

BARNARD COLLEGE CLASS OF 1971 ORAL HISTORY COLLECTION

The Reminiscences of

Sandra Horowitz

2015

## PREFACE

The following oral history is the result of a recorded interview with Sandra Willner Horowitz conducted by Janet Price on July 11, 2015. The interview is part of the Barnard College Class of 1971 Oral History Project.

The reader is asked to bear in mind that s/he is reading a verbatim transcription of the spoken word, rather than written prose.

Barnard Alumni Class of 1971 Oral History Project  
Interviewee: Sandra Horowitz  
Interviewer: Janet Price

Location: Chicago, IL  
Date: July 11, 2015

00:00:01 Q: So, Sandra, could you introduce yourself to—your viewing audience. (laughs)

00:00:11 Horowitz: I grew up as Sandy Willner. My married name is Sandra Willner Horowitz. I grew up in Brooklyn, in a middle-class to lower-middle-class neighborhood, private homes predominantly. A little, red-brick schoolhouse.

My parents were both college graduates, which was fairly unusual at that time. I read many years later that only 6 percent of women went to college pre-World War II, and my mother was one of them, so she was very academic and very much pushed educational excellence. Because my parents were both first generation, post-immigrant—their parents had come from Europe in their twenties, so they were not educated here and on that basis my grandparents' career prospects were rather limited, education for my parents' generation of Jewish New Yorkers, was the way to be upwardly mobile. My father was an accountant, CPA [certified public accountant], and worked as a comptroller for various publishing and printing companies. My mother—the story that I heard endlessly as a child through today—she's now ninety-one—is that because she was so devoted to academics—she was interested in international studies and history at that time, and she went to Brooklyn College—my father went to The City College of New York—and she was offered a fellowship to get a PhD, but at that point she was already engaged to the soldier, the GI overseas, and she was afraid to even tell her parents that she could go on to further education. It was regarded as way too peculiar to go on beyond college, so she told no one, and spent the rest of her life regretting it, although her primary goal was to be a mother and a wife, so she chose

what she wanted to do. But I always heard the ambivalent feminist dialogue of this is what I could have done, but I gave it all up. So, of course, that created the major conflicts in my life, Well, how am I going to do this balancing? I did want to have a family. I did want to be a normal participant in society, but at the same time I wanted to go on beyond college as well. And I think what was really stressed, primarily by my mother, in my childhood, was that you could achieve anything you wanted if you just worked hard enough, tried hard enough, persevered, and had a reasonable amount of brains and talent to back it up. I followed through on all that, and was the product of that upbringing and brainwashing.

I went to Midwood High School, which was a very academically progressive high school. They had an honors program which they called the Six Majors Program; you could either, as a sophomore, take a sixth major that was a second science course, or you could take a second language, and I opted for the second science. I was quite fortunate along the way that I never heard the stereotypes of women aren't good in math or science, because that's what I was good in. I was not interested in writing. I wasn't interested terribly in history, so my natural inclination was to do math or science. When it came to go to college, Brooklyn College was only fifteen minutes from my home. My father assumed, Well, you know, it's a free college, how do you turn down a free education? And my mother really wanted me to strive to go to an Ivy League college but yet stay in New York City. So Barnard [College] was the obvious choice, and between my powers of negotiation as a teenager, and my mother's silent backing of me, we persuaded my father to pay for my education, which although it's a fragment of what education costs today, still proportionately to the lower salaries, it was a substantial investment and drain on their finances.

So the first year I commuted, which was an hour and fifteen minutes, fifteen minutes worth of bus ride, and an hour worth of subway, and you learned to study on the subway pretty well. But it obviously soaked up a lot of time and didn't let you participate much in the college life. At that point I negotiated some more with my father, "Oh, you know, it really would be beneficial for me to spend this extra thousand dollars to live at Barnard and not spend the time commuting." And so I spent the next three years not commuting, and living in the dormitories at Barnard.

00:06:56 Q: So let's back up, because everything that you've told me leads me to think of a million questions to ask you. So was your family at all religious?

00:07:10 Horowitz: Not especially, just traditional, observed holidays. Interestingly, the closest synagogue to our home was a very small Orthodox synagogue, and that was within walking distance; the others were a further walk. So my younger brother was sent to be trained at the Orthodox synagogue even though we weren't Orthodox, which meant going there five times a week. I, on the other hand, wasn't sent at all, because, a. it wasn't important for a girl, it wasn't necessary, you didn't need a bat mitzvah. Part of it was to protect me from the cold and snow and elements, because my mother thought I was a sickly child. How much that was true and how much was her own anxiety was probably a mix, but I certainly, eventually as an adult resented that I have no Hebrew education, and in fact six months ago started to take Hebrew classes, but it's the sort of thing that's a lot easier to do when you are young, when you soak everything up.

00:08:41 Q: So you had a younger brother?

00:08:43 Horowitz: Yes.

00:08:43 Q: And other siblings?

00:08:44 Horowitz: No. So, yeah, I was the first-born—

00:08:49 Q: Same as me.

00:08:50 Horowitz: —and we had a very quiet household, and I tended to be a bookworm, so that was the complete milieu.

00:09:03 Q: And your grandparents were in Brooklyn as well?

00:09:05 Horowitz: They were, yes.

00:09:06 Q: And what country did they come from?

00:09:09 Horowitz: They all came from various segments of the Russian Pale of Settlement, so that my maternal grandparents came from the Ukraine and my paternal grandparents came from Lithuania.

