

IF WOMEN RULED THE WORLD

A Washington Dinner Party

The program materials are designed to identify the important issues and to facilitate further discussion and research for teachers and students. The materials include quotes from the program, a list of suggested discussion topics with bibliographical references, and full-length biographies of the dinner guests.

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PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS

The following quotes from the program are organized based on the chronology of the dinner conversation: Progress (how changing gender roles and relations are changing the world); Problems (the obstacles to further advancement); Prospects (the outlook for gender equity).

PART I. PROGRESS: CHANGING THE WORLD

"We know something about power and abuse of power because we have usually been the victims of the abuse of power in disproportionate numbers." **Louise Arbour, Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunals who served the first indictment ever against a sitting president, Slobodan Milosevich**

"Traditionally women within a family had to be able to, to understand all the little nuances that were going on in their family relationship to try and prevent rivalries and to try and prevent discord within sometimes quite a large extended family." **Jane Goodall, primatologist**

"Society at large is less hierarchical. We are more egalitarian, it's part of the democratic impulse." **Kim Campbell, former prime minister of Canada**

"My Lai and a lot of other related sorts of experiences in Vietnam helped teach us the importance of people understanding, soldiers understanding, that they are individually accountable for their actions, that what they do must be legal. They must follow lawful orders, and they must not follow unlawful orders and they need to know the difference." **General Claudia Kennedy**

"We're becoming a less judgmental society." **Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison**

"I delegate. I think people respond better to positive reinforcement than to negative reinforcement, to fear." **Mary Matalin, political consultant**

PART II. PROBLEMS: THE PRICE OF EMPOWERMENT

"There is still a feeling of frustration among women." **Elaina Richardson, editor-in-chief of Elle magazine**

"There's a battle of power, and that's kind of what this is, you know, and they feel threatened sometimes." **Francesca DiMeglio, college student**

"Is Claudia Kennedy a token? Some people might tell you I am." **General Claudia Kennedy**

"In spite of all the rhetoric about men, fathers, husbands helping in the home, they aren't helping in the home. They're helping in a token way." **Kim Chernin, author**

"We know we have a national childcare crisis, we know we have real problems to work out about where the children go when they get out of school." **Elaina Richardson, editor-in-chief of Elle magazine**

"Women who are professional and feminist and progressive are increasingly torn in two by these different pulls on their lives and their desires. One takes them out into the world. But one brings them back to the home because we are seeing often that there is a cost when the woman goes outside of the home." Chitra Divakaruni, novelist

"We have a very fragile generation of young women." **Elaina Richardson, editor-in-chief of Elle magazine**

"Why is that, if women have gained so much, why are our daughters plagued with this concern about their appearance? If we've made such strides, why is it that our young people in college are so concerned that they may not be able to have a career, and have a family?" **Ruth Simmons, president of Smith College**

"While we have prepared the ground for women, socially, legally, and politically, we have absolutely not formulated a psychology of the difficulty for women of taking this step. In fact, we have to do it, overcoming... a covert and sometimes absolutely explicit message you don't belong in public, if you get out there you're going to make a fool of yourself, because you are inferior and inadequate and less than a man." **Kim Chernin, author**

PART III. PROSPECTS FOR FULL GENDER EQUITY

"What this job has done for me is given me permission finally to say, I do measure up. I am good at what I do. I am smart. I am talented. I am creative. That's, that's a lot for a human being to have." **Ruth Simmons, president of Smith College**

"We ARE at a stage now where women no longer feel embarrassed about connecting with other women and supporting other women. What women do now IS first rate and to be associated with women is no longer to be associated with the second string." **Kim Campbell, former prime minister of Canada**

"In today's world, for the first time, females are able to form bonds with each other and communicate with each other and support each other to, in a sense, tear down male patriarchy." **Richard Wrangham, anthropologist**

"And I see the younger generation coming back, they want to have both. They want to be a woman, be a mother, and be a daughter, and also be a wife, and also be a professionally successful woman. And I've felt with the internet technology today, and that's what I've felt is so amazing that the younger generation has so quickly latched on to it. We've got our information, we do our research, we publish our work, we communicate with our community, and in a way we bring the village, the community we used to have, you know, many years ago, back in a cyber world." **Ling Chai, Chinese dissident**

DISCUSSION TOPICS/REFERENCES

The below suggested Discussion Topics are for high-school and college-level teachers and students and were formulated only in connection with the topics raised in "If Women Ruled the World." The References are selective and reflect the core background documents that helped to shape the program.

If the mission of "If Women Ruled the World" is, in the words of the host Kim Campbell, "to come to grips with our past, with who we had been, and who we had become, and what difference we were making in the world... if we were finally to achieve true equity and empowerment for the first time in recorded history," then the below Discussion Topics and References are designed to assist this process.

Please note that the Discussion Topics and References are currently being expanded in collaboration with the Women & Politics Institute of American University and that we welcome your feedback.

DISCUSSION TOPICS

Lessons for Leadership

Who did you most like and dislike in the program?

What are the leadership qualities of the dinner guests in the program (such as Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison, former prime minister Kim Campbell, Sheriff Frances Kaiser)?

What is it that makes these women successful? How does being women influence their approach to leadership?

What is significant about Margaret Thatcher as a leader? Why was she singled out by the dinner guests? What is Margaret Thatcher's place in history?

By virtue of being women leaders, are the dinner guests exceptions that prove the male leader rule? Is this changing?

Why is there still a glass ceiling after all the advancements made by women?

Why is it that men rule the world and not women?

Do women want to lead for the same reasons men do? Do women enjoy power in the same way that men do?

Did you identify with Kim Chernin's confession in the dinner of self-doubt and insecurity? Is self-doubt and insecurity good or bad?

Who are your role models and why? How do they inspire you?

Are women leaders making a difference? Are they changing leadership norms and attitudes?

What are the problems women leaders encounter that men don't? Is there a double standard for women leaders? Are both their feminine AND masculine traits held against them? If so, why is this?

Is there any truth to the discriminatory stereotypes about women? Are women more subjective and less objective than men? Are women more emotional than men? Are men more visionary? Are women more cautious and risk-averse? Are men more decisive? Is the male leadership style more impersonal, aloof, and authoritarian? Are women more suited to being managers and men more suited to being CEOs?

Lessons for Equity

Has there been a price to women's empowerment, regarding the family and community?

Is there true gender equity today? If not, why not? Is true gender equity realistic? What can be done to achieve it? Is controlling economic power the answer, as Chef Anne Rosenzweig says in the program? Is corporate reform necessary? Is the internet, as Ling Chai says at the end of the program, the answer for women to balance their multifarious roles?

How do you expect to balance work and family? Will you and your husband share family duties equally? How is your generation different from your parents' regarding gender relations and attitudes?

Is gender equity important? If so, why?

Do you feel any limitations or disadvantages as a young woman? As a young woman do you feel any special advantages?

What surprised you about the program?

What did you learn from the program? What conclusions would you draw from the program about the prospects for women leaders?

If women ruled the world, how would the world be different?

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DINNER GUEST BIOGRAPHIES

Note: The ages and titles given for the guests are at the time of the dinner in June 1999.

MADAME JUSTICE LOUISE ARBOUR, 52, Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda

Until her recent appointment in 1999 to the Supreme Court of Canada, Madam Justice Arbour served as Chief Prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunals (ICT) for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, on leave from the Court of Appeal for Ontario, Canada. As Chief Prosecutor, Justice Arbour served the first indictment ever against a sitting president, Slobodan Milosevich, for war crimes.

Immediately prior to her appointment as ICT Prosecutor, she had presided an inquiry into certain events at the prison for women in Kingston, Ontario, and made recommendations to the Solicitor-General of Canada with respect to the operations of the Correctional Service of Canada.

Justice Arbour was appointed to the Court of Appeal for Ontario after having been a trial judge at the High Court of Justice, Supreme Court of Ontario since 1987. Prior to that, Justice Arbour was an Associate Professor and Associate Dean at Osgoode Hall Law School of York University. Earlier in her career, she was a research officer with the Federal Law Reform Commission. She was a law clerk for Justice Louise-Philippe Pigeon of the Supreme Court of Canada.

