Working Women's Menu, Women in Their Workplaces Conference, Los Angeles, CA. Pictured l to r: Anne Mavor, Jerri Allyn, Chutney Gunderson, Arlene Raven; photo credit: The Waitresses

In the Name of Love: Feminist Art, the Women's Movement and History

By Michelle Moravec

> *This linking of past and future, through the mediation of an artist/historian striving for change in the name of love, is one sort of "radical limit" for history.* [1]

The above quote comes from an exchange between the documentary videomaker, film producer, and professor Alexandra Juhasz and the critic Antoinette Burton. This incredibly poignant article, itself a collaboration in the form of a conversation about the idea of women's collaborative art, neatly joins the strands I want to braid together in this piece about The Waitresses. Juhasz and Burton's conversation is at once a meditation of the function of political art, the role of history in documenting, sustaining and perhaps transforming those movements, and the influence gender has on these constructions. Both women are acutely aware of the limitations of a socially engaged history, particularly one that seeks to create change both in the writing of history, but also in society itself. In the case of Juhasz's work on communities around AIDS, the limitation she references in the above quote is that the movement cannot forestall the inevitable death of many of its members. In this piece, I want to explore the "radical limit" that exists within the historiography of the women's movement, although in its case it is a moribund narrative that threatens to trap the women's movement, fixed forever like an insect under amber.

In the summer of 1977 when Anne Gauldin and Jerri Allyn began the conversation that ultimately led to the creation of The Waitresses, it is unlikely that they could have imagined the position they would come to occupy in history. The feminist art movement for many years stood suspended between the art world and academicians who studied the women's movement. As this exhibition makes clear, many important contributors to the feminist art movement fell into oblivion, lost in the space between two disciplines. Art historians, who frequently reference individual artists associated with the Woman's Building, have paid scant attention to the collaborative performance art groups that emerged from the organization. It is as if in challenging the gender hierarchy they cannot simultaneously sustain an attack on the privileged persona of the artist that these groups represent. For historians of the women's movement, figuring out how to understand the activism of women who used culture as their primary arena for social change has proved even more difficult. Virtually no histories of the women's movement discuss the contributions made by socially engaged feminist artists. The lack of a political art tradition in the United States and the relegation of art to the elite realm have all contributed to the marginalization of feminist artists by historians. Happily, the dominant narratives of the women's movement and the feminist art movement have begun to unravel in recent years as more studies of grassroots feminism have emerged and a revived interest in 1970s feminist art has occurred. My analysis of The

Jamie Wildperson as Wonder Waitress, *Ready to Order?* Lafayette's Café, Venice, CA, April 27, 1978, photo credit: Maria Karras

Patti Nicklaus, Jamie Wildperson, Jett's Cafe & Art Haus, Los Angeles, CA, April 28, 1978, photo credit: Maria Karras

Restaurant clientele/audience, Lafayette's Café, Venice, CA, April 27, 1978, photo credit: Maria Karras

Waitresses is intended as a contribution to that process. I want to revisit three myths, two that have emerged from historical writings about the women's movement and one from the field of art history.

Perhaps the most damaging myth in the history of the women's movement is the idea that culture and politics exist in opposition to one another. The most complete elaboration of this idea came in Alice Echols' *Daring To Be Bad*, an oft-cited analysis of the radical feminist movement.[2] Echols claimed that woman's culture became a place "where patriarchy was evaded rather than engaged." [3] Obviously, the example of The Waitresses challenges this analysis of women's culture as feminist performance art, which existed within the realm of women's culture also remained politically engaged. Working from art historian Arlene Raven's definition of feminist art as art that raises consciousness, invites dialogue and finally transforms culture, The Waitresses set out to use feminist art to provoke social change.