00:09:22 Q: A Litvak. I'm 100 percent Litvak. But that's very common in Chicago. And were they religious?

00:09:36 Horowitz: Um, my maternal grandparents were raised in the Orthodox tradition; they were not extreme. My paternal grandfather was also raised Orthodox but rebelled against it, told

me that science had replaced religion. He became an atheist and not a card-carrying communist, but certainly a socialist. So he went totally the other way.

00:10:15 Q: And you went to public schools throughout high school?

00:10:17 Horowitz: Yes.

00:10:18 Q: And what was that like?

00:10:21 Horowitz: Well, I regard the New York City public schools as training for the rest of your life in how to defend yourself, which I don't say in a bad way. When I was in junior high school, again, I was in what you could call Honor Classes, SP [Special Progress] Classes, so we were segregated with other smart people and it was an enjoyable social experience. But you would see the other, you know, non-intellectual people in gym and at lunch and in the schoolyard, and there were obviously girl gangs and boy gangs; the girl gangs tended to be Italian. So my only memorable experience was going in—and you'd go from one lunch place to another, because we were allowed out for lunch—you would go into a very skinny little candy store during lunch, and the girl gang would be there, and, of course, I was a little tiny person, and some of these other girls were—they were really really big and they were used to being rough. So I guess I had been pushed physically too many times, you know, jostled. So one time one of these big girls jostled me on the wrong day, and I guess jostled me just a little too hard. And I just slapped her across the face. Well, this was pretty outrageous; I mean, she was shocked. She threatened to wipe the floor—mop the floor with me, which she could have easily done, she probably weighed twice as much as me. And then I realized, Ooh, I don't think I did such a

smart thing here. So I went to the principal or the vice principal and I said, you know, “So and so is going to mop the floor with me,” (laughs) like, “Can you protect me?” Which was taken care of—there were no further repercussions—but I think that you learn in the New York City public schools that either you fight back or you're going to be trampled on. And it holds whether you're in business, as an adult, even in professional life it doesn't mean that people aren't going to try and push you. And certainly as a woman—ah, the amount of intent to stomp on you is very great. So that, progressively through my life, I took that early experience and said, “Hey, I'm not taking it. I'm going to stand up for myself, and whether you like it or not, it's just tough.”

00:13:25 Q: Good for you.

00:13:27 Horowitz: Right.

00:13:27 Q: So why do you think your mom was so anxious about your health? And why do you think she was so anxious that you not leave New York City? Or was that your mom and your dad?

00:13:40 Horowitz: Um, the health thing was partially legitimate; I had asthma, I had allergies, so if I caught a cold, like every little kid catches a thousand colds, I would cough for a month, and it would sound terrible, and to a layman it was frightening. I missed a lot of days of school, evidently, you know, elementary school. My mother, in general, was not one to separate from her immediate family, so that the desire to keep me in New York was just part of her lifestyle. And my father—I think my parents pretty much agreed on most things; there was never any real discord in my house, so that I'm sure it was a joint decision. It was also they had lived their—



almost their entire lives in New York City, except for my father going to Europe during World War II and a six-month stint of his working—no, he worked in Washington for some period of a few years, unmarried, and then my parents, as young marrieds, lived in Washington D.C. and my mother, predictably, after six months says, “Get me out of here; I want to go back to Brooklyn.” So that was the flavor.

00:15:19 Q: So the neighborhood you grew up in was Midwood then.

00:15:24 Horowitz: It actually was Flatbush, Kings Highway in Flatbush, so we were—we were in one edge of the Midwood School District, but it was a very large school district.

00:15:38 Q: So you wound up at Barnard. Oh, one other question about your mom. Did she work outside the home at all?

00:15:45 Horowitz: She did not until—oh, once I was well out of college. She taught English as a Second Language in a community college for twelve years, which she totally enjoyed. She did, along the way, get a masters degree in education; she did qualify and applied to the New York City public schools as a teacher, and she was a substitute teacher, but by the time she finished all of this process of licensure, the New York City public schools were broke at that time, and also she was then living in Westchester, in New Rochelle, and to go into Harlem didn't sound like such a good idea, or the Bronx.

00:16:50 Q: So that brings us to Barnard. So you went to Barnard because you and your mom thought you should go to an Ivy League school—

00:16:59 Horowitz: Right.

00:17:00 Q: —and this was the only option to stay in New York.

00:17:03 Horowitz: Right.

00:17:04 Q: So why don't you describe your experience of the first weeks or months at Barnard. Did you feel at home? Did you feel culture shock? What was it like?

00:17:14 Horowitz: I was thrilled the first year, particularly because the culture was to value smart people, which coming out of a public New York school, you know, the culture—the premier people were the cheerleaders, and the ones who were social, so if you weren't a cheerleader or football player, at least if you were in student government, but for someone like me who was a bookworm, oh, Barnard was perfect! It was a place that was filled with smart people. So, for the first time, I actually was in the majority. And, given that it was in New York City, there was nothing unfamiliar about it. Yes, Manhattan is very different from Brooklyn, but it still is—it's the same kind of place and not at all shocking. You know, recreation from Brooklyn was going into Manhattan to go to museums.

There certainly was a separation between the commuters and the non-commuters in terms of who you knew and who you befriended and who you were associated with, which certainly limited the people who you met, but, that being said, the number of commuters were *so* large that it was a very large cohort and it was a very similar cohort to me. It was people predominantly from

New York public schools; it was a very small element of private school people who I didn't know and didn't associate with. I don't think they were chemistry majors.