Justice Arbour was educated in Quebec. She received a B.A. from College Regina Assumpta in 1967, and LL.L from the Faculty of Law at the University of Montreal in 1970. She was called to the Quebec Bar in 1971, and the Ontario Bar in 1977. She received a Doctorate of Laws (Honoris causa) from York University in 1995, and she received the University Medal from the University of Montreal the same year. In 1997 she received a Doctorate of Laws (Honoris causa) from the University of Ottawa. She was the 1998 recipient of the G. Martin Award. In February 1999 she received a Honorary Doctorate from the Law Society of Upper Canada.

She taught courses in criminal law, criminal procedure, evidence and droit civil at both the undergraduate and graduate levels.

Throughout her academic and judicial career, Justice Arbour has published extensively, in both French and English, in the area of criminal procedure, criminal law, human rights, civil liberties, and gender issues. She has done editorial work for the Criminal Reports, the Canadian Rights Reporter, the Osgoode Hall Law Journal, and La Revue Generale de Droit. She has given numerous conferences and presentations throughout Canada. She has also spoken to the National Association of Women Judges in Seattle, USA, to the Canadian Institute for Advances Legal Studies in Cambridge, UK, and delivered the keynote address to the General Council of the Bar in Durban, South Africa, in 1991, on the topic of the Legitimacy of the Judiciary in Constitutional Adjudication. As well, Justice Arbour addressed the Sixth Annual Conference of Commonwealth Chief Justices, in Ottawa in September 1995 on The Right to Silence in a Free and Democratic Society.

Until her appointment to the Bench, she was Vice President of the Canadian Liberties Association.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE KIM CAMPBELL, 52, former Prime Minister of Canada and currently Chair of Harvard University's Council of Women World Leaders

Kim Campbell served in 1993 as Canada's nineteenth and only female prime minister. Previous cabinet portfolios include: Minister of State for Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the first female Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada (serving on the war cabinet during the Gulf War), and the first female Minister of National Defense and Veteran's Affairs in Canada or any NATO country. International meetings include the Commonwealth, NATO, and The United Nations. Kim Campbell is one of only two women to have participated in the G-7 summit.

On a humid day in June, 1993, in a crowded Ottawa civic centre, Canadians watched as Kim Campbell won her bid for her party's leadership. She also became the first woman to be named Prime Minister of Canada.

Like other women in Canadian politics she honed her skills at the municipal and provincial levels first, before seeking election to Parliament in 1988. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney immediately appointed her to a junior--then a senior--cabinet portfolio. As Canada's first female Justice Minister and Attorney General she tabled important and controversial changes to federal rape shield laws and firearms control in the House of Commons.

Her arrival on Ottawa's political stage transfixed the nation's media for a time. Her leadership win sparked renewed discussion of the role of the "gender gap" in voter choice and inspired an avalanche of news coverage devoted to the topic of women in Canadian politics.

Her maiden speech as Prime Minister in the House of Commons took place on June 16, 1993. Only five months later, the Conservative party she led experienced a crushing defeat at the polls, retaining only two seats in the House of Commons.

In that election, 53 of the House of Commons' 295 seats were won by female candidates, a significant increase over previous parliaments, though women still only comprise 18 per cent of the legislature.

When Agnes Macphail became the first woman to take a seat in the House of Commons in 1922, Canadian women had only enjoyed the right to vote and to be elected for a few short years. It was 1929 before a committee of the British Privy Council declared women "persons" under the law and allowed them to be appointed to the Canadian Senate. It would be several decades later that Ellen Fairclough joined the Diefenbaker cabinet as Canada's first female cabinet Minister.

Kim Campbell called her life in Ottawa "unspeakably lonely and difficult" and candidly shared the challenges of leadership and a life in politics. She joins a long line of pioneering women who have blazed new trails for women in Canada's political landscape.

Currently Ms. Campbell chairs Harvard University's Council of Women World Leaders, comprising women who have served as either president or prime minister of their countries.

Ms. Campbell is a Senior Fellow at The School of Public Policy and Social Research at UCLA, a Senior Fellow of The Gorbachev Foundation of North America, and an Honourary Fellow of the London School of Economics and Political Science, and she serves as a member of the Visiting Committee of The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard.

Ms. Campbell is the author of the number one best-selling political memoir in Canada, *Time & Chance*, in 1996. She is also the co-author of a new Opera entitled Noah's Arc. A student of both the visual and performing arts, Kim Campbell paints in oils and plays the cello and piano.

LING CHAI, 33, Commander-in-Chief at Tiananmen Square in 1989 and President and CEO of Jenzabar.com

Adapted from an article in the Harvard Business School Bulletin

"Freedom. Democracy." For five days, as Ling Chai lay in the suffocating darkness of a nailed-shut crate, these words sustained her more than her meager ration of bread and water ever could. Hidden in the hold of a leaky boat, waiting to make a run to the safety of Hong Kong, Ms. Chai dared to dream that her long ordeal might be over. It had begun nearly a year earlier, in 1989, when Chai, a 23-year-old Beijing University student, was elected "chief commander" by the Tiananmen Square dissidents because of her leadership skills and electrifying speeches. After the peaceful pro-democracy movement was crushed by the Chinese army, Chai had to flee her homeland to escape the authorities who relentlessly sought her arrest and imprisonment.

For the next ten months, often alone, frequently in disguise, Chai, aided by supporters, traveled all over China, learning local dialects and posing variously as a rice farmer, laborer, and maid. Several times, she was nearly captured. But she finally made good her escape to Hong Kong and from there flew to France, eventually settling in the United States.

"When I first arrived in America," the petite, soft-spoken Chai recalls, "I thought, 'God, you have given me freedom, but I've had to leave behind my family, friends, and home.'" Undaunted, she enrolled at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School, where she earned a master's degree, and later worked as a consultant for three years at Bain. She matriculated at the Harvard Business School, she explains, to better serve her country. "China's democracy and free-market economy will require people with a solid understanding of capital markets, advanced management skills, and experience in global competition," she says. After developing her skills and establishing a track record of building and managing successful enterprises in the West, Chai hopes a more favorable political climate will allow her to return home.

Chai's leadership and organizational abilities were honed early. When she was ten, her mother and father, both military doctors, put her in charge of her two younger siblings and a grandmother when the parents were suddenly reassigned for six months to an earthquake-relief mission. At sixteen, she was named one of the two hundred most outstanding students in China. Later, at prestigious Beijing University, where she studied child psychology, she was elected president of the student government. And since Tiananmen, she has twice been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize and remains a leading spokesperson for China's pro-democracy movement.

With what she views as an increasingly repressive regime still in control in China, Chai says, "It's important for American business to support--quietly but persistently--the push for human rights and the rule of law in China. Without those concepts in place, the country's economy will never develop properly." She adds that "the most-respected American companies in China are the ones that adhere to those principles and maintain enlightened business and employee practices and

policies. Companies that 'adapt' to Chinese practices such as bribery and favoritism are themselves doomed to suffer from those injustices."

KIM CHERNIN, 58, Psychoanalyst and Best-Selling Author

Kim Chernin is a psychoanalyst in private practice in Berkeley, California and the author of the classic volumes, *The Hungry Self: Women, Eating, and Identity*, *Reinventing Eve: Modern Woman in Search of Herself*, and, most recently, *The Woman Who Gave Birth to Her Mother: Tales of Transformation in Women's Lives*, as well as ten other books, including poetry, a memoir, fiction, and non-fiction. A leading expert on eating disorders and the psychological development of women, Chernin's themes include mothers and daughters, Jewish identity, and psychoanalysis.