Indeed, efforts to divide the women's movement into ideological camps, another false truism, falter when faced with examples like The Waitresses. The group engaged with ideas that emerged from many strands of the women's movement. While economics has been seen as the domain of liberal or reform oriented feminists, more recent historical investigations have revealed the multifaceted coalitions that put these issues on the national agenda.[4] In many ways, the work of The Waitresses has more in common with the efforts of women completely outside the feminist movement. Dorothy Sue Cobble has recently shown that a group she terms "labor feminists" also contributed to the development of an alternate position of women's work during this time.[5] These women sought economic equality for women without denying the differences that existed between men and women, or forcing women to adhere to a male-defined labor standard. Ironically, that desire for equality with recognition of women's differences has much in common with the "pro-woman" line associated with radical feminists. Groups labeled as "radical" provided the most complete dissection of sex roles, the term used in the 1970s to talk about women's position in society. The Waitresses reflected this sort of awareness in their understanding of the various female roles that the waitress represented. While the earliest groups in the women's movement might have evinced an ideological purity that allowed for a neat division into camps, groups like The Waitresses illustrate that many fruitful endeavors drew on multiple strands of feminist ideology to create grassroots activism.

Historians have not been alone in their creation of a mythology about the women's movement. For their part, art historians have created their own narrative of the concomitant feminist art movement that also obscures the contributions of groups like The Waitresses.[6] In particular, a value-laden juxtaposition of bad 1970s feminist art and good 1990s feminist art has led, until very recent years, to a lack of thorough exploration of 1970s feminist art. What little has been written privileges artists who can be seen as the precursors of post-modern feminism. These efforts distort or flat out evince ignorance of the many endeavors of 1970s feminist artists. When I first saw the Guerrilla Girls, an anonymous art collective that emerged in 1985 to highlight sexism in the art world, I was not shocked by their statistics, but by their similarities to feminist artists of the 1970s. It was like watching the wheel being reinvented. Similarly, when I was asked to serve on a panel about the Los Angeles side of the bi-coastal exhibitions *Bad Girls* (1994) I was puzzled by the seemingly blind acceptance of the implication that 1970s feminist art was grim and dour. The story of feminist art history largely rests on a teleological narrative ending with postmodernism

Jerri Allyn performing *Beauty is Money, Ready to Order?* Jett's Cafe & Art Haus, Los Angeles, CA, April 28, 1978, photo credit: Maria Karras

Anne Gauldin performing *Beauty is Money*, *Ready to Order?* Jett's Cafe & Art Haus, Los Angeles, CA, April 28, 1978, photo credit: Maria Karras

Community Meeting, Feminist Studio Workshop, The Woman's Building: A Public Center for Women's Culture, Los Angeles, CA, circa 1977, photo credit: Anne Gauldin

and has created a persistent mythology that all 1970s feminist art relied on essentialism and earnestness.

Leaving behind the existing narratives of both the women's movement and the feminist art movement, groups like The Waitresses provide an excellent opportunity to examine the ways that feminist theory became practices. In particular through their collaboration, The Waitresses enacted theories about sisterhood and egalitarianism. The performance art group represents a near perfect articulation of feminist ideals about collaboration. The idea of collaborative art making had its roots in practices that emerged from the early years of the women's movement. Because the origins of feminism lay in women's anger at male domination, many women saw little value in replicating the male power structure by simply substituting women in positions of authority. As an antidote, feminists often employed egalitarian structures. At its most basic level, this effort translated into the venerable feminist institution of the circle, around which each woman speaks in turn, having equal opportunity to voice her views. A radical emphasis on egalitarianism could go awry, as occurred in the infamous instances of "trashing" or in the arcane regulations that ruthlessly dominated some groups.[7] These efforts failed because they stemmed more from a desire to negate the privilege that accompanied certain levels of ability than from a desire to harness the collective skills of a group. By contrast, at the Woman's Building women explored the multiplicative aspect of collaboration, what Cheri Gaulke once described as "one plus one equals three" – the sum of the efforts of all members of the group ends up being greater than the sum of the parts.[8] An added component, the energy released in the collaborative process, invigorated these groups.

