds. The great majority (80% of those interviewed) hope to continue in outdoor work, usually forestry; half would like to stay with the Forest Service if possible, while the rest are uncertain.

Almost all know of other women who have left. Like men, especially in entry-level temporary jobs, they sometimes decide to try other kinds of work; unlike men, they sometimes very much like the work but cannot face the "uphill battle every day," or muster the demeanor necessary to smooth the way. They leave for other reasons, too: dependence on a husband's career or pressure from family; conflicts with supervisors or encounters with abusive men or unhappy affairs; criticism of Forest Service forest management practices or working conditions, or government work in general; or sometimes simply the desire to move on, perhaps to return to school.

One manager may voice others' feelings when he urges women seeking change in this "very, very conservative traditional organization" to go elsewhere:

"If you want to get into a nontraditional role, and you want to be a real activist about it, I'd get into a different organization. . . . You won't fit in well with the Forest Service with that attitude."

The most determined women will stay, however. They value their work highly and see their lives changing in ways they never anticipated; they will not easily give up their hard-won places for a return to the office or restaurant or factory. To these women, the Forest Service is sometimes like a second family, or fantasy:

"Just that feeling . . . that exhilaration that I get every time I go out there. It's everything I've ever dreamed about, and it's all coming true now."

The past years have been important ones for women, and for the Forest Service. The two study forests, and the Pacific Northwest Region generally, have reputations as leaders within the organization and industry in affirmative action. At present, however, upper-level support for these efforts seems ambivalent, and participation and interest in programs for nontraditional workers seems to be dropping. At any rate, for the field worker (especially the seasonal worker), these programs are often remote, no matter how active. Also, the participation of women and minorities does not earn them the same "points" it does men, whose motivation is often seen as cynical and self-interested.

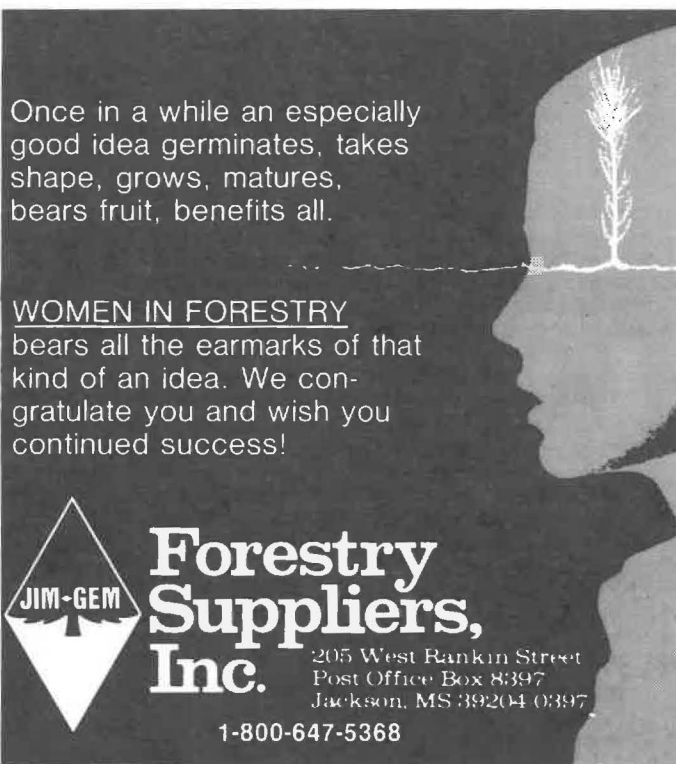
In isolation, women's issues are difficult to raise, and individual compromise always seems the wiser course. The future may be different:

"If they're offended, they probably should say something, even though it's not always easy to do . . . I mean, that supervisor is going to be there the rest of the time,

and I can't believe that that couldn't in fact harm you also. I don't know. I think that's where we really do have to be stronger though. And some of us have got to . . . got to start the fight, and maybe do a little sacrificing to change it, so that the Forest Service doesn't have a supervisor such as that."

The long-term impact of the integration of women into men's jobs in the Forest Service cannot be judged now, nor has the organizational commitment to women been fully tested. Half of the women in this study do not live with men, and only a handful have begun families or have young children. If this group of women keeps their jobs, these figures are likely to change; more dual-career, field-going couples, not uncommon now, are also likely. New problems may arise around pregnancy and infant care at work, joint employment in one area or department, and the impact on couples and their families of irregular work hours and the pressure to transfer widely. The movement of women into upper-level administrative jobs is also problematic. Controversy surrounds employment goals for women in fire management, for example, given top-down pressure for female mobility and bottom-up resistance to women even in entry-level positions. Tolerance for women in power has yet to be established, and minority men may find easier acceptance than women, though this may vary regionally. At present these are all very remote issues, though important ones.

A continued strong commitment at all levels to the integration of women into field work is vital. Yet, in the long run, the more decisive arena is the daily one of intimacy and confrontation, as women and men tromp through brush together, share lunch and jokes as well as insults, and trade skills and confidences. This is center stage in the sharing of work and learning new ways to live and work together. Here, all are pioneers in change, and even on the bleakest days women remain convinced that their future is bright.



Once in a while an especially good idea germinates, takes shape, grows, matures, bears fruit, benefits all.

WOMEN IN FORESTRY
bears all the earmarks of that kind of an idea. We congratulate you and wish you continued success!

Forestry Suppliers, Inc.
205 West Rankin Street
Post Office Box 8397
Jackson, MS 39204 0397
1-800-647-5368

PUBLICATIONS AVAILABLE

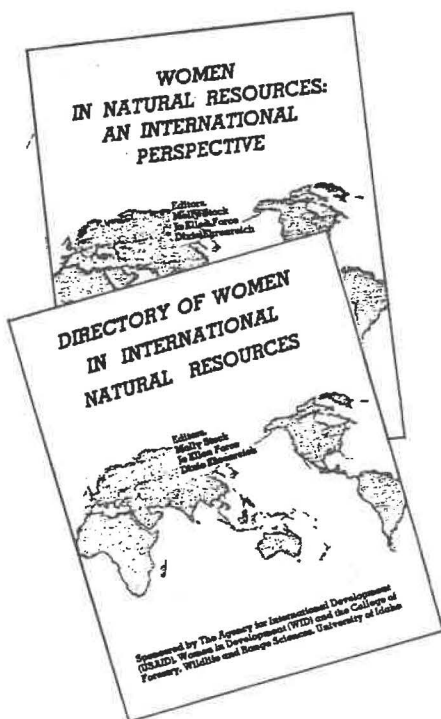
WOMEN IN INTERNATIONAL NATURAL RESOURCES

Conference Proceedings and
Directory Now Available

On 8-9 March 1982, a unique conference, Women in Natural Resources: An International Perspective, was held at the University of Idaho. The conference was co-sponsored by the University of Idaho College of Forestry, Wildlife and Range Sciences, U.S. AID, and Women in Development (WID). The conference attracted natural resource professionals from throughout the U.S. and from overseas.

A proceedings of this conference is now available. Edited by Molly Stock and JoEllen Force, both of the Department of Forest Resources, University of Idaho, and Dixie Ehrenreich, Laboratory of Anthropology, University of Idaho, its subjects range from masculine/feminine gender labeling to producing and marketing fuel-conserving cookstoves, from preparing women for international service to aquaculture projects conducted by Honduran women, from the challenges to women working on projects in Saudi Arabia to adaptive strategies for women in a male-dominated world. To order this 260-page, paperbound book, send \$15.00 to: Editor, College of Forestry, Wildlife and Range Sciences, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho 83843.

Also, available is a DIRECTORY OF WOMEN IN NATURAL RESOURCES, available for \$10.00 from the same address. The directory includes addresses and professional profiles of nearly 200 women and aims to provide a source of contacts for individuals and agencies interested in international natural resources.



WOMEN IN SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING

With a grant from the National Science Foundation, the Scientific Manpower Commission has prepared a chartbook presentation on "Opportunities in Science and Engineering" with special emphasis on the entry and advancement of women in these fields. The presentation includes information on the present supply of scientists and engineers, their labor force participation, salaries, unemployment rates and employment opportunities, all delineated by sex, and on the demand for their services. While they last, single copies of this 108-page book are available for a \$1.00 postage and handling fee from the Scientific Manpower Commission, 1776 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, DC 20036. Please include a self-addressed mailing label.



HERSTORY

Northwest HERSTORY, Planned Parenthood of Idaho's 1983 engagement calendar, features the lives of 57 exceptional historical and contemporary women from Idaho, Oregon, Washington, and Montana. These independent, unique, and determined women have left a legacy of strength and energy that has not only helped forge the ideals of the Northwest, but has continued to open new fields of endeavor and opportunities for women everywhere. Northwest HERSTORY conveys the idea that being female need not impose limits upon a woman's potential.

The 126-page, spiral-bound calendar book is available for \$5.00 plus 63¢ postage from: Planned Parenthood of Idaho, 4301 Franklin Road, Boise, ID 83705. Mail orders should be pre-paid.

Suggestions for next year's calendar will be accepted through April 1983.



PROJECT ON THE STATUS AND EDUCATION OF WOMEN

The Project on the Status and Education of Women, of the Association of American Colleges, provides information concerning women in education, and works with government agencies and other associations on programs related to women in higher education. The Project develops and distributes free materials which identify and

highlight issues and federal policies affecting women's status as students and employees. If you would like to receive future Project publications, or for more information write: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, 1818 R Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009.

CHANGING SEX ROLES AND ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES

Jennifer James
Department of Psychiatry
and Behavioral Science
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98195

What I'm here to do tonight is talk a little bit about sex roles--about the very difficult concepts of masculine and feminine--and some adaptations to help men and women work together in the professions and survive. It's very important to understand that we don't do most of our thinking about sex roles in a logical way. I went to school just down the road at Washington State University, and was taught that all decisions come from logic and thought. At 18, I thought that there was enough information in the library (which was enormous) to solve all the problems of the universe (not to mention all my own personal problems) simply by logic. However, decisions based on thoughtful information, logic, and reason are only half of the real decision-making process. The other way we make decisions is based on personal experience, emotion, history, culture--anything that maximizes our defense mechanisms. And when we talk about masculine-feminine, we learn a lot about defense mechanisms.

A classic example of this logic/emotion conflict is the way women dress. Here I am, wearing a double-breasted suit. I have grown up to wear not just my mother's clothes but also my father's. Logic (according to Malloy's Dress for Success) would dictate that the new businesswoman, especially a businesswoman in banking, has to wear a black, brown or navy blue skirted suit if she hopes to be successful. Now why would a black, brown or navy blue skirted suit be the most successful outfit for a woman in the banking business? It's non-threatening! Logically, the least threatening thing to a male banker is someone dressed as a little male banker, wearing a skirt! It's clearly not male, because it's cut off at the knees, and it's clearly not female, because what feminine woman would wear a suit like that? The idea is, of course, that you can effectively neutralize the whole sexual issue. But have you noticed that women in those business suits don't stick with the logic. When I put on a double-breasted suit, I always do my nails. Emotion tells me, "If I'm going to dress up like a man, I've somehow got to hold on to my femininity."

It's a dilemma, trying to find a balance. I was working with a woman, a forester, one of the few women in the professional track. She told me that the first time she went out on the trail she wanted to look really professional, so she wore a plaid shirt and overalls and "waffle stompers" and the whole set. And the guy says, "Who's the dyke?" So the next day, she wore a pink T-shirt and designer jeans, and they

*Presentation given at the conference, "Women in Natural Resources: An International Perspective," held March 8-9, 1982, at the University of Idaho. Reprinted from the proceedings of that conference, published by the College of Forestry, Wildlife, and Range Sciences, University of Idaho.

said, "What are you trying to do, honey, turn us on?" It's a real dilemma, finding that balance between logic and emotion, femininity and masculinity.

Perhaps part of the problem is found in the continuing acceptance of the "insidious plot" theory. The insidious plot theory has two sides. The female version is that all the men in the world got together about 10 million years ago and had a meeting. At this meeting, they decided to give women a hard time--and they've been doing it very well. Conversely, the male version is that women all got together about 20 years ago, had a meeting, and decided to get even. And they are doing very well! As satisfying as the theory may be, subscribing to it can lead to some real on-the-job tension, but it's not really an insidious plot; it's just that a lot of values are changing, and it's hard to keep up with them.

I think maybe the best thing to do before we get to the present and future, is to talk about how we got here, because feminine and masculine are not logical concepts. If they were, we would all be dressed the same, and we would be doing what was appropriate for our strength and our intelligence. Nail polish is a classic example. How could any efficient, competent, reasonably intelligent woman wear nail polish? It's ludicrous! It takes a half an hour to apply, it chips, it's useless, right? If you break a nail, you can't even type.

The male equivalent, especially in the forest, is cowboy boots. Can you think of anything more useless on a trail than pointy-toed, high-heeled cowboy boots? I once asked a man, "Why are you wearing those boots?" He said, "You know, that's how we used to be able to tell the men from the women. Fifteen years ago, if a guy showed up in Hush Puppies, we knew that he had a little problem, and we wouldn't let him stay. Then new guys started wearing waffle stompers. It was a real problem, because we knew that there was something wrong with somebody who didn't have his boots on, but there was all this stuff about those being more comfortable and more suitable and being better trail shoes. So now you can't tell by the shoes somebody has on. But I don't feel safe in anything but cowboy boots."

So it's not that different, but it has nothing to do with logic. We can't adapt on a totally logical basis, which is what feminists have been trying to do. We feminists have been saying, "Why don't you simply be decent and humane?" It takes much more than that, because masculine and feminine are not logical concepts.

I have developed a "10-minute history of the world" to explain the entire history of masculine/feminine. It's a little general and I'm going to move very rapidly, just to give you a feel for your history. If you cannot come to terms with history, you're going

to have a very hard time understanding the changes we're facing as men and women. We are all caught in history, caught in our own time, and only a small part of our decisions can go beyond our emotional and cultural background.

So let's talk about males and females. To go all the way back in history, to look at ideals in terms of male and female, we must consider the fact that we used to live as small bands of human beings--primarily hunters and gatherers--with a high infant death rate and a high maternal death rate. We forget that 99 percent of our economic history was spent as hunters and gatherers. Those who survived were those who could best exploit the environment. So what was the kind of man you wanted to have as your man thousands and thousands of years ago? Or even 30 or 40 years ago? What was he like? What kind of man was he in economic terms, in this hunting and gathering society? He was strong. Was this not a time when it was better to be the third or fourth wife of Charles Atlas than the first wife of Woody Allen? Have any of you seen those Charles Atlas advertisements? This luscious woman is sitting on the beach (she's supposed to be that way, that's why I'm using that word) with this guy who's probably very sensitive and thoughtful, but he is thin. Along comes this big man who kicks sand in the face of the thin guy. What does she do? She gets up and goes off with the big guy. Her friend races home, cuts out the coupon, mails it in to Charles Atlas, lifts weights for six weeks, and goes back down to the beach, now even bigger than the other guy. And he bips the other guy in the nose, because he's still on the beach, and then what does the woman do? She comes back to him! Her mechanism of choice is bulk. If you're talking about a hunting and gathering economy that makes sense; you're talking about the possibility of starvation. You're talking about the person who's going to provide protection, the person who's going to provide that antelope on the doorstep. You're talking about survival.

We forget there was a time when we woke up in the morning and said, "Am I going to eat today?" Now when you wake up in the morning you say "Am I going to eat too much today?" In fact, if you look at the latest paperbacks, the question is not "Am I going to survive?" It's "Is there enough ecstasy in my life?" "Am I fulfilled?" It's a whole different thing. We forget that our masculine/feminine roles came out of a need to survive. So the strongest male was more likely to be the one that most women wanted to spend time with.

We're talking about an individual who was still with us about 30 or 40 years ago. I like to call him "The Stud." Cowboy boots fit this image quite well, because, for me, the classic example of The Stud is Gary Cooper in High Noon. This man, only a couple of decades ago, was a hero in every sense. He represented some kind of refinement over the old economic system of the hunter or gatherer, but what were this ultimate male's qualities?