From the Jewish American Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical and Critical Source-book, Ed. Ann R. Shapiro

Kim Chernin's works span a number of different genres: memoir, fiction, poetry, psychological study, and a psychosociological/religious study of women's search for self. In writing nonfiction, she moves between ideas and compelling narrative accounts, her own and her clients', weaving together intellectual discovery with personal stories. This form, a hallmark of Chernin's literary style, works as an extension of her profoundly feminist perspective in which "the personal" carries great political and cultural importance.

The impact of her sister Nina's death, and other significant losses suffered by her extended family, have prompted Kim to write analytically and imaginatively about women's experience with different kinds of emptiness. In her studies of women's identity and body image, Chernin explores their psychological responses to physical hunger and cravings, connecting that hunger to women's emotional and spiritual emptiness, unnourished by patriarchal traditions. She contends that understanding women's hunger--accepting it as a natural, healthy appetite for more than the scanty life portion women have been fed--can lead to discovery and satisfaction with the forbidden fruit of female knowledge and power. Women lovingly preparing food for (or experiencing interpersonal intensity as they eat with) other women recurs, motif-like, in several books and recurs imaginatively in her poetry.

In Chernin's view, the act of eating has become a uniquely meaningful source of memory for women unconsciously seeking union with the original, mother-nourished, infant-self. Seeing food in this way brings Chernin to believe that the modern daughter's struggles with her biological mother can manifest themselves in the daughter's overwhelming appetite: Food can represent to us a symbolic "return" to the powerful mother we once saw, the model with whom we once identified as female and from whom we once hoped to draw our own potential. With *Reinventing Eve*, Kim Chernin explores her understanding that, when biblical Eve compulsively bites what has been forbidden, she is hungering for "the power of the Mother Goddess... a deity who embodies the possibilities of female self-development... that female creative power all mention of which has been left out of the Genesis story." Thus, Chernin uses psychological insight to cast Eve as our courageous, feminist progenitor in her extended revision of this Old Testament story.

ELEANOR CLIFT, 58, Contributing Editor, Newsweek Magazine

Eleanor Clift became a contributing editor to *Newsweek* in September 1994. She writes on the White House, Washington, women in politics and other issues. She recently published a book, *War Without Bloodshed: The Art of Politics* (Scribner, June 1996) that she co-authored with her husband, Tom Brazaitis, the Washington bureau chief for the (Cleveland) *Plain Dealer*. The book takes its title from Chairman Mao, as quoted by Speaker Newt Gingrich, one of eight key political figures profiled.

Formerly *Newsweek's* White House correspondent, Clift also served as congressional and political correspondent for six years. She was a key member of the magazine's 1992 election team and followed the campaign of Bill Clinton from the start. In June of 1992 she was named deputy Washington bureau chief.

As a reporter in *Newsweek's* Atlanta Bureau, Clift covered Jimmy Carter's bid for the presidency. She followed Carter to Washington to become *Newsweek's* White House correspondent, a position she held until 1985. Clift began her career as a secretary to *Newsweek's* National Affairs Editor in New York. She was one of the first women at the magazine to move from secretary to reporter.

Clift left *Newsweek* briefly in 1985 to serve as White House correspondent for *The Los Angeles Times*. She returned to *Newsweek* the following year to cover the Iran-Contra scandal.

Clift is a regular guest on the syndicated talk show "The McLaughlin Group," and appears on many national television shows, including CNN's "Crossfire," "Inside Politics," "CNN & Co." and ABC-TV's "Nightline" and BBC-TV. She is also on the board of the International Women's Media Foundation. *Madam President: Shattering the Glass Ceiling*, a book she coauthored with husband Tom Brazaitis about women in politics and their prospects for winning the presidency, was published by Scribner in 2000.

CHITRA BANERJEE DIVAKARUNI, 42, Novelist

Chitra Banerjee Divakaruni is an award-winning author and poet and a commentator for NPR's "All Things Considered" and for BBC's "Outlook." She was born in India in 1957 and moved to the U.S. from Calcutta at the age of nineteen. She received a Master's degree in English from Wright State University in Dayton, Ohio, and a Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley. In 1991, she cofounded MAITRI, the first hotline for South Asian women on the west coast. She currently lives in Houston with her husband and two children, where she teaches Creative Writing at the University of Houston and serves on the board of DIA, a service for South Asian women in abusive relationships.

Much of Divakaruni's work is partially autobiographical. Not only are most of her stories set in the Bay Area of California, where she taught Creative Writing at Foothill College, but she also deals with the immigrant experience. Her book, *Arranged Marriage* (Doubleday, 1995), is a collection of short stories about immigrant brides caught between two worlds. They are "both liberated and trapped by cultural changes" and are struggling to carve out identities of their own.

In *The Mistress of Spices* (Doubleday, 1997), the character Tilo provides spices not only for cooking but also for the homesickness and alienation that the Indian immigrants in her shop experience. "I wrote it in a spirit of play, collapsing the divisions between the realistic world of

twentieth century America and the timeless one of myth and magic in my attempt to create a modern fable" ("Dissolving" 2). The novel follows Tilo, a magical figure who runs a grocery store and uses spices to help the customers overcome difficulties. In the process, she develops dilemmas of her own when she falls in love with a non-Indian. This creates great conflicts, as she has to choose whether to serve her people or to follow the path leading to her own happiness. Tilo has to decide which parts of her heritage she will keep and which parts she will chose to abandon. The novel is currently being made into a movie.

Divakaruni's latest novel is entitled *Sister of My Heart* (Doubleday, 1999). This book is about how the lives of two women are changed by marriage, as one woman comes to California, and the other stays behind in India.

HELEN FISHER, 53, Anthropologist

Helen Fisher is a member of the Center for Human Evolutionary Studies and Research Associate in the Department of Anthropology at Rutgers University. From 1984 to 1994 she was Research Associate in the Department of Anthropology at The American Museum of Natural History. She received her PhD in Physical Anthropology at the University of Colorado with a dissertation on the evolution of human female sexuality and the origin of the nuclear family. Her current book, *The First Sex: The Natural Talents of Women and How They are Changing the World*, was published by Random House. It discusses gender differences in the brain and behavior and the impact of women on 21st century business, sex, and family life. She is also doing a research project on the brain physiology of romantic attraction with colleagues at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine and SUNY Stony Brook.

Dr. Fisher's book, *Anatomy of Love: The Natural History of Monogamy, Adultery, and Divorce*, was published by W. W. Norton in 1992 and Fawcett paperbacks in 1994. The book examined divorce in 62 societies, adultery in 42 cultures, and patterns of monogamy and desertion in birds and mammals to offer a theory for the evolution of romantic love and the future of human family life. It was a selection of the Book-of-the-Month Club and the Quality Paperback Book club, and chosen as a "Notable Book" of 1992 and 1994 by The New York Times Book Review. It has eighteen foreign language editions. Dr. Fisher was the host of a four-part TV series, *Anatomy of Love*, based on the book, which aired on Turner Broadcasting Systems in February 1995. Dr. Fisher is also the author of *The Sex Contract: The Evolution of Human Behavior*, published by William Morrow in 1982 and by Quill in 1983.

Dr. Fisher has been on the national lecture circuit since 1983 discussing the evolution of human sexuality, marriage and divorce, gender differences in the brain and behavior, and the future of men, women, business, sex, and family life. She has lectured at The American Museum of Natural History, The Smithsonian Institution, The Peabody Museum at Yale, The Chautauqua Institution, University of Michigan, Cornell University, The C.G. Jung Institute of Chicago, Planned Parenthood of NYC, The Women's Health Forum of NYC, U.S. Department of Agriculture, The American Menopause Foundation, and The Brookings Institution, as well as at academic conferences in the

U.S., Canada, and Europe. During 1994-95, she lectured on college campuses as a Visiting Scholar of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

Her publications include articles in *The Journal of NIH Research*, *The American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, *Human Nature*, *The New York Times Book Review*, *Psychology Today*, *Natural History*, *New Woman*, *USA Weekend*, *Health*, *The Sciences: Journal of The New York Academy of Sciences*, and in books published by Smithsonian Press, Greenwood Press, and Columbia University Press.