00:19:20 Q: (laughs) Art history.

00:19:21 Horowitz: Yeah, maybe, yeah. So that, um, it was a very congenial atmosphere; the first year I found incredibly easy academically, first of all because they were—you know, you'd take 101 classes at the beginning, and my high school had been so rigorous, and there was *so* much work to do in high school that I found that first year of college to be a breeze. That was not true of the subsequent three years once it was all science classes, and that was considerably harder and it required much more work.

Socially, my social life was outside of Barnard; the first two years I had a boyfriend from Stony Brook, who I knew from high school, so I didn't really investigate social things at Columbia [College]. And between that and being a commuter I wasn't really an integral part of the whole Columbia/Barnard mix, which leads, of course, into the question of the riots and sit-ins and demonstrations that first year at Barnard in the spring semester. And I wasn't a participant; I wasn't terribly interested in the politics that were involved. I didn't disagree with them, but I was neutral; I was there to get an education and I didn't have an older brother so Vietnam was not an issue in my household that was discussed a whole lot. I know, in retrospect, that my mother was very anti-Vietnam, didn't believe we belonged there, but it still was not a major part of my focus. For me the important part was that you took midterms that spring semester and no finals, so you got your midterm grades. That was terrific; I thought this was just wonderful. (laughs) I think that the overall outlook that it did leave me with an impression for the rest of my life to be able

to doubt authority, question authority, not necessarily agree just because the hierarchy or the boss said, "You're doing it this way." No, my natural inclination is to say why or, "Why not try this" or, "Why not," you know, "Here's a better idea." When I came to the Midwest, I found, ooh, that was not the predominant theme and, you know, put a New York Jewish woman in the Midwest and, yes, it's not like being in the South but it's still very different. And, after a while, I didn't mind being gutsy in the Midwest. I realized that, yes, I didn't blend, but it wasn't a bad thing because, again it's a—it's a way of asserting yourself where otherwise you'd have to be pretty passive to get along.

00:23:23 Q: We'll come back to the Midwest experience and talk about it a lot, but let's go back to Barnard because, yet again, what you've said raises ten million interesting questions.

00:23:38 Q: So what was it like coming home from school during the takeovers and the strike, and talking to your family, and talking to your neighbors about what was happening?

00:23:51 Horowitz: I remember none of it. I mean, obviously, there were conversations, but it didn't make any overwhelming impression.

00:24:00 Q: So your parents weren't upset that all hell was breaking loose at your school?

00:24:05 Horowitz: As long as I wasn't involved I don't think they were terribly upset. (both laugh) Yes, sure they didn't approve of it, I'm sure, but um—and now, in retrospect, knowing my father, he must have been thinking, Hey, wait a minute, I'm paying for this education, and classes

are shut down, or this is shut down and so forth, but, um, that's about as much as I remember of the interaction.

00:24:38 Q: And do you remember talking about it with other students? Were you friendly with the other commuters, for instance, who were having the same kind of experience?

00:24:46 Horowitz: I was, but, you know, I just don't—I don't recall a whole lot.

00:24:52 Q: And yet it made enough of an impression on you that, unless you got that from—it doesn't sound like you got your questioning of authority from home so much.

00:25:02 Horowitz: No, a lot of it is personality-based, because I remember the personalities of various people I started with as commuters, and you see what they're like forty years later, even if it's only for a very short time at a reunion, and their personalities are not that different. So, no, the questioning authority certainly did not happen at home, but the feistiness—I think I must have had a hidden feisty side as a teenager that, you know, some of the other people didn't have.

00:25:52 Q: Did you make friends with other commuters? Who were your buddies at Barnard, and is there anybody that you've kept up with?

0:25:59 Horowitz: Pretty much I only knew the other science majors. I mean, the other people I knew by sight, but it was a very small group that were both commuters and science majors; there were only six chemistry majors my year—

0:26:14 Q: Wow!

0:26:15 Horowitz: —so that you were thrown in with the same people over and over again. I roomed one year or a half a year with a biology major. And I did know some pre-med people; I was not pre-med, I was more interested in doing research and teaching. And the mentor faculty that we saw at Barnard—I mean, there were a reasonable number of female science professors that were PhDs; they did have families, so that those people were role models for me that it was possible to do those things. The message that I got at home was, oh, very much doctors were at the top of the heap in terms of people who are doing a fabulous, worthwhile job but you had to be dedicated. The old-fashioned family practitioner had office hours all day, all night, on the weekends; they usually lived in the same little Brooklyn houses where they worked. And this kind of all day/all night/weekend dedication didn't sound exactly conducive to me to family life, so the more I heard *dedication* and *physician*, I said, “No, no, no, I'm not about to do that because I don't want to have no other life.”

00:28:13 Q: So why chemistry?

00:28:16 Horowitz: My natural inclination would have been to do biology. Chemistry was based on the practical goal of getting a laboratory job after college, that more job openings would be available to a chemist as a biologist—than a biologist. Whether that was a legitimate thought I don't honestly know since I didn't do that path. I did like chemistry; I liked the mathematical part of it, the equation part of it, but I would have had a much easier time as a biology major. The chemistry majors—the last five courses, which I took all in one year, of physical chemistry was extremely rigorous, and considerably harder than the organic chemistry that normally throws people out, which I actually liked.

00:29:24 Q: So did you take all your courses at Barnard or were some of them at Columbia?