Seven desperados, high noon, Grace Kelly waiting at the train. It's his wedding day, and he can't be a coward. You hear Frankie Laine singing in the background: "I could not be a craven coward." The message is that a man knows that his masculinity is more important than his life. How many gunfights do men in our society see by the time they're 10 years old? What's the message of 90 percent of those gunfights? It's that your masculinity is more important than your life, and you don't get Grace Kelly or even Carmelita in the saloon if you aren't masculine.

What were some other characteristics of The Stud? He was a man's man, one of the boys, not real smart.

(It was possible to be a smart stud, I think, but they didn't celebrate that a lot.) He didn't talk much either. In 1960 when I was in high school, we used to consider a man effeminate if he talked a lot. Nobody was hot for the guys on the debate team. The entire dialogue of all the Gary Cooper and John Wayne movies was "Yup," "Nope," "Howdy." The tall silent type, a man who would protect you, a man other men could count on, a man who would bring home the antelope, a stoic, a person of real courage, or, possibly, a fool. That is why High Noon is the celebration of the American hero, a classic film. But if you've seen any John Wayne or Gary Cooper movie, they're pretty much the same thing.

If you want The Stud so that this tribe can survive, who was the guy you didn't want in your tribe? We used to call them cowards, wimps, sissies. The message was that you not only didn't want this person as your spouse, but in some tribes you couldn't even stay in the tribe. Among the Plains Indians, if you failed the warrior initiation rites, you could commit suicide, or you could become a eunuch. You could take some kind of role unique in the society. Not only was there no acceptance of individuals who might be described as gentle or creative, but there wasn't even room for them in some groups because we had an economic and a social system based on strength.

Let's consider these roles in 1980. What do we now call a guy who doesn't talk much, who's into arm wrestling? Macho. There are times when we all would like to have someone like that around, but we now use the word "macho" as a putdown. Do you know what it does to somebody who for 30 or 40 years has been a successful American hero--even if it's only in Eugene, Oregon--when all of a sudden, his wife says, "You never talk to me", "You don't know how to communicate", "You're not sensitive", and "I don't need you to bring home the antelope anymore."? What does it say? It says, "You've become obsolete." How could that happen in 20 or 30 years?

“ IMAGINE JOHN WAYNE SITTING IN FRONT OF A COMPUTER CONSOLE.

What do we now call men who are thoughtful, good communicators, gentle, and have a full range of emotions? Liberated, sensitive. So The Stud has become Mr. Macho, and the sissy has become the sensitive man! It's a dilemma. You can still go to a playground now if you have a third grader and ask, "Are there any sissies here?" And it will take your third grader two seconds to identify them--"He's a sissy; he's a sissy." They're in the middle, still trying to make the change.

The main reason for this is not political or social, it's economic. Computers and word processing are the number one jobs for the future. Imagine for a moment John Wayne sitting in front of one of those little computer consoles--you know how frustrating they are, if you've ever used them--and the thing says, "Syntax error, try again." Now what's he going to do? He's going to kill it. John Wayne would shoot it! Technology is the reason we have these changes, and it's important to understand that the forklift truck has probably contributed more to equal rights than most of the speeches, because it has given women equal access to the means of production. There is still a strength differential. Men are still stronger and faster than women, and you can arm wrestle until you're blue in the face, and you'll hardly ever beat one. But the

strength differential has lost its economic power. It's tremendously important that we understand that-- because there are all sorts of people who want us to go back to the old ways. The only way to get women out of the work force, the only way to go back to the old model, is to give up our technology. And nobody's going to do that.

Let's consider women. The ideal woman that you wanted in your group was a good mother; the number one thing was motherhood, because a tribe could not survive without children. The number one value was woman as reproducer. And, of course, many of our sexual rules and most of our definition of femininity have to do with reproduction. What happened if a man went out 40 years ago and fooled around. How did you find out if nobody actually saw him? How could you know? Lipstick on the collar, motel receipts in the pocket? How do you know? But how do you know if a woman 30, 40 years ago went out and fooled around? She got pregnant. Twenty or 25 years ago, we were afraid we could get pregnant from the toilet seat in the gas station. Now a lot of you are too young to remember that fear, but I grew up with warnings of "Don't go too far." And then I'd ask my Baptist father, "What's too far?" and he'd say, "You'll find out." They didn't tell you, and you really didn't know. I can see some of you nodding--you remember that fear. So not only was the need to control female sexuality built into the need to control the reproduction of children--because a society has to have control over its children, and women of course in reproducing have a different evidence level than men for various kinds of transgressions. But there's another element, and that is paternity. Women always knew who the father of their baby was. Men only knew what women told them. We don't think of that as important now, although everyone of you knows someone who knows someone who wasn't sure.

So control of female sexuality was tremendously important for a lot of reasons, not part of an insidious plot. When I was 10, I realized that the ideal woman was the Madonna; she reproduced without sex. I was raised in the Anglican church, and I went to Father Franklin when I was 10. He said, "Jenny, what do you want to be when you grow up?" And I said, "I want to be a madonna." It was obvious in my church that there was no other option for women. And he said, "You can't be a Madonna but you can be like Sister Gladys Mary," who was a nun. I said, "I don't want to be like Sister Gladys Mary. People are nice to her, but she doesn't have any kids of her own." And he said, "Well, she's got all those kids in school." And I said, "But people say 'Isn't it sad that a lovely person like Sister Gladys Mary doesn't have her own kids?'. I don't want to be like that." He said, "Well, Jennifer, if you want children, you can be a wife and mother for the church." And I said, "No. To do that, you have to sin." Because at 10 years old, I had an Anglican mother and a Baptist father, and I knew it was wrong. And I was never going to do it. So I said, "I want to be a madonna. It's the best deal. You don't have to sin, you get the kids, and everybody thinks you're neat." And he said, "Jennifer, there are not enough immaculate conceptions to go around." And I, of course, then asked, "What's an immaculate conception?" at which point, he refused to discuss it with me any further and didn't speak to me, I think, for the rest of my career in the church. But the model was reproduction in a nonthreatening environment, through a nonthreatening situation.

If we go back in time, you needed a woman who not only would have children, but would care for them. You needed a woman to be there tending the hearth. You needed a woman who was not running around with the other guys while you were out on the

hunt. You needed a stable hearth. I was Betty Crocker Homemaker of the Year in 1960, and I got a little pin that said "Home is Where the Hearth is." We've forgotten about the keeping of the fire.

So the Madonna was as essential as The Stud. But of course, it's unusual to pair those two together. It's a real dilemma, and we all are familiar with the double standard. So who is the woman you didn't want in your tribe? Do you remember? We didn't let them into Pep Club. Sluts. We called them "skids" in my high school. The madonna and the whore. Always the two choices for woman, and the feeling that if you made one mistake, immediately you plummeted to the other end of the spectrum. Do you remember those fears?

What do we now call a woman who devotes her whole life to her homemaking, and who never has any outside activities, other than volunteer work. What do we call women who really fulfill this madonna role? "Just a housewife" is one example. But be careful of stereotypes; we've done a lot of harm to our sisters already. That's one of the reasons the Equal Rights Amendment is in trouble; we alienated so many of our sisters. We didn't tell them how valuable we felt parenting was, and of course it's tremendously valuable. There is a new group, in Washington State anyway, called "Displaced Homemakers." What is a "displaced homemaker"? A displaced person is a person without a country. A displaced homemaker is a woman without kids or a house--widows, divorcees--women whose husbands are disabled or unemployed end up as displaced homemakers. And it's a tragedy. This was once a lifetime guaranteed role. You graduated from high school, and you were a good girl, and you got to marry a doctor or a lawyer, and then you lived happily ever after. My mother said, "Good girls get to marry doctors and lawyers, and bad girls marry gas station attendants."

What do we now call women who stay out alone at night, who have independent sources of income, are occasionally seen in bars with other women or with men who are not their husbands, who actually go on business trips unescorted and stay in hotels and motels unchaperoned, who are assertive? Professionals. Businesswomen. When I first started working with prostitutes in 1968, the term "working women" referred to prostitutes on the street; it did not refer to general working women. And, of course, they also called themselves professionals. It's an interesting change, isn't it? Can you see what we've done in 20 or 30 years?

For example, we have a president now who is the Gary Cooper: the hero, the cowboy, the gentleman stud. When you're in hard times, you choose someone like that. You want a hero; you need an illusion. He has a son who is a ballet dancer. Now that in itself is not that interesting, but his father did not go and see his son dance until last year. Now we could assume he was too busy, but the impression given by the press is that he felt uncomfortable. Now a man of his stature feeling some discomfort seeing his son in ballet gives you some idea of the incredible change in one generation that we're asking people to make.

The reason the madonna has become the displaced homemaker is we've reversed the population mandate. Do you remember when you could go to you county fair and get a reward for having the most kids in the county? They had to be natural children. If you had 12 kids, you got a trophy, unless someone else had 14. What happens if you've got 12 natural children now? Does anyone give you an award? What do they call you? Irresponsible. Catholic. Mormon. On Public Assistance. Doesn't understand the connection. In 30

years we've gone from celebrating large families to saying large families show irresponsibility. Instead of being worried about not having enough people, we're now worried about having too many. We can't go back because of technology and population. So we have to go forward, and that's what I'm talking about.

You know about some of the positives and negatives of all of the changes, and I want to spend just a few minutes discussing strengths, both of women and men. The key, of course, to adapting is understanding this history, not thinking of it as the insidious plot, but as a vast, technological, economic and population change that a lot of people are caught in.

It doesn't feel very good to be obsolete. Ten years ago women were told, "When you're home with kids you're nothing." And it doesn't feel good for men who have been raised not to communicate, not to show emotions, to be told "Look, honey, I can get the antelope at Safeway. I don't need your protection. What I want you to do is be able to communicate with me. I want you to have a full range of emotions." One man told me the best thing about equal rights was now when there was a burglar in the house, he and his wife took turns. He no longer had to kill dragons to prove he was a man. But women still mistake kindness for weakness because during so much of our history we depended upon male physical strength. In her essay, "In Praise of the Sensitive Man," Anais Nin says we women do not reward the men we say we want as our friends and lovers. In fact, the joke is that we spend all day with these lovely sensitive men, and then at night we go out to the local country western tavern and see if we can find "Tex." Our sexual activities resonate to a different and earlier model. Look honestly at your sexual fantasies--a lot of cowboys. That is going to take longer to change than it does to change economics. Equal pay you can understand. Fantasies are something else. We told men that part of equal rights was that they didn't have to be a lifetime meal ticket any more. A lot of men still say they don't think women should be employed until all men are employed, and that sounds very crude until you recognize that men do feel their masculinity requires them to be lifetime meal tickets. And that women, in fact, will not carry through on saying, "I won't think less of you if I bring home the bacon sometimes."

**“ WOMEN STILL MISTAKE KINDNESS
FOR WEAKNESS BECAUSE DURING SO
MUCH OF OUR HISTORY WE DEPENDED
ON MALE PHYSICAL STRENGTH. ”**

A lot of us are caught in history, caught in the middle. A stockbroker who had taken three months off because the stockmarket was terrible, came to me for counseling; he was depressed. His wife was doing well in her business and they had agreed that he'd worked for 16 years, so why not take three months off? The first month, everything was fine. He fixed cabinets and squeaking doors around the house and read books he'd never had time to read. He felt great. The second month, he heard her telling her mother, "Gee, Mom, what if he doesn't go back to work? What if he turns into a bum?" The third month, she had an affair. And when they came to me, she said, "I just got this feeling that he wasn't the same man anymore." All this because so much of his

masculinity had been linked to his ability to produce, just as so much of a woman's femininity has been linked to things like feminine symbols for reproduction.

We have a lot of strengths, and I hope the end result is not women adopting the stud model. Instead of some nice balance between the qualities of the stud, the sissy, the madonna and the whore, what I've seen is a lot of women not opting for their own model, not opting for an amalgamation of their past and the present, but becoming studs! You can go to seminars to win by intimidation, to be a businesswoman who doesn't deal with feelings, who "runs in the fast track." Haven't we seen enough of what that model does to men? What's the message? The message is that we're moving so fast in these sex role changes that we're missing the balance. And women are forgetting the qualities they have to offer, and men are forgetting the qualities they have to offer. I want to share with you those qualities, and then we'll deal with what you need to survive in this decade.

Women have a special heritage, a special power, and I see them walking away from it; that is not the way to adapt. This heritage is something we should cherish. First of all, women have an awareness of whole systems, because we had to live with both the in-laws and our own family. We had to keep everybody somehow functioning together. We couldn't isolate ourselves, but men in their work environment frequently could. Women also have an ability to deal with feelings. We frequently say that women have been economically deprived, but, in truth, men have been emotionally deprived; they've been denied a full range of feelings. Women have not. Yet today women are attending seminars to learn how not to use their intuition, to learn how not to cry at work, to learn how not to feel. But I can't think of anything that we need more in the professional world than emotions and sensitivity. And we're throwing it down the drain for a stoic model already proven nonfunctional.

Women can live with uncertainty, partly because we have lived for so much of our history with other people making the decisions: "Dear, we're moving to Poughkeepsie." And according to the corporate model, you say, "Oh, fine." You get the packing boxes and you pack everything up, and he goes on ahead to his business meetings, you gather up the children, you move everything. Within 24 hours you settle into a new house, giving a party for all the other vice presidents, saying, "Oh, I'm sure we'll love it here, dear." We may complain about adapting, but in fact that psychic flexibility is a strength. The fact that women have that ability to adapt and to live with uncertainty is a positive quality, and there's no reason to deny it. Women have an orientation toward the longer term, which is essential in business. And we learned it in the back seat of cars in the drive-in. If I say yes, there's an 18-25 year obligation--forever compared to the obligation of the male. Men have been able to separate the creation and inventing of something from the following it, from the responsibility for it. Women have maintained it; all of society needs it.

Moreover, women understand cultural oppression. If we're going to survive in this decade, given the world that we live in, not the world that people would like to pretend we live in--the actual world in terms of population--we must have a deep understanding of cultural oppression and what it does to individuals. Women have that understanding. But I see them giving it up, walking away from recognition of individuals who live in circumstances that once were comparable to ours.

Women have a unique perspective and a unique potential, and don't let anyone talk you out of it,

because your strength in adapting is to keep all of your past strengths while you add new ones. We must not believe that we need to abandon one dimension to move on to another. Why abandon all of those qualities just because they're womanly, because they're feminine?

There are things we can learn from men. They have a lot of qualities that we need, even though we occasionally disdain them. For example, men have much more experience with independence. There was a time in my life when I realized that I could no longer say, "Well, I'll give this up and go home and have a baby." I used to hold that out as an alternative. If I got tired at work, I'd say to my husband, "I'm going to go home and have another baby." And he once said to me, "I can't do that. I can't go home and have another baby." We always had a dependent alternative. Men have much more independence and it's something we need to learn.

Personal courage is a quality that I've seen in both men and women, but I've seen a great deal of it in men. I joked about the burglar in the house, but if you have a long history of Gary Cooper, it does add something to your ability to handle threatening situations.

Men are better risk takers than women, better able to deal with professional insecurity. We always had to plan for the security of our children, the stability of the home. Men are better at solitude. We're learning, but men have so many more models for being alone. We grew up thinking being alone was sick, being alone was bad breath, being alone was being a spinster. Men grew up with images of Davy Crockett in the forest and the idea of the man on the quest. A man alone was thinking and a woman alone was pining for the man. Men can teach us a lot about solitude.

Men have had so much more experience with responsibility and teamwork, and a lot of it comes, of course, from sports. Any of you that have little girls playing soccer must realize they're learning some very valuable skills.

Men are also better at depersonalizing conflict. Women personalize conflict. This took me a long time to learn. I learned it from my husband, who's a politician. Somebody would say something nasty about him, and I would go to a party a week later and I'd see this person and I wouldn't talk to them. And then I'd notice that my husband was over there chatting with him five minutes later. I'd say, "Honey, why are talking to that man? You know what he said about you." He said, "Sweetie, that was on the last project. We're working on a new project now." Women personalize conflict, because so much of our conflict came out of family relationships which were personal and intimate. We haven't had as much experience dealing with business type conflicts, and so are unable to separate it from ourselves. There are many things that men and women can learn from each other.