Since 1983 Dr. Fisher has served as an anthropological commentator and consultant for businesses and the media. Her contracts include those with NBC's Today Show, WNET TV (New York), WETA TV (Washington, D.C.), British Broadcasting Company, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Turner Broadcasting Systems, Reader's Digest, and Time-Life books. For her work in communicating anthropology to the lay public, Dr. Fisher received the American Anthropological Association's Distinguished Service Award, in 1985.

BETTY FRIEDAN, 78, Social Reformer and Feminist Pioneer

Betty Friedan largely began the late-twentieth-century women's rights movement in the United States. Among her many accomplishments, Friedan was the author of *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963 and founded the National Organization for Women in 1966. Betty Naomi Goldstein was born in Peoria, Illinois, on February 4, 1921, one year after women won the right to vote. The daughter of a Russian Jewish immigrant jeweler and a former newspaperwoman, Harry and Miriam Horowitz Goldstein.

Encouraged by her mother to enter the journalism profession, Betty first began writing in junior high for her school newspaper.

At seventeen, she entered Smith College in Massachusetts, graduating with honors in 1942 with a degree in psychology, and eventually moved to New York City in 1944 to work as a reporter on a workers' newspaper.

The year that Betty arrived in New York, America had just entered World War II, and with men off at war, there were ample job opportunities in the city for women. Betty covered strikes and labor disputes for the workers' press in New York and learned about discrimination in the workplace--against both male and female workers. Women were paid a fraction of what men earned to do the same job, and when men returned from the war, women were fired without warning or compensation. In addition, women were being disregarded by their own labor unions.

While writing for the workers' press, Betty became politically active in New York, attending rallies to end the war and helping to arrange illegal abortions for women she met in college and at work. In 1947 she met Carl Friedan, an actor returning from the Soldier Show Company in Europe. He was planning to start a summer theater in New Jersey. The two married and had their first son, Daniel, shortly thereafter.

Friedan continued to report for the workers' press until 1949, when she became pregnant with her second son, Jonathan. When she asked for a second maternity leave (temporary absence from work for new mothers), the small newspaper fired her, something that occurred routinely to

pregnant women at the time, making it virtually impossible for women to have both careers and families. As a result, Friedan left her career to become a full-time wife and mother. The family soon moved to the suburbs, where a third child, Emily, was born.

Her life as a homemaker led Friedan to question the prevailing idea that women should be completely satisfied with their roles as wives and mothers and that somehow it was abnormal to want a career or an identity separate from the family. After spending nearly a decade living the home life that society promised would satisfy every woman, Friedan felt incomplete. Something was missing from her life, and in a questionnaire that she sent to her fellow Smith graduates she asked if they felt the same. Most of her classmates, who had also given up their careers to become full-time wives and mothers, responded that they too felt incomplete, some even deeply depressed. Told that they should be wholly satisfied living their lives for their husbands and children, Friedan and her classmates felt guilty for wanting more out of life.

Friedan organized the data from her questionnaire into an article and submitted it to several national women's magazines. Unable to find any magazine willing to publish it, Friedan spent the next five years, while her children were at school, slowly developing her main idea into a book. She conducted interviews with women across the nation and gathered information on everything from the history of women's struggle for voting rights in America to the rate at which college graduates had children during the 1940s and 1950s. Friedan found that the Smith graduates were not alone, and she came up with the label, "the feminine mystique," to describe the silent suffering that millions of women were experiencing at that time. When it was finally published in 1963, *The Feminine Mystique* was only released in a few thousand copies. Friedan's agent and publishers felt that most men and women would feel threatened by the book's main idea. Nonetheless, by 1966 more than 3 million copies were sold.

In her book, Friedan showed that suburban housewives from California to Maine were suffering from a sense of emptiness. Though many were living the female American Dream by going to college and raising a family, they felt incomplete and even obsolete, or used up, once their children were grown. Friedan maintained that women's unhappiness stemmed from society, which "does not permit women to accept or gratify their basic need to grow and fulfill their potentialities as human beings." She advocated a "new life plan" that would allow women to have both families and careers and would give them the respect and compensation they deserved for being full-time wives and mothers.

As Friedan toured the country advocating her ideas, she began to realize that women needed a national organization to promote their interests. Inspired by the civil rights movement, which had just succeeded in getting the Civil Rights Act of 1964 passed, she met with women in Washington, D.C., to discuss starting "an NAACP for women" (Friedan, *It Changed My Life*, p. 61). At the Washington Hilton Hotel in June 1966, Friedan and several others, including Kay Clarenbach of the Women's Bureau, Dorothy Haener of the United Auto Workers union, and Muriel Fox, a top public relations expert, wrote on a napkin the first major outline of what became the women's movement. They set out to take the actions needed to bring women into the mainstream of American society "now" and to obtain full equality for women, in fully equal partnership with men.

That brief purpose became the cornerstone of the National Organization for Women (NOW), which was officially launched a few months later on October 29, 1966.

Friedan became NOW's first president, a post she held through 1970. Under Friedan's presidency, NOW concentrated on enacting Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed discrimination on the basis of race or sex. This provision, though passed in 1964, was never enforced by the Justice and Labor Departments and was scoffed at by employers, who continued to advertise "men only" job opportunities. Friedan made it NOW's mission to see Title VII enforced and to get women equal pay for equal work, since they were paid sixty cents for every dollar men earned. She also directed activities for legalizing abortion and making birth control widely available. In 1970 Friedan led a march of 20,000 women through Washington, D.C., to promote these reforms.

From 1970 to 1973, as the women's movement reached its peak, Friedan sought to include the women who were not yet fully on board, namely the doubtful homemakers. Defining the women's movement as a human rights movement, Friedan argued that the women's movement was not a threat to motherhood and that men and women both profited from female equality: "Some worry that we'll lose our femininity and our men if we get equality. Since femininity is being a woman and feeling good about it, clearly the better you feel about being yourself as a person, the better you feel about being a woman. And, it seems to me, the better you are able to love a man."

In 1970, as "female chauvinism" was coming to the fore in the movement, Friedan resigned the presidency of NOW to concentrate on political reform (promoting the Equal Rights Amendment), teaching, and writing. Friedan felt women's liberation should be about choices and equality of opportunity and should include all who believed in those ideals. She defined feminism as a woman's right to "move in society with all the privileges and opportunities and responsibilities that are their human and American right. This does not mean class warfare against men, nor does it mean the elimination of children." Friedan thought that some leaders were tending toward an anti-motherhood and anti-man position, and she felt it could jeopardize the movement.

In more recent years, she has been a Visiting Distinguished Professor at the University of Southern California, New York University, George Mason University, Mt. Vernon College and Florida International University and adjunct Scholar at the Wilson International Center for Scholars at the Smithsonian. Her book, *The Fountain of Age*, published in 1993 by Simon & Schuster, is based on 10 years of research on changing sex roles and the aging process. Her latest book, *Beyond Gender: The New Politics of Work and Family*, was published in 1997 by The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Currently Betty Friedan is Distinguished Visiting Professor at Cornell University, directing a program on the New Paradigm: Women, Men, Work, Family, and Public Policy, a continuation of a symposia sponsored by the Council of Presidents of Major National Women's Organizations. This program is based in Washington, D.C. and is held at the American Enterprise Institute. The work is being supported by the Ford Foundation.

SENATOR KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON, 55, Republican Senator of Texas

Kay Bailey Hutchison, Republican of Texas, became the first woman to represent her state in the U.S. Senate with her election in 1993. She was elected to a second full term in 2000 with the largest

number of votes ever garnered in Texas, more than 4 million. With her election as Vice Chairman of the Senate Republican Conference, she became one of the top five leaders of Senate Republicans in the 107th Congress.

Senator Hutchison has emerged as one of the Senate's leading voices on foreign policy and national security issues. She is a U.S. delegate to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, also known as the Helsinki Commission.