In feminist performance art groups, members countered the creation of a small circle of elite artists by working collaboratively.[9] By encouraging collaborative art, feminist artists moved the discussion of an art piece away from the individual artist's act of creation toward an evaluation of the relationship between collaborators and a focus on the content of artwork. The process of production became an important part of the piece of art and a central means of conveying its message. In using the self as a medium through performance, the artist herself also became part of the message.

While Sisterhood is powerful is a well worn slogan of the 1970s, the functioning of feminist performance art groups embodied that ideal. The Waitresses, for example, emerged from Allyn and Gauldin's intense desire to explore *with other women* their complex experiences as waitresses. Both Anne Gauldin's original performance piece in the Feminist Studio Workshop and Denise Yarfitz's notes from *Ready to Order?* reveal the radical disjuncture these women felt about their experiences as waitresses and their identities as feminists. The initial group engaged in ten months of consciousness-raising before creating their first performance pieces. Gradually, their personal experiences led them to a more universal exploration of the roles waitresses play. As the literature from *Ready to Order?* explained, "in our exploration of waitressing, we have located these key issues: stereotypes, i.e. waitresses as mother/nurturer, servant/slave, and sex object."[10] This process represented the ideal outcome of consciousness-raising, which was meant to help individual women understand that the sexism they experienced was not individual, but systemic in a patriarchal society.

In choosing the emblem of the waitress, the group hit upon an ideal vehicle for taking feminist art to the public.[11] The waitress provided an immediately accessible and already popular image associated with the transformations brought about by the women's

Denise Yarfitz, Leslie Belt, *Frederico and the Shadow, Ready to Order?* Women's Coffeehouse, University of California, Irvine, CA, April 30, 1978

Cast of the *Alice* television show, pictured l to r: Polly Holliday – man-hungry Flo, Linda Lavin – Alice, Phillip McKeon – Alice's son Tommy, Vic Tayback – diner boss Mel, Beth Howland – dingy Vera, CBS drama, debuted August 31, 1976 – July 2, 1985, photo crediit: Courtesy of CBS

The Waitresses, pictured l to r: Jamie Wildperson, Anne Gauldin, Leslie Belt, Jerri Allyn, Patti Nicklaus, Denise Yarfitz

movement. In film and television the waitress had become a kind of "everywoman."[12] The 1974 Academy Award-winning film *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* follows the personal journey of a recently widowed mother who finds work as a waitress.[13] The incredibly successful film gave rise to *Alice*, a situation comedy that debuted in 1976 and quickly became a hit.[14] The three main female characters represented the tropes of the waitress identified by the performance art group. The title character Alice was the nurturer. The brassy Flo embodied the sex object, and the ditsy Vera was the dopey servant. Mel, the diner boss, embodied all the gruff stereotypes of the male boss.

When The Waitresses chose to perform their first series of events, *Ready to Order?* (April 25–May 1, 1977) in restaurants, they sought more than a thematically appropriate performance venue.[15] Performing in restaurants brought The Waitresses' message to the group they most wanted to reach – female food service workers. However, The Waitresses also hoped to raise awareness among patrons of the economic issues faced by waitresses. Because the group wanted to provoke thought, not place blame, and knew they would be performing before an audience of unsuspecting diners, The Waitresses took the driest and often most depressing facts about women's employment and conveyed them in humorous ways. Two of the vignettes in *Ready to Order?* illustrate the ability of The Waitresses to make entertainment out of topics as seemingly mundane as occupational segregation. Despite the fact that Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act banned segregated employment practices, it was a well-known within the food service industry that certain high-end restaurants hired only male waiters, just as many bars only employed female cocktail waitresses.[16] In *Frederico and the Shadow* written by Denise Yarfitz, Leslie Belt became a cross-dressing waitress who transformed into the snooty French waiter Frederico. Her motivation was primarily economic – waiters earned a higher wage and garnered larger tips – but she reaped psychological benefits as well. Secure in his position as an arbiter of taste, Frederico freely insulted patrons and focused on his role as an "orchestrator" of a "symphony," leaving the task of cleaning up to bus boys. Belt explained that playing Frederico "allowed me the distance to be judgmental, a specialist, all-knowing – the opposite of my experience as a waitress." [17]