00:29:28 Horowitz: Pretty much I took all my courses at Barnard except for the big lecture courses that were offered at Columbia in calculus, and I think in anthropology, so I didn't really go out of my way to seek out Columbia courses. In retrospect, I think that was a mistake because it would have given me a host of other opportunities, both socially and academically, but part of the whole practical aspect of going to college was to come out with a degree, be able to get a job. My mother more or less said, "Well, whatever you do you have to take some education courses in case you want to be a teacher," and I was just, you know, a dutiful little lamb, and I said, "To me what's the difference?" So I took the History of Education, okay, no big deal, but it's almost comical how the choices were directed. It didn't occur to me to say, "No," you know, "I want to take Zen Buddha at"—Oh, I did take a multi-religion comparison course at Columbia, which was wonderful.

00:31:00 Q: Do you remember who your professor was?

00:31:02 Horowitz: No.

00:31:03 Q: Because I took an Eastern religions course.

00:31:05 Horowitz: Okay, this was definitely not Eastern religions but, you know, it was comparative religions which was very interesting.

00:31:15 Q: So how did you spend your time during the strike? Did you just stay home or did you go on campus? Did you get work done? Did any of your classes meet off-campus?

00:31:27 Horowitz: I remember that spring a lot of meeting on the grass, classes on the grass. Otherwise I didn't do anything either fascinating or political and, I assume life just carried on for me.

00:31:48 Q: And you finally—what was it like for you emotionally, psychologically to finally find a course that was hard after all these years of being the smartest in the class?

00:32:04 Horowitz: I think I just plugged away and worked harder.

00:32:11 Q: Did you have study buddies? Did other people find the course as hard as you did?

00:32:16 Horowitz: I didn't have study buddies; I was more or less locked in my room from 7 p.m. to midnight on weekdays. I mean, not locked physically, but that was my job. In the dorms where I was there was not a whole lot of socializing; in dorms where there were more senior people, everybody was doing their own thing and, if not, I was oblivious. Yes, there was one year, junior year I think, the girl in the next room was stoned the entire year, the entire time. You know, to me, like, Hey, if this is the way she wants to blow the year, be my guest. But it just didn't involve me, touch me, or have anything to do with me. And I certainly did not have fun at Barnard.



00:33:28 Q: So why radiology, and tell us a little bit about some of the highlights of your career, some interesting cases. What do you do as a neuroradiologist day-to-day?

00:33:43 Horowitz: I picked radiology because I was interested in anatomy; I was interested in pictures, in viewing. At the time that I picked it, it was pre-scanning; it was all plain X-rays. The department that I was in as a medical student at Jefferson [Thomas Jefferson University, Philadelphia] had a very strong radiology program so that I think a larger than normal number of people went into radiology for that reason. Again, nobody told me that many women were afraid to go into radiology because of the radiation issue. I didn't particularly think about that. In those days, a lot of it was fluoroscopy; you had to put on a lead apron. When I was pregnant I wore a lead apron in front and in back; I ordered a special apron that had a little more lead, but as far as I was concerned I was good to go. But traditionally there were not that many women in radiology for that reason. Part of why I picked it is I wanted a kind of regular lifestyle. When I picked it, radiology hours were kind of seven to three, or seven thirty to three thirty; it is not that today, and it was not that way for the bulk of my career, but that's what I saw as a medical student in a university practice.

My whole career was spent reading scans, CT scans and MR scans. CT scans came out in the seventies, and MR scans in the eighties, and the good thing about radiology for me was that there were always new technical gizmos. It always progressed. It was not a stationary field; if you're out of the field for three years you would be obsolete. You always had to learn a new thing; there were new technical things to learn and new information generated by those technical things. For example, an ultrasound of a pregnancy—when I had a baby all you would do was see the head; they measured the head size. Now I saw my daughter's twenty-week ultrasound of her

pregnancy; you see details of everything, every organ, spine, heart, fingers, toes. It grows by leaps and bounds, and, yes, the equipment is outrageously expensive but the gains that they make and what they can see now are so far greater even than ten years ago, let alone thirty years ago, that that's why the tests cost so much, because the equipment is not stationary. Every five years, pretty much, you need a new piece of equipment in whatever field it is.

What I found surprising that I didn't expect: I didn't know that I had a knack for business, and enjoyed business. [**Added by Interviewee:** When I finished the radiology residency at age thirty in 1980, I had a three-year-old child and was unable to be hired for a radiology staff position due to gender discrimination. Every male chairman who interviewed me assumed that I would become pregnant instantaneously, and would not hire me despite having been trained at the best Chicago radiology residency at the time, which was at Rush Presbyterian St. Luke's Medical Center. Thus, job-hiring discrimination led to my decision to do a neuroradiology fellowship year at Rush, which was an excellent, nationally-known fellowship program and, ultimately, led to my further career advancement. However, after completion of that fellowship at age thirty-one with a four-year-old child, I still faced the same job-hiring gender discrimination. In at least three interviews, the interviewer told me that I was pretty, which was an inappropriate comment, and I was not offered those jobs. One interviewer said, "You are going to stay home with your sick children, aren't you?" (I never stayed home with a sick child.) When my chairman called that man, the interviewer responded that he would have hired me in a minute if I were not a woman. A couple of years later, he apologized to me and said he regretted not having me on his staff, after he heard me deliver a lecture on a new imaging modality. These discriminatory experiences led me to open a solo outpatient radiology business at age thirty-two, which was then extremely uncommon, as there was only one other outpatient radiology imaging business in suburban Chicago at that time, and the second in Illinois. This small business developed into a large, diagnostic imaging center in southwest suburban Chicago and, subsequently, a second center. I discovered that I was good at business, willing to take risks, and developed experience in accounting, budgets, legal contracts, and management. Subsequently, I added academic staff

teaching positions in neuroradiology, when my second child began school, in addition to being the Director of Radiology at the free-standing diagnostic imaging center for twenty-seven years.]