There are some other things women need to look at in adapting. Women have high needs for approval. If you didn't get approval, you not only didn't get into Pep Club, but you didn't get to marry anybody. You were an outcast. A lot of our needs for approval were built on punishment which was excessive if we stepped over the line. We still have those desperate needs for approval, and it doesn't work in most professions. We need to build our self-esteem and our self-worth and not be so dependent upon others. It interferes with our ability to adapt. We have a lot of ambivalence about self-worth, because of our history. We've been devalued, and you can't make those changes

in how you feel about yourself in just one generation. Nobody likes criticism, but women in particular handle criticism poorly. We personalize it. We also devalue our achievements. And we are accused of being unable to collaborate with women, competing rather than cooperating. But it doesn't take long to understand the source of that competition. Thirty or 40 years ago, your entire future as a woman, economically and socially, depended upon one decision: who you married! You made that decision between 18 and 21, and you competed with other women for the few elite men who would make your life wonderful. Harlequin Romances are selling millions, and the theme is always competition for the man who will make your life beautiful, exciting. It's hard for us to collaborate, but we're getting better at it. There's no question that the biggest gift of the equal rights movement is sisterhood. We've now got some special relationships that we didn't have before.

Women also fear success and confrontation. We fear that such things are not feminine. We expect people to read minds. We don't want to confront; we want them to know that our feelings are hurt, or that we've been discriminated against, or that we don't like what's going on. Because somehow it's not feminine of us to say something, and if they were really nice, they'd know anyway. Mind reading does not work. It's not how men operate, and it doesn't work very successfully in business.

We also find it hard to give up old strategies that don't work. Most of us are caught between the old styles of hustling and the new styles of hustling. The new styles are based on confidence and efficiency, determination and commitment. The old styles are being cute, needed, sexually seductive, and all the rest. Most of us play whichever style will work at the time. We're caught in ambivalence. But because men are ambivalent as well, the mixed messages are incredible. We're caught between knowing what we don't want and not knowing what we do want. And the clarification of those messages is essential.

“MOST OF US ARE CAUGHT BETWEEN THE OLD STYLES -- BEING CUTE, NEEDED, SEXUALLY SEDUCTIVE -- AND THE NEW STYLES OF CONFIDENCE, EFFICIENCY, DETERMINATION, AND COMMITMENT.”

Perhaps the key if you want to adapt, if you want to be successful in the kind of changing world we have now, is to know what's important to you. Ask yourself: "What do I want?" It's not an easy question to answer, is it? But whether you are female or male, it's very hard to get the best from what you do if you don't know why you're doing it. Try this little exercise; it may help you discover what you want. Every morning spend 30 seconds asking yourself: "What do I want?" Jot down the first three "wants" that come to mind, no matter what they are. Do that for seven days in a row. Then, go over the list; cross off those things that are really what your mother wants, or what your father wants, or what your spouse wants, or what you think the Forest Service wants. Pare your list until you get to the

things that you want. And if you know the things you want, you'll get them.

Developing such a list is hard for women; women know what they don't want--they've had a lot of training in that. But women don't truly understand what they do want. Men, on the other hand, have had considerable training in what they should want, but they're just beginning to discover what they don't want. In consequence, many men and women are confused, and end up fighting over things neither really wants.

You also need to know what's truly important. In your job, are ethics most important? The balance between home and work? Community service? Creativity? Money? Status? Colleagues? Environment? You must know what is important to you; no job is going to have it all. Women have not spent enough time in the work force, so we have this feeling that the job should include everything; it should be paradise! We have forgotten that jobs are primarily to earn money. It's nice if you can work creatively in a pleasant environment with pleasant people. Basically, if you get paid, that's supposed to be enough. But many women have very unrealistic work expectations. These women are very disappointed when they don't find the comradeship or the creativity. A contemporary woman's view of work is often not the male traditional view of "I've got to work to eat," even though most women work to eat. Behind that is the perception that, "I'm working because I want to be a career woman." That, however, implies an artistic choice which is not a realistic option for most women. Even so, you may still be trapped in that perception, and that makes it hard to adapt.

So here we are in 1980, where a couple of things are tremendously important. First of all, we need a tolerance for people's history, a tolerance for people's sense of masculinity and femininity. You cannot pull people kicking and screaming into 1980 and assume they've had the same experience as you. We need far more tolerance from men as well as from women. It's not an insidious plot. It's an adaptation to a new environment, to a new technology, to new reproductive values--and it will take time. And patience seems to be one of the things that is hard for us to learn.

For this decade you must come to terms with your own personal history as masculine or feminine, and then give the same respect to someone else's history. Come to terms with your physical image. That's hard for women and for men. The fact that we are consumed by the rejection of our physical image is one of the things that gets in our way as women. There was a time when you got married if you were a Barbie doll and you didn't get married if you weren't. That has led to a tremendous rejection of physical image, and when we look at hazing and harrasment on the job, women's sensitivity to their physical image is one of the key areas. If you can't come to terms with your physical image, you can't even get to personhood. You're forever stuck in the cheerleader syndrome, and it gets in your way. This problem gets in men's way as well, but men could always compensate for homeliness with money, and women were never taught that they could compensate for anything if they weren't 5'2" or whatever. Esquire magazine did a recent survey of the women that young professional men of 30 wanted to marry. They had done the same survey 30 years before. Then the men had answered that they wanted her to be 5'2", blonde, built, and a nice girl. Thirty years later in 1981 the number one quality they wanted in their women was competence. They said in effect, "I don't want to be married to Betty Boop! I want someone who will share my life, who will share my responsibilities." The second thing they wanted was

for her to be about this tall, etc., but it was the second thing.

Avoid buying the male model. Now I would tell men to avoid buying the female model. There is a balance in between, and we can offer each other both a great deal in that sense.

Work on an ability to take risks, to give up investment in the structure. Often when you're fighting with someone else, it's because you don't want to take a risk. You want to hold on too tightly. Recognize that you're caught in continuous physical and psychological change. Things are going to just keep moving, and you really can't assume that anything is going to stay in place. And if you accept change and make an adventure of change, you won't be resentful when you're faced with it.

Recognize that success is a journey, not a destination. Most of us grew up with the idea that some day we would get there. We forget all the stuff that goes on in between. "As soon as I can walk, I'll be there. When Mom lets me cross the street, that's when I've got it made. When I get to go to school, then I'll really have it together. Look, when I finally get my driver's license, then I'll be there. When I graduate from high school. Well, you know, it'll be when I get married. Then I'll have it; that'll be it. When I have my first baby. When the kids finally grow up and leave, then I'll finally have it. When I retire." Success is the journey; it is not the destination. Success is every single day, yet many of you are pushing for goals that have nothing to do with today, that only have to do with some striving as your whole life goes by. That's a nonfunctional male model.

Set up alternative plans, regardless of what you think your future is in your business. Set up at least three alternatives, three alternative lives. If you lose one, you've got another.

Individuals who are going to be successful in this decade are going to rely on intuition; they're going to rely on their insight. They're going to believe that everybody can win instead of fighting among themselves. That's a hard one. You can choose win/win, you can choose win/lose, you can choose lose/lose. Win/lose means I can't win unless you lose, and we see a lot of that. Lose/lose says that if I'm going to lose, so are you. And win/win says we can both succeed in this. That's what men and women have to talk about when they're working together. Those who are going to survive have visions, and they act on their visions. They don't limit themselves; they don't take themselves too seriously. You can't survive without humor. Survivors see problems as challenges, not obstacles. They continue the learning process; they can handle criticism. They have some sense of meaning in their lives beyond themselves, a sort of philosophy or a spiritual center. Those who are going to be successful in this decade don't ask themselves about masculine and feminine or men and women. What they do ask is, "What do I want? What is truly important?" And if they can answer those questions, they know it's exactly what the other person wants as well, especially when you ask, "What is truly important?" We need balance. I hear of people swinging from one extreme to the other. Women give up families to enter business; men give up business to be with their families. Where is the balance? After a year of asking people for their definition of nirvana, a man finally said to me, "Ecstasy is when you can go to your own home and feel comfortable." I think the key issue when we talk about adapting, when we deal with masculine and feminine, is you have to be able to go home. And if you forget that, all the economic success in the world is not going to give you what you want.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

This column is designed to share current research activities by providing brief descriptions of an individual's work. We encourage all of you currently involved in natural and cultural resource research to contribute. Please send us a paragraph giving 1) topic of research, 2) topic introduction, 3) research focus, and 4) the value of the work. Send contributions to Editor, WIF, Laboratory of Anthropology, University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho 83843.

FIRE HISTORY: Fire suppression began about 1910, resulting in dramatic changes in forest structure. The realization that fire plays a necessary role in many forest systems has changed the focus from fire suppression to fire management. In my research, I am examining the natural periodicity of fire in three different ponderosa pine (*Pinus ponderosa*) communities in the eastern Oregon Cascades. So far, the oldest tree dates back to 1372 and has 22 fire scars. My objective is to provide functional models for forest managers to use in their planning policies and in formulating prescribed fire programs.

Joyce Bork
Graduate Student, Forest Science
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon 97331

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

RESEARCH NATURAL AREAS: The northern region has developed a Research Natural Area (RNA) Program projected to encompass more than 30,000 hectares with 80-100 RNAs. The major functions of RNAs are 1) to serve as benchmark areas from which we can measure effects of intensive management on similar sites, 2) to provide areas for scientific and educational use, and 3) to preserve genetic diversity. The purpose of this program is to protect important examples of the Northern Region's alpine forest shrubland, grassland, and aquatic and geological diversity. Currently, focus is on the completion of this system of RNAs. I am working with the national forests in the Northern Region to identify and evaluate sites with RNA potential. As this RNA system is completed, I will focus on specific management plans for each site and on the initiation of baseline monitoring studies.

Janet Johnson
Natural Area Specialist
USDA Forest Service
Intermountain Forest and Range
Experiment Station
Missoula, Montana 59806

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

FOREST ECONOMICS: Since the passage of the Jones Act in 1920, intercoastal shipping has been restricted to American ships. This has contributed to the decline of the West Coast forest products industry. The Jones Act has possibly affected Alaskan forest products trade by raising freight rates to the "lower 48." My research examines the effects of the Jones Act on Alaskan forest products trade patterns and on the flow of timber between Alaska, Japan, Canada, and the

U.S. Information on these patterns will help stumpage valuation in Alaska, freight rate levels, and possibly the American wood products consumer.

Kristine Jackson
Graduate Student, Forest Resources
University of Idaho
Moscow, Idaho 83843

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

FOREST GENETICS: Seed orchards play an important role in propagating the genetic improvement attained through selection and breeding; thus, factors affecting their efficiency are worthy of consideration. Full genetic efficiency in a seed orchard is achieved when all clones contribute equally to the seed crop. To address questions about factors which may influence the genetic composition of seed orchard crops and cause deviations from full efficiency, our research project examines: 1) differential flower production among orchard clones, 2) contamination from non-orchard pollen sources, and 3) self-fertilization. Information about these factors will allow us to assess the genetic value of Douglas-fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*) seed orchard crops under present management practices and formulate methods for maximizing the genetic efficiency of future orchards.

Deborah Bailey
Graduate Student, Forest Science
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon 97331

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

FOREST ECOLOGY: One of my current research projects involves the potential use of xylem sap as an indicator of the nutrient status of conifers and as part of the development of a new technique for solving problems of tree growth in the field. The method employs a means of simultaneously determining the presence of both water and nutrient stress in a stand. The method is also useful in determining whether fertilizer actually enters the tree in more arid climates. The results of this research will be of value to land managers in assessing the causes of poor growth and tracing fertilizer and other chemical perturbations in the ecosystem.

Nellie Stark
Professor, Forest Ecology
School of Forestry
University of Montana
Missoula, Montana 59812

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

SILVICULTURE AND FOREST PATHOLOGY: Some of the research projects I am currently working on include evaluation of commercial thinning in a western white pine plantation, fertilization of young stands of mixed conifers in northern Idaho, and fertilizing and girdling of western larch to stimulate seed production. We will begin a major study of silvicultural, pathological, and site preparation technology in April at the Priest River Experimental Forest in northern Idaho. Specifically, we will seek methods to improve seedling survival and

growth by taking advantage of or creating desirable microsities. We will develop techniques to enhance mycorrhizal performance which, in turn, will improve regeneration success.

Jonalea Tonn
USDA Forest Service
Intermountain Forest and Range
Experiment Station
Moscow, Idaho 83843

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

NUTRIENT CYCLING: Long-term forest productivity requires the maintenance of adequate nutrient resources, from rotation to rotation, under various management practices. My interests center around the idea that we can, by means of discrete sampling, develop an accurate estimate of how the environment responds to changes that forest management imposes, especially in terms of the effect on nutrient cycling. Evidence suggests that amending the supply of one nutrient, for example, can influence the balance of another. I am looking at how well the balance, ratio and amount of retranslocation of nutrients reflect the magnitude and direction of changes in the forest ecosystem.

Paula Reid
Graduate Student, Forest Science
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon 97331

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

VANDALISM IN WILDLAND RECREATION SETTINGS: Higher use of recreation areas also brings higher levels of vandalism, especially by juveniles. Using the urban quasi-rural recreation areas around Missoula, I am studying the process by which young people's group activities degenerate into vandalism. I am especially interested in how, what, and why young people commit vandalism, and in the perceptions of park managers of why vandalism occurs. Questionnaires will be used to determine how vandalism is handled by management. By defining the process, managers can better educate to prevent vandalism instead of applying "band-aid" approaches to repairs. The main question here is: Do the managers perceive the actual activity as it is, or do they need education too?

Adrienne Corti
Graduate Student, Wildland Recreation
University of Montana
Missoula, Montana 59812

SUBSCRIPTIONS

\$15.00/non-student, \$10.00/student.
Makes checks payable to WOMEN IN FORESTRY.

Include your name, address, phone, position or title (if student, name major), and organization or school.

Send to: WOMEN IN FORESTRY
Laboratory of Anthropology
University of Idaho
Moscow, Idaho 83843

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

FORESTRY TERMS AS USED IN IDAHO

by
Gene Wirsig

- Barkie:** What a puppy does.
Biltmore: A relative term, as in Dolly Parton compared to Twiggy.
CFI: Carefully fudged in.
Carrying capacity: The total number of six packs a forester can carry to the woods.
Terminal Bud: The last Bud in the last six pack consumed in the woods--reduces carrying capacity to zero.
DBH: The complete, unabridged forester's alphabet.
Forest stocking: Huge stockings found in the forest--thought to be discarded by Bigfoot.
Forester: One who sits in a lookout tower and plays pinochle.
Fee owner: The forester who owns the pinochle deck.
Allowable cut: The number of times it is permissible to cut the pinochle deck without penalty.
Pay as cut: A penalty fee charged for cutting the pinochle deck in excess of the allowable cut.
Increment borer: A device for making very small peeler cores.
Intensive forest management: Practicing the whole gamut of silvicultural treatments from A to B.
Legal corner: Where young lawyers hang out.
Long butt: A common anatomical abnormality of loggers.
Mean annual increment: A very small salary increase.
Misery whip: A device used in kinky sex.
Rotation age: The age at which a forest manager's head starts spinning. Usually followed by a period of confusion during which too many trees are cut.
Return to stump: Where we log after we run out of mature timber.
Section, township and range: A softshoe dance team from downtown Bovill.
Silviculture: A Latin word meaning: Grow, damn it! Grow!
Site curve: A forest manager's ability to see around corners.
Slash burning: The fine art of starting wildfires.

↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑ ↑

NEWS AND NOTES

LIVING WITH A SUCCESSFUL WOMAN PROFESSIONAL

- A MAN'S PERSPECTIVE -

I'm trying to communicate with my fellow men about this subject because I not only think about it--I live it. As a freelance writer, I have an income that goes up and down year by year. My wife has a good managerial job and, on the average, she earns more from her work than I do from mine. She also dresses more formally for work, has the more definite schedule, travels more frequently and widely and just generally seems more professional than I do. So, I guess, I want to say to those men who are living with high-powered women who hold better-paying jobs: Hey, amigos, you're not alone; there are more of us around than you may imagine; and, yes, we all have to adjust to this new way of living. It is my belief that we can do so, and the lives we lead when we accept the fact that we are not the only protectors in the family can be more enriching than the more conventional lives most of us once knew.