As a member of the Defense Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, Senator Hutchison plays a vital role in shaping America's defense policies. She also serves as Ranking Republican on the Military Republican on the Commerce Committee's Subcommittee on Aviation, where she played a major role in drafting the landmark airline security bill passed by Congress after the September 11 terrorist attacks.

In June 2001, the Senator was appointed to the Veterans' Affairs Committee, a position from which she veterans can receive treatment, and she won funding for groundbreaking Gulf War Syndrome research.

Senator Hutchison was the chief Senate sponsor of the marriage tax penalty relief bill, a key provision of the tax reform package signed into law in 2001. She is the author of the Homemaker IRA legislation, which significantly expanded retirement opportunities for stay-at-home spouses, and she wrote and passed the federal anti-stalking statute, which makes stalking across state lines a crime.

As America and its allies began their fight against terrorism and the Taliban, Senator Hutchison passed legislation that ensures humanitarian aid to Afghanistan be made available to the women and children for health care and education.

A major domestic education bill signed into law in early 2002 includes provisions written by the Senator to help recruit teachers from mid-career professionals and retirees, encourage school "report cards" for parents, and remove barriers to local school districts that wish to offer single-sex schools and classrooms.

The Senator's opinion pieces on tax policy, transportation, foreign policy and national security issues have been published in *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, and *London's Financial Times*, as well as every Texas daily newspaper.

Senator Hutchison grew up in La Marque, Texas, and graduated from the University of Texas and UT Law School. She was twice elected to the Texas House of Representatives. In 1990, she was elected Texas State Treasurer, where she trimmed her agency's budget more than any other state official while increasing returns on Texas' investments to an historic \$1 billion annually. She spearheaded the successful fight against a state income tax and to put a cap on the state debt.

The Senator's heritage in Texas is historic. Thomas Rusk of Nacogdoches was the first Texan to serve in this U.S. Senate seat. He and the Senator's great-great-grandfather, Charles S. Taylor, were friends and both signed the Texas Declaration of Independence. The Senator lives in Dallas with her husband, Ray, an attorney, and their daughter, Bailey, and son, Houston.

FRANCES A. KAISER, 57, Sheriff of Kerr County, Texas

Adapted from an article by Kinky Friedman, "Kaiser on a Roll," in Texas Monthly, December 1996.

In late December 1994 a local man Frances knew barricaded himself in a building in downtown Kerrville and threatened to kill himself and anybody who tried to stop him. Against all conventional procedure, she entered the building by herself. The man was as taut as piano wire, his face and features locked in a wild-eyed, shivering rictus of terror. With both hands he maintained a shooter's death grip on a .357 Magnum. Frances walked up to the man. "Darlin'," she said. "I think you need a hug." In the long, legendary, and sometimes lurid annals of law enforcement, this may well be the only case on record of a man turning over his gun to a Texas sheriff and receiving, in return, a hug.

Six feet tall in cowboy boots and wearing her trademark sheriff's star earrings, Frances Kaiser is one of the few female sheriffs in the state of Texas. She was raised near Medina, the eldest of ten children born to Buddy and Nora Hubble, and helped take care of her five sisters and four brothers in addition to working on the farm with her father. Earl Buckelew, a long-time neighbor and the unofficial mayor of Medina (who, when asked about his cholesterol, said, "Hell, when we were growin' up we didn't even know we had blood") remembers her well as a child: "Wearin' those damn ole overalls, hair cut short--you'd see her all the time workin' the fields with her dad, bailin' hay, milkin' cows, and drivin' that big ole tractor. Sometimes she'd sneak onto my place to go fishin', but I didn't mind, of course. I figured any ten-year-old girl who drives a tractor can do just about anything she wants."

And she did. In the great barefoot tomboy tradition of Amelia Earhart, Emily Dickinson, and Scout in *To Kill A Mockingbird*, Frances grew up strong, stubborn, and compassionate, with an occasional righteous temper that earned her the nickname Fire Eyes. Along the way, she met one of those Center Point boys, a tall, handsome marine named Richard Kaiser. She married him, had three children (two sons and one daughter), drove a school bus, worked as a teacher's aide, and finally, strapping on a .357 Smith and Wesson, took to the back roads of Kerr County as its first woman patrol deputy.

When Frances thought the time had come to run for sheriff herself, her father was one of the first people she told. He didn't quite give her his blessing, but he didn't stand in her way. "I've never thought a woman should have a job like sheriff," Buddy said, "but when I look around and see the way the damn men have screwed things up, maybe it's not such a bad idea."

But certain Kerrverts, comprising a good ol' boy network carbon-dated back to the australopithecine times, did not share Buddy's cautious encouragement of his daughter's political ambitions. Friends told Richard Kaiser, "You want your wife runnin' around at night? How you gonna put up with it?" And some local officials in Kerrville seemed even less enlightened. "She's just a damned woman," said a former county commissioner I last observed loading a U-Haul. "She doesn't know what she's talkin' about."

But there has never been a shortage of bubbas in this world and even after the biblical miracle had occurred and Frances Kaiser was elected sheriff, things didn't get much easier. "If you were a man," threatened a courthouse politician shaking with rage, "I'd have handled things differently." "How would you have handled them?" Frances asked coolly. The man sputtered,

stammered, and eventually drove off in a vintage 1937 Snitmobile. And then there was the county court commissioner who, when Frances' name came up for a raise, told her, "You don't need a raise. Your husband makes a good salary."

Frances admits her up-front style may sometimes ruffle feathers. In proving themselves in public life, she believes, women must be humble--a rather novel idea that other politicians, both men and women, might consider. "There's a way to do it," she says, "and I don't think it's to go in like gangbusters: 'By God, I'm a woman and you're damn well going to accept me.' I think it's: 'Here I am. I think I can do the job. Give me the chance.'"

Her fellow Kerrverts, of course, have given her that chance, and so far she has survived and thrived in that office for more than eight years, which is about six years longer than Suzanne Somers' television series *She's the Sheriff* lasted (but, unfortunately, a somewhat shorter life span than Suzanne Somers' *Thighmaster* commercials). Nonetheless, in that time the lady sheriff in the good ol' boy town has solved more cases and collared more bad guys than anybody can remember: a double murder suicide in which the bodies were discovered in a torched house, a triple murder featuring an elderly woman beaten to death in a wheelchair, the decapitation of a pet buffalo at a local wildlife preserve (the culprit got forty years and will eventually be hopping on a pogo stick in hell for all eternity). Not to be outdone, according to the local papers, there was the guy who O. J.'d his wife by cutting her up into fajita-size pieces. Frances has also made one of the biggest drug busts in the history of the Hill Country and worked closely with enough child abuse, substance abuse, and domestic violence cases to make you wonder why anybody would want to be sheriff in the first place.

Aside from the normal risks and stresses of the job, on May 19, 1993, the sheriff was operated on for ovarian cancer, a circumstance that did not slow her down, although subsequent chemotherapy did force her to wear a wig to the sheriffs' convention in El Paso later that year. Just as almost none of her constituents were aware of the cancer, almost none of her colleagues were aware of the wig. When the hairpiece began to irritate her while on a hotel elevator, she calmly reached in her purse and replaced it with a homemade turban, thus prompting a fellow sheriff from East Texas to make one of the more unintentionally humorous understatement of the year. "Jesus Christ, Frances," he said. "Whatever have you done to your hair?"

Today the sheriff appears to have triumphed over both the cancer and the good ol' boy system, though it's always possible, of course, that the good ol' boys are only in remission. She has accomplished this feat by combining a large measure of strength with a large measure of compassion. "I can handle a drunk in a fight if I have to," she says. She also says, "I believe in second chances."