In another vignette, titled *Beauty is Money*, The Waitresses dramatized the impact of sex-segregated labor on women. Since female food servers tended to work in less prestigious establishments, they received lower wages and depended more on patrons for tips. For many waitresses that meant their appearance impacted their economic well-being. For the cocktail waitress in particular this aspect of her employment was key. Several vignettes dramatized the reliance of waitresses on male patrons for tips, which forced waitresses to trade on their sex appeal to garner higher tips. In one vignette, Jerri Allyn played a male bar patron who dropped a trail of money throughout a restaurant, while Anne Gauldin, bunny dipped, a move involving squatting straight down without bending at the waist necessitated by her short skirt, to pick up the money, while a narrator read facts about women's economic situation to the audience. In another vignette Patti Nicklaus played a comfortably attired waitress whose customer suggested she sex it up a bit to increase her tips. Nicklaus then changed into hot pants, a leotard, and high heels and started flirting with customers and received tips. The idea for the skit emerged from Nicklaus' own experience as a waitress in a restaurant where she was the sole waitress who refused to wear hot pants. A customer had complained to her boss that she was bad for business. Nicklaus' sexy

Patti Nicklaus, Anne Gauldin, *The Fashion Show, Ready to Order?* Lafayette's Café, Venice, CA, April 27, 1978, photo credit: Maria Karras

Anne Gauldin, Jamie Wildperson, *You're All Wet – A Waitress Fantasy Come True, Ready to Order?* Women's Coffeehouse, University of California, Irvine, CA, April 30, 1978

waitress character drew on her real life co-worker at that restaurant who earned extremely high tips by dressing provocatively.

This disparity between women food service workers who sold not only their labor but their sexuality as opposed to male workers who bartered their skill and conferred status to an establishment simply by working there provided one of two major themes for *Ready to Order?* and led The Waitresses to attempt to find ways to increase the value placed on work performed by women. In *Ready to Order?* that took the form of the Millies, an Oscar style parody awards ceremony in which waitresses received ironic awards for holding the longest smile and conducting the most inconsequential conversation.[18] *The Tip* also attempted to reclaim women's work as valuable. After posing a series of questions about how patrons determine the amount of their tip, the questions moved on to perceptions of the job. The final question, "Do you think waitresses are stupid? Slow?" hopefully prompted diners to reassess their opinions of waitressing.

In addition to focusing on the waitresses' economic situation, The Waitresses also emphasized the empowerment of waitresses. Wonder Waitress, who made her debut in *Ready to Order?* as the savior of harried waitresses everywhere, represented the spirit of sisterhood among waitresses that The Waitresses also celebrated and hoped to foster. Jamie Wildperson, who created the character, explained "I felt very helpless and apologetic as a waitress, and I got such a rush transforming to Wonder Waitress. I felt extremely powerful…" In 1978 she reappeared in *Wonder Waitress Takes a Look at the Union* (April or May 1979) performed at a labor organizing conference.[19] The group's research revealed that less than 1% of waitresses were unionized and that unions proved unresponsive to issues important to female workers such as child care and health insurance.[20] In the end, Wonder Waitress admonished both the rude patron and the uncaring boss to "be respectful and generous and … look for the union label."

The Waitresses continued to focus on women's employment issues, most notably sexual harassment. *Making It Safe For Waitresses* (August 1979) harkened back to *You're All Wet – A Waitress Fantasy Come True* in *Ready to Order?* a piece in which a harassed cocktail waitress finally loses her temper and throws a drink in the face of an obnoxious male customer.[21] However, *Making It Safe For Waitresses* went beyond the immediate satisfaction of lashing back at a sexual harasser. In the piece, The Waitresses combined several of the themes from *Ready to Order?* to attempt to change peoples' perceptions of waitresses as a means to ending their sexual harassment. For the piece, The Waitresses created a place mat that mapped a journey to "The Gathering," a feminist utopia for waitresses. They performed a vignette that illustrated the various pitfalls that faced the waitress en route to "The Gathering," where work depended neither on her sexuality or her subservience. The topic of sexual harassment was not only important, but also timely. The Waitresses were featured on a local news special *Sexual Harassment on the Job* on the Los Angles NBC affiliate in 1980.