I didn't realize that a lot of my value as a faculty person was as mentoring other younger women who went into radiology in much greater numbers; I was at Loyola [University Chicago] for twelve years, from '88 to 2000, and people would tell me afterward they remembered that I would notice if they had a cough and offer them cough medicine, and ask about their children, and they felt there was more of a personal women's advice component that sustained them during those hard years when they had little children, because really I didn't—I didn't get that kind of sustenance. Yes, one of my mentors was a woman in neuroradiology, and she had babies in her twenties, in medical school, but when I asked her, “How did you do that?” she said, “Well, I'd hold the baby with one arm, the book with the other, and I'd cry.” Well, that was not very helpful; that was very discouraging. And another friend of mine, a radiologist, told me not two weeks ago, she said, “Yeah, when I had those babies I cried.” Well, part of it is the tug of hormones, obviously, but part of it is that tug-of-war between, oh, when you're with the baby you're neglecting your work, and when you're at work you're neglecting the baby, and you always feel like it's a less-than-perfect arrangement. You have to accept that you're not going to be perfect at any of these things. And as long as you know you're not going to be perfect, well, you know, you do the best you can. Other than the academic mentoring of young women, I also didn't expect my daughter, un-prodded by her parents, became a radiologist. Certainly all my fears of, Well, how do you get along with a daughter if you're not home that very much—but you're doing it by example. You know, that, yes, she was always the last one picked up from any event at school. (Price laughs) She said, "I'm always the last one to be picked up." But she had that example to go on and use her brain and be an independent woman and she's turned out fabulous.

00:40:19 Q: So some special cases you had, and then we'll go back to your family.

00:40:24 Horowitz: The only thing I remember is since we don't have that much patient contact, you really don't think you affect people's lives but, every once in a while, you find out you do. You meet people in the community and they say, Ten years ago you diagnosed my husband with such and such. I remember one case in the eighties, when I was working in this little basement, my original practice, I diagnosed somebody's vascular malformation in their brain and, obviously, a very serious thing, and I told them where to go, to go to University of Chicago. I gave them the name of the neurosurgeon that I knew was very good in that field, and he survived and he did wonderful and he lived multiple decades. The woman, his wife, was thanking me ten and twenty years later. So you do have an effect on people's lives even if you don't realize it.

00:41:29 Q: It must—what does it feel like when you're looking at the screen and you discover something that's very, very serious, potentially fatal?

00:41:42 Horowitz: Wow, this is an everyday occurrence, an all-day occurrence, especially my time at Northwestern [University]. The number of people with—young people in their thirties, forties—with metastatic breast cancer to brain—in the morning you walk in and you're griping about, oh, you know, whatever the circumstances are when you walk into work—because I still gripe like a New Yorker, unfortunately (Price laughs)—so um, but you walk in and the first thing you see is people who are going to die in their thirties, and have such dreadful things that it changes your whole perspective to not complain about the good life you have. Because in a tertiary center, all you're seeing are bad cases, which is, you know, it's both the good and the bad

—it's bad for the people, it's interesting for the radiologist. But in the outpatient world, what you're seeing is relatively boring; people are coming with headaches, arthritis, back pain, spinal stenosis; they have problems but they're not, mostly, going to die of them.

00:43:08 Q: Is it true for scans what Tolstoy says about families, that all happy families are the same and all unhappy families are different? Meaning, and this is—I'm speaking as, like, a total layperson who knows nothing about the subject, but when you're looking for these irregularities, is every irregularity different?

00:43:32 Horowitz: Well, you go by patterns. It's pattern recognition. And some things are blatantly easy; when my daughter was four or five I used to get some cases sent to my home during odd hours, and I had a view box on the floor, and she's five or so, and I put the film down and I said, "Jeanne, where is the tumor?" And she'd go, "Right there." Because it's like a great big moon in the middle of the—

00:44:04 Q: And you're wondering why she became a radiologist.

00:44:06 Horowitz: —Yeah, I suppose. (Price laughs) But the other things, obviously, are much more complex patterns, and it's very easy to see normal, normal is a thirty-second thing. The more difficult it is, I mean, if somebody has a cancer of the neck I could spend an hour on one person's scan, so that it can range from very simple to extremely complicated. Obviously, different people read them with greater rigor than others; you know, the more conscientious you are the more time you put into it.

00:44:52 Q: Well, I would bet money on your being extremely conscientious.

00:44:56 Horowitz: Right.

00:44:56 Q: But I realize, as you're talking, the stakes are very high; they're just as high as for a surgeon, because if you don't find the thing that needs to be found—

00:45:07 Horowitz: Or if you miscall it—I mean, you don't want to tell somebody that they have cancer and it's really a benign nothing—which happens a fair amount—and then people have to go get other second opinions, third opinions.

00:45:22 Q: So that creates a certain kind of stress, I would imagine, I've got to get this right.