None of my training prepared me for what I now encounter. As a kid on Chicago's South Side, as a graduate in the late Fifties of a prestigious university, as a Marine and a trucker and a teacher, I grew up believing in a Western-movie ethic: The male should be the breadwinner; the male should be the sheriff; the male is not a male unless he is both the breadwinner and the sheriff. Looking back on it, I can see how restrictive and unimaginative such a role was, but there are still days when I struggle

PEOPLE

LOUISE SHADDUCK of Coeur d'Alene, ID, has resigned as executive director of the North Idaho Forestry Association and the Idaho Forest Industry Council and has opened a consulting firm in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.

JUDITH AUSTIN of Boise, ID, has been elected to the Council of the Western History Association. Austin, editor of Idaho Yesterdays, is also a director of the Forest History Society and chairman of its Nominating Committee.

to understand that I am all right just as I am. They include, by the way, the days when I am unemployed as a writer, i.e., when the words do not come or the work does not sell.

We can learn new skills and go back to school and develop new hobbies. Indeed, I think it can be argued that men are just now learning to appreciate life. It took a certain kind of humbling, a loss of automatic privilege to make us examine our possibilities.

A friend of mine who used to have a very fat job and now can't find work has a phrase for it. He calls it taking out the garbage. That used to mean only one thing to him: A guy who took out the trash in his own home was, by definition, emasculated, a wimp who forgot that the man's role was to walk into his home and accept his wife's offerings of slippers and martini and sit back in the easy chair and watch TV. But that's changed now that my buddy's wife earns more money than he. Now his house wouldn't function unless he took out a lot of garbage and did it without guilt or whining. And once he pushed himself past the idea that his domestic support was demeaning, he learned that cooperation was a lot more fun than rebellion. "Besides," he laughs, "I fix a better martini."

That's the only way to look at it.

Excerpted from "Taking out the garbage" by Asa Baber, Playboy, March 1983.

LLAMAS IN THE FOREST

The Western Forester noted that Ranger William Butler of the Galice Ranger district of the Siskiyou National Forest at Grants Pass, Oregon, reports that two llamas were used very successfully as pack stock for a trail maintenance crew in his district in 1982. These animals are used for packing in South America and elsewhere, but this is the first case where the Western Forester has heard of them being used for this purpose in the U.S.

The two llamas used belong to Mike Gilmore, a civil engineering technician on the forest. Butler reported the animals were extremely surefooted, leave little trace of their presence and are environmentally "easy" on the trail and campsites. They will eat almost anything including poison oak.

Editor's Note: However, their use must be on the increase as this winter's 10th anniversary catalog from Early Winters, Ltd., Seattle ("unique outdoor equipment"), actually offers pack llamas for sale (\$1200- \$2000 each), a free brochure, and a book about llamas (Speechless Brothers by Andy Tillman, \$9.95).

DISCRIMINATION IS STILL WITH US

A Bureau of Labor Statistics survey did not turn up one single job category in which men and women were paid equally. In those occupations in which at least 50,000 workers are employed (representing 95% of the full-time workforce), women averaged 65% of men's weekly earnings. Whether the percentage of women working in a field is high (e.g. 91% of nurses, dietitians, and therapists) or low (women make up less than 5% of engineers), a gap still remains between salary levels for men and women. Women engineers earn only 67% of what their male counterparts receive, and even in such fields as nursing, dietetics and therapy, women average \$326 per week, as compared to \$344 for men.

In addition, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, women and minorities were 68.5% of the workforce in 1980. White women held 11.2% of managerial jobs, an increase of 15% since 1970. Minorities, including minority women, held 5.2% of the managerial jobs, an increase of 1.6% since 1970. At this rate, and assuming no change in the proportion of women and minorities in the workforce, it will take white women 624 years, and minorities 130.6 years, to achieve equality in managerial jobs!

GENDER-RELATED OBSTACLES

Participants at the second Women's Intermountain Network for Natural Resources conference, held at Pocatello, Idaho, in spring 1982, examined gender-related obstacles to their professionalism versus general natural resource career obstacles. The women participants expressed concern that perhaps some of the obstacles they encountered were typical for any individual (male) starting this career. If so, it was important to identify them as such and separate them from gender obstacles. Different strategies might be in order once the separation has been made. Certainly the drain on energy and self-esteem related to gender obstacles could be limited only to gender issues rather than all career frustrations.

To begin the identification process, responses to key questions were requested from 20 males with established careers in the natural resources. A recurring theme found in their advice to the woman was one of conflicting duality: she must realize it's a "man's world" out there and behave like one to survive while making sure she doesn't sacrifice her femininity by acting like a man.

Such a recommendation indicates a need to involve male colleagues in efforts to balance the career environment in natural resources. The "man's world" must be modified so it can become a world for women and men to work together.

'OLDER WOMEN' FIGHT OLD MYTHS

by
Judy Klemesrud, New York Times

Male fantasies about women over the age of 40 can be harmful to women's self-image, according to a psychotherapist who has devoted a good part of her career to studying the so-called older woman.

The myths, according to Dr. Rita M. Ransohoff, include the notion that an older woman is sexually voracious, that she loses interest in nurturing and becomes a "battle ax", that she is not able to please her husband sexually after she has had children, and that, after menopause, she is no longer worthy of the reverence she received when she was capable of giving birth.

"These are images many middle-aged women have internalized, with profound effects on their self-esteem," Ransohoff said recently at a session entitled "Women and Work," at the fourth annual Women in Crisis conference, at New York's Sheraton Center.

Ransohoff, who was the main speaker in a panel discussion called "Venus After 40," said many cultural attitudes were rooted in classical literature. She referred to the Furies, the avengers of murder in Greek tragedy; to Demeter, who, disguised as an old witch, caused the crops to wither and brought famine to the land; and to the Wicked Witch of the West in "The Wizard of Oz".

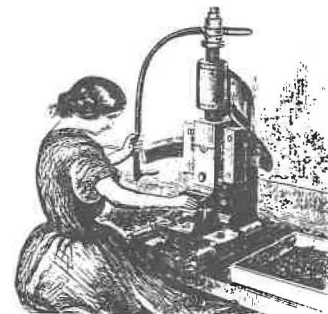
NEWS AND NOTES

COMPANY ARCHIVE OPEN

The Weyerhaeuser Company Archives, located in Tacoma, WA, holds one of the richest collections of historical materials pertaining to a forest products firm in the nation. Linda Edgerly, company archivist, told the *Journal of Forest History*,

"Collections range in variety from financial records and office files of senior executives to printed materials and audiovisual items. There is now a substantial body of archival records tracing the company's development. Subjects represented in the collection include Pacific Northwest logging and lumber production; construction and operation of sawmills and pulp mills in various locations; changes in technology; evolution of forestry practices; expansion in the South; lumber distribution; and nationwide marketing, advertising, and sales. The records are available to scholars upon application."

For more information contact the Weyerhaeuser Company Archives, Tacoma, Washington 98477."



SUBSCRIPTIONS

\$15.00/non-student, \$10.00/student.
Makes checks payable to WOMEN IN FORESTRY.

Include your name, address, phone, position or title
(if student, name major), and organization or school.

Send to: WOMEN IN FORESTRY
Laboratory of Anthropology
University of Idaho
Moscow, Idaho 83843

THE KLONDIKE GOLD RUSH: ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE CHILKOOT AND WHITE PASS TRAILS OF SOUTHEAST ALASKA

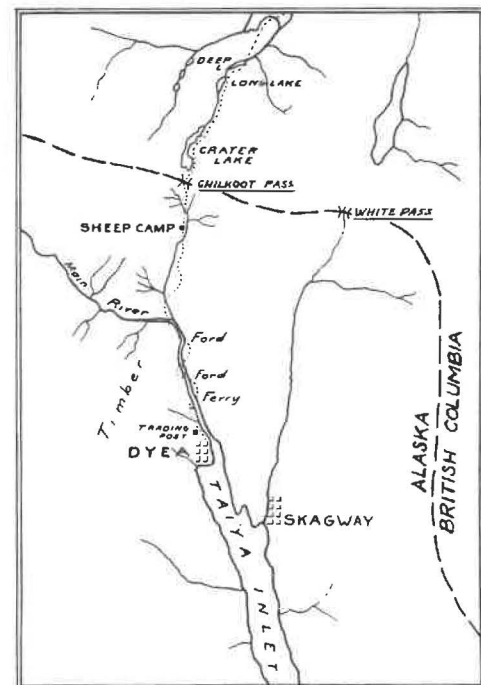
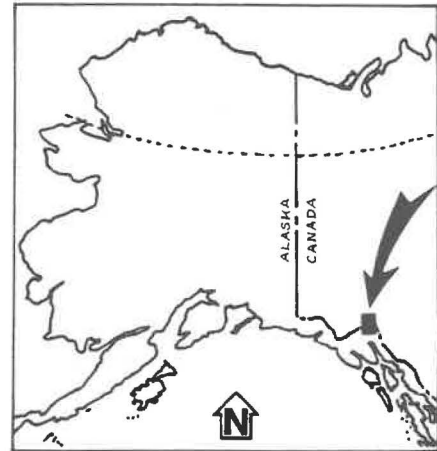
Caroline D. Carley
 Research Associate
 Laboratory of Anthropology
 University of Idaho
 Moscow, Idaho 83843

Gold was discovered on the Klondike River and its tributaries in August 1896 and word of the strike reached the outside world in spring 1897. Although the gold rush occupied a relatively short time, from summer 1897 to spring 1898, this event, sometimes called "The Great Stampede" or "The Last Grand Adventure," caught people's attention around the world, attracted young men and women with a wide range of vocational backgrounds, and involved thousands of individuals with hundreds of tons of goods.

During the Klondike Gold Rush, over 30,000 people poured into the Yukon Territory by way of southeast Alaska. They arrived by ship at Dyea or Skagway, hauled supplies and equipment north over the mountains on two major trails, and traversed hundreds of miles of the Yukon water system to reach Dawson City and the gold fields. One overland route, the Chilkoot Trail, began at Dyea and climbed 17 miles to the Chilkoot Pass at 3,700 feet. The White Pass Trail, which originated at Skagway, was less precipitous but longer and harder on both man and beast. The two routes crossed into Canada and merged at Lake Bennett. From there, stampedeers continued by boat for 500 miles to the Klondike (Bearss 1970).

To ensure survival, the Canadian government required individuals to carry enough food and equipment for a year's stay in the Yukon, in addition to whatever supplies and equipment they chose to bring for working in the goldfields. Gold seekers who could not afford a professional packer were faced with moving approximately a ton of supplies and equipment in relays over the trails. Some had pack animals and, in winter, some used dog sleds or hand drawn sleds, but many made numerous trips up the passes carrying 60-70 pound packs (Martinson 1967).

During this movement of people and supplies, several sizable towns or camps sprang up along the trails. Canyon City, Pleasant Camp, Sheep Camp, The Scales, and White Pass City were established first as tents, then wooden frame and log buildings were hastily constructed, and proprietors claimed to offer the best of coffee, food, lodging, and entertainment.



In these camps, stampedeers could purchase additional supplies, cache their goods while they brought up remaining loads, and wait out storms.

Inexperienced stampedeers often underestimated the difficulties that lay ahead. Both overland trails wound up steep, rocky canyons, crossing and recrossing rivers and providing few flat places to rest or camp. In the summer, heavy rains, mud, and mosquitoes plagued travelers. The White Pass Trail, advertised as suitable for pack animals, was particularly treacherous. Pack beasts by the thousands broke their legs among its boulders, tumbled down precipices, and died in its mud holes, giving it the well-known name, the "Dead Horse Trail" (Bearss 1970). Although the trails

were somewhat easier once they were packed with snow in winter, storms were frequent, and temperatures often dropped as low as -50°F in the passes. Frostbite and snow blindness were common.

The gold rush was short-lived as rich areas on the Klondike were quickly claimed and news of strikes elsewhere soon diverted the flow of gold seekers. Towns that had grown so quickly were abandoned and only sagging buildings, a scatter of discarded equipment, and bones of pack animals were left to mark the trails.

The Chilkoot and White Pass Trails Today

In 1962, a hiking trail was constructed from Dyea to Chilkoot Pass by the State of Alaska. In 1968, the governments of the Yukon Territory and British Columbia restored the Canadian side of the trail. By 1969, the Recreational Chilkoot Trail, following parts of the historic trail, was complete. At present, this trail extends approximately 33 miles from the trailhead at Dyea to Lake Bennett and is popular with hikers. A recent study showed that during summer 1976, over 1,000 people from all over the world spent 3-5 days hiking the trail. More than half of them cited the historic experience as one of the major reasons for their trip (Womble et al. 1978).

As during the Klondike Gold Rush, hikers of this backwoods trail today must pack their own supplies, hike a narrow, sometimes steep and winding trail of mud, tree roots, boulders, and bridges in various states of repair, and camp in the relatively few wide spots along the trail while adverse rain or snow conditions often prevail. Today's adventurers camp near structural remains of the gold rush and, in some places along the trail, hike through the material debris left behind years ago.

In contrast, the White Pass Trail is nearly non-existent and White Pass City, at the junction of the Skagway and White Pass Rivers, is virtually inaccessible. There are no established trails in the area and few people venture up the valley.

The Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park was created by Congress on 30 June 1976 to commemorate the Klondike Gold Rush of 1897-1898. The park is unusual. It includes four separate, dispersed units: an interpretive center in Seattle, a number of historic buildings in Skagway, and larger land areas in the Chilkoot Pass and White Pass areas. The latter units encompass 20 and 6 square miles, respectively, and contain major physical cultural remains associated with the gold rush. Among these resources are the Chilkoot and White Pass Trails themselves.

Within broad historical and archaeological contexts, cultural remains in the Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park present a unique opportunity to increase understanding of the gold rush. They also present a challenge to managers, conservationists, historians, and archaeologists.

Two factors make the remains along the Chilkoot and White Pass trails especially significant. First, the Stampede was short lived, spanning less than two years. Second, the Chilkoot and White Pass Trails were far from the Klondike itself. The towns that grew up along them were not mining towns. Gold, the reason for the Stampede, did not exist here; the towns were merely stepping stones to the gold fields. For the most part, those living in settlements along the two trails never intended to make them a permanent residence, and those passing through stayed only as long as was necessary to acquire supplies, cache parts

of their outfits, or wait out bad weather. After the rush was over, the towns and camps along the two trails became ghost towns, slowly succumbing to encroachment of vegetation and the rivers. Now accessible only to hardy hikers, the remains of these settlements represent a time capsule of gold rush, Alaskan, and American history.

One of the mandates for the Historical Park is to protect, preserve, and interpret the cultural resources of the gold rush of 1897-1898 and to encourage awareness and appreciation of the events which they represent. While locations of many of these cultural resources were known when the park was created, their magnitude, condition, and significance had not been systematically assessed. Consequently, in March 1979, the National Park Service (NPS), Pacific Northwest Region, entered into a contract with the University of Washington, Office of Public Archaeology for inventory of the cultural resources of the Chilkoot and White Pass units of the park. A major purpose of the project was to provide the NPS with sufficient baseline data to develop guidelines both for preservation and enhancement of significant cultural resources and for public recreation. Of immediate importance to this goal was assessment of the condition of the cultural resources, their susceptibility to vandalism, their suitability for interpretation, and their potential for future research.

Two other archaeologists and I conducted on-site reconnaissance during summer 1979. For three months, we searched for the material remains of those who had hiked the trails 80 years earlier on their way to the gold fields. This entailed hiking and camping along the trails, uncovering cultural remains, and finally, documenting these remains through extensive description, mapping, and photography.



Back Country Ranger, Meg Jensen, pointed us in the general direction of places along the trails which might contain major remnants of the gold rush. After carrying supplies and equipment to within a daily walking distance of these areas, we set up base camps from which to work. During the three months in the field, four different camps were established along the trails. Each of us had our own tent, plus a small communal tent for food and supply storage. As is often the case in such conditions, most of our waking hours before and after work were spent taking care of the most basic necessities and maintaining camp. We cooked over a fire or small fuel-burning stove, took drinking water from rivers, and burned or packed out garbage. Due to food litter produced by the large number of hikers on the Chilkoot trail, bears were a threat and squirrels were a nuisance.

