

Yale University  
WOMEN FACULTY FORUM

# GENDER MATTERS

WOMEN AND YALE IN ITS THIRD CENTURY

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# **GENDER MATTERS**

Women and Yale in its Third Century

For Naomi Schor

Benjamin F. Barge Professor of French  
and Women Faculty Forum Council Member

in memoriam

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# FOREWORDS

Richard C. Levin

President of Yale University

This volume contains the proceedings of a conference that constituted one of the principal highlights of Yale's Tercentennial celebration during the year 2001. It is the result, and, fortunately, only one result of an effort initiated by Professors Nancy Cott, Dolores Hayden, and Judith Resnik to mark the role of women at Yale. That role, for most of Yale's 300 years, was shamefully limited. The admission of women to Yale College in 1969 began a process of radical transformation that has yet to run its course fully. Some of the papers in this collection provide perspectives on that process; others mark the contributions that pioneering alumnae have made to the wider society.

The conference was but one of the efforts made by its organizers, ably assisted by Alison Mackenzie, to highlight the lives and works of Yale alumnae and give them greater recognition during our Tercentennial year. But from the beginning the organizers had a broader purpose: to build a sustainable base for a stronger community among the women faculty at Yale and for a stronger connection between women faculty and alumnae. This is a most worthy institutional goal, and it is one that Yale will continue to support enthusiastically.

We have made a lot of progress at Yale in the last tenth of our 300 years, since the numbers on Maya Lin's beautiful Women's Table have become less and less embarrassing. But we have a long way to go. We know that. I am optimistic that the uncrossed bridges will be crossed and the unfilled promises will be fulfilled in the years to come. We look forward to the continuing development of the spirit of community among women in our institution. I am confident that the Women Faculty Forum will contribute in important and unexpected ways to the intellectual and professional development of the broadest community of Yale women—students, faculty and alumnae. The papers contained in this volume give evidence of the community that is being built before our eyes.

## Alison F. Richard

Vice Chancellor of Cambridge University, Provost Emerita of Yale University

For all of us, these weeks have been filled with complex and turbulent thoughts and emotions, and it is with particular joy this afternoon that I find myself with a very simple thought and emotion: I am really proud to be a woman at Yale and I am really proud of the women at Yale. I stand before you here in celebration of this moment and the achievement it represents, and also in anticipation of a future better still.

Reflecting upon my thirty years at Yale, it struck me that I do not remember feeling proud of being a woman at Yale when I came here as an assistant professor in 1972. I have wondered why that was the case. In part, I was probably oblivious in those days, if truth be told, but in part it was because there was not enough about which to be proud. I recently looked at the number of women on the faculty at that time, and could scarcely believe my eyes. In fact, I called the Office of Institutional Research to make sure I was not reading a bad Xerox. There were just two tenured women in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences in 1972, and six tenured women university-wide: not enough to feel proud.

But the years have gone by, and huge efforts have been made to change and transform this institution during those years. We continue this task today, and we are surely the beneficiaries of the work of those who have gone before us. This is not the time or place for a litany of facts and figures, and I will limit myself to observing, with pride and with appreciation for the leadership and encouragement provided by President Levin, that three of the University's six officers are currently women. Indeed, two of us are here today. Three deans of our professional and graduate schools are women. We have three college masters who are women, and two of the four divisional directors in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences are women. In short, not only are the ranks of our women faculty growing apace, but so is the role that women are playing in the leadership of this institution. Together, I believe,

these and other changes have a real impact on the whole way in which the University functions.

Let me end by emphasizing that I am not *too* proud, even though I speak primarily in tones of pride on this celebratory occasion! Echoing President Levin's remarks, I share his view that there is still much remaining to be done, and this is no time for us to be complacent. We are not there yet either in terms of the representation of women on the faculty or in developing Yale as a community in which women and men will want to live and work, and flourish in equal measure. I know this gathering is one from which I will have much to learn. I want to listen. I am ready to hear. How can we be of service to the Yale community as a whole by being of service to the women in this community—faculty, students, staff, alumnae—and build a stronger community still?

Welcome to you all, and my thanks and appreciation to the Women Faculty Forum who have brought this remarkable event into being. I particularly thank Nancy Cott, Judith Resnik, and Dolores Hayden, whose leadership has been critical in its conception and implementation: today, we are in the presence of tangible testimony to what has changed and is still changing at Yale.



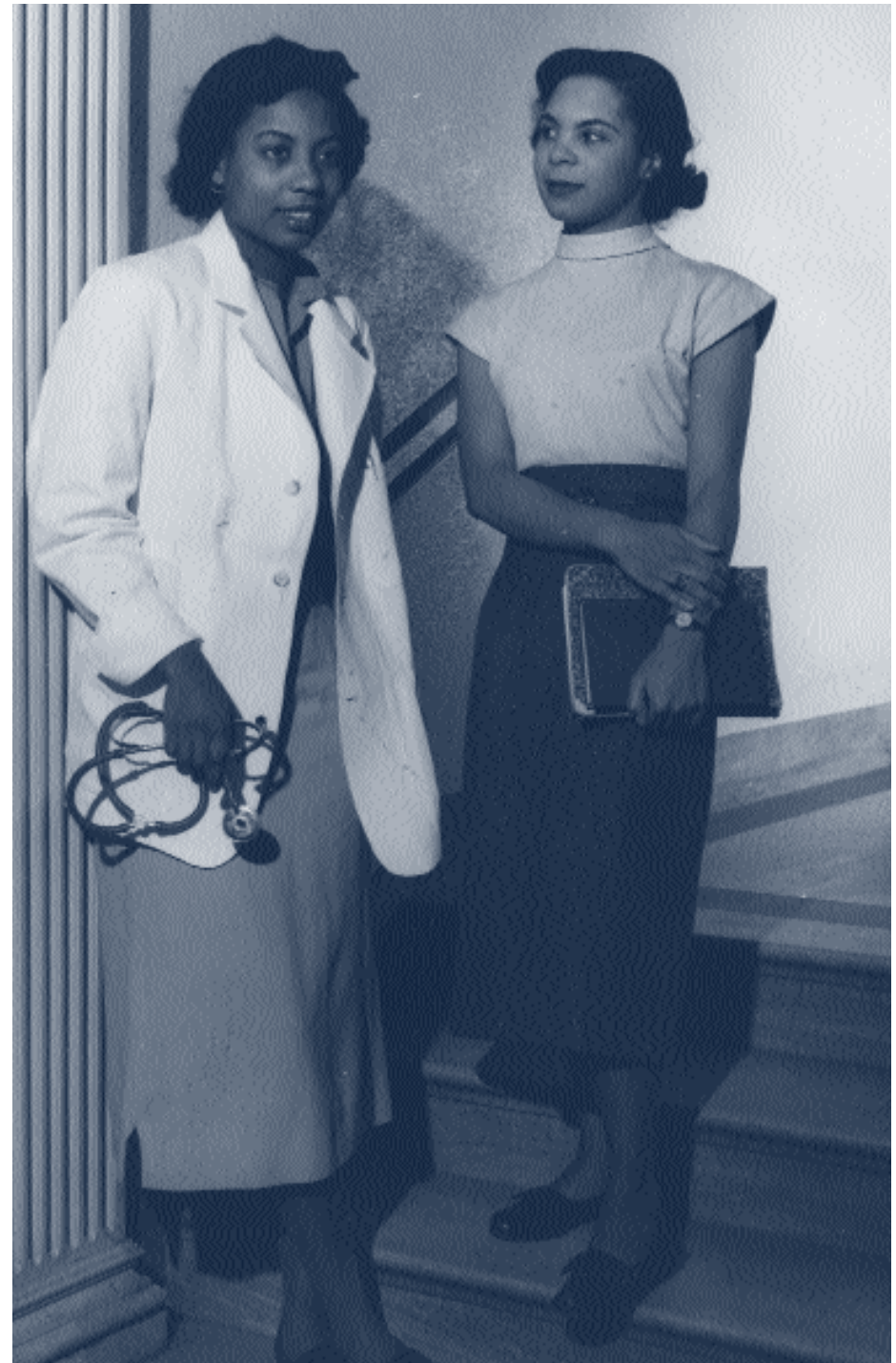
Although the first female undergraduates were admitted to Yale College in 1969, women had been studying in other parts of the University for a century.

*Source: Yale Manuscripts and Archives, Viola Barnes Postcard Collection*



After the Civil War, women were admitted into various graduate and professional schools, beginning with the Art School upon its establishment in 1869.

*Source: Yale Arts Library, Visual Resources Collection*



The Medical School first admitted women in 1916. Shown here are two medical students in 1950.

*Source: Yale University News Bureau, 1951*



## PREFACES

Nancy F. Cott

Jonathan Trumbull Professor of American History, Harvard University

In the spring of 2000 when I went to see Linda Lorimer, the Secretary of the University, to express my worry that Yale's Tercentennial plans neglected women, I could not have envisioned that a live conference such as *Gender Matters*—or the Women Faculty Forum that produced it—would result. The several Tercentennial events marking women's presence at Yale went far beyond my initial imaginings. Their scope and success, culminating in the *Gender Matters* conference, showed the power of mobilizing Yale women.

Secretary Lorimer, director of Tercentennial activities, leapt at the provocation to point out women's presence in Yale's history. She immediately went about summoning an *ad hoc* committee, tapping women faculty in several schools, including Dolores Hayden from Architecture and Judith Resnik from Law. Before long, others joined in, and we were rolling. Women professors and staff from across the campus—from diverse fields in Yale College, the professional and graduate schools—came together during the tercentennial year to develop programs to highlight the role of women at Yale and beyond. The collectivity was refreshing—even thrilling—for most participants had never before at Yale enjoyed such a wealth of women colleagues in a joint effort.

We made plans for several events to attract mainly undergraduates in the spring of 2001, including a showing of "Boola Boola," a film about the early years of coeducation in Yale College, created as a senior-year project in 1989–90 by Julia Pimsleur '90 (now a professional filmmaker). Alumnae Sandra Boynton, Kathleen Cleaver, and Laura Scher participated in a panel discussion called Women at Yale and Beyond (WAYBeyond) especially aimed at current undergraduates. Members of the Women Faculty Forum also produced a two-part event at the University's April Tercentennial weekend. In the first segment, "Inventing Rights: Yale Law School, Women's Rights, and the Law of Sexual

Harassment,” Law School alumni and professors Anita Hill, Catharine MacKinnon, Jeffrey Rosen, Deborah Ashford, and Judith Resnik discussed the revolution in women’s rights law, especially focusing on controversies over the right to be free of sexual harassment at work. The second segment, “Pathbreaking in Studies of Women, Gender, and Sexuality,” featured students and faculty participants who created and pursued these new fields of inquiry in the Yale College curriculum from the late 1970s through 2001.

The conference *Gender Matters* was the culmination of the year’s events. It aimed to consider, through the stimulus of five panels, how the presence of women and the factor of gender have shaped disciplines and changed avenues of exploration, creativity, and policy. It showcased the huge and varied accomplishments among Yale alumnae: all speakers had Yale educations. It also aimed to raise the profile of women as teachers, students, and researchers at Yale. The audience included interested alumni/ae, scholars and educators from across the country as well as Yale faculty, administrators, and students, who took part with the Women Faculty Forum in what we hope will be an ongoing conversation.

The five panels focused on universities as institutions; on new issues in research; on the arts; on local and global structures of leadership; and on activism and entrepreneurship. The opening panel, “Women and Universities,” co-moderated by Elizabeth Dillon, Assistant Professor of English, and Judith Resnik, Arthur Liman Professor of Law, launched the conference by looking back at the impact of women on universities and universities on women, and by looking forward, to consider how women’s input would shape university life in the future. The speakers gave us their ideas on the structures within universities most hospitable—and most resistant—to rethinking of intellectual agendas in light of women’s participation in higher education. They set the conference tone by considering present and future challenges of gender equality in higher education.

The second panel, “Invention: New Research Questions,” co-moderated by Marianne LaFrance, Professor of Psychology and

Women’s and Gender Studies, Priyamvada Natarajan, Assistant Professor of Astronomy, and the late Naomi Schor, Benjamin F. Barge Professor of French, addressed the ways in which women scholars have raised new kinds of questions in subjects ranging from history to medicine, law to psychology. The speakers discussed how the inclusion of gender into their inquiries and the examination of the intersection of gender with class, race, and other categories of analysis have shaped and transformed their own personal research and that of others in their field.

The final panel in the morning session, “Imagination: Center of the Arts,” co-moderated by Dolores Hayden, Professor of Architecture, Urbanism, and American Studies, and Mary E. Miller, Vincent Scully Professor of History of Art, examined how artists, filmmakers, and writers have moved women’s life experiences to the center of attention in a variety of media. Speakers showed film clips and read excerpts of their poetry and fiction, revealing the interconnections of public and private life in many ways. Like the speakers in the previous panel, they considered the impact that gender has had on their own artistic, intellectual, and professional development.