Making It Safe For Waitresses marked the last guerilla style performance in public venues by The Waitresses. The emerging conservatism of the 1980s made for an increasingly inhospitable climate for such work. However the group endured for another five years. Increasingly they created work for the alternative art world or academic audiences, which allowed for more elaborate and artistic vignettes. They also began to address issues not specifically associated with women's work, although always from a feminist perspective.

Chutney Gunderson, Anne Gauldin, *Making It Safe For Waitresses*, Enterprising Fish Company restaurant, Ocean Park, CA, August, 1979, in association with *Making It Safe* by Suzanne Lacy, Ariadne, and Communitas, photo credit: Charles Grimes

In the early 1980s the group turned their attention to the nuclear threat and to the issue of world hunger. First performed in 1981, *One Planet, One Plate* drew on considerable research about the economics of food worldwide.[22] The Waitresses created a series of vignettes that highlighted the role of United States food corporations in the global economy and the wastefulness of consumption patterns in the United States. In a piece that drew on the imagery of *Coffee Cauldron,* the sounds of perking coffee accompanied a waitress perpetually filling her customers' cups while a slide presentation delivered information about the production of coffee and sugar, such as the fact that most of El Salvador's arable land is used to grow coffee for export. In another vignette a waitress balancing numerous serving plates was accompanied by statistics about the United States' disproportionate consumption of the world's food resources. In the final vignette, cowgirls riding steak-headed hobby horses highlighted the wastefulness of producing grain to feed cattle rather than humans. The piece ended with The Waitresses calling for "Cowgirls [to] Unite! Let's turn this thing around tonight." Their final sketch, literally a collaboratively produced chalk drawing of the continents of the earth, emphasized the inter-relatedness of food issues around the globe.

For the next two years, The Waitresses produced a few more pieces that drew on themes they had already explored, but in 1984 the group disbanded.[23] However, in recent years Anne Gauldin and Jerri Allyn revived The Waitresses. In 2007 the group was invited to provide a retrospective of their work as part of *Never Done: Exhibiting the Works of Women's Collectives*. In April of 2007, their well known *All City Waitresses Marching Band* was reprised at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art as part of an event celebrating the 25th anniversary of *ArtScene*.

If we were to restore The Waitresses to their rightful place in both feminist art history and the history of the women's movement, we would note them as precursors to the better known feminist art groups like the Guerilla Girls, who are often credited with "bringing humor" to feminism, as well as WAC, Code Pink, and the Agit Prop activism of groups like ACT/Up. However, we would also situate The Waitresses within the context of movements like Wages for Housework and efforts to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, which sought, albeit in different ways, to recognize all women's labor as valuable and to challenge the material as well as the political circumstances of American women's lives.

For almost two decades now, I've jokingly referred to myself as the last student of the Woman's Building. Hired in 1993, in the wake of its tumultuous and painful closing, I traveled among the membership, recording for posterity their understandings of the Woman's Building. In the process it became clear to me that these women are bound to one another by the inextricable links of time and place, woven together in a web of shared experiences that are difficult for those outside to penetrate. Some 20 years after The Waitresses first came together to make art, they continue to collaborate, to provide mutual support, and to constitute an engaged audience for one another's work. And like most visionaries of social change, they are committed to transforming their work into history. As chroniclers themselves of the events and activities at the Woman's Building, the members of The Waitresses are all too aware of what Alexandra Juhasz pointed out, that "individuals, evidence, videotape – the stuff of history, the hoarded fragments that permit us to see and know the past – are fragile, ever disintegrating, easy to lose and forget." Expanding our understanding of what constitutes the larger women's movement to include groups like The Waitresses is important precisely because our ability "to see and know the past" is