00:45:29 Horowitz: Actually, (laughs) there's not nearly as much stress—yes, if it's very complicated it sure is, sure, there's stress. I find the people management is much harder. Again, I had to manage other physicians, interact with them, get their opinions, because if you have five smart people, at least I knew enough that you have to solicit their opinions, whether you like the opinions or not, you should hear them. You know, it's like having an administration with a bunch of yes-men: your quality of result is not as good.

00:46:07 Q: So you like feisty in your employees?

00:46:11 Horowitz: Oh, I wouldn't say that. (Price laughs) I want to hear their opinion but I don't necessarily want to get an argument. But I could probably out-argue most anybody. And the administrative interactions, contract interactions, are also much, much more stressful than the

actual going to work and reading the scans, if that's what you do everyday; it's like any other job, it's pretty matter-of-fact.

00:46:50 Q: Um, so, your kids. You have a boy and a girl?

00:46:53 Horowitz: Right, the girl was older. Um, the girl was the challenge as a baby, because of the work issue, and because it was the first baby. But she became a dream child in that she was self-motivated; I think by the time she was eleven or twelve we didn't even have to help with homework, she just was on her own upward course. I would ask, when it came close to the summer, "Well, maybe we should think about what you should do this summer." She had already filled out applications for things in February. She has two babies right now, and expecting a third; she has a three-year-old, and a two-year-old, and she's full-time faculty at Northwestern, in radiology, but not in neuroradiology. She had the good sense to pick some other niche. My son is more into the artistic tendencies of his father. By the middle of high school he was interested in computer animation, and when it came to going to college he only wanted to pick some program that had computer animation. He was doing computer animation for *South Park*, and now he's doing a video game for *South Park*. He lives in California, and he's turned out to be a responsible good citizen, engaged. So everybody's on autopilot.

00:48:37 Q: Do you get to spend much time with your grandchildren?

00:48:41 Horowitz: Yeah, we see them at least once a week, on the weekend, and sometimes during the week as well, because they live ten minutes away from this Chicago apartment.



00:48:52 Q: And how did you and Steve navigate the childcare arrangements? Did he play a role in childcare? Because he was a doctor as well.

00:49:03 Horowitz: Well, but surgeons—if you do your surgery from seven thirty in the morning and you're done at one, you have your afternoons free except on those days that you do office hours. So he had more free time, more free afternoons; he'd buy the birthday presents, he certainly had more time to play with them. And he's a ringmaster; he's like the Pied Piper. So he played a very active role with them. You know, men don't do the same maintenance as the mother does, but they certainly fill a very good role, provide a very good example, and make a well-rounded person. So that was never a conflict, also because we always had full-time help; after the first six years we just had housekeepers during the daytime, which was a much better arrangement. And so I often joke, “There's only one wifely task I do,” and everything else is delegated: the cooking, the cleaning, the washing, the ironing, everything was delegated. I was the homework parent for my son, you know, just to nudge him along.

00:50:21 Q: And he needed a little more nudging because he—

00:50:23 Horowitz: He needed nudging. He was a boy. I didn't quite perceive that that was an automatic, and he wasn't a firstborn.

00:50:37 Q: And you raised them in Flossmoor.

00:50:39 Horowitz: Yeah, we were in south suburban Chicago, which was five minutes from where my husband worked, which is the other reason he was around so much for the childcare,

and I always commuted for twenty-three years. The outpatient practice was only half an hour from my home; the academic practices, I was still doing the hour and fifteen minute commute that I did to Barnard (Price laughs), I never got away from that. But, you have to go where there's something interesting for you to do.

00:51:16 Q: But what was it like raising a family in the suburbs in particular—suburban life?

That was something new for you, growing up in Brooklyn—

00:51:23 Horowitz: I felt a little odd. Didn't exactly blend. I mean, most of the—most of the families in Flossmoor—I would say more of the men were businessmen; the wives were mostly stay-at-home wives. They were educated, but—at the time my daughter was going to school there was only one other mom in the whole neighborhood who was a working mom, so they kind of felt a tie together, you know, they sought each other out because they knew they were different. Kids end up, no matter who they spend their day with, they become like their parents most of the time, which would've been a nice thing to know when they were born, (Price laughs) very relieving of worry. But we belonged to a country club. I didn't fit in with the women; my daughter didn't fit in with the other little girls; but then when they met her when she was twenty-five or thirty, they said, “Oh, you're a doctor!” They were very impressed. All of a sudden she was a source of social contact. But, yeah, neither she nor I blended with the country club. We used it. We ate there. We swam there. I would've been better off living in the city myself; my husband's a suburban boy. But it wasn't that much of an issue. The commuting was—it was annoying.

00:53:21 Q: So one thing you said— (Linda, the videographer, whispers) Ah, okay, that's good. Linda asked me something really important, because it's on our minds also, which is, what are your plans for the future? When do you think you want to retire? Are you going to stay in Chicago, move out to California? What are your plans?