In the afternoon, the fourth panel, “Leadership: Reinventing the Local and the Global,” co-moderated by Mary Clark, Visiting Associate Professor of Law at American University, and Kathleen Knafl, Professor of Nursing, focused on the ways in which women’s leadership and women’s issues have compelled a reassessment of the needs and opportunities for change in public policy at the local, national, and transnational levels. All four speakers underscored the value and power of women’s interventions in different areas of public policy: educational, environmental, health, and humanitarian law.

The last panel, “Founders, Entrepreneurs, and Activists,” co-moderated by Sharon Oster, Frederic D. Wolfe Professor of Economics and Management, and myself, featured alumnae who founded new ventures requiring managerial and administrative talent as well as creative vision. The three speakers came from very different arenas, and their intentions and experiences

spanned the worlds of activism, service, and both profit and not-for-profit enterprise. They highlighted why they had made the choices they did; changes they made along the way; what was most fruitful or most frustrating; and their directions for change. In this as well as the other panels, the speakers cast light on the experiences of women in particular as creators and as practitioners.

Participating in these Tercentennial events, we members of the Women Faculty Forum learned not only that we enjoyed working together but also that we could really accomplish something in collectivity. We foresaw a great deal more to do. The group has continued beyond 2001, with the support of the Yale administration, to foster community for the many women at Yale, and deepen our understandings of the effects and implications of gender on all fields of thought.

## Dolores Hayden

Professor of Architecture, Urbanism, and American Studies, Yale University

Gender equality, as an idea and as a demand for human rights, has transformed both scholarship and public life in our times. The celebration of the Tercentennial in 2001 offered an opportunity to contemplate gender equality in the context of Yale University's history. When the planning for the Tercentennial was well underway, late in the spring of 2000, women from the faculty and administration came together to ensure that women's presence would be represented. Certainly we could have organized a wonderful conference about cutting-edge research at Yale, starring Yale faculty who did research on gender: historians, lawyers, doctors, artists, urbanists, nurses, and psychologists. As our subsequent dinners have demonstrated, we had no shortage of engaging speakers doing important work. But after much discussion, we who were faculty members chose to invite alumnae back to Yale to speak about how gender has mattered in their lives and careers.

Time was short. In August 2000, I took home a messy folder full of notes and suggestions. I was determined to make a first draft of a program for a major conference to share with the rest of the committee. Many, many Yale alumnae had done path-breaking work on gender, providing leadership all over the world on questions of gender equality. Would they come? Or would time at Yale be seen as a difficult period in prominent women's lives? What themes would encourage them to return to campus and participate? We asked all of our speakers to address how gender equality had altered intellectual agendas within and beyond universities, in our nation and in the larger world, and how gender equality has, and has not, been achieved. We asked them to discuss how gender equality had been articulated, argued, and understood. We hoped they would explore how experiences of gender had influenced their lives as scholars, practitioners, entrepreneurs, activists, and artists.

As our list of invitees grew, so did the size of the committee working on the conference. We were two dozen faculty members from around the campus—from Arts and Sciences, the Medical School, the School of Nursing, the Law School, the School of Architecture, the School of Management, and the Divinity School. Many of us had never met, but we represented the increasing presence of senior women as faculty members and administrators at Yale in the 1990s. Yet much work was still necessary to complete the project of women's full integration into all parts of the University. We could celebrate accomplishments, we could network with the alumnae, but we needed to persuade the larger university community of the distance still to be traversed.

In September 2001, we held *Gender Matters*. Over three hundred people packed the Law School auditorium to hear five panels. In the opening one, alumnae who were university presidents addressed the topic of "Women and Universities." The following day, internationally known scholars and scientists tackled "Invention: New Research Questions." Then a poet, a novelist, and a filmmaker transported us to "Imagination: Center of the Arts." After luncheon remarks by Linda Koch Lorimer, Vice President and Secretary of Yale University, we heard about "Leadership: Reinventing the Local and the Global." After tea, the speakers were "Founders, Entrepreneurs, and Activists." All of our presenters explored how the idea of gender equality has influenced their definitions of excellence. They provided an exceptional program of great intellectual breadth and intensity. In the audience were dozens more faculty, students, and alumni/ae who asked probing questions, debated the issues over lunch and dinner, and stayed up into the night. Together we had an opportunity to speak and listen, to link theory with practice, to link past with present and future. All of us who worked for a year and a half to create *Gender Matters* felt that it marked the beginning of a new commitment to gender equality as part of everyday life at Yale as well as new respect for scholarship on gender. We hope you will share our excitement about working together in the coming years to make this happen.

## INTRODUCING WOMEN TO YALE





"A Family Affair: Two-year old Cassie Bagshaw won't have to worry about getting good medical care. Her father, Dr. Malcolm Bagshaw is a doctor and her mother, Dr. Muriel Bagshaw received her M.D. degree from Yale, today, June 11, 1951."

*Source: Yale University News Bureau, 1951*



Shown here is Annie Warburton Goodrich, the first Dean of Nursing, surrounded by faculty and students at the School's 25th Anniversary in 1949.

*Source: Yale School of Nursing Records*



Women Students in the Yale Engineering School: The sight of two female engineering students in the 1950s was seen as in need of an explanation, as this 1954 caption from the Yale University News Service, entitled "Brains and Beauty," illustrates: "Two blonde students from Europe enrolled in the School of Engineering at Yale University taking advanced courses traditionally reserved for the male sex at the turn of the century. Michele Mazeran (left) of Paris, France, and Joan Radley, of Farnborough, England, studied industrial administration and electrical engineering, respectively. Yale students naturally approve of this feminine touch in the engineering labs, but even more, Yale professors have praised both young lady engineers as most competent students."

*Source: Yale University News Service, 1954*





1915



1950



1976



1997

Pictured here are the members of the Yale Law Journal in 1915, 1950, 1976, and 1997.

*Source: Yale Law Journal, Volumes 25, 60, 86, 107*



## Shilpa Raval

Assistant Professor of Classics and Research Director of the Women Faculty Forum, Yale University

This volume is based on papers delivered at the *Gender Matters* conference, a lively gathering of alumnae from many areas and disciplines, both within and beyond the academy. All of the contributions assembled here reflect the diverse mix of speakers. They are avenues for a dialogue on how gender matters in every field of endeavor, from architecture to biology, law to medicine, forestry to computer science.

The celebration of the University's 300th anniversary and the publication of a volume dedicated to highlighting the lives and works of alumnae offer an opportunity to reflect on the history of women at Yale and to recognize the transformations wrought at Yale by women's presence. But how to document that history is a question that framed the *Gender Matters* conference. Although the arrival of significant numbers of women at Yale, as students, faculty, and staff, is a phenomenon of the last century, there is evidence of the presence of women as students (unofficial, of course) at the University long before that point. As early as 1783 President Stiles wrote "were it not for her sex [twelve-year-old Lucinda Foot] would be considered fit to be admitted as a student in the freshman class of Yale . . . ."<sup>1</sup>

After the Civil War, women were officially admitted into the various graduate and professional schools, beginning with the Art School upon its establishment in 1869. Augustus R. and Caroline M. Street donated the money for the Yale School of Fine Arts and Street Hall with the explicit provision that both men and women were to be accepted into the program. Although this request was honored from the onset, prior to 1872 no female students' names were listed in the Yale catalogue. In 1891 Josephine Miles Lewis became the first female degree recipient (Bachelor of Fine Arts) from the Art School (before 1891 students received only a certificate of attendance).<sup>2</sup>

The following year marked the entrance of women into the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences as candidates for a doctoral

degree. Though women had been attending graduate classes prior to this, in 1892 the Yale Corporation voted that "the course of the Graduate Department with the degree of Ph.D. shall be open to candidates without the distinction of sex."<sup>3</sup> At the June 1894 commencement, seven women, who comprised one-third of the graduating class, received their doctorates in five areas: Astronomy, Chemistry, English, History and Romance Languages.<sup>4</sup> By 1900 Yale was at the forefront of women's graduate education, since it had awarded more Ph.Ds to women than any other university in the country. In the early years of their enrollment in the Graduate School, women made up nearly 20% of the graduate student body. This number fell to only 14% by 1960—the 1940s and 1950s saw a substantial decline in women's presence in the Graduate School. It was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that women's enrollment in the School began to increase steadily; as of 2001 women constitute nearly 50% of the graduate population.<sup>5</sup>

The other schools, with their diverse specializations, have different histories. The School of Nursing, for example, was exclusively female during its first thirty years (the first male student enrolled in 1952). It was the first department within Yale to have a female dean, Annie Warburton Goodrich, and is to this day the only part of the University where the female faculty makes up 100% of those professors with tenure.<sup>6</sup> By contrast, the Divinity School, founded in 1822, was an all male enclave for well over a century; women were not admitted into the School as degree candidates until 1932 (though the Yale catalogue lists women who attended as "special students" prior to this date). Women's enrollment into the Divinity School was subject to different restrictions: only ten women students were to be enrolled in any given year; women were not eligible for regular financial aid, but could compete for specific scholarships; female students would not be provided with any housing. This maximum limit of ten women per year was enforced well into the 1960s.<sup>7</sup> The School of Forestry and Environmental Studies, which was founded in 1900, was one of the last graduate and professional schools to coeducate; it did not admit women until 1967.

In recording the history of women at Yale, even the “first woman admitted” is not always an unambiguous marker. In 1886 the Law School admitted an A.R.B. Jordan, unaware that Alice Rufie Blake was a woman. Since the rules did not specifically bar women, Jordan could not be denied entrance. She was allowed to take courses—though her name never appeared in the Yale catalogue—and graduate with her classmates, thus making Jordan the first woman to receive a Yale degree. However, this “mistake” led the trustees to adjust the Law School application to avoid any future confusion as to the sex of the applicant. It was not until the fall of 1919 that the first class of women was officially welcomed into the School.<sup>8</sup> The issue of coeducation came under debate in the School of Medicine in the spring of 1916. The Yale Corporation voted to accept female students, provided that the funds could be found for the necessary alterations. The following fall the School of Medicine opened its doors to women, but only after one of the female applicants’ father—Henry Farnam, a faculty member in the Yale Economics department—agreed to donate the one thousand dollars required to build women’s bathrooms.<sup>9</sup>

Although by the early part of the 20th century women had gained entrance into many parts of the University, Yale College “remained serenely and triumphantly masculine.”<sup>10</sup> In 1962 the first steps towards coeducation were taken when a committee convened by President Griswold to evaluate the “freshman experience” suggested in its report that the college admit women. Four years later the Yale Corporation, not yet prepared to commit to full coeducation, advocated a coordinate woman’s college on the model of the Harvard-Radcliffe system, with Vassar as a possible match. After Vassar refused the invitation to relocate to New Haven, and other Ivy League Institutions (particularly Princeton) moved towards full coeducation, the Yale College Student Advisory Board proposed Coeducation Week; seven hundred women from twenty-two different Northeast schools came to Yale in November of 1968 to take classes and participate in campus life. In the days following “Operation Coeducation” President Kingman Brewster announced plans for immediate coeducation.<sup>11</sup>

Although 250 women joined the Yale undergraduate student body as members of the class of 1973, the struggle for coeducation was far from over. As some of the papers in this volume demonstrate, it would take many more changes for the College to outgrow centuries of institutional life as a school for men. Battles were fought over equal access to facilities, resources, and sacred spaces. In December 1970, for example, women protested Mory’s exclusionary membership policy (women faculty and administrators could eat at the club, but only as the guests of members and only in an upstairs room). Another four years and the threatened loss of its liquor license were required before women were allowed to become members of Mory’s.<sup>12</sup> The efforts of the women’s crew team to get showers at the boathouse yielded results only after the “Title IX Strip” of 1976. During a meeting with the Director of Athletics and other invited guests, crew members stripped, revealing the “Title IX” printed on their bare backs. Newspapers nationwide chronicled the event; the incident later became the subject of the award winning film, “A Hero for Daisy.”

How we do mark the point at which women are fully integrated into the University? The establishment of a Women’s Studies Department in 1979 and its transformation into the Women and Gender Studies program in 1998, the appointment in 1991 of the first woman to serve as dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and the nearly 50-50 gender ratio of the entering class in Yale College are all indicators of change. Although many strides have been made, as Linda Lorimer notes in her paper, “there remain many unrealized opportunities to reinforce both *that* gender matters and *how* gender matters” in all areas of the University.