LIEUTENANT GENERAL CLAUDIA J. KENNEDY, 50, Three-Star General, U.S. Army

General Kennedy was nominated by *Vanity Fair* for their "Hall of Fame" (November 1997), "Because she is the army's first female three-star general and chief of intelligence. Because, as a member of the army's panel on sexual harassment, she helped conduct one of the largest studies ever done on the subject. Because she acknowledges that 'sexual harassment is a huge problem,' even while

insisting, 'We've made huge progress.' Because, after growing up in an army household, she joined the service in 1969, when her peers were protesting the Vietnam War, saying, 'When your country's at war, you help.' Because Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* taught her: 'If you want equality, you have to have equal responsibility. I saw men around me whose lives were affected by the draft and I thought, We're all part of this.' Because she is 50 and divorced and has decided not to get a face-lift: 'You lose the character in your face.' Because when she received her third star she thought of Mary Tyler Moore throwing her hat in the air, a signal of 'triumph--and joy.' Because a female captain told her in the ladies' room that day, 'No disrespect, ma'am, but--you go, girl!'"

Lieutenant General Claudia J. Kennedy was born in Frankfurt, Germany and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Philosophy from Southwestern at Memphis. In 1969, she joined the Army, when female soldiers belonged to the separate Women's Army Corps and women were not allowed to command male soldiers or advance beyond the grade of colonel.

Lieutenant General Kennedy has held a variety of command and staff positions throughout her career. Key assignments include: Commander, 3rd Operations Battalion, U.S. Army Field Station Augsburg, Germany; commander, San Antonio Recruiting Battalion, U.S. Army Recruiting Command; and Commander, 703rd Military Intelligence Brigade, Field Station Kunia, Hawaii. She was one of the first women in the Army to command male soldiers.

Kennedy was front-page news in 2000 when word leaked of her filing a sexual misconduct complaint against Major General Larry Smith, who had just been appointed the army's deputy inspector general, an appointment later withdrew.

Kennedy retired from the United States Army in June 2000, the highest-ranking female officer of her time. As Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, Kennedy oversaw policy and resources affecting 45,000 soldiers worldwide. Her career spanned thirty-one years, a time of monumental transformation for the Army.

She is the author of the recent memoir, *Generally Speaking: A Memoir by the First Woman Promoted to Three-Star General in the United States Army*.

Her advice to girls today: "Do not listen to others' evaluations of you—judge yourself. Study first, then go out to play."

Kennedy has said that women need to be taught to round up on their review of their own self worth. Early development predominantly by mothers determines self worth in women. The bottom line is that we are on the right track. If we do nothing, the sheer numbers of women in the work place will eventually place more women in senior leadership.

SANDRA DAY O'CONNOR, 69, U.S. Supreme Court Justice

You are preparing for your first case in front of the United States Supreme Court. As has often been true since she stopped being Chief Justice Rehnquist's "Arizona Twin," Justice Sandra Day O'Connor could be the swing vote in the case. What do you want to know?

You know the basics. After graduating from Stanford Law third in her class, she was unable to find private sector work because of her sex, leading her on a path to politics and public service. As a child, she was firing a .22 rifle, riding with cowboys on a 200,000 acre Arizona ranch, and

driving a truck... all by the age of eight. This same ruggedness was apparent when she resumed her duties on the bench ten days after breast cancer surgery in 1988.

But how do you get her vote? For starters, broad, sweeping arguments will not win her over. Forget Justices like John Marshall who are willing to reach beyond the boundaries of a case to set down far ranging visions of the Constitution, as Marshall did in *Marbury v. Madison*. O'Connor decides cases narrowly, based on their specific facts, without touching on issues unrelated to the resolution of the case. This tendency frustrated Justice Scalia when in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, O'Connor refused to join him in reconsidering *Roe v. Wade* because she felt the facts of the case did not call for reopening the issue. So when arguing for Justice O'Connor, you want to emphasize why the facts of the particular case call for the outcome you seek.

O'Connor has been an unwavering proponent of state autonomy. In arguing against federal laws that force states to conform to Congress' agenda, O'Connor has argued that the framers intended for the federal government to institute its regulations itself, not force the states to do it for them. O'Connor's support for state rights has been traced by many back to her experience in state government, as a member of the Arizona State Senate. From a normative viewpoint, O'Connor has noted that forcing Congress to execute its ideas itself, rather than forcing states to do so, makes the identity of the decision maker clear, thus serving the goal of political accountability.

Many Court watchers, particularly after their opinion in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* which reaffirmed the holding in *Roe v. Wade*, view Justices O'Connor, Souter and Kennedy as forming a centrist block on the Court. Certainly O'Connor has shown an increasing willingness to stray from her early predictably conservative record. In recent years, she has often been in the middle of a Court split down the ideological middle. Even when siding with the traditionally "conservative" wing of the Court, O'Connor has sometimes written narrower, more centrist concurrences that limit the scope of the Court's ruling.

Adapted from Time magazine, "25 Most Influential Americans," 1996

After a series of landmark decisions by O'Connor on everything from affirmative action to the death penalty, the American Bar Association Journal in 1993 called her "arguably the most influential woman official in the United States."

Her quiet influence became conspicuous four years ago in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, when the court ruled that it was all right for states to make abortion more expensive or difficult, but they could not outlaw it. "She prevented the court from doing what it looked for 10 years like it was going to do one day, which was overrule *Roe v. Wade*," says Stanford constitutional scholar Kathleen Sullivan. "We had three elections fought about that issue. And in the end, she voted to uphold *Roe*."

Since then O'Connor has become the swing vote on issues such as affirmative action, racial redistricting and the separation of church and state. So long as John Paul Stevens, David Souter, Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen Breyer form one bloc and William Rehnquist, Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas the other, she and Anthony Kennedy are the votes to watch. Which may help

explain her mail: she receives countless letters from schoolgirls, often including snapshots of them in black robes, saying they want to grow up to be a judge, just like her.

MARY OURISMAN, 53, Philanthropist and Fundraiser for the Arts

Mary Ourisman, a native of Mexia, Texas, is a graduate of the University of Texas at Austin. She launched her career as a painter and subsequently started her own interior design business in California. After serving as director of development for GOPAC, a political action committee, she later formed her own fundraising company.

Mrs. Ourisman currently serves as a member of the National Board of the Smithsonian Institution and is on the boards of directors for the Blair House Restoration Fund and the Tryall Fund in Jamaica. Mrs. Ourisman is also a trustee of the Washington Opera and was chair of the 1997 Opera Ball.

Mary Ourisman and her husband, Mandell J. Ourisman, chairman of Ourisman Automotive Enterprises, live in Washington, D.C.

ELAINA RICHARDSON, 37, Editor-in-Chief, Elle magazine

Elaina Richardson has been an editor and award-winning writer with more than ten years experience in the publishing business, both in the United States and in her native Great Britain. She was educated at the University of Edinburgh (MA, 1982) and St. Hilda's College, Oxford University (M.Litt, 1984), and has written and lectured extensively on her specialty, eighteenth-century English literature.

In December of 1984, she joined the nationally-acclaimed U.K. publication, *Stills* (a magazine devoted to film and television), as a writer and editor. At this time, she also became a contributor to BBC Radio 4's nightly news and culture show, *Kaleidoscope*.

At the end of 1986, Ms. Richardson moved to the U.S. where she worked as a freelance writer for several leading newspapers (including *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, and *The Washington Post*), magazines (*Seventeen*, *New Woman*, *New York*, *View*, and *Travel and Leisure*), and National Public Radio. In 1988, she joined the staff of *In Fashion* as Managing Editor, a post she held until the magazine was closed at the end of that year. From *In Fashion* she became a Senior Editor at Conde Nast's *Woman* magazine.

In 1989, Ms. Richardson went to work for the *New York Post* as a reporter/writer and also worked for Murdoch Magazine's special projects division. In January 1990, Ms. Richardson moved to Murdoch Magazine's recently-launched *Mirabella* magazine where she served as a Features Editor for three years. She was part of the team that won an ASME General Excellence Award for *Mirabella*.

In March of 1993, Ms. Richardson left *Mirabella* to take up the post of Managing Editor at Hachette's *Elle* magazine, where she was subsequently promoted to Deputy Editor. In October of 1996, Ms. Richardson was named Editor. She is currently president of the Yaddo artists' retreat.