Chutney Gunderson, Anita Green, and Anne Gauldin, *Making It Safe For Waitresses*, Enterprising Fish Company restaurant, Ocean Park, CA, August, 1979, in association with *Making It Safe* by Suzanne Lacy, Ariadne, and Communitas, photo credit: Charles Grimes

Anne Gauldin, Anne Mavor, Denise Yarfitz, Chutney Gunderson, *One Planet, One Plate.* Various sites: Espace DBD, Los Angeles, CA; The Woman's Building, Los Angeles, CA; Sushi Gallery, San Diego, CA; Wing Café, San Diego, CA; 1982

dependent on “a desiring interlocutor, a historian, a videomaker, who … reanimates them with her passion, making use of them in her present towards a future-oriented project.”[24] By using The Waitresses to challenge some of the enduring myths about the women’s movement, that culture is necessarily apolitical, that 1970s feminists were humorless essentialists, that tidy ideological divisions existed, I hope that I have made some small contribution to an understanding of the past that will allow future feminists to build on the many accomplishments of groups like The Waitresses.

Notes

1. Alexandra Juhasz “Feminist History Making and Video Remains: A Dialogue with Antoinette Burton” *Jump Cut*, 48 (Winter 2006). http://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc48.2006/AIDsJuhasz/index.html
2. Alice Echols *Daring To Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America 1967-1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989)
3. Echols 5.
4. Dorothy Sue Cobble *The Other Women’s Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004) and Carrie N Baker, *The Women’s Movement Against Sexual Harassment* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).
5. Cobble 3.
6. For further discussion see Jeanie Forte “Women’s Performance Art: Feminism and Postmodernism” *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (May, 1988), 217-235 and Courtney Bailey “Feminist Art and (Post)Modern Anxieties: The Judy Chicago Retrospective” Genders, 32 (2000) http://www.genders.org/g32/g32_bailey.html and Mary Jo Aagerstoun and Elissa Auther. “Considering Feminist Activist Art” *NWSA Journal* – Volume 19, Number 1, Spring 2007, pp. vii-xiv
7. These conflicts are well documented in Echols.
8. Interview with Cheri Gaulke August 6, 1992, Los Angeles, California, Woman’s Building Oral History Project.
9. Precedents for collaborative art existed even among the abstract expressionists. For example, some works by Grace Hartigan, Larry Rivers and Norman Bluhm combined their images with texts by the poet Frank O’Hara, but these were exceptions (Irving Sandler, *The New York School* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978) 39-40.
10. Flyer for *Ready to Order?* c. April 1977
11. The group was hardly alone in their fascination with waitresses. Academics interested in women’s labor have produced several volumes focusing on the waitress. James P. Spradley and Brenda J. Mann *The Cocktail Waitress: Woman’s Work in a Man’s World* (New York: John Wiley, 1975), Dorothy Sue Cobble. Dishing It Out: Waitresses and Their Unions in the Twentieth Century (University of Illinois Press, 1992), and Alison Owings *Hey, Waitress!: The USA from the Other Side of the Tray* (University of California Press 2004).
12. Members of The Waitresses do not seem to have been directly influenced by these precursors. Neither Allyn nor Gauldin watched television during this era, although Allyn did recall seeing the film *Alice Doesn’t Live Here Any More* and liking it. Allyn does recall reading Studs Sterkel’s book *Working*, which featured a waitress. (Jerri Allyn, personal correspondence with the author, February 3, 2008).
13. A one-day strike of women called by NOW in 29 October, 1975 was also called “Alice Doesn’t” day. Women were asked not to spend any money or perform any work to demonstrate their anger at sexual discrimination. The film proved so central to the feminist analysis of cinema that it provided the title for an early collection of essays by the film critic Teresa de Lauretis, *Alice Doesn’t: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* (1984) Indiana University Press, which also cross referenced Alice in Wonderland.
14. The continued saliency of the figure of the waitress can be seen in its continued usage in popular culture. The political pundit Al Franken’s play *The Waitress and the Lawyer* (2003) used the waitress to dramatize the economic disparities that emerged during the Bush years. The 2007 movie *Waitress* used the job as a metaphor for the inertia the main character tries to overcome. Singer Tori Amos adopted a waitress as one of performance personae for her *American Doll Posse* album (2007). A fascinating parallel also exists in the performance art of the Polish artist Julita Wojcik who performed as a waitress in 2002 and 2003. http://www.culture.pl/en/culture/artykuly/os_wojcik_julita.
15. Women’s movements have long used public spectacle, yet in the late 1960s and early 1970s these efforts often backfired. See for example, Lisa Tickner’s excellent discussion of the use of public spectacle in the British suffrage movement *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign 1907-14* (University Of Chicago Press, 1988). Both the 1968 protest at the Miss America pageant and the WITCH guerilla theater