All of the papers in this volume articulate in different ways this tension between the distance traveled towards gender equity and that which still remains. The opening section addresses the need for institutional change and the challenges involved in such a project. Johnnetta Cole raises a crucial point, one that is echoed by other papers in the volume: while gender matters, it is only part of the equation. Women are not a monolithic group; in order to have a more complete picture we also need to take into account

other markers of difference such as race, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. This call to regard diversity as a strength is reiterated in Nancy Vickers's remarks. As she observes, coeducation can only happen when institutions move beyond merely assimilating different populations (and thus homogenizing them). Coeducation in its truest sense requires addressing the larger question of how to transform an academic culture in order to embrace and represent a broad range of people. In her paper Nan Keohane suggests some possible ways—from restructuring the iconography of a university to revising the curriculum—to bring about this kind of systemic change.

The papers in Section Two deal with how gender has influenced and transformed artistic, scholarly, and scientific production. Through her poetry Elizabeth Alexander recovers the voices of black women who have been silenced, ignored, and misrepresented in the historical record. Seyla Benhabib reflects on the different temporalities and different permutations of the gender question. As she observes, gender emerges as a category of inquiry in each discipline and in each individual's life and scholarly work at different times and at different speeds. In "Women in and on Film," Sarah Pillsbury comments on the obstacles, both internal—Ms. Pillsbury notes that her own decision to become a producer rather than a director was based on gender—and institutional—a majority of the executives who control the movie business are men—that women face in the film industry. Although not included in this volume, the conference also featured three other speakers on the panel: Gloria Naylor, Alice Eagly, and Maxine Singer. Ms. Naylor's remarks focused on the women who were her role models and some of the authors and poets (Toni Morrison, Nikki Giovanni, and Paule Marshall) whose works inspired and fueled her own imagination. Professor Eagly and Dr. Singer both addressed the issue of how both scientific questions and answers can differ, depending on the gender of the scholar. Professor Eagly, who studies the role of gender in attitudes and leadership, offered as evidence of this claim a description of the work of UCLA psychologist Shelley Taylor ('72 Ph.D.), who has constructed a new way

of looking at how people react to stressful situations. Professor Taylor has found that among women, the response is better described as "tend and befriend," rather than the traditional model of "fight or flight." Dr. Singer argued that while gender often does not matter in terms of the answers, it is very relevant in terms of what questions get funded. Therefore, she concluded, it is crucial for women to enter and stay in scientific careers and move up the ranks into decision-making positions.

The third group of papers deals with the ways in which women and notions of gender have broadened international human rights law and forged a renewed commitment to many social issues, including the environment and health care. Frances Beinecke stresses the interconnection between environmental issues and concerns about national and international security and stability. She argues that women, as a united and mobilized interest group, can play a critical role in influencing public policy. In their papers Sally Stansfield and Marion Wright Edelman both reinforce the importance and value of interventions made by women on different fronts. Dr. Stansfield suggests that gender is closely entangled with the issue of global health in two ways: while most of those affected with disease in the developing world are women and children, many of the leaders and risk-takers who offer hope for change are also women. Ms. Edelman reviews the contributions that women have historically made, and can continue to make, to political and social reform. Like Dr. Stansfield, Ms. Edelman also argues that building partnerships and forging connections are crucial components to addressing social and economic inequities and effecting change. Patricia Wald discusses how women's participation in international human rights law has served as a catalyst for change in the definition and prosecution of war crimes. Although women have historically been the predominant victims of genocide and other war crimes, only in the last ten years (and mostly due to the lobbying by women's NGOs) have rape and sexual abuse been recognized as crimes punishable in an international criminal tribunal. Judge Wald reminds us that although progress has been made, the struggle for women to take

up and keep positions of power within the field of international human rights law is far from over. All of the papers in this section cogently disprove the notion that questions of women and gender can be marginalized and isolated from global concerns such as the environment, poverty, violence, health care, and national and international security.

In Section Four we hear the voices of women who were risk-takers and exerted their leadership to create new organizations. Their personal testimony complicates the gender question via race, class, and globalization. Mishka Brown's reflections on her four years at Yale and her experiences in the business world reiterate Professor Benhabib's claim that there is an individual time for hearing the gender question. Her comments also suggest that the emergence of the gender question is often entangled in the intersection of race and class, recalling Dr. Cole's statement that gender is only part of the equation. In her paper Linda Mason reveals the ways in which being a woman can be an advantage rather than a point of contention in an international context. Heidi Hartmann reinforces the idea that emerges from the papers in Section Two: gender matters in the research questions that are asked, the issues that are deemed worthy of study, and the public policies that are implemented.

In Section Five of the volume women alumnae recall and comment on their experience at Yale. Linda Lorimer suggests some of the ways in which a Yale women's network—a "new sisters' connection"—might be an agent for social change. In her address for the Whitney Humanities Center Tercentennial Celebration, Deborah Rhode focuses on the state of affairs (and the status of women) on campus in the years immediately following coeducation in Yale College in order to lay out the broader challenges for women both within and beyond the academy. Her remarks eloquently reiterate a central theme of this volume: while there has been considerable progress towards gender equity in the last thirty years, there is still ample room for improvement. Patricia Wald's paper—remarks made upon the receipt of her honorary degree—is an appropriate conclusion to the section,

since her career trajectory brings us full circle. Judge Wald was a student at the Law School at a time when there were very few women studying law, but returned to Yale as an honorand in a year in which four of the honorary degree recipients were women. In her comments, she reflects on the numerous positive ways in which Yale shaped her development as a woman and a scholar.

The volume closes with a set of papers that in a Janus-like fashion look both to the past and the future. Alison Mackenzie reflects on the struggles surrounding coeducation, at both Yale and her alma mater, Stanford. Her essay reveals how gender is still very much an issue for current Yale women students. Although some of the more obvious battles against gender discrimination in the academy have been fought and won, as Ms. Mackenzie suggests, gender inequities continue to exist, but often manifest themselves in small and subtle ways. The concluding paper in the collection provides a coda to the *Gender Matters* conference: Judith Resnik discusses the ways in which the Women Faculty Forum (WFF), over the last year and a half, has continued the work begun during the Tercentennial and has addressed some of the challenges posed in the conference itself. She outlines the projects undertaken by WFF to help Yale, in its fourth century, complete the task of coeducation and the quest to achieve true gender equity.

1 Judith Ann Schiff, "Old Yale: the Earliest Women," *Yale Alumni Magazine*. Dec. 1989, 45.

2 Ibid., 45.

3 Ibid., 45.

4 Since the degrees were awarded alphabetically, as they are today, Elizabeth Deering Hanscom was the first woman on record to receive a Ph.D. from Yale.

5 Judith Ann Schiff, "The First Women Ph.D.s," *Yale Alumni Magazine*. Summer 1994, 94; George Pierson, *A Yale Book of Numbers: Historical statistics of the college and university, 1701-1976* (New Haven: Yale University, 1983), 169-72.

6 Helen Varney Burst, *Yale University School of Nursing: A Brief History* (New Haven: Yale School of Nursing, 1998), 5-7.

7 Yale Divinity School Memorabilia, Special Collections, Record #53.

8 "The Ladies," *Yale Alumni Weekly*, June 9, 1937, 13-14.

9 Susan Baserga, "The Early Years of Coeducation at the Yale University School of Medicine," *Yale Journal of Biology & Medicine* 53 (1980), 181.

10 George Pierson, *Yale: A Short History* (New Haven: Office of the Secretary, Yale University, 1976), 54.

11 Janet Lever and Pepper Schwartz, *Women at Yale* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971), 28-39; Pierson, *Yale: A Short History*, 59.

12 "Women Try to Turn the Tables Down at Mory's," *Yale Alumni Magazine*. Dec. 1970, 34.





"Amy Solomon 1973 Meets Nathan Hale 1773: The first woman undergraduate to register for Yale College stands face to face with her predecessor. At his commencement exercises two hundred years earlier, Nathan Hale won a forensic debate 'on whether the education of daughters be not without any just reason more neglected than that of sons.'"

Source: Yale University News Bureau, Oct. 6, 1969



This protest, for a week in October of 1970, sought to have Mory's admit women.

Source: Yale Alumni Magazine, Dec. 1970

Historical images were provided by Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library



## Oarswomen bare all, want March showers

Yesterday afternoon twenty women marched into the office of Joni Barnett, director of physical education, and their leader said, "Mrs. Barnett, we have something to show you."

Indeed they did. The varsity women's crew doffed their sweaters and stood naked before Barnett as Captain Chris Ernst, 1976, read a statement protesting the lack of shower and changing facilities for women at the Derby Boathouse.

"On a day like today the ice freezes on this skin," the statement said. "Then we sit for half an hour on the bus as the ice melts and soaks through our suits to meet the sweat that's soaking us from the inside."

"We sit for half an hour with the chills...half a dozen of us are sick now."

Last year, the University rented a trailer with four working shower heads. This year there is a new trailer with twice

the capacity, but it has not been hooked up to an electric line because the athletic department did not obtain the necessary zoning variance.

Until Tuesday's special meeting of the Derby Zoning Committee, the women must do without showers.

"Joni Barnett was asked in November to obtain a variance," asserted crew member Anne Warner, 1977, "and reminded in December, January, and February. And still there is no variance."

The crew chose Barnett as the object of their dissatisfaction, because, according to the statement, "(Barnett) is the symbol of women's athletics at Yale." They acted without the prior knowledge of their coach, Nat Cass.

**Athletic Department Reacts**

Joni Barnett expressed surprise over  
—continued on page 1an



**NAKED CAME THE ROWER**—Joni Barnett expressed "surprise" over the women's crew demonstration yesterday, but her countenance reveals something sadder.

Mina Halpern

When filmmaker Mary Mazzio was training for the 1993 Olympics at the Boston Rowing Center, her friend and training partner, Chris Ernst, told her the story of a protest she had led as a member of the Yale women's rowing team. Mazzio was inspired to make the film "A Hero for Daisy," her first, to preserve a part of Yale's history and to promote positive images of women athletes. The film was shown at Yale as part of the Women Faculty Forum's Tercentennial events.

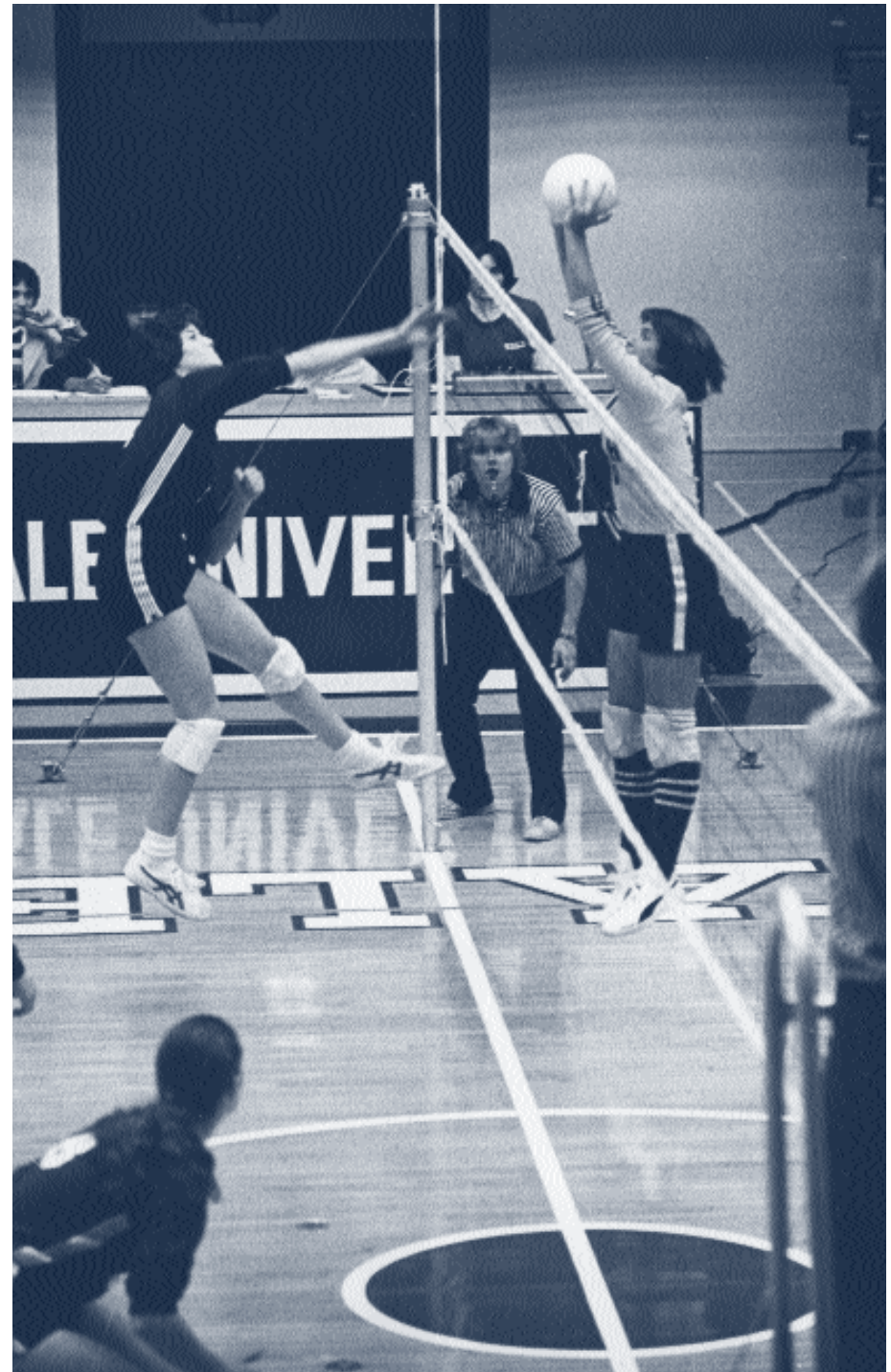
Source: Yale Daily News, March 4, 1976





Softball's 1999 captain and pitcher, Kristen Gengaro.