FAITH RINGGOLD, 68, Artist and Activist

Faith Ringgold is a painter, mixed media sculptor, performance artist, writer, and professor of art at the University of California in San Diego. Her work is in the permanent collections of the Museum of Modern Art, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the National Museum of Art in Washington, D.C., and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, to name a few. Her children's book, *Tar Beach* (Crown Publishers 1991) won the Caldecott Honor Award, which is the leading children's book award, as well as winning the Coretta Scott King award for the best illustrated children's book of 1991.

The following biography is from Encyclopaedia Britannica's Women in American History.

Born in New York, New York, on October 8, 1930, Faith Ringgold grew up in Harlem and decided to be an artist while still in high school. She attended City College of New York, where she received B.S. (1955) and M.A. (1959) degrees. In the mid-1950s she began teaching art in New York public schools. By the 1960s her work matured, reflecting her burgeoning political consciousness, study of African arts and history, and appreciation for the freedom of form used by her young students.

In 1963 Ringgold began a body of paintings called the American People series, which expressed the Civil Rights Movement from a female perspective. In the 1970s she created African-style masks, painted political posters, lectured frequently at feminist art conferences, and actively sought the racial integration of the New York art world. She originated a demonstration against the Whitney Museum of American Art and helped win admission for black artists to the exhibit schedule at the Museum of Modern Art. In 1970 she co-founded, with one of her daughters, the advocacy group Women Students and Artists for Black Art Liberation.

Among Ringgold's most renowned works, her "story quilts" were inspired by the Tibetan tankas (paintings framed in cloth) that she viewed on a visit to museums in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. She painted these quilts with narrative images and original stories set in the context of African-American history. Her mother frequently collaborated with her on these. Examples of this work includes "Who's Afraid of Aunt Jemima?" (1984), "Sonny's Quilt" (1986), and "Tar Beach" (1988), which Ringgold adapted into a children's book in 1991.

The book, which was named Caldecott Honor Book in 1992, tells of a young black girl in New York City who dreams about flying. Ringgold's later books for children include *Aunt Harriet's Underground Railroad in the Sky* (1992) and *My Dream of Martin Luther King* (1995). Her memoirs, *We Flew Over the Bridge*, were published in 1995.

WENDY SHALIT, 23, Postfeminist Author

Wendy Shalit is the author of *A Return to Modesty: Discovering the Lost Virtue* (The Free Press 1999). She received her B.A. in philosophy from Williams College in 1997 and is a contributing editor of the Manhattan Institute's *City Journal*.

An article by George Will in Newsweek, February 1, 1999.

The mystery recently made it onto the *New York Times*'s front page: Why is there burgeoning interest among young people in ballroom dancing and swing music? Wendy Shalit, a prodigy at cracking the codes of culture, says the interest betokens a hunger for formality, elegance, grace, restraint and rules. She hopes it, like the enthusiasm of young women for movies of manners, such as "Emma" and "The Age of Innocence," is a harbinger of a revolution—counterrevolution, really—in sensibility.

The counterrevolution is defined by the title of her bold new book, "A Return to Modesty: Discovering the Lost Virtue." It is a 23-year-old's insouciant manifesto for mature eroticism. As a call for women to wield their potential power to transform society—socializing men by teaching them true manliness—it is much more ambitious than the banal political agendas of contemporary feminism.

Effervescent and almost petite, Shalit—imagine Katie Couric with Edith Wharton's mind—looks younger than she is, but argues like a seasoned veteran of the culture wars. They began, for her, in Milwaukee County, Wis., in the fourth grade, when her parents insisted that she be excused from sex education class. Thus she was spared the sort of "success" celebrated by a sex ed teacher who says that at first other teachers were embarrassed by "talking about scrotums and vulvas" but came to think that it's "no different than talking about an elbow." In a Colorado school, each girl picks a boy and practices putting a condom on his finger. Finger, elbow, whatever. However, making sex mundane makes for a sexual ethic convenient for male appetites but not for female emotional needs.

When Mark Twain said that humans are the only animals that blush, or need to, he did not anticipate the attempt of 20th-century intellectuals to extinguish embarrassment, especially in women. When society declares war on sexual sublimation, it pours a brusquely clinical kind of sex education, which is intended to disenchant sexuality, into an already oversexualized culture. So children learn too much about sex too soon and end up, Shalit says, sadly ignorant of, even inoculated against, the aphrodisiacal depths of sexuality.

"Adults," says Shalit, "may enthusiastically pass out condoms and teach us not to be embarrassed, but those on the receiving end find that without embarrassment, we simply don't have as much fun." Thus the '60s failed not only morally but on its own hedonistic terms: "The legacy of the Sixties was simply not an erotic legacy."

The idea—this is a real '60s legacy—that a more androgynous society would be a sexier society rests on three fallacies. One is that customs of male courtesy are repressive because they conflict with the feminist dogma that men and women seek the same thing from sexual encounters. Another fallacy is that female sexual modesty—a certain hesitancy and aloofness—is a symptom of low self-esteem. The third fallacy is that modesty, which is related to a capacity for sexual embarrassment, is akin to, and that promiscuity is the opposite of, prudery.

Regarding feminism's strictures against male courtesy, Shalit wonders: Are women better off now that sexual civility is less a matter of custom than of litigation? As for whether male gallantry produces female subordination, Shalit says the traditional little rituals of respect for women—such as

opening doors and offering seats in crowded public transportation—cumulatively conveyed that women were not property, "that they didn't have to be 'owned' by one man to deserve respectful treatment."

The paradox of modesty, says Shalit, is that it is a form of reticence that signals a lively sense of self-worth. Women's sexual modesty is a reflex—that is, it arises from their femininity, their nature. The modest woman does not lack confidence. Rather, she is "the most naturally impertinent," saying to the world, "I think I'm worth waiting for, and worth concealing. So not you, not you, not you, and not you either."

Shalit, who is not reticent about her sexual hesitancy and who has been accused of prudery ever since she published a philippic against coed bathrooms at her college (Williams), argues that promiscuity and prudery actually are close cousins. Both express indifference to eroticism. Shalit invokes the founding mother of feminism to support her argument that modesty can be arousing. Mary Wollstonecraft, author of "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman" (1792), decried sexual modesty as a "lascivious" philosophy of "refined licentiousness" that "inflames" children's imaginations and "prolongs ... ardor" in adults. Says Shalit, "Modesty is prudery's true opposite, because it admits that one can be moved and issues a specific invitation for one man to try."

Unfortunately, few young men truly know how to try. They have no clue how to behave around a woman. "The need is not for nonsexist upbringing, but for precisely a good dose of sexist upbringing: how to relate as a man, to a woman."

It is time, Shalit says, for modesty to come out of the closet—for women to stop being embarrassed about their capacity for sexual embarrassment. Some say female embarrassment is "socially constructed." Shalit says the opposite, that "embarrassment is natural but it can be socially destructed." Women, she says, should be proud of sexual hesitation, which arises from mature hopes for a dignified relationship with one man. "What women will and will not permit does have a profound way of influencing the behavior of an entire society." Were women to form a "cartel of virtue," that would not mean the death of merriment for men, it would mean the education of men about the deep currents of eroticism.

Modesty, she says with a philosophic swoop, not only proves that morality is sexy, "it may even be the proof of God, because it means that we have been designed in such a way that when we humans act like animals, without any restraint and without any rules, we just don't have as much fun." If so, then dancing to a big band playing Cole Porter is, strictly speaking, divine.

JUDITH SHAPIRO, 57, President of Barnard College

Judith Shapiro became president of Barnard College in 1994, after eight years as Provost of Bryn Mawr College. She taught at the University of Chicago before joining Bryn Mawr's Department of Anthropology in 1975 where she was successively Assistant Professor, Associate Professor, and Professor, becoming Chair of the Department in 1982.