We spent 1-3 weeks at each major location of historic remains. Once camp had been established, we began the search for cultural resources, often crossing fast-moving rivers by whatever means could be found--logs, ladders, and cables of unknown vintage. Many of the remains were covered by thick vegetation, especially blueberry bushes and devil's club. As a result, we began the work with several days spent hand clearing brush with machetes, in order to expose collapsed structures, log and stone foundations, and artifacts such as tin cans, stoves, and sleds. Once these items were uncovered, documentation began.

Structural remains were measured and, when possible, architectural descriptions and drawings were made of foundations, doors, windows, roofs, and anything of structural significance such as log size, manner of notching, and presence and shape of moulding. The condition of and possible threats to these remains were also noted. They were then plotted on a large site map, drawn up in the field, to discern orientations of structures, street or trail patterns, and horizontal extent of structural remains. In addition to aiding future study of these remains, the maps will allow other archaeologists or cultural resource managers to locate the documented remains under thick vegetation which has by now covered them completely once again.

Artifacts uncovered were also documented in detail. This involved plotting their location on the site map in relation to other remains, taking individual artifact measurements and often sketching the objects, describing what they were, how they were made (for dating purposes), what they were used for, and noting their present condition. All artifacts were left exactly as they were found.

The goal of all our documentation was to provide a person unfamiliar with the trail information showing the location and providing a description of all Klondike Gold Rush remains as well as an understanding of threats endangering these remains. Color slides and black and white photographs were also taken of all remains and artifacts. Many of these were included in the final document.

Due to the lush vegetation, documentation was often hindered by lack of light for photography and the difficulty of seeing above or around vegetation for purposes of mapping. Weather was another problem. Rain fell nearly every day during the three months of inventory, making all aspects of living and working difficult.

Archaeology of the Chilkoot and White Pass Trails

In the years since gold seekers crossed the trails, much has been covered, lost, or destroyed. Vegetation thickly covered collapsed structures and discarded tin cans, hiding all but the major remains. The Taiya and Skagway rivers have meandered along the banks of settlements causing structures to slip into fast-moving waters. Obvious remains have been collected by interested onlookers as souvenirs of the gold rush. In spite of such destruction, reminders of this event still exist.

Before 1897, the Chilkoot Trail was used only by Chilkat Indians, and Dyea, at the trail's head, consisted of a trading post and a number of Indian dwellings (Bearss 1970). With the coming of the stampede, Dyea grew rapidly as thousands of people landed here before beginning their climb to the Chilkoot Pass. By 1898, Dyea was a "jumble of frame saloons, false-fronted hotels, log cafes, gambling houses, stores, and real estates offices. . ." (Berton 1958:245). Dyea grew up overnight and existed little more than a year. At the end of the rush, it was abandoned as quickly as it had been occupied. Lumber was removed from structures and used to continue building its rival, Skagway, eight miles away. Almost immediately, farmer Klatt homesteaded downtown Dyea. Buildings he did not use were taken down to make room for turnip and potato patches (Jones 1970). The Taiya River, in its meandering, also removed substantial parts of the town.

What remains of Dyea today is readily accessible to the public. The old townsite is a popular picnic

spot for residents of Skagway. Modern trash is mixed with nineteenth-century refuse. A cornerstone has been removed to make a fire hearth and historic wood is burned and used for comfortable seating. Dyea has also been potted extensively.

Several collapsing and collapsed structures are evident reminders of the past, but most of what remains is subsurface and includes large pits and rectangular shallow depressions with mounds around them, all of which were probably cellars or dug-outs with associated superstructures of wood or canvas. We recorded these features in detail, and, as a result, street patterns emerged. These patterns, combined with archival work with newspapers from that period, will indicate which features may once have been part of stores, hotels, and offices.

Not surprisingly, artifacts are scarce in the town site, but tin cans, fuel cans, and buckets remain. Broken bottles, discovered but unwanted by bottle collectors, are also scattered about the site and provide valuable information for archaeologists.

Eight miles north of Dyea is Canyon City, where 30 cabins and many tents were once established on one of the few flat spots along the trail (Bearss 1970). River cobbles were abundant and were used for foundations, put aside in piles to make clearings, and used to line the trail through town. Such features remain today and the recording and mapping of such features revealed the location of the trail through town, the site of a probable hotel, the central area of Canyon City and a distinct pattern of sizes of cobble foundations indicating original tent sizes. Artifacts are somewhat scarce at Canyon City, and the reason for this remains somewhat of a mystery. Still, tin cans, fuel cans, shoes, wagon parts, sled parts, and stoves are present in small numbers.



Today, visits to Canyon City are encouraged by the National Park Service and the remains are accessible to hikers wishing to venture a half mile off the main hiking trail. An awesome feature which can be viewed by the explorer is a large 16-foot tall boiler, standing in its original location, that at one time provided electricity to Canyon City.

Five miles beyond Canyon City was the settlement of Sheep Camp, the main stopping place along the Chilkoot Trail for caching goods and resting before moving toward the pass. Sheep Camp was a town of tents, with seldom fewer than 1500 people. The permanent or business portion of Sheep Camp was marked by a row of log cabins and frame buildings of saloons, drug stores, a hospital, hotels, restaurants, coffee stands, laundries, bathhouses, and stores (Bearss

1970). Hotels, though numerous, were often only small huts or structures, usually little more than a place to throw a bed roll.

The cultural remains of Sheep Camp are scattered along both the east and west sides of the Taiya River. Those on the east side, few and overgrown, are accessible to modern day visitors, and hikers may, in some places, camp directly next to a collapsing structure. Sheep Camp remains on the west side of the Taiya can only be reached by crossing a narrow place on the river with a ladder. Here, the vegetation becomes overwhelming. Devil's club or devil's walking stick, 6-8 feet high, dominates. When we removed the devil's club with machetes, a number of collapsed structures and artifacts were exposed. The structural remains at Sheep Camp range from scattered log foundations to quickly built log cabins, now collapsed, and substantial structures made of hand hewn logs and carefully shaped molding still partially standing today. Measurements and mapped locations of these structures, along with the use of old photographs, have enabled us to identify the archaeological evidence as various historic structures. Only larger artifacts were located because of the vegetation covering the ground surface. Stoves were found in various states of preservation and commonly described and photographed. A bottle dump was exposed by partially removing some of the ground cover after a crunching and cracking sensation when walking alerted one archaeologist to the nature and extent of the remains underneath.

From Sheep Camp, the hiking trail of today follows the same route of the 1897-1898 trail to the Chilkoot Pass. Here, between Sheep Camp and the Pass, some of the most inspiring and readily observable reminders of the gold rush still exist. A tramway support towers in the air on a large cliff above the trail, and a collapsed tramway platform hangs suspended in mid-air. Below the Pass is the Scales, a flat ledge at the base of the final ascent, where goods were weighed before they were taken into Canadian territory. Today, hundreds of artifacts can be seen on the rocky surface. Pots, pans, ceramics, shoes, clothing, pulleys, cable, wire, wheels, pipe, and shovels are only a few of those present.

For gold rushers, the final ascent to the Chilkoot Pass involved carving steps into snow for the climb. For archaeologists and today's hikers, this climb, attempted only in the summer months, entails scamp-ering over large rock and scree. Once the summit was reached the gold seekers then continued some 13 miles further to Lake Lindeman where they built boats and traveled approximately 500 additional miles by the Yukon waterways to the goldfields. Today's hikers follow the trail to Lake Lindeman, then several miles further to Lake Bennett where the Yukon White Pass Railway train is caught for the return trip to Skagway. The cultural inventory of the Chilkoot Trail ended with the documentation of knock-down wood and canvas boats abandoned at this pass during the gold rush.

Some adventurers of 1898 chose to travel the White Pass Trail, following the Skagway River. This rough trail has not survived years of vegetation growth and landslides. Only one major settlement was ever established in this valley above Skagway, that of White Pass City, and today the vicinity of this small town is not easily penetrated. We were able to document the area only with the aid of the Yukon White Pass Railway. A maintenance crew dropped us and our supplies off near White Pass City. Several trips down and back up a steep hill enabled us to set up camp on the south bank of the river. The old town site, on the opposite side, was then reached by a daily crossing of the rushing water on a cable. Few have ventured into the area since the turn of the century. Here we docu-

mented fuel cans made into roof flashing, tin cans punched with holes for use as strainers, and buckets devised with cans and wire handles. As at Canyon City, moss-covered cobble foundations for tents and other structures were features most commonly found among the thick blueberry bushes.

Today, the structural remains of dirt, wood, and stone demonstrate construction techniques employed by a temporary, mobile population and reflect intensive use of available space and resources. Lumber, for example, probably was used until it became scarce. Structures made of large logs, finely hewn, may have been built early in the Stampede. These contrast sharply with structures built of small logs, almost poles, that vary widely in diameter from one end to the other, probably the last of the available resource. Many of the structures shown in photographs are woodframed canvas tents on platforms, reflecting both the impermanence of the settlements and the scarcity of lumber. Where cobbles were available for foundations, they seem to have been used; where they were not, depressions were dug and dirt mounded, apparently for similar purposes.

The artifacts found in conjunction with these structures represent supplies taken, utensils cooked with, food eaten, and garbage thrown away. In addition to showing what remains of the life style described in numerous letters and journals, the artifacts can be used for comparative purposes. Publications advised prospective stamperders what supplies to take. Comparison of these lists with remaining artifacts can demonstrate the difference, if any, between what was deemed necessary and what was not, what ensured survival and what did not. The number of recycled artifacts, such as food cans made into strainers and buckets and fuel cans flattened and used as roof flashing, suggests the isolation of these settlements and the expense and difficulty of procuring supplies.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of these cultural remains is that they constitute a living museum in which visitors can both view the past and to some extent experience it.

As a result of the cultural inventory conducted in 1979, the National Park Service now has a document which will aid in the management and preservation of these cultural resources from the Klondike Gold Rush of 1897-1898.

Since receiving her B.S. in Anthropology from Portland State University in 1973, Caroline Carley has been involved in archaeology in the Pacific Northwest and has directed excavations and cultural resource surveys in Washington, Idaho, and Alaska through the University of Washington and the University of Idaho. Her major interest in archaeology is that of historical archaeology, especially as it reflects the social history of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Her excavation at Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver and the U.S. Army's Vancouver Barracks has subsequently involved research into the history of disease and medicine and the reflection of related practices in the archaeological record. Caroline's research into the U.S. Army Archives has elucidated details of the daily lives of enlisted men at an army post in the Pacific Northwest. Most recently, her archaeological excavations have involved work with the prehistoric occupations of the Shoshone and Nez Perce Indians of Idaho. Caroline received an M.A. in Anthropology from the University of Idaho in 1979.

REFERENCES

Bearss, Edwin C. 1970. Proposed Klondike Gold Rush National Historic Park: historicresource study. Office of History and Architecture, National Park Service, Eastern Service Center, Washington, D.C.

Berton, Pierre. 1958. The Klondike fever. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Carley, Caroline D. 1981. Inventory of cultural resources in the Chilkoot and White Pass units of Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park. Office of Public Archaeology, Reconnaissance Report 40, Institute for Environmental Studies, University of Washington, Seattle.

Jones, Robert D. 1907. A municipal farmer. Alaska-Yukon Magazine. 151:188-192.

Martinson, Ella Lang. 1967. Black sand and gold. Benford and Mort, Portland.

Womble, Peter, Wendy Wolf, and Donald R. Field. 1978. Hikers on the Chilkoot Trail: a descriptive report. University of Washington, College of Forest Resources, Seattle.



CAN YOU HELP?

**FOREST SERVICE
UNIFORMS**

The History Section of the Forest Services's History Line is still looking for examples of the first women's uniforms of the 1960s and 1970s. Anyone who has information should contact them at Box 2417, Washington DC 20013.

↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑

**RECLAMATION OF
COAL MINE SPOILS**

Ann R. Johnson, 4205 Auburn Way S. #16, Auburn, Washington 98002, seeks information or references concerning reclamation of coal mine spoils in the western U.S.

**WOODLAND AND WOOD
INDUSTRY MUSEUMS
AND EXHIBITS**

The Forest History Society Library is assembling a directory of forest history museums, exhibits, demonstration forests, and other educational facilities concerned with woodlands and wood industries. If you have information about exhibits and museums in your area, write to Library, Forest History Society, 109 Coral Street, Santa Cruz, California 94060.

↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑

**INTERNATIONAL
FORESTRY**

Tenley Heimdahl, 6108 Cady Road, Everett, Washington 98203, seeks information and advice regarding international forestry employment.

**WOMEN AS
FIRE LOOKOUTS**

Erin K. Hopson, 924 Leneve Pl., El Cerrito, California 94530, is trying to gather data on the history of women as fire lookouts. (She would be happy to pay photocopying and/or postage costs.)

↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑↑

**FORESTRY
CONTRACTING
BUSINESSES**

Lislott D. Harberts, 437 Walnut Street, Statesville North Carolina 28677, is interested in contacting women involved in forest contracting businesses.

EVENTS

SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY MEETING

The Pittsburgh Hilton Hotel
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
27-30 April 1983

For information contact the meeting chairpersons: James M. Adovasio and Ronald C. Carlisle, Cultural Resource Management Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260.

WINNR SPRING RETREAT

Logan Canyon, Utah
Strategies for Change

One of the major goals of WINNR is to provide a network for women natural resource professionals working in the Intermountain area.

At a two day retreat at the USU Forestry School Summer Camp in the Logan Canyon of Utah, you will have opportunities to meet, brainstorm desired changes, identify strategies, practice skill building, and recreate with other women natural resource professionals. Dates are tentative at this time. For more information contact WINNR, c/o 61 E 200 N, Providence, Utah 84332, or phone (801) 626-6650 days.

NORTHWEST WOOD PRODUCTS CLINIC

2-4 May 1983
Kalispell, Montana

Co-sponsored by the Inland Empire Section of the Forest Products Research Society and the Rocky Mountain Forest Industries Conference, this clinic will be held at the Outlaw Inn, Kalispell, Montana. This year's theme: A TIME TO COMBINE EXPERIENCE WITH NEW IDEAS. Women in Forestry readers may be interested to know that there is a separate "Ladies's Program and Luncheon" scheduled for this meeting. For program and registration materials, please write to: Engineering Extension Service, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington 99164.

WOMEN IN SCIENCE

20-22 May 1983
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, B.C.

The program includes panel discussions, work shops, and papers on applied science and technology, sex biases in research, entering and re-entering the workforce, getting along with your colleagues, and developing communication skills. Registration fee is \$100 (less for students) and the deadline for registration is 22 April 1983. For more information write to the Society for Canadian Women in Science and Technology, P.O. Box 2184, Vancouver, B.C. V6B 3V7.

WOMEN'S WEST CONF.

Sun Valley, Idaho
10-13 August 1983

The Institute of the American West announces the forest INTER-REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE WOMEN'S WEST. The conference will focus on the historical experiences of women in the trans-Mississippi west including western Canada. With a key focus on the diversity of women's actual experience in contrast to their place in the mythology of the west, the conference will explore the following topics in multi-cultural perspective: family, community building, life cycle experience, work, land and sense of place, public policy past and present, method and interpretation, public presentation of western women's history.

Applicants are invited to participate in colloquia organized around these themes. Interested people are invited to submit a two-page description of research, presentations or performances (fiction, poetry, drama, film, exhibits, etc.) by 15 June 1983. A brief resume must accompany each proposal. You may address more than one theme. Depending on funding, transportation and housing will be paid for participants selected. Submit proposals to THE WOMEN'S WEST, Institute of the American West, P.O. Box 656, Sun Valley, Idaho 83353.

FOREST RESEARCH SEMINAR

16-17 September 1983
University of Vermont

A seminar providing a forum for women researchers in forestry sciences will be held 16-17 September 1983, at the University of Vermont. The seminar will be sponsored by the University of Vermont and the U.S. Forest Service Northeast Experiment Station. Special emphasis will be placed on subjects pertaining to eastern forests. Topics addressed will include biological aspects of forest pest control, forest productivity, wildlife habitats, and public perceptions of the forest and forest uses. Complete details and a schedule of events will appear in the summer issue of Women in Forestry. (Or call or write to Ann Spearing, Graduate Dean's Office, University of Vermont, Burlington, VT 05405, (802) 656-3160.)