performances at bridal fairs across the country failed miserably. The Miss America protest was so distorted that it gave rise to the inaccurate epithet bra burner and the bridal fair protest alienated and insulted the very women it attempted to convert to feminism. For an excellent analysis of media coverage of the 1968 protest see Bonnie J Dow "Feminism, Miss America, and Media Mythology" *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 6.1 (2003) 127-149. For a brief discussion of reaction to the WITCH protest see Vicki Howard *Brides, Inc.: American Weddings and the Business of Tradition* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006) 113. The better known strategy that emerged from the Woman's Building was the media strategy developed by Leslie Labowitz and Suzanne Lacy, which proved quite effective. See Leslie Labowtiz "Developing a Feminist Media Strategy." *Heresies* 3(1):28–31. While The Waitresses were strongly influenced by Suzanne Lacy, they took another route via the grassroots.

16. The issue of whether continued preferential hiring of women as cocktail waitresses is legal is the subject of Ann C. McGinley "Babes and Beefcake: Exclusive Hiring Arrangements and Sexy Dress Codes" *14 Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy* 257-282.
17. Script of *Frederico and the Shadow* written by Denise Yarfitz, performed by Leslie Belt and Denise Yarfitz.
18. *The Great Goddess Diana* also represented an attempt to celebrate the value of women's work. This theme of revaluing women work found its most elaborate expression in *Coffee Cauldron* (see Orenstein's essay in this volume).
19. Performed by Jerri Allyn, Leslie Belt, Anita Green, Chutney Gunderson, and Denise Yarfitz from a script written by Anne Gauldin and Jamie Wildperson at the Fifth Annual Southwest Labor Conference, held at California State University, Dominguez Hills in April or May 1979
20. From publicity materials circa 1979
21. *Making It Safe For Waitresses* was created and performed by Anne Gauldin, Anita Green and Chutney Gunderson and was performed at the Enterprising Fish Company in Ocean Park, California in August of 1979 as part of a larger project, *Making It Safe*. The series of events was organized by Suzanne Lacy, who along with Leslie Labowitz organized Ariadne: A Social Art Network at the Woman's Building to provide an umbrella organization for feminist artists and Communitas, a community crime prevention agency of Ocean Park Projects.
22. The piece was initially created and performed by Anne Gauldin, Anne Mavor, Chutney Gunderson, and Denise Yarfitz in December of 1981 at the Church on Ocean Park in Santa Monica California. It was repeated throughout 1982 at the University of California San Diego, the Woman's Building, Espace DBD in Los Angeles, and Wing Café in San Diego.
23. Allyn continued to explore the idea of the Waitress in *American Dining, A Working Woman's Moment* created for New American Radio in 1989 and 1991.
24. Juhasz, "Feminist History Making and Video Remains," np.

Note: this essay was originally written in 2008.

Back cover *High Performance Magazine*, Denise Yarfitz, Anne Mavor, Jerri Allyn, Anne Gauldin, Chutney Gunderson, *The Waitresses Surf the California Toast*, Volume 4, Number 4, Winter 1981-82, photo credit: Patti Sandler, photo montage: Jerri Allyn, Anne Mavor