00:53:41 Horowitz: Well, the retirement issue was partially aged-based and partially due to changes in medicine. Medicine became a conformist, big-organization endeavor. Just because the newspaper says that's going to induce better quality, it ain't so. And, instead, to get the costs down, the tests that are ordered are as minimal and as cheap as possible, so that some of the people they're instructed—the general groups—they call them *Accountable Care Organizations*—we worked for the same big parent corporation, which I will not name, and they were one of the first in Chicago to become an Accountable Care Organization. That means you have an arrangement where you all have certain criteria, certain policies, and certain, quote, quality metrics, but the real purpose is to lower the cost. And lowering the cost—what that translated to me as a radiologist was that general practitioners would be instructed, Order your scans without contrast; it's cheaper than with contrast. Well, in many situations, that's medically not what you want. If you have a brain tumor, even if it's not cancer, even if it's an benign meningioma, if they ask me, Is it bigger than it was last year? I can't tell you without the contrast. I can't tell you if it's five millimeters bigger. And this would happen at least twice a day for the last couple of years. Since 2011—2011 was the big turning point. My experiences—I can only not stand something for two years and then I'm out of there. So if that's the way the practices turned in 2011, by December 31st, 2013, it's time for me to retire. Fortunately, I was old enough to retire and I had money enough to retire. Because it's not—it's not best practices, despite what they try to tell the layman. My husband had a similar experience; I mean, he worked for years in a multi-specialty environment, he was very happy, at some point the organizational demands on your time became greater than the patient care demands. Instead of a twenty-minute appointment talking to the patient, it would be ten minutes on the computer and ten minutes talking to you. And then, of course, patients would get angry, How come you're not looking at me, you're typing on the

computer. Well, the system tells me I have to do that, either that or I'm not going to get paid, or the parent organization is not going to get paid. So that's why we both retired; he retired at sixty-one and I retired at sixty-three, almost sixty-four.

My first step was I knew I didn't want to spend winters in Chicago, so I retired December 31st; January 3rd, I was in California. We bought a home in Southern California and we spend the winters there. Of course, the weather in Southern California is better than the Chicago weather is all year-round. As to what other things I will now do, I'm waiting for my epiphany. I've taken various classes, they're interesting but I'm not saving lives, you know. I do photography, I learned some photo shop, I'm taking classes at—Northwestern has an Osher Lifelong Learning Institute, so I'm taking a current events discussion group, very bright older people, from all types of work backgrounds, and it's based on *The Economist* magazine. But I am still looking. I'm ready and open to all suggestions for what to do with the rest of my life, which, you know, easily could be another twenty-five years.

00:58:34 Videographer: Let me ask a question. You talk a little bit—I feel like you talked about it a little bit—about, like, a move away from patient-centered care in a lot of ways. In your opinion, with your daughter going through some of the same education you had, do you think that her education, the way she was taught to be, was affected by this change in practice?

00:58:56 Horowitz: Well, it's different for her only in that she is doing solely academic practice, university practice. That has its own bureaucracy. When I started at Northwestern I saw various inefficiencies I wanted to change, like, right away. Well, they only did one of those changes eleven years later when I was leaving. (Price laughs) And the inertia of the big organization, you

know, and she has a much different personality than me. She gets along and makes her own way in a much more friendly and Midwest style, which is very successful, and so, for that reason, I think that she will not find the bureaucracy nearly as irritating as I might. But also because she's not in patient care; again, she's reading scans, she's interacting with physicians, she's interacting with other departments, and she's not in a community practice or in a business practice; I don't think that the daily barrage of lower quality issues is as much of an issue. I mean, that is a reason that you as a patient, if you have a serious disease, you want to go to a university hospital.

01:00:55 Videographer: Thank you for that advice.

01:00:56 Q: Yes. (laughter)

01:00:57 Horowitz: Right.

01:00:58 Q: Um, do you ever compare notes with her on your, um, respective experiences as women breaking into a man's world?

01:01:10 Horowitz: I think it's generational; I think her generation has a much, much easier time, on the one hand, because they have the support of each other—there are so many other women in the department, they all have multiple children. Her boss, who I know, told me last week that six people in his department are currently pregnant, including her. He was not happy about it because, again, it's manpower, you know, as the employer it's strictly, Well, who's going to be in this slot at this time, and you need enough bodies to do the work. There was no maternity policy when I was a resident; they had never had a pregnant resident. Now you get three months paid

maternity leave. That's a hell of a lot better. Three months at home instead of—I took four weeks with each child off. Four weeks you're not really ready to go back. There's still more subtle discrimination. Many of the women in her department work part-time. And I would've thought that that was because they wanted it that way. The individual women, no. In general, what they are offered [is] part-time work. So when they offered her a part-time position she says, "I'm not interested in a part-time position. I already got a full-time job offer in California. Either you match the full-time offer or I don't come." But she resented that automatically they figured, Well, she has a husband, why does she need a full-time job? In this day and age, many of the women that we work with earn much more than the husbands. They are the—she is the one who has the mortgage on her house; it's in her name, because she has a bigger salary. So, there's still gender discrimination, it's just not as extreme and distasteful, but it's still there.

01:03:28 Q: Well, we still make seventy-eight cents on the dollar.

01:03:33 Horowitz: Not me. (laughter) You know, it's just—

01:03:36 Q: I mean, in general.

01:03:37 Horowitz: In general, yes.

01:03:38 Q: But was that an issue for you, pay? Did you have to check and see what the guys were making?

01:03:44 Horowitz: No. I just, by virtue of non-conformity, always ended up earning more and more. The more rules I broke, the more money I made. (Price laughs) Usually either you have an academic career or you have a private career. Nobody had both. There were rules against that. But I figured, well, if they don't like what I'm doing they can fire me.

01:04:17 Q: Well, evidently, they liked what you were doing.

01:04:19 Horowitz: I guess.