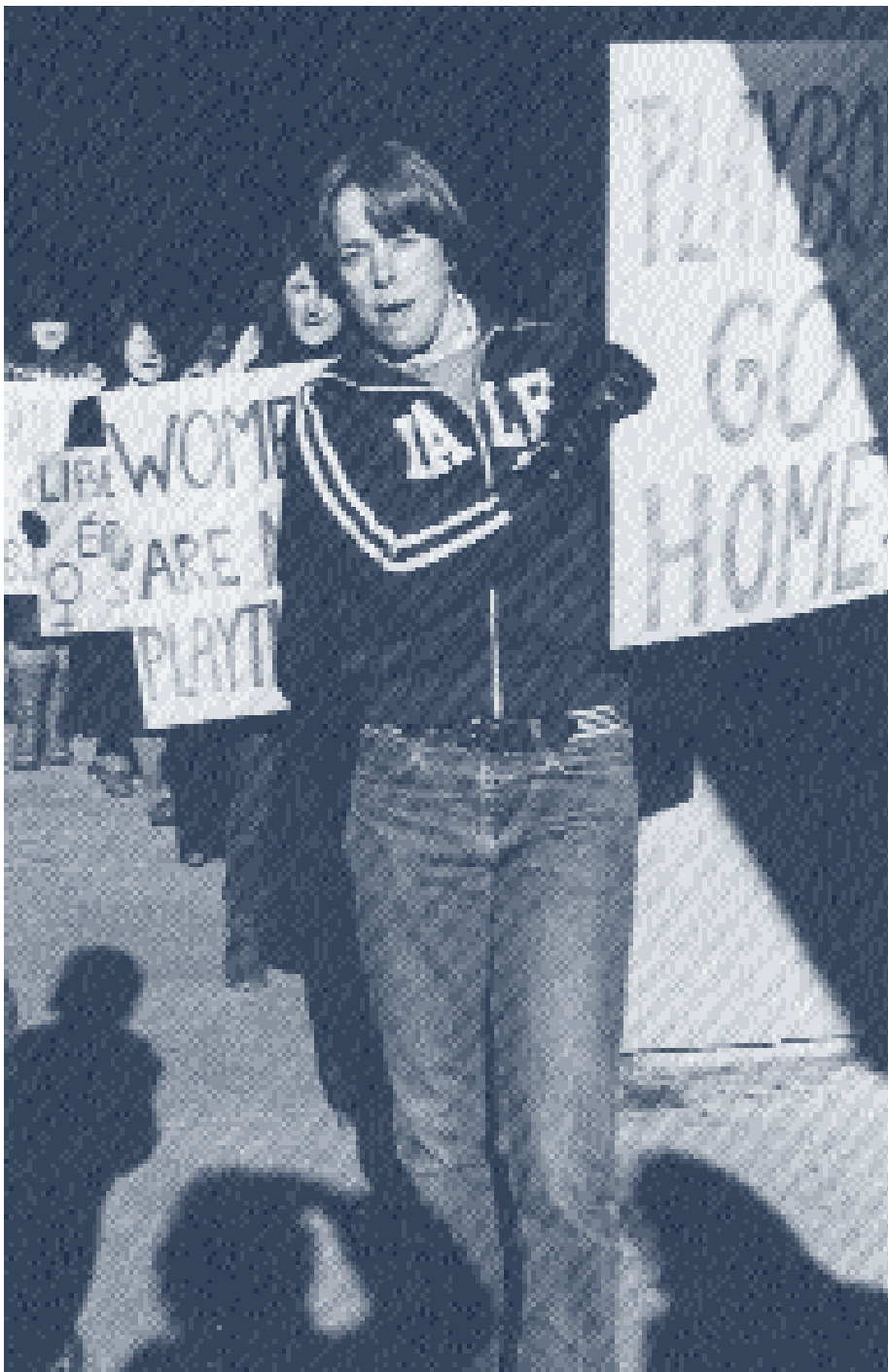
*Source: 1999 Yale Banner*



The women's volleyball team in the mid-1980s.

*Source: 1999 Yale Banner*





Yale women in 1979 protest Playboy Magazine's visit to the Yale campus in order to solicit participants for its "Women of the Ivy League" Issue.

Source: 1979 Yale Banner



source: 1979 Yale Banner



Yale students take courses across a wide array of disciplines, and for nearly thirty years, Women's Studies has been one of their options. Professor Nancy Cott is shown here teaching a seminar on women's history. As Professor and Chair of what is now the program of Women's & Gender Studies, Margaret Homans stated: "What began in the 1970s as the study principally of women's historical, social, and cultural experiences—a field that was needed to supplement the almost total absence of women from serious scholarly inquiry—has now broadened significantly. The field now centers on the study of gender and sexuality as primary modes of social differentiation that are both historically constructed and active in producing patterns of power, including the patterns of exclusion that originally created the need for Women's Studies programs."

Source: Office of Public Affairs News Release, "Women's Studies to Broaden Scope, Adding Tenured Professor," April 21, 1998



Students at the annual Take Back the Night rally, candlelight vigil, and march protest continued sexual assaults and harassment of women and men both on and off campus.

*Source: 1998 Yale Banner*



The rally is the culmination of Rape Awareness Week, a yearly event that features the Clothesline Project. Survivors of sexual assault, domestic violence, and harassment paint t-shirts that hang on the line.

*Source: 1998 Yale Banner*



Alumna Maya Lin designed this sculpture honoring women at Yale on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of coeducation in 1989. Lin said, "the Women's Table is dedicated to all women at Yale. Although the spiral counts the number of undergraduate and graduate women enrolled per year, the sculpture is for all women faculty, administrators, and students alike. The spiral is merely a signifier,

an indication of the growth of the presence of women at Yale." As of the Tercentennial, the Women's Table remained the only sculpture of or about women at Yale.

*Source: The Women's Table: Yale University Dedication Ceremony Booklet, Oct. 1, 1993*



# WOMEN AND UNIVERSITIES

## One Flower Never Makes a Spring

Johnnetta B. Cole

President of Bennett College, President Emerita of Spelman College

From where I was stranded in Europe, following the tragic events of September 11th, I began to wonder if this conference would take place. I hoped that it would, for there are critical connections between what we will be wrestling with this afternoon and tomorrow, and some fundamental issues that are writ ever so large by the terrorism of last Tuesday, and the aftermath of it all. In a statement delivered on September 11th, sister President Ruth Simmons of Brown University put the connection in these stunning terms. She said:

At moments like this I become aware more than ever that access to education in its broadest sense can make an immense difference in the future of our civilization. We can focus on educating ourselves about ourselves, if we so desire, but far more important is to educate ourselves about others. There are regions of the world that we understand not. There are peoples of the world that we care not to know. There are communities in our

very midst from which we turn away. Turning away is not a solution. While it is too early to say who is to blame for the horror visited upon the nation today, we can surmise that this horror is the result of a misbegotten scheme to call attention to some cause, some offense, some grievance. One of the powerful things that we can do to counter this kind of event is to use peaceful venues of debate and grievance. We can make every effort to learn how to abate conflict and how to repair breaches in human accord.

Sister presidents Nan Keohane and Nancy Vickers and I agreed on what each of us would cover in our individual presentations before opening up for a discussion. The major point that I am to make is that, of course, gender matters. And it matters immensely in terms of how universities are organized, what is taught, by whom and to whom. In our colleges and universities, it is women who are consistently underrepresented, often underpaid, and frequently subjected to situations that range from a chilly climate to blatant sexual harassment.

However, the sister presidents and I insist, if you have seen one woman, you have not seen us all! And thus to say that gender matters but to ignore other markers of difference such as race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation is to act as if a puzzle is done once a large piece is in place.

Audre Lorde more eloquently than anyone I know spoke and wrote about the problem of difference within her own personal life, within the academy, within American society, and indeed in the world. Here are her words:

As a 49-year-old Black lesbian feminist socialist mother of two . . . I usually find myself a part of some group defined as other, deviant, inferior, or just plain wrong. . . . Somewhere, on the edge of consciousness, there is what I call a *mythical* norm. Each one of us within our hearts knows “that is not me.” In America, this norm is usually defined as white, thin, male, young, heterosexual, Christian, and financially secure. It is with this

mythical norm that the trappings of power reside within this society. . . . By and large within the women’s movement today, white women focus upon their oppression as women and ignore differences of race, sexual preference, class, and age. There is a pretense to a homogeneity of experience covered by the word sisterhood that does not in fact exist. . . . Ignoring the differences of race between women and the implication of those differences presents the most serious threat to the mobilization of women’s joint power. As white women ignore their built-in privilege of whiteness and define WOMAN in terms of their own experience alone, then women of color become the “other,” the outsider whose experience and tradition is too “alien” to comprehend. . . . The future of our earth may depend upon the ability of all women to identify and develop new definitions of power and new patterns of relating across difference.

While it is clearly the case that White women are not treated equally with men in appointments to administrative posts, in the awarding of rank and tenure, or in the degree to which their realities are infused throughout the curriculum, women of color experience even greater inequality.

Because it is an improvement over the term “minority women,” I use the term “women of color.” But I am very aware of inherent difficulties with it, the most obvious of which is that the term obscures differences among and within large segments of the female population—that is, Native American, Hispanic, Asian, and African American women and “women of color” outside the United States.

In acknowledging the significance of race and ethnicity among women in the academy we must also guard against the false assumption that White or Euro-American women are a monolithic group.

Pinpointing the group I know best—African American women—it is clear that we are a complex, enormously diverse

group. Class, color, regional, generational and sexual preference and other differences characterize who we are. And yet, we should not focus so much on differences that we ignore the common experiences among us. In her book, *Black Women in the Academy* (1997), Benjamin captures some of that shared experience when she notes that “In the ivory tower, the voices of [black women] are shrouded beneath a racist and sexist cloud that is often chilly at white institutions and lukewarm, at best, in black ones” (211).

In the academy and throughout American society, White women have benefited from affirmative action far more than people of color. Now that this means to redress past and present inequities has been rolled back in state after state, our colleges and universities are at risk of returning to their “old ways” of privileging White men in the admissions of students and in recruiting, promoting and retaining faculty.

As we prepared for this panel, we challenged ourselves to invoke what I call the Noah principle. That is, there will be no more credit for predicting the rain; it is time to build the arks. In that spirit, when we open up for the discussion period, we need to imagine and to talk about the kinds of programs that can help colleges and universities—including Yale—to be more attentive to the diversity among us womenfolks, a diversity that is a great resource. For the view from within any particular group of women can only be partial. The more eyes there are, the more complete our collective vision will be. Or in the words of a Chinese saying: One flower never makes a spring.

## Women at Yale . . . and Elsewhere

Nannerl O. Keohane

President of Duke University

First, let me put my Yale cards on the table: not only a Yale Ph.D., but also two sons and two daughters-in-law who all had great experiences here; one has just returned as an assistant professor.

I also salute Yale’s record of women in the senior administration. And I admire the women faculty who are intensely focused on how Yale, in the years ahead, can not just play catch-up, but find a new path that will show all of us how to do a better job in the 21st century.

My assignment is to tackle the question, “How does gender matter?” with brief illustrations from four institutions: Wellesley, Stanford, Duke, and Yale. By looking at ways gender has influenced the evolution of these institutions, we may identify some of the factors that will make a difference moving forward.

### Wellesley as a “woman’s place”

Wellesley might almost be taken as an embodiment of what Max Weber would call the “ideal type” of a women’s institution.

Wellesley's founder in the 1870s, Henry Durant said, "Women can do the work; I give them the chance." By design, almost the entire faculty and most of the rest of the workforce at Wellesley at the outset were female. Even the buildings were built with the female body in mind.