FOREST HISTORY SYMPOSIUM

Portland, Oregon
18-20 October 1983

The International Union of Forestry Research Organizations (IUFRO) Forest History Group (\$6.07) plans a Forest History Symposium on 18-20 October 1983, at the Western Forestry Center in Portland, Oregon. The symposium will be hosted by the Forest History Society. Papers and session proposals are sought for this major inter-congress meeting devoted to the historical theme of sustained-yield forestry, broadly defined. Emphasis will be given to forestry in tropical regions, but papers from and about all parts of the world are welcome. Presentations should be no more than 30 minutes long. The symposium proceedings will be published in an inexpensive format early in 1984. Paper proposals and other inquiries about the symposium should be directed to the Chairman of the Program Committee: Dr. Harold K. Steen, Executive Director, Forest History Society, 109 Coral Street, Santa Cruz, California 95060.

WOMEN FORESTERS: PIONEERING ON A SOCIAL FRONTIER

Elizabeth Willhite
Forester
Steamboat Ranger District
Umpqua National Forest
Idleyld Park, Oregon 97447

"Gee, if someone as purty as you was on our crew, I'd never get any work done."--Oregon logger (comment made as logger was introduced to his female sale administrator).

"Besides, we can't hire someone who's gonna stand around and wait for help lifting tree bags out of the truck during planting time."--Private industry forester (final reason for rejection of female applicant for forester opening with his company).

Sound familiar? If you are a working female forester, you have probably encountered similar attitudes in the course of your day-to-day activities. If you are still preparing to become a forester, be forewarned that the restructuring of traditional roles in society is a gradual and unfinished process. While the policies of large organizations and universities are often avant-garde in this respect, many small businesses and the hearts and souls of countless tradition-fixed men (and women) with whom you will work still totally reject the idea of a competent woman forester. And those that may not totally reject the idea really don't like it very much.

I have seen many changes for women in non-traditional occupations since the early stages of my forestry career. While not exactly commonplace, women in non-traditional jobs are certainly more common today than they were 10 years ago. In 1974 I was attending forestry summer camp near Isabella, Minnesota, when a forest fire broke out in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area near the U.S.-Canadian border. All those at summer camp (65 total, 6 women) were conscripted to work on the fireline for three days. Besides feeling somewhat the center of attention every time we walked into camp after working our shift, we (the six women) were highlighted in the title and body of a news feature on the fire in the Duluth-Superior paper! Today all-female fire suppression crews exist, and women firefighters are no longer a novelty.

What is being a woman forester like in today's world? In my own experience, it is very much like being a male forester in terms of job-related problems and everyday activities. The difference between being male and being female begins to manifest itself, however, as you move into the social arena, a vital aspect of almost any job. The three most prevalent "social arena" problems facing women in natural resource jobs are 1) spotlighting, 2) credibility, and 3) exclusion from informal, male-dominated network systems.

The most helpful concept I have learned in my career thus far is that it's okay to make mistakes (little ones, anyway). I often find myself repeating this phrase over and over again as I drive home from work. Too often, women feel spotlighted in their jobs by virtue of the fact that they are female and the majority of their co-workers are male. This phenomenon has been called the "goldfish bowl" effect. Women are

simply noticed more--their strengths and weaknesses overplayed, their personal lives the subject of more scrutiny. They suffer from the "all the world's a stage and you're the only player" syndrome. Many women I have talked to felt that we did not have the option of making mistakes. Being only human, of course, we would make mistakes, and the result was often devastating to our self-esteem. Until recently, I shared that feeling. I learned to accept my mistakes for the excellent learning opportunities they present only after making a big mistake when I failed to act assertively in a job situation that called for assertiveness. Talking afterwards to one of my superiors about the situation (with my head hanging down somewhere between my knees and my feet), I was astonished when he told me making mistakes was okay. In fact he actually suggested that I should make mistakes. I emerged from that discussion feeling like a new person, ready to dig into my work without the fear of doing something wrong hovering over me.

The gap between credibility assigned to women and men is sometimes amazing. Granted, establishing credibility is a problem for any new person on the job, but men seem to establish credibility more rapidly and easily than women. Lack of credibility is often the culprit in situations where women involved in team planning and decision-making processes feel that their voices are never heard. I know of one instance where a woman team member spoke up with an idea pertaining to the discussion at hand. The idea was not acknowledged by her male peers. A little while later, one of the male members of the group voiced the same idea. All the team members immediately jumped on it, commenting on what a great idea it was. A couple of women I know have coined a phrase that captures the essence of yet another credibility problem--the Gettysburg Dog. It seems that were a dog to stand up and recite the Gettysburg Address in flawless diction, people would not say in amazement "Listen to what that dog is saying! Aren't the concepts splendid?" but rather "Listen to that dog! It can talk!" So it is with women at times. People are amazed that they can speak professionally, and in their profound amazement, the listeners hear nothing of what is being said. Credibility is also withheld from women because of resentment over Equal Employment Opportunity hiring practices and the seemingly popular opinion that women in EEO slots were hired only because they were women and not because of any credentials or competency they possess.

Exclusion from informal network systems is probably one of the most serious problems hindering women from upward movement through an organization. Much business is transacted, significant information passed along, important career connections made, and mentor relationships developed in the casual atmosphere of off-work activities (such as the men's softball team, the company fishing trip, the coffee break crowd, etc.). The exclusion is usually not deliberately malicious or even intentional, but simply a result of traditional male social behavior that typically excludes

women from "good old boy" gatherings. To a lesser but equally important extent, exclusion can affect job performance because women miss opportunities to learn how to handle new situations from hearing of how someone else did it.

Overall, I've found that working as a woman in a non-traditional job requires patience and something of a pioneer spirit, a willingness to take risks, to cope with a certain amount of adversity, and to reach out and help others coming along the trail alongside and behind you, be they male or female. Sometimes it's tough, balancing such things as personal interests, marriage, and motherhood with one's career, but the rewards are great, and well worth the effort.

Beth Willhite is currently working as a small sales forester for the U.S. Forest Service, preparing and administering her district's small-volume green and salvage timber sales program. Prior to taking this job, Beth worked for one year as a tree improvement forester as well as several seasons in presale, surveying, and recreation positions. She has a B.S. in forestry (1976, University of Illinois) and an M.S. in forest entomology (1979, University of Idaho). Beth has a two-year-old daughter.



MEMORANDUM

TO: Cooperative Extension Agents
and Personnel

RE: FACTS ON HOW YOU CAN SAVE
WITH A WOODSTOVE

Below is a list of facts and figures (costs) on operating a woodstove in the home. This list may be handy in answering the various questions the public may ask on operating a woodstove.

Stove, pipe, installation, etc.	\$ 458.00
Chain saw	149.95
Gas and maintenance for chain saw	44.60
4-Wheel drive pickup, stripped	8,379.04
4-Wheel drive pickup, maintenance.	438.00
Replace rear window of pickup (twice).	310.00
Fine for cutting unmarked tree in state forest	500.00
Fourteen cases Michelob	126.00
Littering fine	50.00
Tow charge from creek	50.00
Doctor's fee for removing splinter from eye	45.00
Safety glasses	29.50
Emergency room treatment (broken toes - dropped log).	125.00
Safety shoes	49.50
New living room carpet	800.00
Paint walls and ceiling	110.00
Worcester chimney brush and rods	45.00
Log splitter	150.00
Fifteen-acre woodlot	9,000.00
Taxes on woodlot	310.00
Replace coffee table (chopped up and burned while drunk)	75.00
Divorce settlement.	33,679.22
Total first year's costs	54,922.81
Savings in "conventional" fuel - first year.	(62.37)
Net cost of first year's woodburning	\$54,860.44

Contributed by Jon E. Flem
Cooperative Extension
Cornell University

URSULA MATTSON

(Born 1953)



My childhood in a Chicago suburb was hardly conducive to developing a love for wildlife and the lifestyle it led to, but it left strong impressions of what I didn't want from life. Watching commuters on the freeways and seeing violence and crime grow in proportion to the numbers of crowded people drove me far away in spirit and body.

During a few trips to the West, I fell in love with the Rockies jutting out of sagebrush flats, the song of coyotes, and meadows bright with wild flowers. Everywhere was space--the horizon-stretching intoxicating space of the West that some people thrive on and drives others mad. A craving for vast personal and physical space has always been with me and is one reason I chose the Montana Big Sky Country as my home.

A degree in wildlife biology helped me reach my goal of making a living outdoors, but it wasn't until I'd finished school and began working on wildlife research that my real education began. Two summers of following mountain goats built up my physical strength and self-confidence in the wilds. Another summer with a grizzly bear study showed me that politics play a large role in wildlife management decisions, especially for rare and controversial species. Four years of searching for endangered Rocky Mountain wolves taught me patience and dogged determination.

My work and lifestyle are intertwined. I choose to live away from the mainstream for the sheer joy of watching alpenglow light the mountain peaks and listening to a coyote chorus. Also, I hope to contribute in some way to keeping a part of wildness for the future.

Excerpted from Northwest HERSTORY, a 1983 engagement calendar copyright 1982 by Planned Parenthood of Idaho.



FOREST PRODUCT USE IN MAURITANIA'S BRAKNA REGION

INTERNATIONAL

Melinda Smale
Department of Agricultural Economics
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53715

For most Sahelian West African communities, forests provide many important products: fuel-wood, food and fodder, cordage or poles for construction. As population rises or concentrates, people place greater pressure on the natural forest. If left in a natural condition, the forest may not regenerate quickly enough to satisfy expanding needs. Consequently, donor agencies and national forestry programs have begun to incorporate considerations of multiple use and local supply of products into forestry designs.

In the Sahel and other resource-poor areas, forestry projects succeed only through the cooperation and involvement of local people. Involvement and interest are generated only if the project provides direct community benefits. Tree species of known use are much more likely to be planted, tended, and to survive than exotic species. Although their growth rates may be lower than those of exotic species, indigenous species provide a variety of essential products.

In November 1980, the U.S. AID Mission in Mauritania asked me to explore the sociological aspects of a forestry project in Mauritania's Brakna region, an isolated, sparsely populated area in the Sahelian climatic zone. Through the help of a Hassaniya-speaking Mauritanian and a guide who knew the region, we interviewed community members about the importance of various forest products to their livelihood. Our interview led us to several conclusions. First, we discovered that an understanding of their unique economic and resource use system is fundamental in explaining the emerging importance of gathering activities. Often considered marginal to a community's well-being, gathering has assumed a particular importance to these people under drought conditions. At the same time, forest resources are diminishing through lower rainfall, soil erosion, and overexploitation.

We also found that many trees cited by laboring (i.e., poor) groups were unknown to wealthier community members, and uses important to women were not always known to men. In some cases, the botanical names of species could not be identified because local names were unfamiliar to forestry officials. These findings underscore the importance of interviewing a range of community members rather than relying on the knowledge of a select group, and implies that to encourage the planting of one species over another may favor one social group over another.

The Brakna Resource Use System

The eleven rural communities we visited in the Brakna Region were each composed of one to two hundred members. The Mauritanians of these communities are a unique combination of farmers and pastoralists, as well as part-time merchants, field laborers, charcoal vendors and artisans. At any one time, only a few isolated tents and scattered individuals represent the community. The community, as they know it, is not synonymous with a specific location, tent or camp, but with a spectrum of activities drawing community members to dispersed agricultural fields, to forests a few kilometers away, to pastures and fields in other regions, to roadside centers several days away on foot and to distant foreign capitals.

Certain harsh climatic realities condition the lives of these people. Rainfall is extremely unreliable, both in quantity and distribution. Soil conditions are variable and include a large percentage of laterite and sand dunes. Any single economic opportunity lasts for a short season, and any given area may provide only one opportunity at a time. For example, a pasture may provide good water for camels, but none for cattle or humans, for 2-3 months. Individuals must travel

Before working in Africa, Melinda Smale received an M.A. in International Economics/Africa Studies from Johns Hopkins, School of Advanced International Studies. She is now working toward an M.S. in Agricultural Economics at the University of Wisconsin. Melinda is a research assistant on a USDA-sponsored Small Farms Project. Her thesis topic is oriented to farm management.

When asked for some personal background and perspective on the project described in her article, Melinda provided the following:

"As an employee of the USDA, Office of International Cooperation and Development, I had the opportunity to work on several short-term assignments in the Sahel. From May to October 1980, I interviewed women and families in southern Mauritania for the Office of Women in Development and USAID-Nouakchott. The purpose of the study was to provide information on women-headed households and potential income-generating activities for women. Following this study, I was hired by USAID, under agreement with the USDA, to assist in the Social Soundness Analysis of a forestry project design.

This article is based on the project analysis and shows the influence of Marilyn Hoskins, Fred Weber, and others who advocated "social forestry" or a community-based forestry approach. I argued that the success of the project hinged on the active participation of women, children, and lower income groups. These groups were the principal gatherers and consumers of forest by-products at the campsite, and provided the year-round source of labor for tending and protecting seedlings.

These arguments were not always perceived as significant by design reviewers. 'Outreach,' or extension programs were perhaps a minor portion of the project, which was later negotiated as an amendment to a larger scale renewable resources project. The full original document was included in the project implementation paper, and project managers sought to ensure that women Peace Corps volunteers be assigned to the program."

Melinda sincerely thanks Ahmed Salem ould Mohammed Vall for his invaluable help as her assistant and interpreter for this project.

great distances to obtain sufficient resources for their family's survival. A community, in turn, must be tightly organized in order to benefit from the range of activities conducted by its members.

Mauritania presently suffers the effects of more than a decade of drought, but the Mauritians have experienced cyclical drought for centuries. They have survived, despite their limited resource base, by devising a complex resource-use system to combat the climatic whims of their environment. Community members' yearly activities include two types of agriculture, at least two types of herding and animal husbandry, and gathering of tree, shrub, and plant by-products for consumption and sale. No one of these activities is sufficient to support the community's needs, and each of these activities has a relatively low yield. To supplement family income, some landowners and herd-owners have customarily left the area to pursue com-

mercial endeavors. Poor laborers of the Brakna have often migrated seasonally to labor fields in adjoining areas, and to work as watercarriers, charcoal vendors and manual laborers in permanently settled villages.

Since the people of the Brakna constantly face the possibility of natural disaster, their success in mastering their resources depends on their ability to engage in the greatest range of alternative activities. Figure 1 indicates the variety and geographical scope of these activities for the eleven sites we visited. Activities of men, women and children of the wealthy herd and landowning group (Bidan) and of the poor laboring group (Haratin) are closely interwoven in a series of short and geographically dispersed tasks.

INTERNATIONAL FORESTRY MEANS YOU !

Martha E. Avery
Director, International
Forest Science
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon 97331

Worldwide consumption of forest products and international concern for environmental quality and continuing resources require forestry to be an international profession. The exchange of forest products, forest technology, scientific knowledge and forestry expertise proceeds on a global scale. We must recognize and be committed to the fact that international forestry affects all of us, whether we are international consultants, local forest managers, forest employees, or students anticipating a career in forestry.

In the Pacific Northwest, the extent of our industry's dependence on the domestic market has become alarmingly clear. Our forest industry is reported to be in its worst condition since the Depression, beset by shrinking traditional domestic markets and limited construction activity. The main products moving today are for export, and even exports are down due to the worldwide recession. We must diversify our markets in the same way as we do our product lines. This means gearing up and becoming committed to serving international as well as domestic markets.

How are the local forest managers and scientists a part of this? Any of us managing forest lands, public or private, in the United States or overseas, must recognize that our management activities affect both the domestic and foreign supply. The efficiency with which we manage and harvest stands and ensure future wood supply through reforestation and intensive management practices influences how competitive our products are on all markets.