A native of New York City, she received her undergraduate degree from Brandeis University and her Ph.D. in Anthropology from Columbia University. She is the author of numerous articles in the areas of gender differentiation, social theory, and missionization, many based on her field

research in lowland South America. She has been President of the American Ethnological Society, a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences and a Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies. She is currently a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a Partner in the New York City Partnership and Chamber of Commerce, Chair of the Board of Directors of the Consortium on Financing Higher Education (COFHE), and is serving on the Board of the Fund for the City of New York, the National Advisory Committee of the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, and the Executive Committee of the Women's College Coalition. She currently serves as Chair of the Women's College Coalition.

Barnard College, founded in 1889, is a highly selective liberal arts college for women, located in New York City, and affiliated with Columbia University. The 1998 Fiske Guide, which gives Barnard five stars for academics, the highest rating, noted that "Barnard offers women an intense, personalized liberal arts education that is designed to address the needs of today's urban, cosmopolitan student."

With applications from prospective students at record levels, up 118 percent in seven years, Barnard today is the most sought-after women's college in the nation.

RUTH SIMMONS, 53, President of Smith College

Ruth J. Simmons assumed the presidency of Smith College on July 1, 1995, becoming the first African-American woman to head a top-ranked college or university in the United States. She was the last of the twelve children of Isaac and Fannle Stubblefield, who, during much of their marriage, barely eked out a living raising cotton as tenant farmers. Mrs. Simmons is also a great-great-granddaughter of slaves. Her parents' stories about "what mattered in one's life," Simmons told Massie Ritsch for the Daily Princetonian (April 5, 1995), taught her that "decency and concern for other people" were of paramount importance. From her mother she also learned that whatever you do, "even if it is scrubbing floors in other people's houses, (as her mother did), do it well, and do it thoroughly."

An extremely talkative child who was an independent thinker, Simmons refused to abide by her parents' warnings that, outside of their home, she be "obsequious" and "stay in the background." As a youngster she realized only dimly, if at all, that in the segregated milieu in which she was raised, most blacks and whites assumed that only white people could ever hope to get a college education, gain membership in the middle class, or even attend theatrical performances. "The fact that there was definitely a really low ceiling for me didn't enter my mind," she told Massie Ritsch.

At Grapeland's all-black elementary school, Simmons intelligence and natural interest in learning attracted the notice of Ida Mae Henderson, her kindergarten teacher, who encouraged and nurtured her in the conviction that, with help, she would eventually make a difference in the world. Indeed, well before entering high school, Simmons became gripped by the desire not only to make a difference but also to "achieve something spectacular."

In 1967 Simmons graduated from Dillard University in New Orleans, Louisiana. She received a Ph.D. in Romance Languages and Literatures from Harvard University in 1973. She has served as

Provost of Spelman College and Associate Dean of the Faculty and Acting Director of African-American Studies at Princeton University.

Beginning with a focus on nineteenth and twentieth century French literature, her teaching and research interests later shifted primarily to literature of francophone Africa and the Caribbean. She has written on the works of David Diop and Aime Cesaire and is the author of a book on education in Haiti. Simmons is the recipient of a number of prizes and fellowships, including the German DAAD and a Fulbright Fellowship to France. She was named a CBS Woman of the Year, January 1996; an NBC Nightly News Most Inspiring Woman, August 1996; a Glamour Magazine Woman of the Year, November 1996; and in 1997, she was awarded the Centennial Medal from Harvard University.

In November of 2000, Ruth Simmons was appointed president of Brown University.

On women's colleges: Having spent a junior-year stint at Wellesley College, "I saw what women's colleges can do for women, especially in developing self-esteem and in preparing them for careers in nontraditional fields." Will all-women schools have a role to play in the 21st century? Most decidedly yes, according to Simmons. "If anything, the role of women's colleges will be even more important in the future," she says, "because of the tremendous range of things that women are now expected to do."

Her management style: Simmons has a completely open-door policy. Likes to know students, staff and faculty personally. Walks the campus daily. Plans to spend more time talking to prospective students. Seeks to bring more women of color to Smith as both students and faculty.

On affirmative action: "It's been one of the best public policies in my time. It's clear that not a lot of advancement would have occurred had certain guidelines not been in place."

Biggest personal achievement: "Without question, being a parent. That has to be the toughest job ever, being able to rear a child and pay attention to their needs and so on. Ultimately, if you do it well enough, it's an accomplishment like no other." Her son Khari recently graduated from Morehouse College in Atlanta. Her daughter Maya is in college.

Favorite book: Toni Morrison's "Song of Solomon." "It is extremely lyrical, and personally meaningful. It's hard to find contemporary works that display a mastery of the language."

Next step: "Well, I hope nowhere. My hope is to retire from Smith," Simmons says. Her post-retirement goal is to volunteer for public education. "There are still kids who have such limited possibilities that they can use education to improve their lives," she says. "It continues to be one of the best stories told in this country, children who come along and are transformed by their educational experience." Just like Simmons.

--Julie Tilsner

ALEK WEK, 22, Model

Since being discovered at an outdoor market in London in 1995, Alek Wek has quickly become one of the hottest new sensations in modeling. She has worked for top fashion houses including Gucci, Fendi, Jean Paul Gaultier, Vivienne Westwood, Chanel, John Galliano, Alexander McQueen, Ralph Lauren, Donna Karan, and Halston.

In addition to gracing international runways with her distinctly African beauty, Alek's image has appeared in dozens of advertising campaigns, in *Vogue*, and on the cover of *Elle*. She was named "Best New Model" at the Paris Fashion Awards and "MTV Model of the Year." The trend-setting i-D magazine chose her as "Model of the Decade," Trace magazine listed her as one of the "Ten Hottest Londoners" and Frank magazine described her as one of the most influential people in fashion. She has also been featured in the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, *USA Today*, and *People*.

Alek was born into the Dinka tribe in southern Sudan. In 1991, at age fourteen, she and her younger sister fled their war-torn country. They were granted asylum in Great Britain, where two years later they were joined by their mother and two of their nine siblings. Other brothers and sisters fled elsewhere, and the family is yet to be completely reunited.

Despite her success, Alek has not forgotten about her troubled homeland. As a member of the U.S. Committee for Refugees' Advisory Council, she is helping to raise awareness about the situation in Sudan, as well as the plight of refugees worldwide.

CHEF, ANNE ROSENZWEIG

One of the most prominent chefs in the United States, Anne Rosenzweig was executive chef and co-owner of Arcadia in New York City before becoming the chef-proprietor of The Lobster Club, which opened in Manhattan, November 1995.

Her elegant yet accessible cooking has drawn the attention of national culinary authorities, restaurant critics, and crowds of enthusiastic diners, and both the Arcadia and the Lobster Club garnered three stars from the *New York Times*. The Lobster Club-- named for the unforgettable sandwich that has become one of her signature dishes-- immediately won a torrent of praise for its reinvention of everyday foods from many countries.

Rosenzweig is the author of *The Arcadia Seasonal Mural and Cookbook* and of numerous recipes created for culinary publications. She was an instrumental part of the team assembled to revitalize New York City's landmark "21" Club and was selected by the White House to serve on the Kitchen Cabinet, a panel of three chefs that advises the President and Mrs. Clinton on menus and American food.

Throughout her years as a restaurateur, she has lent her talents and restaurant resources to such programs as Meals on Wheels, Share Our Strength, and Kids for Kids (for pediatric AIDS patients). With a particular interest in fostering good nutrition for women and children, she has also worked with the U.S. Department of Agriculture's School Lunch Program, in menu development and in direct teaching of school children. She is a national board member of Mothers and Others, a

policy and educational organization supporting positive nutritional, environmental, and health programs.

She has also been a leader in creating career opportunities in the restaurant industry, most notably through the Fresh Start project for New York City prison inmates. Her cooking classes at Riker's Island correctional facility have earned her an award from the program. She is a national advocate for strengthened opportunities for women in the industry, and was a founder of the International Association of Women Chefs and Restaurateurs.

A graduate of Columbia University, her formal education was in anthropology. It was during her graduate field work in Africa and Nepal in the 1970s that she became interested in food and its preparation.