Alone among the Seven Sisters, Wellesley has always had women presidents. When there was a move early in the 20th century to appoint a man, alumnae rose up in outrage. "We do not want a man in our Adamless Eden," they said. A far cry from Yale, which has only recently noticed the presence of Eve. What could we possibly learn from Wellesley?

The importance of *symbolism*; let me take just one example.

At Wellesley, in the main reading room of the library, portraits of all the presidents create a striking impression of self-confident, powerful women leaders across a dozen decades. Contrast that with the halls of honor at any of the other three institutions on my list; with only a few exceptions, all the portraits honor middle-aged or elderly white men. When distinguished alumnae are honored and their amazing careers are recounted at Wellesley, they are all women. Students may or may not pay conscious attention, but this is bound to sink into their psyches and help shape what they believe is possible.

This is one obvious way in which gender matters: an institution's iconography, conception of itself and its history, and the messages that it sends about who can wield authority and who matters around this place.

### **A comparison with Yale on symbolism**

To make the contrast especially striking, let me fast forward to the special Tercentennial edition of *Yale* magazine from last March. In twelve pages of distinguished graduates there are two women—Marian Wright Edelman and Jodie Foster; and there are several female names in the roster of "Who's Been Blue"—someone clearly gave some thought to that. But in the centerpiece essay by Lewis Lapham, the place of women at Yale turns out to be either non-existent or decidedly bizarre.

There is a passing reference to graduates of Yale Law School: "Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill, the newly-appointed Supreme Court justice and the woman who had accused him of sexual misconduct." Hello?

There are four other references to women: the Irish maids who cleaned the rooms in the 1920s; the opening paragraph of the freshman handbook in the 1950s that enjoined new students "to treat Yale as you would a good woman"; and one lone graduate student, "an actress from the Drama School who had been to bed with Brando." Then a passing reference to the Corporation's vote in 1969 to admit 500 women undergrads. That's it. Symbolism, I would argue, *does* matter.

So are things better at Duke and Stanford? In some ways, although no one would call either of them a feminist institution. Each has been committed to coeducation since the end of the 19th century, but they have taken rather different paths, and this leads to some interesting lessons for Yale.

### **Stanford and the implications of equality**

Stanford was founded in 1890, during the "first wave" of coeducation in our country, and it was explicitly required of the trustees that they "afford equal facilities and give equal advantages in the University to both sexes." From the beginning, however, "equal" treatment encompassed some significant differences in actual experience.

For one thing, there was a backlash against coeducation across the country around 1900, as women turned out in droves to take advantage of the new accessibility of the universities. It was feared that having too many women would dilute the perceived value of the institution and turn men away, thus reducing the needed number of those "male leaders," to quote from the history of another university. Also, women didn't produce the athletics teams that kept alumni happy, nor did alumnae contribute dollars to the institution at the same level as men. So Stanford in 1899 imposed a rigid quota of 500 women undergraduates that lasted for decades.



Women had few opportunities to provide leadership within the student body at Stanford. This changed briefly during the second world war, when for the first time the president of the student body was a woman, but in 1945 Stanford “returned to normalcy,” and women relinquished these offices and returned to the token vice presidencies that they had held all along.

This leads me to identify a second way in which gender matters, in addition to symbolism: *participation* in leadership at all levels of an institution. In this area, Stanford, like most nominally coeducational institutions, fell glaringly behind anything approaching equality for many decades. This sent the powerful message that women were fine in their place, but that place did not include serious leadership in any dimension of life, even undergraduate student government. If there are no role models, and no opportunities to learn to lead, if all the leaders are always male, it is a rare woman indeed who will think of herself as potentially a leader, whatever the rhetoric of the place may say about equality.

As far as members of the faculty and administration, graduate and professional students, there was not even the verbal commitment to equality. As recently as 1969, women made up less than 5% of the faculty—not radically different from Yale. This began to change in the late 1960s, as it did almost everywhere, with the high water mark of the women’s movement. The women faculty, almost to a person, came together with the sympathetic support of a few male colleagues and the university leadership to create an astonishingly vibrant feminist community on campus. We worked together collegially (not always an easy or efficient way to work) to create powerful and durable institutions like the Center for Research on Women and a Feminist Studies program for both undergraduate majors and graduate students. It was an exhilarating time indeed, and Stanford still bears the imprint of that revolution.

And here’s a third way in which gender matters: in *scholarship*, in the curriculum and in research agendas, in what is thought relevant and important to study. The establishment of

a well-regarded feminist research center and teaching program helped bring luster to Stanford, and the fact that almost all their previously traditional women colleagues become deeply involved in feminist scholarship helped legitimate the field among the men.

### Duke and its Parallel Paths

Duke came to coeducation by a rather different route. Women were admitted to graduate education in 1892, the same year as Yale; and in 1896, tobacco entrepreneur Washington Duke gave a generous gift with the requirement that education be provided for women on equal terms with men. Once again, a strong proto-feminist male benefactor made the difference in requiring that women be given a chance to be educated. Too bad nobody of that stripe showed up in New Haven in 1890.

When Washington Duke’s two sons set out to endow the university and build a whole new campus in the 1920s, the decision was made to create a coordinate college for women, on the old campus more than a mile away from the new one. The Woman’s College provided residential life and extracurricular activities, but most of the upper-level classes were taught on the new West campus and thus women were educated right along with the men.

In some ways, it seemed the best of both worlds, and alumnae of the Woman’s College recall it fondly. Their academic work was basically the same as their male classmates, and they had all the advantages of a social life and male friends; yet they also had their own place, and the opportunity to run everything themselves in the Woman’s College. They had their own student government, parallel to that of the men and equal in legitimacy; they had their leadership organizations, and as role models, some strong women deans who are the stuff of legend even today. But, as with Stanford, few female faculty members.

As the “second wave” brought coeducation to Yale and other Eastern institutions in the early 1970s, it also led to the dissolution of the Woman’s College and full coeducation at Duke. But the flourishing of the Woman’s College in the midst of the university

for almost half a century has given a distinctive cast to Duke. For one thing, there is the powerful symbolism of those women leaders, as part of the iconography of our co-ed campus—pictures hanging on the walls, the names of the buildings, and so forth. The tradition of participation created the expectation that major student leadership posts at Duke will be held by women as often as men. And Duke now has one of the highest proportions of women in the professional schools, and women on the faculty, of any major university.

#### **And so we come to Yale . . .**

In looking into the history of women at Yale these days, it's striking how much of it focuses on the early days of coeducation. Clearly this was a traumatic event for Yale. But it does put into high relief how little it seemed to have mattered to the institution that there were graduate and professional women at Yale for decades before 1969.

There is no question that we got a magnificent education; the Yale political science department in the mid-1960s was indisputably the best in the world. I had great friends and classmates who have gone on to lead the discipline today; and most of the professors were welcoming to women students as well. There was the occasional eccentric exception who refused to teach women; but in general, the riches of a great university were made available to us with little sense that it was grudging or condescending. Rather it was that we were peripheral, almost invisible, not quite there in the same sense that the men were. And there were very, very few women faculty to be role models for anybody.

Yale has come a long way since then: women on the corporation, in the senior leadership, more women on the faculty, a fully coeducated Yale College, the formation of the Women's Studies program. In participation, and to some extent in scholarship, if not yet much in symbolism, there has clearly been a great deal of progress. I salute the leaders of Yale for clear commitment in making progress in this area; and I know that not only does gender matter, but administration matters as well!

The first wave of women's college education brought us institutions like Wellesley; the first wave of coeducation brought us Stanford and Duke; the second wave brought coeducation to Yale College. What lies ahead? Perhaps a third wave of coeducation in which Yale can provide leadership for all the rest of us.

But as we focus on the future, let us not forget the women who have gone before us; not just the feminist pioneers who helped pave the way for all of us, but the unsung heroines—those Irish maids who made the beds, the cooks and nurses and secretaries, the faculty and graduate student wives who typed the manuscripts and tended the children so the men could work. They are also women of Yale, and since gender matters, we should value the kind of work women have traditionally done, as part of the University's wholeness, and value the women who have done this work.

## Reflecting on Women, Coeducation, and Cultural Change

Nancy J. Vickers

President of Bryn Mawr College

I want to add my voice to the chorus of appreciation to the Yale administration and to the Women Faculty Forum for producing this wonderful two-day event and for offering me this splendid opportunity to join with my colleagues in thinking about how gender matters.

My charge was to think very personally, to look back at my own educational history and experience and then to articulate some lessons learned. I did my undergraduate work between 1963 and 1967 at Mount Holyoke College, a women's college. This was, of course, in the days when the choice of attending an Ivy League university was not available to women. I came to the Yale Graduate School in 1967, and remained here until 1973. You will note that this period encompasses the important year of 1969, the year Yale coeducated. I joined the Yale coeducation effort with energy and conviction. I was an assistant to Master Elias Clark in Silliman College, and I had the pleasure of welcoming the first class of transfer women into Yale. I worked with them through the first

two years of their Yale careers. It was a remarkable opportunity, since they were an extraordinary group of young women. I have the fondest of memories of those days. I was also a member of the University Committee on Coeducation, chaired so ably by Elga Wasserman. There we thought hard about how to introduce women to the world of "a thousand male leaders" and how to set the course for the forward movement of Yale.

When the time came, in 1973, for me to take employment in the tenure-track ranks of another institution, I went directly from Yale to Dartmouth. Dartmouth coeducated, of course, in 1972, so I joined a second Ivy League institution on the roller coaster ride of coeducating itself. I have often thought that the Dartmouth experience was somehow easier, simply because it was so much more straightforward. Yale coeducation had a kind of gentility about it that meant that often we did not come face to face with the full breadth and depth of the resistance we were confronting. At Dartmouth there were banners suspended from dormitory windows telling us all to go away, and the terms of the debate were very clear. I spent fourteen productive and gratifying years at Dartmouth, becoming a feminist literary critic, teaching splendid students, and collaborating with the first cohort of women faculty members. Two or three women had preceded our "first wave," and we joined them in working together to establish a strong women's studies program, to move the institution on women's issues, and, importantly, to move ourselves through the tenure system. We even mounted a successful campaign to add a woman to the Board of Trustees, a Board now chaired by one of those former students, Susan Dentzer.

I then accepted a position at the University of Southern California—which has always educated both women and men—for a ten-year hiatus within my history of otherwise single-sex or coeducating institutions. From there, I moved in 1997 to Bryn Mawr to become its seventh president. As you can see I have had a somewhat curious career, book-ended by women's colleges, centered by engagement in the coeducation of the Ivy League, and committed to women's education throughout. I should note

that this general profile was alarming enough to the student press at Bryn Mawr, when they interviewed me as a potential president, that they felt compelled to inquire as to whether I intended to carry out my “coeducation agenda” there. Though somewhat taken aback by this fresh perspective on my own past, I nonetheless answered with a firm “No.”

All of this personal history is a preamble to saying that I have truly been privileged to be an active participant in an extraordinary demographic change. Indeed I believe one of the most striking achievements of the last half of the American twentieth century to be the dramatic expansion of educational opportunities—opportunities for women, for people of color, for students of modest means, and generally for a fuller range of young people, both American and international, coming to our campuses.

Today we focus on the issue of gender and how gender matters. As I now look back from the position of a sitting president, I have great appreciation for the courage that Kingman Brewster, John Kemeny, and others needed to contemplate and indeed enact the coeducation of their institutions in the face of enormous resistance. But with that grateful backward glance, we also must look forward and question whether we are indeed truly or fully coeducated. Is the job in fact done? I think we have already heard several speakers indicate some of the ways in which it is not. I am going to build on their comments by quoting some women with long Bryn Mawr histories. First Catharine Stimpson, graduate of Bryn Mawr’s class of 1958, the first woman president of the Modern Language Association, and now Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at New York University. At a 1998 Bryn Mawr conference titled “A Women’s Place: Feminism and Education in a New Millennium,” Stimpson commented: “In all the coeducational colleges I have visited, I have never, never, never seen genuine coeducation.” Here she emphatically echoes sentiments expressed by Judith Shapiro, a former Bryn Mawr provost and now the president of Barnard, at her presidential inauguration in 1994. Let me read you Shapiro on “coeducation”:

Is coeducation being used to describe an institution

where men and women are equally likely to study *all* fields, where they are equally likely to hold positions of responsibility and authority in extracurricular activities? Is it an institution where men and women are found in similar numbers at *all* ranks of the faculty and administration? If so then we might indeed have “coeducation”; if not, then I believe we have something else.

Her irony, of course, makes the paradoxical point that in some critical ways true coeducation can only be found at women’s colleges. And her implication gives us pause as we consider the status of women at “recently” coeducated institutions. Should we not, a quarter century later, ask what remains to be done at universities like Yale?