Historically insulated from international trade by sufficient domestic markets, American foresters have often ignored the competitive international market. International markets include more than forest products. There is trade in forest science, technology, resource recreation management, and education. Some examples are:

- ★ The fuelwood crisis, increasing concern over soil erosion and deforestation illustrate the immediate and potential importance of shared scientific knowledge. Cooperative research and technical assistance are commonly used by the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the World Bank and others, to address forestry resource problems.
- ★ Harvesting and transportation technology is exchanged among developed and developing countries. Appropriate technology is an important element of wise resource use, especially given the variety of conditions existing on forest lands.
- ★ International debate continues over recreation resource allocation, park designation, and management activities within park boundaries. Differing cultural values, economic development strategies, and competing uses are just a few of the factors to integrate. Many countries are looking to the United States for leadership.
- ★ An increasing number of forestry schools are becoming actively involved internationally through student and faculty exchanges, comparative research projects, and curricula development. These activities provide access to scientific and cultural information and, thus, the opportunity to improve relations in international trade.

Each country's increasing interaction with and dependence on foreign resources evidences the need for all of us to include an international dimension in our education and work. Greater than the constraints of working in environments unfamiliar to us are the opportunities that await us, economically, culturally, and professionally.

In this section of *Women in Forestry*, we will explore different aspects of international natural resources. Melinda Smale's study of forest products use in Mauritania illustrates well the complexity of issues and problems involved in designing forestry projects in other cultures.

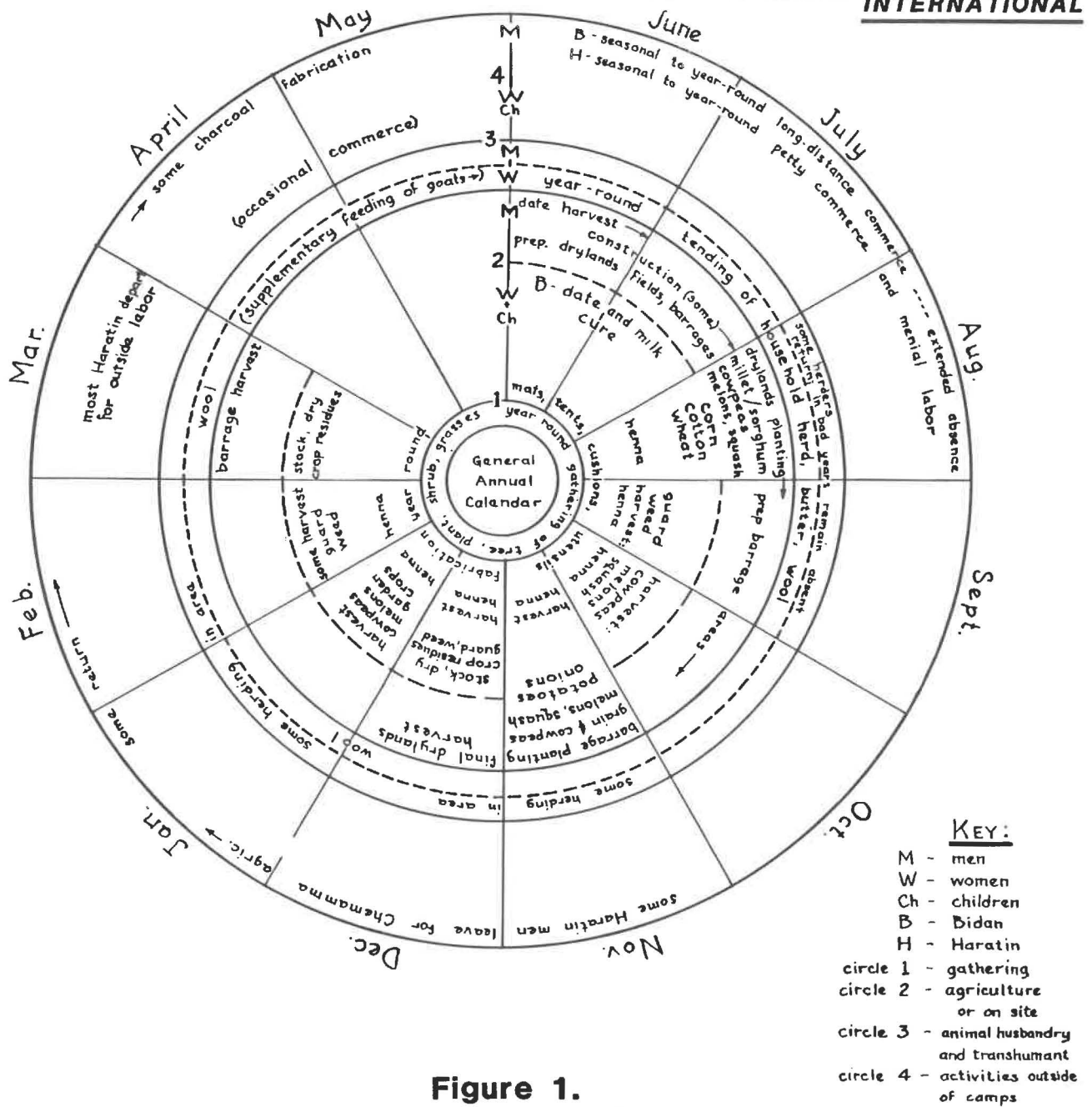


Figure 1.

Effects of Drought on the Resource Use System

Understanding the relative importance of forest gathering in the region requires some understanding of this complex system, or the context in which gathering activities occur. This context has changed dramatically since the most recent drought began in the early 1970s.

The loss of substantial numbers of animals has led communities to rely more on agriculture. Herding shifted from cattle to goats and sheep, which are easily sold, more resistant to drought, but less valued. Herders are often unable to return to the Brakna camp because of the poor rainy season, and must remain in distant pastures for successive seasons. With increased agricultural activity, some community members now settle for a longer period in one camp, which contri-

butes to the depletion of forest resources in the area. The small herd of goats and sheep, required to sustain women and children left behind during the dry season, often eradicates the light shrub and grass cover in and around the camp.

Within agriculture, community members now rely more on recession than on drylands production. Recession agriculture is accomplished by retaining seasonal water runoff through construction of small earthen dams. After the water has permeated the soil, the dam is broken and cultivators may plant some of their better (i.e., higher yield, though less drought- or predator-resistant) varieties of sorghum, melon, squash and cowpea. This method requires only two to three rains at any point in the season, and, in better years, cotton and corn can be produced. Drylands agriculture covers a larger total area, but requires

several well-placed rains. Even then, only the planting of more drought-resistant varieties can be risked on these fields. With drought, cultivators have lost this additional drylands hectareage, as well as valuable crops such as corn, cotton and date palms.

As both herding and agricultural revenues decline, more and more active men leave the area for longer periods to seek supplemental cash income. Migration no longer conforms to a seasonal pattern. Most of the Haratin men succeed only in locating menial labor or small commerce positions which enable them to send little cash to their families.

Although the men leave, most women must remain on the land during dry season periods. When men remain away from the camp during critical phases of the crop cycles, laboring class women must undertake men's tasks in addition to their own. Bidan women are forced to assume laboring tasks for which they are inadequately suited by custom and experience. Since remittances from the men are often sporadic, some women make short trips to attempt to sell gathered forest products, mats, or utensils for enough cash to cover camp needs. Bidan women find a decreasing supply of the products necessary for their utensil and mat-making, an activity crucial to span dry season gaps in cash remittances.

With the low returns from cropping, herding and migrant labor activities, the poor (Haratin) are more dependent on gathering to meet food as well as cash needs. Grain stocks often must be sold to meet cumulative debts. In recent years, production has been so low that stocks may last only one to two months following harvest. Most Haratin do not own animals, although they may use milk from the goats and sheep entrusted to their care by the Bidan. The milk yield of these animals during the dry season is meager because little forage remains. With little cash, grain stocks or milk, these Haratin rely for food on the grasses, fruit and leaves they have gathered from the area's plants and trees. Bidan are not directly affected by loss of forest products as food sources because they have outside sources of cash and rent receipts from tenants. As herd-owners, they do suffer from loss of forage for their animals.

Effects of Drought on Gathering and Use of Forest Products

In the past, gathering was a less organized activity than agriculture or herding, and the only investment in forestry was in labor time of Haratin men, women and children. Haratin women, then servants to the Bidan, collected a variety of by-products vital to camp life. Bidan women used these products to make medicines, cosmetics, leather utensils and mats that they occasionally sold. The customary life-style of these people required few material belongings. Mats and tent utensils served both a major utilitarian and an ornamental purpose. Materials used in fencing, cording, and tool-making were collected by Haratin men for Bidan's herding and agricultural enterprises. Sometimes Haratin sold the gathered products in surrounding areas. In general, gathering was a subsistence activity of little cash-earning significance.

Today, Haratin women sell these raw products or use them for their own food needs. Bidan women now sell their processed products, and Haratin men sell their poles, cording, and implements in nearby markets. Where local supplies are vastly depleted, people must travel to other regions to purchase these materials, paying relatively high prices for products that they previously gathered.

These changes suggest that, as a result of declining local supplies and increasing demand for the raw materials, forest products have assumed an explicit economic value. Drought conditions have so reduced primary agricultural and herding activities that communities rely more on gathering for cash and subsistence. Expanded settlement and reduced pasturing cycles have contributed to an overexploitation of diminishing forest resources. As yet, however, the economic value of these resources remains understated; product prices are not high enough to encourage investment in tree planting. Where trees compete with crops for scarce groundwater and good soil, community members prefer to plant crops. Only one group interviewed stated that they had planted trees.

The uses cited by community members and the methods of exploitation illustrate some of the socio-economic aspects of this forestry problem. The importance of forest by-products and species required to manufacture them, varies according to income group and gender. Since substitutes are unavailable for these scarce products, they are often obtained from live trees and grasses. Exploitation may cause irreparable damage to the ground and forest cover.

Dietary uses of gums, fruits, leaves and grasses are increasingly important, particularly to the Haratin. Other chemicals from the trees and plants are used by both Haratin and Bidan as butter preservatives, cous-cous flavorings, medicines and cosmetics. Fruits from the jujube are nutritious food for children, and henna is highly valued for medicinal and cosmetic purposes in nearby markets. Henna and jujube bushes are planted and tended by Haratin and Bidan women.

Women also use many trees and grasses as sources of fodder for their small camp herd. Haratin women recounted that fodder can be collected during the rainy season and stored for dry season use. Aze, a wild grain, is valuable as fodder, and can be harvested during the dry months as well as uprooting the grasses to obtain seed. This procedure undoubtedly damages the vegetative cover of the soil.

Bidan women use fronds, grasses, dyes and tannins to fabricate leather receptacles for butter, milk and water, and mats to spread on tent floors. Haratin also fabricate simple mats and leather utensils for their own use and sale, although this craft work is still the prized domain of Bidan women. More and more Bidan women are attempting to produce these goods to meet cash needs, despite declining local supply of the necessary forest products.

Haratin farmers also cited use of various tree species as windbreaks, fencing for fields, poles and cording, and farming implements. Wealthier Bidan land and herd owners tended to emphasize the importance of trees as forage sources for their herds. Occasionally, the decline in regional supplies of these sources leads farmers and herders to cut live trees from remaining forest areas in other regions. The government has attempted to control these actions, but because there are no substitutes for these natural products, enforcement is difficult.

Haratin women continue to gather wood for their own cooking needs and may sell small quantities of charcoal at roadside centers. Charcoal production is a major source of cash for Haratin men during the dry season. The men follow remaining tree sources and burn the wood in a sand oven or pit kiln. Recently, specialized groups have started to produce charcoal nearly full-time to meet the rapidly growing demand of

roadside centers and urban areas. These charcoal producers sell the charcoal in large quantities to Bidan transporters who carry the sacks to areas of population concentration. In rural areas, charcoal is sold primarily to the Bidan, who can afford the charcoal and who prefer charcoal in cooking and teamaking because it is cleaner.

In response to the tremendous depletion of acacia forest resources for charcoal production, the government has attempted to impose a comprehensive licensing system to cover exploitation of charcoal from live and dead wood. Requiring extensive administrative surveillance, the system is rarely effective in the more isolated areas.

When asked what the most important uses of the various trees are today, the poorer groups tended to enumerate a broad range of tree species providing food, fuel, and fodder. In contrast, wealthier Bidan tended to cite primarily forage species. Women stressed the importance of various species in providing medicines, preservatives and tanning substances. Shade or ornamental uses and exotic species were mentioned only by the wealthier groups. Table 1 lists uses and species for tree products alone.

SUMMARY

Researchers and policy-makers are well aware of the importance to the Sahelian family of undertaking a range of economic opportunities for family survival, but analysis of these systems through existing conceptual tools is difficult. Strategies such as those found in the Mauritanian communities reflect not only "lifestyle," but also the superior wisdom of centuries of

adaptation to Sahelian climatic adversity. To design projects, we need to recognize agricultural, herding, gathering, commercial and migrant activities as part of one community economic system. To emphasize any one activity over another, or to expect to attract members of the community to one fixed site year-round, may prove a disastrous policy.

Within this system, gathering appears to be a marginal activity. Yet gathering is critical in times of scarcity, and is generally important to sustain support activities to livestock and agricultural ventures in the best of years. Indigenous species have a well-defined economic value for subsistence and cash. Among these species, some are more important than others for poorer groups. We must be careful, therefore, to discuss uses of these species with different members of the community.

Before choosing species for a project, forestry technicians may need to identify and to test various local species against imported species, and policy-makers may need to base their choices on criteria most important to community livelihood. Some species provide crucial and immediate food and cash to poor laborers, tenants, and women and children isolated during the dry season. The introduction of exotic species may only provide luxury products (citrus fruits, house shade) and status to dominant political groups. Forestry projects which consider various uses and benefit from local knowledge are most likely both to survive and to succeed in helping local people.

Table 1. Tree and shrub uses cited by Brakna Region community members, November 1980.

Botanical name	Hassaniya name	Food	Livestock feed	Medicine	Tanning	Charcoal fuelwood	Cording	Other uses and comments	Community	
<u>Acacia flava</u>	temat	x			x	x	x	important source of gum	Sangrafa Boussouelife Mint Awawa Lefkarine	
		x	x			x				
				x						
				x	x					
				x	x					
				x	x					x
<u>Acacia raddiana</u> (<u>Acacia tortilis</u>)	taleh		x	x	x	x	x	pods--fodder superior fuelwood cosmetic uses	MaktaLahjar Boussouelife Lemaoudou	
			x		x	x				
			x			x				
<u>Acacia senegal</u>	ewernar	x				x	x	live fencing pods-fodder	Sangrafa Boussouelife Mint Awawa Lefkarine	
		x	x							
		x	x							
		x	x							
		x	x							
		x	x							
<u>Acacia scorpioides</u> (<u>nilotica</u>)	amour		x		x	x		live fencing windbreaks construction rapid growing	Sangrafa Boussouelife Mint Awawa Moudi Founti Boudjoungal Caq el Moher Lemaoudou	
			x		x	x				
			x		x	x				
			x		x	x				
			x		x	x				
			x		x	x				
<u>Acacia seyal</u>	sadra bedh	x	x		x	x		dry season fodder low grade gum	Timbara Mint Awawa Touedima	
		x	x		x	x				
			x							

(continued)

Table 1 (continued).