01:04:20 Q: You talked about having to manage others. What was your experience managing employees? I have to say this is a personal interest to me because I've had to manage a lot of employees, and sometimes I found it a pleasure and sometimes, particularly when they were a little cuckoo, I found it—

01:04:40 Horowitz: Well, I don't think—I certainly was not a natural at it. I read—thirty, twenty-five years ago— many books on management, business management. I read books on coaching, sports coaches, how to motivate people. And a lot of that is useful, especially for lower level people, technical people; you know, there are different ways of suggesting that, you know, “Could you do this for me, dah, dah, dah, dah.” There's a nice way and a not-nice way. Physicians, though, are a whole other ballgame because, again, these are high maintenance people, and they do have their own ideas on things, and I always tried to be fair and I figured, Well, if it's fair for me, if they don't like it, again, they can go somewhere else, but I never intentionally did anything dishonest. And so many professional people at the top do things that are not exactly honest. So that by age thirty-two I said, “Well, I can work for one of these slimy



people or I can work for myself.” And I knew I wasn't going to be one of those slimy people. I mean, I didn't need the extra buck so bad as to cheat somebody else. And so that, on the whole, people didn't leave me unless there was a—you know, a general career change that they wanted to make. I mean, they stayed long-term, and I had five full-time radiologists and four part-time radiologists and they all stayed for a long period of time.

01:06:33 Q: My last question, unless there's questions you wish I'd asked—

01:06:38 Horowitz: No.

01:06:39 Q: —is I'm very curious, because I made the opposite switch, from Midwest to New York— (adjusting microphone) You talked at the very beginning about coming here and not fitting in as an Easterner or a New Yorker, and the culture clash between the Midwest and the East Coast. Can you talk a little more about that, and what was it where the culture clash happened, and how did you turn that into an advantage?

01:07:15 Horowitz: I don't think I ever turned it in—well, that's not right. The Midwest is much more polite. New York is—people are overtly hostile, sarcastic, and make life pretty difficult. And not just New York; we lived in Philadelphia, and went to school in Philadelphia, it was more or less the same. Midwest—they would be polite but there's still the same amount of backstabbing, it's just they're not being hostile to your face; they're going about it around your back. So eventually you figure that out; it doesn't take too long, you know, within a year or two you figure that out. There are certainly some aspects of the Midwest politeness that I'll never adapt to; I'm still going to speak my mind regardless. I'm sure that I've—tempered compared to

when I came, but not that much. You know, you are what you are. On the surface, my husband always used to say, “Oh, it's much easier to live in the Midwest.” Well, maybe superficially it's easier, but it's not—ultimately it depends on your own personality and how you adapt to it.

01:08:47 Q: But, instead of having your retirement home in Brooklyn, you have it in California.

(laughs)

01:08:56 Horowitz: I'm not crazy. (laughter) I mean, California is wonderful scenery and wonderful weather and laid back. You can dress casual 365 days of the year. And it's more, it's more outdoorsy; you get more exercise as a matter of course. I mean, here it's rained for the last two months, right? And the whole winter that I was there for five months I think it rained four days.

01:09:29 Q: It doesn't rain enough there.

01:09:30 Horowitz: I know, I understand, but—

01:09:32 Q: We have a classmate, who's a very dear friend of mine, in Los Angeles and she, Susan Slyomovics—you probably don't remember her.

01:09:40 Horowitz: I only remember the name, yeah.

01:09:41 Q: But she just loves LA [Los Angeles].

01:09:45 Horowitz: Yeah, well, LA is a lot of traffic; we couldn't deal with that all the time. (both talking at the same time) The smog is not what it used to be, no.

01:09:49 Q: Now, I don't know about smog, not so much. She lives right by UCLA [University of California, Los Angeles], where she teaches.

01:09:56 Horowitz: That's very nice, very nice, yeah.

01:09:58 Q: Very nice. So what community are you in?

01:10:01 Horowitz: We live in Orange County, which is south of LA, in Dana Point, which is just south of Laguna Beach—

01:10:11 Q: Oh, how nice.

01:10:11 Horowitz: —and north of San Clemente, and San Juan Capistrano, and so we don't have the traffic but we have the good weather. And we can still drive to LA, which we probably do one weekend a month; my son and my mother are both in LA. So it is a different culture, but I thought I'd never learn to relax and you learn pretty quickly there.

01:10:38 Q: Oh, I do have one more question. Do you have a question, hon?

01:10:40 Videographer: No, no.

01:10:41 Q: I do have one more question, which is that Katherine said that when she first talked to you about this project you didn't think—you know, you weren't particularly into it, you didn't particularly see its value, and then you read a book and had an aha moment. What was that book, and what changed your mind about the oral history project?

01:11:04 Horowitz: Well, originally, I thought that the emphasis was primarily going to be about the riots at Columbia and I figured, well, I have no input about that. You know, I can't tell a story about that, so—and I told you my bias is toward future and not history. Um, I read a book by Judith Miller, and it's relatively recent, in the last couple of years—I don't remember the name, it may have been *Story Line*—and it did speak about her time in New York, her time at Barnard, and also her subsequent career was as a news reporter for the *New York Times*, so probably the bulk of it was about—about specific issues that happened to her as a journalist. But certainly reading the parts about Barnard and about growing up in New York, I realized, Oh, well, it actually is interesting to hear what happened to somebody else, and you can relate to it, even if you're not on the same—on the SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] platform.

01:12:29 Q: Well, I'm glad that you changed your mind because this is a very valuable interview.

01:12:34 Horowitz: Thank you.

01:12:35 Q: And thank you so much. And let's turn the mic off.

*end of interview*

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