The first thing that struck me on reading the information sheet that was handed to us when we came into this auditorium is the importance of increasing the number of faculty women, a goal which has been on the Yale agenda since 1970. One of my most inspiring Yale teachers, Thomas M. Greene, chaired a committee that year to look at the status of professional women at Yale. In a passing conversation, all those many years ago, he mentioned that the thing he found most troubling in reviewing the data was the gap between the percentage of women Ph.D.s Yale produced and the percentage of tenured women on the faculty. Today those numbers are still not in balance: 45% of Yale’s Ph.D.s each year go to women, yet only 17% of tenured faculty members are currently women.

In order to move such numbers there is indeed a lot of work that administrators and faculty can do and have done. But at the core of it, what truly needs to be addressed are some (not all) of the assumptions that inform decision making in the daily operation of the committees and departments of our most elite research universities. First, you cannot act upon a situation before you see it, and not all of our colleagues see the need to accelerate the entry of a broad range of underrepresented groups into the faculty ranks. Nor do they see the structural impediments inherent in much of “business as usual.” Simply and broadly put, gender

tends to matter more to women than to men, as a glance at those attending this panel should tell you. Since we have not yet succeeded in moving many of our male colleagues, we have yet to expand our own numbers to the critical mass that would render further movement inevitable. Second, even if we were to resolve the question of numbers, we would still need to advance our institutions beyond a posture of assimilating difference into them and toward a posture of fully embracing and representing difference. This is a truly critical shift for we are now surely at the point where we must move past assimilation to cultural change.

My sense, then, is that the compelling work is at the roots of our institutions. Much labor goes on in the branches and the leaves—a good, albeit small, policy change is enacted here; a modification is made there—but the hard and essential challenge remains at the roots. Consider, for example, the worlds of science education and science professions. I have the privilege of being the president of an institution that sends more young women on to pursue graduate study in the sciences, proportionally, than any other institution in the country. Somewhere between 35 and 40 percent of Bryn Mawr women major in the sciences every year; their numbers are equal to, or exceed, those of their fellow students who major in the social sciences and the humanities. So you will understand that I simply cannot accept the argument offered by some, even here at Yale, that women are not well represented in scientific fields because they are not interested in them. I think we must ask—and frankly the Bryn Mawr story is not dramatically different than those of the other women's colleges—what are the women's colleges doing differently? How do they generate persistence for women in science? How can coeducational institutions rise to that cultural challenge? And how can we persuade our colleagues that we must respond lest we deprive our nation and our world of critical energy and talent in this increasingly important sector? And there are other root systems to examine and engage. Consider the campus where women outnumber men in the entering class and yet still harbor a sense that they are less than full participants in the community.

Here the cultural challenge runs deep; it is grounded in the attitudes of alumni, in the social mores of fraternity systems, in the inevitable burden that comes with the benefit of a tradition and a history. Or consider, finally, the graduate student who enters a department in 2001, as I did in 1967, with few or no women faculty members in it. Will she still absorb the unspoken message that the highest levels of accomplishment in her field of choice are somehow not accessible or appropriate to her? I cannot offer handy strategies for the certain and rapid transformation of entrenched cultures, but I can share with you my firm conviction that this resistant terrain persists as our site of most productive engagement.

# INVENTION: NEW RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND IMAGINATION: CENTER OF THE ARTS

## Making Silence Speak

Elizabeth Alexander

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I am glad to be here with you today, and glad that women's studies has birthed gender studies and conferences with names like *Gender Matters*. As those of us who think about such questions know, in understanding the issues that women face in society and culture as well as how "woman" as a category is variously imagined and constructed in different times and places, it is just as important to ask the same feminist questions in particular about the construction of masculinity. We need to be able to take apart the category in order to envision what we would hope for from men, actual men, the men who are now, for example, just about exclusively the people who are making decisions all around the world for the majority of us.

However, in the 1990s, when I was developing courses and teaching in the gender studies program at the University of Chicago and thinking about these matters in a specific institutional context, I became concerned at what I sniffed as a trend—the trend to so theorize and construct and deconstruct "categories," that some



were apt to forget women themselves, women in bodies who wrote things that we should read and who also were still grossly underrepresented among the tenured professoriat, women whose voices and actions, in historical, political, and cultural life, were too often marginalized, trivialized, or forgotten. I saw this trend as related to a concurrent rise in cultural studies and diaspora studies—incredibly important fields that make vital contributions—but as “race” also became a category, and much intellectual energy was put into critiquing “essentialism,” I think the focus was lost on actual people of color, *their* voices and contributions, as well as more practically the importance of increasing their—our—presence on campuses and in workplaces. The extreme reaches are not unimaginable: a gender studies without women, “race” studies without black people and other people of color, as though the political struggles of those very people to make those classes and books and programs and departments exist were no longer relevant, as though we were now on the proverbial level playing field.

Perhaps I am an old-fashioned feminist. I *am* an old-fashioned feminist, and a new-fangled, old-fashioned “race-woman.” I came of age as a young woman on the tails of the civil rights and women’s movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s. I was lucky enough to experience the thrill of my chosen academic field of African-American literature changing dramatically as I studied. In a Black Women’s Literature Class I took as an undergraduate with Henry Louis Gates, with Gloria Naylor as T.A. and mentor, we read books by nineteenth century black women writers that would come back into print, some for the first time since their birth, as the 30-volume Schomburg Library of Black Women Writers. My professionalization has taken place concurrently with a huge and exciting outpouring of writing and scholarship. A Ruth Simmons leads Brown University while Condoleezza Rice guides the President through world crises. This is progress, isn’t it? The bodies are in the right places, but examining the leadership of these accomplished and powerful black women offers a chance to ask, how does gender matter, from a new angle, a harder one

that might go back to uncomfortably essentialist questions about how black women in a white man’s world might hope to improve it.

I also want to share some of my work, some of my poems. The first one I would like to read to you is called “The Venus Hottentot” from my first book, of the same name. A lot of my poetry work is informed by my scholarly interests, which include an interest in recovering and imagining some of the voices of black women whom history has misplaced, ignored, and distorted. This woman called Venus Hottentot was a Southern African woman named Saartje Baartman—we do not know her Xhosa name—who was brought to Europe in the 19th century, thinking she was to become a performer and take money back to her family. She was instead exhibited, nude and caged, at private balls and circuses in London and Paris. People would pay to come and see her and what they wanted to see was her behind and genitalia. The period engravings show a behind that is improbably large, and I believe they tell much more about who was looking than they do about the woman herself. A French scientist named George Cuvier performed all sorts of experiments upon her body. He was interested in the variety of scientific racism that said that if you measured and examined a brain of a European man, that would tell you about his essence. That was where you needed to look to find out about European men, where you could extrapolate from one brain to all of these people. In such a schema it followed that if you were to understand the essence of African women, he believed you should examine—indeed, dissect—their genitalia. He believed the same for Irish prostitutes. As I read about her I thought to myself, the one thing that I needed to hear that I couldn’t find in the historical record was her voice. That is where being a poet gave me a way to imagine it although a great deal of historical research went into the poem because I wanted to be very clear about having it exist in the historical milieu.

The first line of the poem that came to me was, “I am called Venus Hottentot,” because, of course, that was not her given name. After I found a voice for her and wrote her section, I thought, I need to imagine Cuvier. I need to understand. I know

what I think is horrible about him and what is horrible about what motivates him, but what is beautiful about what motivates him? And I thought about somebody looking under a microscope and seeing the world open and bloom. So the poem is in two sections, two created voices.

*The Venus Hottentot 1825*

I. Cuvier

Science, science, science!  
Everything is beautiful  
  
blown up beneath my glass.  
Colors dazzle insect wings.  
  
A drop of water swirls  
like marble. Ordinary  
  
crumbs become stalactites  
set in perfect angles  
  
of geometry I'd thought  
impossible. Few will  
  
ever see what I see  
through this microscope.  
  
Cranial measurements  
crowd my notebook pages,  
  
and I am moving close,  
close to how these numbers  
  
signify aspects of  
national character.  
  
Her genitalia  
will float inside a labeled

pickling jar in the Musee  
de l'Homme on a shelf

above Broca's brain:  
"The Venus Hottentot."

Elegant facts await me.  
Small things in this world are mine.

2. There is unexpected sun today  
in London, and the clouds that  
most days sift into this cage  
where I am working have dispersed.  
I am a black cutout against  
a captive blue sky, pivoting  
nude so the paying audience  
can view my naked buttocks.

I am called "Venus Hottentot."  
I left Capetown with a promise  
of revenue: half the profits  
and my passage home: a boon!  
Master's brother proposed the trip;  
the magistrate granted me leave.  
I would return to my family  
a duchess, with watered-silk

dresses and money to grow food,  
rouge and powder in glass pots,  
silver scissors, a lorgnette,  
voile and tulle instead of flax,  
cerulean blue instead  
of indigo. My brother would  
devour sugar-studded non-  
pareils, pale taffy, damask plums.



That was years ago. London's  
circuses are florid and filthy,  
swarming with cabbage-smelling  
citizens who stare and query,  
"Is it muscle? Bone? Or fat?"  
My neighbor to the left is  
The Sapiant Pig, "The Only  
Scholar of His Race." He plays

at cards, tells time and fortunes  
by scraping his hooves. Behind  
me is Prince Kar-mi, who arches  
like a rubber tree and stares back  
at the crowd from under the crook  
of his knee. A professional  
animal trainer shouts my cues.  
There are singing mice here.

"The Ball of Duchess DuBarry":  
In the engraving I lurch  
towards the *belles dames*, mad-eyed, and  
they swoon. Men in capes and pince-nez  
shield them. Tassels dance at my hips.  
In this newspaper lithograph  
my buttocks are shown swollen  
and luminous as a planet.

Monsieur Cuvier investigates  
between my legs, poking, prodding,  
sure of his hypothesis.  
I half expect him to pull silk  
scarves from inside me, paper poppies,  
then a rabbit! He complains  
at my scent and does not think  
I comprehend, but I speak

English. I speak Dutch. I speak  
a little French as well, and  
languages Monsieur Cuvier  
will never know have names.  
Now I am bitter and now  
I am sick. I eat brown bread,  
drink rancid brother. I miss good sun,  
miss Mother's *sadza*. My stomach

is frequently queasy from mutton  
chops, pale potatoes, blood sausage.  
I was certain that this would be  
better than farm life. I am  
the family entrepreneur!  
But there are hours in every day  
to conjure my imaginary  
daughters, in banana skirts

and ostrich-feather fans.  
Since my own genitals are public  
I have made other parts private.  
In my silence, I possess  
mouth, larynx, brain, in a single  
gesture. I rub my hair  
with lanolin, and pose in profile  
like a painted Nubian

archer, imagining gold leaf  
woven through my hair, and diamonds.  
Observe the wordless Odalisque.  
I have not forgotten my Xhosa  
clicks. My flexible tongue  
and healthy mouth bewilder  
this man with his rotting teeth.  
If he were to let me rise up

from this table, I'd spirit  
his knives and cut out his black heart,  
seal it with science fluid inside  
a bell jar, place it on a low  
shelf in a white man's museum  
so the whole world could see  
it was shriveled and hard,  
geometric, deformed, unnatural.

Next is a poem where the poetic imagination and the scholarly imagination intersected. Yolanda DuBois was the only daughter of W.E.B. DuBois. She is historically a more shadowy figure than her accomplished and famed father. She fascinated me, and I began to listen for her voice. There is a reference in the poem to her very brief marriage to the poet Countee Cullen. Harlem had never seen such a wedding. It was the wedding of the decade. And then afterwards, the groom and the best man went off together, more or less. There is at least one letter from DuBois to Cullen saying, Do be patient with Yolanda, she is young, you must make this marriage work, and so forth, so I thought, let's hear from Yolanda.

*Yolanda Speaks*

I know some call him  
"Doctor Dubious."  
  
I hear how people  
talk. I know who's  
  
called my marriage  
counterfeit. I know  
  
who thinks me stupid.  
I would love  
  
the peace and quiet  
of stupidity,

having witnessed  
the hot hiss of

true intelligence,  
a white noise, a

camphor that over-  
takes the globe.

I have laughed  
at my father's gloves

and spats. My pace  
is my own. I am

a sputtering  
cadmium light

turning on  
like the R.K.O.  
Radio Tower.

And finally, a few poems from my new book, *Antebellum Dream Book*, which has a long section of dream poems, poems which began as dreams and are dreamscapes themselves. I have been thinking about "dream space." There are some writers who have very interestingly said more African Americans should write science fiction because it is such a crucial job to truly imagine the black future, rather than take it as it appears to be mapped out for us. Science fiction is a space where that can happen. So I have been thinking about dream space as a free zone where race and gender and all other sorts of other particulars of identity exist and are present, but perhaps resemble themselves in surprising ways. So I am going to read a few of these dream poems. There is also some relevance in the poems to women and mentorship. First, "The Toni Morrison Dreams." This is for Gloria Naylor, for I was reading Toni Morrison for the first time when I was becoming friends with Gloria. And, of course, Toni Morrison is so important to her work, too. Miss Morrison has come into my dreams.