Botanical name	Hassaniya name	Food	Livestock feed	Medicine	Tanning	Charcoal fuelwood	Cording	Other uses and comments	Community	
<u>Balanites aegyptica</u>	teychet	x				x		soap edible oils seeds	Sangrafa MaktaLahjar Boussouelife Mint Awawa Leftkarine Moudi Founti Boudjoungal Caq el Moher Lemaoudou Timbara Touedina	
			x			x				
			x				x			
			x		x					
			x		x					
			x		x		x			
			x		x		x			
			x		x		x			
<u>Boscia senegalensis</u>	eyzen	x				x			Sangrafa Boussouelife Mint Awawa Lefkarine Timbara Touedima Moudi Founti Boudjoungal Caq el Moher Lemaoudou	
			x			x				
			x			x				
			x			x				
			x			x				
			x			x				
			x			x				
			x			x				
<u>Calotropis procera</u>	tourge		x					light construction	Sangrafa Mint Awawa Boudjoungal Lemaoudou Timbara Touedima	
			x				x			
			x				x			
			x				x			
			x				x			
<u>Capparis decidua</u>	eygnin	x	x			x			Sangrafa Boussouelife Mint Awawa Lefkarine Moudi Founti Boudjoungal Lemaoudou	
			x			x				
			x			x				
			x			x				
			x			x				
<u>Commiphora africana</u>	address	x	x					food preservation incense	Sangrafa MaktaLahjar Mint Awawa Lefkarine Boudjoungal	
			x			x				
			x							
<u>Combretum aculeatum</u>	iquique								Caq el Moher Mint Awawa	
			x			x				
<u>Cordia charaf</u>	aggoul	x				x			Sangrafa Mint Awawa Caq el Moher	
			x			x				
			x							
<u>Cucumis propulatum</u>	tezeire							shade	Moudi Founti Caq el Moher	
						x				
<u>Euphorbia balsamifera</u>	evernan							veterinary	Mint Awawa	
<u>Grewia bicolor</u>	imigige	x				x		utensils	Sangrafa Mint Awawa Lefkarine Boudjoungal Caq el Moher Lemaoudou	
			x							
			x							
			x			x				
			x							
<u>Grewia tenax</u>	legleye	x				x		utensils food preservation	Sangrafa Boussouelife Mint Awawa Boudjoungal	
			x							
			x							
			x							
<u>Leptadenia spartum</u>	titarer		x						MaktaLahjar Boussouelife Lemaoudou	
			x							
			x							
<u>Macerua crassifolia</u>	atit	x	x		x	x			Sangrafa MaktaLahjar Boussouelife Mint Awawa Lemaoudou	
			x			x				
			x			x				
			x							
<u>Ziziphus mauritanica</u>	sder	x							Sangrafa Boussouelife Mint Awawa Moudi Founti Caq el Moher Lemaoudou Timbara Touedima Lefkarine	
			x							
			x							
			x		x		x			
			x		x		x			
			x			x				

MOTHER NATURE: MARDIE MURIE

PROFILE

She's 80, and Lives in the
Shadow of the Tetons

Tad Bartimus
Associated Press

*Excerpted from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. Photo
courtesy of the Lewiston Morning Tribune.

Moose, Wyoming--In a mellow log cabin, beside the rippling waters of the Snake River, in the shadow of the majestic Teton mountains, behind a curtain of quaking aspens, lives one of America's national treasures.

She is a woman governed by curiosity, a mother of this nation's conservation movement, a scholar and a cookie baker, a confidante of congressmen and a connoisseur of swimming holes, a magnet for youth and an example of aging grace.

Mardy Murie is 80 years old. She has outlived her famous biologist husband, Olaus Murie, by two decades. She says she misses her companion of 36 years every waking moment, and often in her dreams.

Since his death in 1963, she has joined in the battles to save America's dwindling wilderness. Often she has stood alone.

"To live a full life, you must have something beyond your household, beyond your family, to broaden your existence," says Margaret E. Murie, widow, mother of three, grandmother of 10, great-grandmother of two.

A simple cabinet in her dining room provides testimony to her involvement in worldly affairs far removed from her warm, inviting home. There's her honorary Ranger certificate from the National Park Service. Two National Audubon Society medals grace the case, one for her and one for Olaus. There's a copy of the Alaska Lands Bill, autographed by former President Carter. An Izaak Walton Award and John Muir Award offer further evidence of the Muries' dedication to preservation of the environment.

Her books and articles have been read by three generations, and through her support of the Teton Science School, she is working to influence another generation to respect and care for the outdoors. She also serves on the council of the Wilderness Society, which her husband led first as a director and later as its president. Throughout his 17-year affiliation with the society, Mardy Murie served him as secretary.

Now she spends more than half her time giving speeches on behalf of conservation causes. The demand for her presence continually surprises her. In a talk to a group of national park superintendents, she told them:

"I was a little shocked when I looked on your program and saw that I had suddenly become a philosopher. I think most of my philosophy could be expressed in a very few words that were found on an old tombstone in Cumberland, England. Olaus put them on a plaque . . . hanging on our mantelpiece:

"The wonder of the world, the beauty and the power, the shapes of things, their colors, lights and shades--these I saw. Look ye also while life lasts."



Uncomfortable with fuss or fanfare, Murie says that for years, "all that mattered for me was that Olaus knew what I contributed. I managed the money, I bought most of his clothes. In our work it was I who remembered the names of the people. Olaus remembered the names of the birds and mammals."

Her field biologist husband, so precise in his specimens, drawings, and reports to the Biological Survey (now the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service), needed her hand at the helm of the household routine.

"I sort of worship efficiency," says the woman who often lived for weeks with three children in an 8-by-10-foot tent while her mate studied elk in the meadows of Jackson Hole.

Murie speaks with calm firmness. She seems to draw her manner from the natural world surrounding her. She walks softly but with a sure foot, careful not to snap a twig or disturb a wildflower. She abandons an alpine trail to give right-of-way to a moose who takes priority in her order of things. She punctuates a paragraph with a pause to watch a grouse glide by, then resumes talking when the winged passage is done.

"I was destined for the outdoors. My stepfather always said there must have been some gypsy in me. He'd say, 'Oh, that one--if she fell in the creek she'd come up with an apron full of fish.'"

Born in Seattle in 1902, her wilderness odyssey began at the age of 9. She boarded a steamer with her mother and went north to Alaska to join her stepfather in the gold rush settlement of Fairbanks.

After three years of college "outside," as Alaskans call the lower 48 states, Mardy Gillette returned to Fairbanks for her senior year at the new Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines. In 1924 she became the first woman to be graduated from what is now the University of Alaska.

By then she had met Olaus, a Minnesota native born to Norwegian immigrants who was exploring the vast, uncharted interior of Alaska for the Biological Survey. Their three-year courtship culminated in a wedding on August 19, 1924, in a little Episcopal mission at Anvik, on the Yukon River. The newlyweds then steamed up the Yukon to the Koyukuk River to await the winter freeze-up that would enable them to travel the north country by dogsled while Olaus studied migrating caribou.

During their first month of marriage, she kept house in a loaned cabin and prepared for the journey. She was only 20.

"I thought of all the women who have kept a log cabin warm and ready on the far reaches of various frontiers," she wrote in her book, Two in the Far North.

"As I worked I thought of these women, feeling a kinship with them. Confusing, being a woman, eagerness for new adventure fighting within one with love of cozy home-keeping. Did men ever feel pulled this way?"

During the three-month trip the couple had its first separation--Olaus left Mardy at camp while he roamed far away. He didn't return on time. When he finally did get back, his bride made a major decision--she resolved not to worry. She later wrote:

"That hour on the snowy mountainside was good for me. I came to terms with being a scientist's wife. Since then, in many camps, in many mountains, I have waited, and fed the children, and put them into their sleeping bags, and still, long past the normal hour, have kept busy--and waited."

So that is how they spent their life together. She the helpmate, always flexible, he the man whose family went everywhere.

In 1927, the Muries moved to Jackson Hole for good. In 1946, they bought 77 acres within the shadow of the Teton mountains and moved into the log cabin where Murie now lives. She sold her land to the National Park Service in 1966, but retains a 25-year lease which, she says, "ought to be enough to see me through."

Although her closest neighbors are the animals of Grand Teton National Park, she has many friends in the little settlement of Moose and the nearby town of Jackson.

Hardly a day passes that someone doesn't drop by to visit. Frequently it's at 4 p.m., the afternoon tea time she scrupulously observes. There is always a plentiful supply of "cry babies," her special ginger cookies with drippy white icing.

Sitting in her comfortable armchair, her white hair neatly braided in a bun, her jewelry discreet and her clothes spotlessly pressed, Murie takes obvious delight in the enthusiasm of guests who are decades younger than she.

"As many of my contemporaries grew older, they seemed to get narrower and narrower in their views, and I couldn't talk to them anymore," she says. "I feel complimented that young people seem to seek me out."

They flock to her. Foreign climbers, visiting dignitaries, environmental leaders, fifth graders from the science school.

The conversations always come around to nature and the future.

Some recent thoughts from Mardy Murie:

- "One of the things some people in the environmental movement need to learn is how to listen more and be less rigid. I say, 'Come, let us reason together.' I'm so grateful that much of Alaska has been saved. It was a cleansing thing. Alaska is a non-ending savings account that goes on forever."
- "If we saved every bit of wild country left in the United States right now it wouldn't be enough for future generations, because of the population increases."
- "We must work harder to create some nature in cities. Urban parks are very important. Sometimes that can be what saves people from despair."

SUBSCRIPTIONS

\$15.00/non-student, \$10.00/student.
Makes checks payable to WOMEN IN FORESTRY.

Include your name, address, phone, position or title (if student, name major), and organization or school.

Send to: WOMEN IN FORESTRY
Laboratory of Anthropology
University of Idaho
Moscow, Idaho 83843

WHO AM I?

Jo Ellen Force
Assistant Professor
Department of Forest Resources
University of Idaho
Moscow, Idaho 83843

It was Tuesday, September 21, at the 1982 Society of American Foresters Convention in Cincinnati, Ohio. The reflection in the hotel room mirror that gazed back at me was that of a woman, dressed in one of the current "uniforms" of professional women--a softly tailored dress because it is okay to admit being a woman, but a blazer too just to increase the chance of being recognized as a professional.

As I studied my own reflection and thought about the day's agenda, I wrestled once again with one of the dilemmas of my life which I have been unable to resolve. Shall I be a land use planner today and attend the planning session to learn more about what is happening in other parts of the country and to become better acquainted with my professional peers OR shall I be a woman today, attend the very interesting program put together by the Committee on Minority Action and make some connections with other women and concerned men? To do the latter, I know, will leave me feeling rejuvenated--it would give me a "warm fuzzy" as my children would say! This schizophrenic dilemma is one I and, I believe, many women in "non-traditional" fields, have often faced. At the convention, however, there were only 8 hours and everything happened concurrently. I really had no choice the first couple of hours of this particular day. I was scheduled to give a paper in the land use working group so, of course, that is where I went. And somehow I figured out a way to touch base with the group concerned about women's issues later in the day.

Although I have no real data, I suspect that few men face this conflict between professional interests and gender interests. Men seldom, if ever, spend any large blocks of time planning strategies to get more men into positions of responsibility in the field or discussing their responsibilities as role models and mentors for young men in the field.

This role conflict is different from the classical "wife/mother versus career" conflict. Demands of husband and children are impossible to ignore. One's responsibility to other professional women is much easier to rationalize away or to ignore for any number of "good" reasons. Yet, can we really afford to do so? If we choose to devote all of our time and energy toward improving our subject area specialty competence, and to abdicate responsibility toward improving the opportunities for women in the profession, we may personally gain, at least in the short run. But have we really gained in the long run if the overall status of women in the profession remains a far distant second to that of men? Can we depend on the laws and the men in the profession to ensure that women gain equal status?

I have no answer to these questions but I would like Women in Forestry readers to write to me or the editors and share thoughts on resolving this conflict between professional interests and "women's interests." It would also be helpful to hear from male readers since most of us are still in positions where our annual evaluations and promotions are controlled by men. At

evaluation time, are efforts spent on the professional development of women and minorities in forestry valued as highly as efforts devoted to our particular subject area? Do such activities count as a professional contribution? Are such activities considered part of our "service" function? Or are we to work on "women's issues" in our leisure time as we do needlepoint, playing poker, taking a Chinese cooking class or going elk hunting?

Jo Ellen Force teaches forest land use planning at the University of Idaho. She is also involved in the Institute for Resource Management, an interdisciplinary program at the University of Idaho and Washington State University. She was recently appointed to the Society of American Foresters Committee on Women and Minorities. Her research concerns are in the public involvement process in forest planning and in the use of firewood from public forest lands. Jo Ellen has a Ph.D. from Ohio State University in Systems Engineering and a Master's in Natural Resources Planning and Management. She is married and is the mother of two daughters.

FORESTRY

WOMEN IN FORESTRY T-SHIRTS

Best quality, easy-care 50/50 cotton/poly blend, beige with dark brown lettering.

Choice of two styles:



regular (Hanes) or French-cut (smooth interlock knit)

Sizes S, M, L, and XL in both styles.

\$8.95
(includes mailing)

Send order to:

WOMEN IN FORESTRY
Department of Forest Resources
University of Idaho
Moscow, Idaho 83843

BOOK REVIEW

BREAKTHROUGH: WOMEN IN ARCHAEOLOGY

by Barbara Williams

This book first attracted my attention during a visit to Powell's Bookstore in Portland when I was there for a conference in the Spring of 1981. Although I did not buy it then, I looked through it to see who was profiled, and was interested to note that of the six subjects, three were acquaintances, chiefly met at archaeological conferences. On a subsequent visit to Portland I purchased the book. Only then did I notice that ...Women in Archaeology is a series of collected biographies intended for young adults. If this volume is typical of the series, these books can be read with equal interest by women of all ages. Its 174 pages also include illustrations, photographs, a glossary, appendices, and an index, and is published by Walker and Company.

Each 25-page profile is a complete biography from childhood to the present of six women archaeologists: Cynthia Irwin-Williams, Jane Holden Kelley, Karen Olsen Bruhns, Leslie E. Wildesen, Erenestene (DeeDee) Green, and Mary Eubanks Dunn. At the time of writing, three were university professors, one was doing free-lance work, and two were regional archaeologists with the United States Forest Service.

In examining the biographies of these women, I tried to see if there were any common threads uniting them. Their family backgrounds proved very dissimilar. Several had unusually strong support from family members regarding their choice of career, but one woman's family tried to dissuade her from going to college at all. Five are, or have been, married, while only two have children. Personally, however, they are united both by an undaunted determination to succeed, and by their Ph.D. degrees.

The two regional archaeologists for the U.S. Forest Service, Leslie Wildesen and DeeDee Green, are actually full-time administrators, since they are responsible for developing and overseeing the archaeological programs carried out by the forest archaeologists for individual national forests under their jurisdiction. Although their early lives, and their reasons for making the career choices they did, are no less interesting than those depicted for the other four women, they only serve to point up the major problem of this book, that is, its elitist orientation.

It may be true, as stated in the introduction, that "most [Ph.D.] archaeologists disdain their colleagues who quit school after obtaining only a master's degree;" however, many of us would violently disagree with the statement that a woman archaeologist's doctorate is "her credential as a qualified archaeologist." Those of us who have, by preference, substituted field and laboratory experience for still-more classroom theorizing would argue that point most vociferously.

While ...Women in Archaeology is to be commended for encouraging high aspirations in its readers, it does them a disservice, I feel, in leaving them with the assumption that it is impossible to have a satisfying or rewarding career as an archaeologist without a Ph.D. degree. Instead of only six lengthy, chatty interviews, offering intimate details of childhood and later life, a better approach might have been to have included shorter profiles involving numerous women from all levels of archaeology: "dig bums" and "labbies," seasonal archaeology technicians for the Forest Service and other government agencies, forest archaeologists, and employees and owners of private archaeological consulting firms. These days, more and more women are following non-traditional career pathways, and it would seem only fair that their choices should be held in equally high regard, to give readers more of an indication of the opportunities that may be available for women interested in archaeology as a career.

Commendably, ...Women in Archaeology is candid about the difficulties involved in choosing archaeology as a career. Even with a Ph.D., one's sex can be a handicap; women archaeologists often find that they have to work harder than men to prove themselves equal... nothing new in that. Too, women archaeologists must also come to terms with the fact that their career goals are likely to conflict with more personal ones of marriage, children, and harmonious family life.

Priscilla Wegars, Research Associate, Laboratory of Anthropology, University of Idaho, Moscow.



SUBSCRIPTION FORM

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

.....Cut Here.....

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____

Position or title (if student, name major) _____

Organization (if student, name school) _____

Amount enclosed (check one) \$15/non-student \$10.00/student

Make check payable to WOMEN IN FORESTRY

Return this form with payment to: WOMEN IN FORESTRY
Laboratory of Anthropology
University of Idaho
Moscow, Idaho 83843

Women in Forestry is you. We want to represent you accurately and interestingly. If you particularly like—or dislike—some aspects of WIF, please let us know. Send us your ideas for future articles and topics. (Contributor information can be found on the inside front cover.) And, most important, because we are new, tell your friends about WIF, or pass on your issue to a colleague.



University
of Idaho