1. *The Toni Morrison Dreams*

Toni Morrison despises  
conference coffee, so I offer  
to fetch her a Starbucks  
macchiato grande, with turbinado sugar.

She's delighted, can start her day properly,  
draws on her Gauloise,  
shakes her gorgeous, pewter dreads,  
sips the java that I brought her  
and reads her own words:

Nuns go by, as quiet as lust

Everything in silver-gray and black.

2. Workshop

She asks us to adapt  
Synge's "Playboy of the Western World"  
for the contemporary stage.  
She asks us to translate "The Birds."

She asks us to think about clocks,  
see the numbers as glyphs,  
consider the time we spend watching them  
in class, on line, at the hairdresser's.

In class she calls me "Ouidah" and I answer.

"I am the yellow mother  
of two yellow boys," she says.  
I sit up straight.

Now the work begins, and  
Oh  
the work is hard.

3. She does not love  
my work, but she loves  
my baby, tells me  
to have many more.

4. A Reading at Temple University  
"Love," she wrote,  
and "love" and "love" and "love,"  
and "amanuensis," "velvet," "pantry," "lean,"  
Shadrack, Solomon, Hagar, Jadine, Plum,  
circles tsch runagate  
and then,  
she whispered it,  
  
love

I will end with a funny little poem that I think is another "gender matters poem"! It is called "Postpartum Dream Number 12" and is particularly suitable since we are in the Law School:

*Postpartum Dream # 12: Appointment*

I answered all  
the Chief Justice's questions  
impeccably, and it wasn't  
very hard.

I waited  
with my father  
for the phone call.

“I guess I’ll be  
the first black woman  
on the Supreme Court  
if I get this.”

“Damn straight,”  
said my Dad.

The President  
appeared on television  
playing golf and smiling.  
He has a secret.  
His secretary phones  
and asks the question.

Maybe I could do it  
when the baby  
goes to kindergarten. Maybe  
I could do it  
on alternate Mondays.  
Maybe my baby  
could gurgle and coo  
in a pen in my chambers,  
pulling at the curls  
on my barrister’s wig,  
spitting up on my black robes.

Meanwhile,

I’m excited. I turned out  
to be a good lawyer, the best,  
just like my Dad.

## Searching for Gender: Reminiscences from Yale in the 1970s

Seyla Benhabib

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1. It is a late winter afternoon on a Friday, the year 1974, and philosophy graduate students are meeting in one of the charmingly dilapidated rooms of Connecticut Hall. For weeks there has been a buzz in the corridors of this ancient building that two of our classmates will “take Hegel on.” The title of their presentation is something like “Sex and Gender in Hegel.” It may have been the first time that anyone had used “sex” in the venerable halls of that building—certainly in public, even if not in private. Along with twenty-five other colleagues I crowd into the second floor seminar room of Connecticut Hall, and watch as Stephen Holmes and Charles Larmore, two of the more eminent academics of my generation, cite paragraphs # 165 to 169 of Hegel’s *Philosophy of Right*, on the nuclear family. In these paragraphs Hegel argues that the mind divides itself necessarily and not accidentally into two kinds: the male who is active, who knows conflict, labor, war and struggle; and the female who is passive, intuitive, and who does not labor and struggle but lives in the “immediacy of the

concept”—as the Hegelian lingo goes. And now comes the *coup de grace*—the blow of death—to all of us interested in European thought:

Women may well be educated but they are not made for the higher sciences, for philosophy and artistic productions which require a “universal element.” Women may have insights, taste and delicacy, but they do not possess the ideal. The difference between man and woman is the difference between animal and plant; the animal is closer in character to man, the plant to woman. (G.W.F. Hegel, *Hegel’s Philosophy of Right*, trans. by T.M. Knox, #166 Addition)

The small seminar room is warm; warmer than usual, I feel. My classmates are roaring with laughter: they always knew that Hegel was an idiot anyway. As the presentation ends amidst great mirth and laughter, the discussion period begins. Hands go up: “Of course,” says a woman’s voice, “it is easy to tear Hegel out of his historical context and to parody him, the way you have done. But it would have been much more interesting for you to analyze why it even occurred to Hegel to include a chapter on the family in his philosophy of the modern state, when with the exception of Rousseau, no one before him had; furthermore, remember Kant’s definition of marriage—“the consensual agreement to the mutual use of each others’ sexual organs.” Can you say that Hegel is more ridiculous than Kant when it comes to the family? Besides which, you do not really address the metaphysical question of the relationship between empirical reality—i.e. sexual difference—and the philosophical concept . . . ” and so on and so forth.

By now you will have guessed that that squirming young woman in the corner was myself, attempting to salvage my philosophical hero from the infamous attacks of that afternoon. I wanted to save Hegel—no matter what his views on gender were, for it seemed to me, as to many others of my generation, that without knowing your Hegel, Kant, Rousseau, as precursors to Marx, not only would you not be able to understand Freud, Marcuse, Benjamin, Arendt and Habermas, but you would not be able to

engage in a radical critique of society either. We were right and wrong: we were right that one had to know Hegel, and wrong that either knowing or not knowing him would have enabled us to save the world. An Italian feminist, Adrianna Cavarrero, would write much later “Spittiamo sobre Hegel”—“Let us spit on Hegel.” No, that afternoon I was not about to spit on Hegel and would not even allow the gender question to detract from my allegiances.

Twenty years later, in 1991, as the gender question had become part of my scholarly work, I revisited these paragraphs in Hegel’s *Philosophy of Right* and wrote an essay called “On Hegel, Women and Irony.”<sup>1</sup> This time I did not try to save Hegel, instead I attempted to hear the voices of those women in his circle whose lives and personalities were part of the historical and philosophical prejudices which underlined the text. I reclaimed the voices of women like Caroline Schlegel Schelling, and wrote: “The vision of Hegelian reconciliation has long ceased to convince: the otherness of the other is that moment of irony, reversal and inversion with which we must live. What women can do today is to restore irony to the dialectic, by deflating the pompous march of historical necessity . . . ” (256)

I recall this episode for two reasons: first, it reveals something about the graduate student culture of Yale in the 1970s; second, and more importantly, it makes vivid that the gender question enters into our scholarly work and preoccupations at different times in our lives and at different speeds. Just as there are different temporalities in each discipline for the gender question to become relevant in that discipline—think of history and literature here in contrast to philosophy and biology—so too there is an individual time for hearing the gender question. My own epiphany as a feminist came much later, when I heard the psychoanalyst and social theorist, Jessica Benjamin, discuss women’s psychosexual development. In a lecture given in Munich in 1979, where I had gone to study with Juergen Habermas, Benjamin lectured on the consequences that neglecting different gender patterns of relating to authority had had for Frankfurt School theories on the



authoritarian personality. That was my moment of epistemic conversion to gender as a category of analysis.

At Yale in the 1970s, there were three to four women admitted to the incoming graduate philosophy classes every year. We were blissfully ignorant of the fact that Yale College had started admitting women only in 1969; we were removed from the concerns of undergraduate women just as we were removed from the struggles of the first junior women faculty who were hired in my department. The first senior woman joined the Yale philosophy department in 1973. For us, graduate student women, professional survival in a predominantly male discipline—philosophy—was paramount. However, there were tears as well as moments of depression, feelings of defeat as well as great loneliness along the way, but it never occurred to us that we could overcome these woes or do something about them by organizing as women. I had been a member of the student movement since 1968, and when measured up to the struggle against global imperialism and capitalism, the gender question appeared trivial.

By the time I received my Ph.D. in 1977 and was hired as an Assistant Professor in the Philosophy department, things were changing. We heard through our undergraduates that colleagues in the history department were teaching courses on women, gender and the family; that Jacques Derrida and Paul de Man were taking apart Rousseau, Hegel, and Kant in their lectures. The intellectual foment that was to be known much later as the postmodernist, feminist, and multiculturalist attack on the tradition had begun. But I was struggling with Hegel, Habermas and Arendt, whose lectures I had heard at the New School for Social Research, and who had inspired as well as intimidated me. When one of my brilliant undergraduate students, whose admission to the graduate program in 1978 I had supported—Judith Butler—told me about “take back the night” marches in Wooster Square and about organizations like “Women Against Rape,” I felt like I had more important things to worry about: late capitalism, totalitarianism, the Freudo-Marxist theory of the failure of the working class to resist fascism, etc. You all know the list.

When I think back upon those days, I am grateful to this institution for one thing: the philosophical education I received at Yale provided me with a space of “Aufklärung,” of Enlightenment in the two senses of the German word—of illumination and a clearing. This institution not only introduced me to Hegel as well as Aristotle, Kant as well as John Dewey, Charles Sanders Pierce as well as Josiah Royce, but it also gave me the “clearing”—the space and the location—from which to unfold and to think my own eccentric thoughts. Yale’s famous quirkiness in scholarship, the appreciation of those who follow the paths of the mind which seemingly lead nowhere fast; the encouragement to pursue one’s vocation even if it seems ridiculous and useless to others, and above all, the belief that human history mattered and that in the humanities the text was to be taken more seriously than even the author herself—these silent principles of a Yale education have deeply influenced me. But that was then. What about today?

II. I want to recall a distinction known to many of you between the “women’s question” and the “question of gender.” Asking the women’s question means making women the subject and object of our scholarly, artistic, and scientific endeavors. These can range from reconstructing the history of women’s midwifery and knowledge of medicine to analyzing the epidemiology of various diseases as they affect women of different colors and cultural groups, as has been done recently, for example, about the occurrence of breast cancer and other diseases among black as opposed to white women, or among women of European Jewish versus women of oriental Jewish descent.

Making women the subject of our inquiries involves then reclaiming women’s achievements and contributions as philosophers, scientists, composers and artists. Such endeavors aim at rendering women “visible,” as the title of one of the earliest collections of women’s history was named.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps less generously, this approach can also be called “the mix and stir” approach. By adding women to the disciplines, we are not really changing their assumptions, theories or hypotheses; we are just putting women

into the mix. This approach has been successfully practiced in history as well as literature, in sociology as well as medicine, in political science as well as musicology.

The gender question is different. To be guided by “gender” as a category of analysis means interrogating those socio-cultural, historical and institutional practices through which human beings become sexed bodies, and are endowed with a certain psycho-sexual gender constitution. In the early days of feminist theory, the gender question was focused on the binarisms of “male and female.” Since then the rise of gay, lesbian, and queer studies has considerably complicated this framework.

While most disciplines in the university can accommodate the “women’s question” without much restructuring of the terms of inquiry, it is much more difficult to accommodate the gender question without subverting fundamental assumptions, theories, and premises. Those disciplines which aspire to speak on behalf of a universal subject—the rational self; man as the *zoon politikon*—are the ones most deeply affected. I am thinking here of philosophy, jurisprudence, the law, economics, political theory, linguistics, and the natural sciences, as opposed to history, anthropology, literature, and sociology. Gender emerged as a category of inquiry in these latter disciplines earlier, and was integrated into the central framework more quickly than in the former. In the case of all disciplines, to raise the gender question means creating moments of epistemological clearing—in the double sense of *illumination* and a *new location*. At such points the inclusion of gender opens new venues of inquiry; and we become aware that its prior omission had closed the field and distorted the truth of its assertions. I call the emergence of new questions, vistas, and research agendas through the inclusion of gender, the work of “feminist reconstruction,” and the critique of the field, because of its exclusion of gender, that of “feminist deconstruction.”

An example from my field of political philosophy may clarify the difference between these two procedures. Most modern political thought begins with a complex metaphor called the “state of nature.” This ahistorical condition is said to describe human nature;

it is also added that without government, “men” would be found in such a condition as described by the theorists. In the words of Thomas Hobbes, their fate would be “nasty, brutish and short” or “they would roam around like a happy savage,” according to Rousseau. Civil government emerges through a social contract among individuals who experience the untenable condition of the state of nature. Political legitimacy results from this original act of consent.

Feminist political theorists pointed out that women and children seemed invisible in the state of nature; this mythical condition was populated by adult men alone. Where were the women and the children? How did their absence affect the logic of these theories of political legitimacy, consent, and obligation? The feminist work of *deconstruction* of the social contract tradition—as exercised for example by Carole Pateman, Hannah Pitkin, Susan Okin, Jean Elshtain, Wendy Brown, and many others<sup>3</sup>—revealed that the categories of early bourgeois liberalism, like equality, autonomy, property, consent, were all gender-coded, and that in fact the social contract was underlined by an inarticulated gender contract. The feminist work of *reconstruction*, by contrast, would not restrict itself to demystifying the claims of the tradition but to answering the question, how must we rethink political legitimacy and obligation if our model of the citizen is not the male warrior who is also the head of household but the wage-earning mother of dependent children? How must we rethink democracy, normatively as well as institutionally, if we want the working mother to be a full citizen?

The work of feminist reconstruction and deconstruction continues in each of our disciplines, at different speeds and intervals. Yet some of the early epistemic dynamism behind this work has been lost. Partly through the rise of cultural studies, the gender question has been displaced. One of the issues which I would like to see addressed as we look ahead is how the rise of cultural studies and the diffusion of the gender question into the multiplex identity questions of “race, class, ethnicity, sexuality” has affected the task of feminist reconstruction and deconstruction.

In the light of the events of September 11 and the bombing of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, it is also clear that much of our thinking has been parochial and trapped by concepts of culture and identity that had emerged in the heyday of identity politics in the United States. We have now entered a new era in which the identity question is on the agenda of the globe, and the study of culture has to become the study of cultural contrasts and comparisons, of the interpenetration of cultures and religions, of the complex and difficult dialogue of cultures across a global civilization. The woman question and the gender question will play a crucial role at this juncture. Samuel Huntington delivered the *bon mot* of “the coming clash of civilizations.”<sup>4</sup> Certainly at the surface the events of September 11 seemed like a “Jihad against civilization.” I think this is wrong. These categories are too blunt, too homogenizing; they flatten contrasts and divert from the interpenetration, dialogue, as well as confrontation of cultures, which is our lot in today’s world. “Sexual difference and collective identities”—this is the new global constellation which we must rethink.<sup>5</sup>

The contradictory pulls of globalization, even before their murderous manifestation during the fall of 2001, had been visible for some time. As globalization proceeds at a dizzying rate, as a material global civilization encompasses the earth from Hong Kong to Lima, from Istanbul to Helsinki, worldwide integration of the economic, military, technological, and communications media, has been accompanied by cultural and collective disintegration. Religious and ethnic conflicts have affected some of the oldest democracies in the Third World, like India and Turkey. Need one mention the civil wars in the Balkans, the nationality conflicts in Macedonia, Adzerbaijan, Chechnya, and Rwanda? Spinning a dynamic which we have hardly begun to understand, globalization has been accompanied by socio-cultural fragmentation of old nation-states; the rise of ethnic, national, and gender violence; and of course of fundamentalisms. As the markers of certainty have declined, “new” signifiers which present identities (as if they were racially, anthropologically or confessionally

deep-seated distinctions) have reemerged. Essentialism has raised its ugly head, with predictable consequences.

When cultures and civilizations meet, the status of women and children is the most contested aspect of their encounters. “The traffic in women,” or the exchange of women through barter and marriage, war and conquest, has been a firm feature of most known human societies everywhere. The private sphere, broadly conceived as it includes women and children and the regulation of sex, birth, and death, leads and will continue to lead to some of the most bitter and deeply fraught cultural struggles in our own days. We see these in the contemporary multiculturalism and feminism debates. What should liberal democracies do about the practices of clitoridectomy—criminalize those who practice it, tolerate them, ignore them? What about arranged marriages? What about the wearing of head scarves? As globalization brings with it the increased and rapid encounters of cultures, faiths, ethnicities, and nationalities, these questions face us with urgency. Negotiating, debating, reformulating the rights of women and children across cultures and to do this without hectoring, humiliating, and dismissing the culture of other women and children; to understand the momentous changes that globalization has brought in the status of women in many parts of the world, from computer chip workers in southeast Asia, to textile workers in Bangladesh; to the pleasure workers of the newly emergent economies of eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, these are the tasks of transnational or global feminism. The “global traffic in women” is underway.

Let me conclude by reminding you that the Taliban regime in Afghanistan had consolidated its power by declaring war on its own women: it denied them public education; it has imprisoned them in the home and has sent many professional women like teachers, doctors, and lawyers to prisons or hospitals; it has denied women basic health care. The war against civilization began at home, with the war against women. I have often asked myself why in effect, much before the events of September 11, 2001, this regime was not accused of crimes against humanity

on account of what they had done to their own women. Is the woman question not also a human question? What can we do as women in the coming hard days such as to create social movements, NGOs, and spaces in civil societies in order to keep transnational channels of communication open, to help one another, to understand our differences, and to make sure that the rights of women and children are always on the agenda of international debates and negotiations?

- 1 S. Benhabib, "On Hegel, Women and Irony," in *Situating the Self: Gender, Community and Postmodernism in Contemporary Ethics* (New York and London: Routledge and Polity, 1992), 242–260.
- 2 *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz and Susan Stuard, eds., Second edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1987).
- 3 Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); Hannah Pitkin, *Fortune is a Woman: Gender and Politics in the Thought of Niccolo Machiavelli* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Susan Moller Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979); Jean Bethke Elhstain, *Public Man, Private Woman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Alison M. Jaggar, *Feminist Politics and Human Nature* (New Jersey: Rowman and Allanheld, 1983); Wendy Brown, *Manhood and Politics* (New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1988).
- 4 Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).
- 5 See S. Benhabib, "Sexual Difference and Collective Identities. The New Constellations," *Signs*. 24.2 (1999), 335–361.

## Women in and on Film

Sarah Pillsbury

Producer, Sanford Pillsbury Productions

It is an incredible honor to be invited to this conference in the company of so many accomplished and thoughtful women. When I was first invited I admit to being somewhat daunted although not quite as worried as my daughter who is here with me on her college tour. "Mom," she implored me, "whatever you do, please sound smart." And the women who came before me have set the bar very high.

I've been asked to speak about my career in the movies and the impact of women in and on film. But after last week when we heard so often that the unimaginable had happened, I found myself drawn to the topic of this particular seminar—"Imagination: Center of the Arts." I thought about my own relationship to my imagination and what comes to us from the imaginations of others in the worlds of film and television.

Before I came to Yale I don't think I made much use of my imagination—except to daydream in school or to envision favorable outcomes in my own social dramas or conjure up some

future glory. But I did rely heavily on the imagination of others. I found refuge in other people's stories and images, in paintings and sculpture, poetry and fiction, plays and television, but most of all at the movies. What with my blond hair and all, I thought I might be a movie star, but I don't remember if I ever thought about the people who made these movies until my parents introduced me to another Yalie, George Roy Hill. I was in awe of him and I certainly never thought that I would have any part of making movies myself.

Then I got to Yale in the fall of 1969 and the women's movement was in full bloom. Being in the first class of women, there was a special urgency to our feminism. The ratio among undergraduates of eight men to every woman was amusing only in the abstract, and soon after I arrived I was involved in passing around a petition calling for open admissions. Kingman Brewster meanwhile took pains to assure the alumni that Yale was still committed to producing one thousand male leaders every year, thus prompting my classmate, Julia Preston (now a Pulitzer Prize winning journalist) to quip that Yale was now committed to producing one thousand male leaders and 250 bitchy wives.

There was plenty to rail against but the paramount issue for me was that suddenly I was supposed to have some sort of ambition. Here I was fortunate enough to be at Yale and I didn't know what the hell I wanted to do. Returning early for my sophomore year because I had work left undone (this was after May Day 1970 and we were cut a lot of slack), I sequestered myself in the JE library to finish a few papers and plot out my year. I emptied my mind of any preconceived notions and started on page one of the Course Catalogue and didn't stop reading until H—history—African history. Eureka. I would study African history, then take a year off and go live there—in a third world country, a popular notion at the time.

In Kenya everyone becomes a photographer. You can point and shoot and it's so stunning, it's not hard to imagine you have talent. But more important for me was realizing that the only thing I really missed about the States was the movies. Since I was a kid

I'd gone almost every week and even more after I got to Yale. There were the Yale Film Society, the American Film Society, the Berkeley Film Society and the Yale Law School Film Society and every Tuesday at eleven, there was a series, Things That Go Bump in the Night.

I was also struck by the misconceptions Africans had about the States and Americans—many of which came from the movies and television they had seen. And I wanted to go back and tell Americans what Africa was like. I would bear witness and deliver the truth and, of course, I knew what that was because I was all of 21.

When I returned to Yale I wanted to study film, but there weren't a lot of options. I took some film courses—none of which were taught by women—in fact, I never had a woman professor at Yale. But I was encouraged by some wonderful men: Michael Rohmer, Nick Dubb and my history advisor, Leonard Thompson.

I moved to L.A. and due to the times and my political interests, I initially set out to make documentary films, but after a couple years, I realized that dramatic film was my first love. Plus, I'd had the opportunity to work on some dramatic, student films and I had fallen in love with the process.

I didn't think too much about whether becoming a filmmaker would be a hard thing for a woman to do, but in hindsight I see that my decision to be a producer was absolutely based on gender. A veteran, male literary agent once made the ridiculous comment that women could never be directors because they had never been captains of ships. But the truth is I didn't have the nerve to try to become a director. The obstacle was internal as much as external. I was afraid to call the shots.

On the other hand, being experienced as an organizer and activist and having the role model of den mothers, camp counselors and party hostesses, producing came more naturally. Still, only six months after I hung out my shingle as a producer, I realized that I couldn't go it alone and had the great fortune to hook up with Midge Sanford who has been my producing partner for twenty years. Both of us marvel at those younger and bolder



women directors who have overcome those internal obstacles as well as the more real and prevalent external obstacles that exist to this day. Just as I had some questions about my ability to lead, I also questioned if I had real vision. Instead I chose to serve the visions of others: writers and directors.

I'm conscious of being up here today with two women who are creators when the creative process for us is more reactive, responsive, and collaborative. But producers must be imaginative as we try to get a sense of how a script will play on the screen. Then we have to imagine whether enough people can be persuaded to see it to make it viable commercially. Essentially, Midge and I try to make movies that we want to see: human stories on a human scale. But when my daughter is asked what kinds of movies we make, she likes to say that we make movies about women trying to find themselves and it's not a bad description of a number of our films: *How to Make an American Quilt* and *The Love Letter*. But the search for identity is most pronounced in *Desperately Seeking Susan* and *Lovefield*.

Six years ago Midge and I were choosing film clips from our movies for a conference celebrating 100 years of Psychoanalysis and Filmmaking—who knew they shared a birthday?—*Psychic Reality: Projections of Gender and Power*, I believe it was called. We were surprised and amused to realize that we had told the same story twice. Roberta played by Rosanna Arquette in *Desperately Seeking Susan* and Lurene played by Michele Pfeiffer in *Lovefield* have the same character arc.

Both are unsatisfied in their lives and their marriages, but don't realize it because they live vicariously through other women. Roberta follows Susan (played by Madonna) and her travels through the personals and Lurene idolizes Jackie Kennedy—"I have the same suit! We have the same taste," she cries out as Jackie and Jack get off the plane at Lovefield in Dallas. Their obsessions propel them on an adventure that reveals their real values and strengths to them, allows them to leave their marriages and find romance, but not until they find themselves first.

We then joked that we had to make the two, because there were two of us struggling with our own identities. And while we work with different writers and directors what we've produced reflects important themes in our own lives. My long partnership with Midge is based on shared values and tastes, although our interests diverge at times—she's more spiritually and psychologically oriented. I love politics, history, and sociology. But the first thing we look for in a story are characters so lively and so relatable that we can't believe that one day we won't be able to make them come alive on the screen. We're attracted to characters who must face some emotional crisis, moral dilemma or historical circumstances often beyond their control and are transformed in the process. Sometimes they're men, as in *Eight Men Out*, *And the Band Played On*, and *River's Edge*.

Though we're attracted to women's stories, like most women producers and directors, we're afraid of being pigeonholed. And Midge and I haven't been specifically interested in message movies or in women's films. We just hate movies that appeal to the lowest common denominator and we try to speak to what's best in people: the search for self-knowledge and awareness, the commitment to live a moral and just life and, as in *How to Make an American Quilt*, how we learn to forgive the people in our lives—most of all ourselves—for all the bad choices, the missteps and the lost opportunities, and put the pieces of our lives together.

Midge and I feel enormously blessed to have made so many movies, but the best part of all was being able to create for other people those magical, transformative moments that had inspired us.

I wish I could say it has gotten easier, but it hasn't. When we were shopping *Desperately Seeking Susan*, a script that most women fell in love with, we realized there wasn't a woman in town who could say yes and green light it. However, it was a woman executive at Orion, Barbara Boyle, who was one of the founders of Women in Film who got it made by threatening to quit. "They don't want Goldie Hawn, they don't want Barbra Streisand. They want to work with up and coming actresses. They need \$5 million and if you don't give it to me, I don't know why you hired me."

In 1980, Sherry Lansing became the first studio president and others have followed, but only a couple have that kind of power.

I was jealous during the conversation yesterday about universities where there is some hope of an institutional response to sexist practices. As Martha Lauzen at San Diego State remarked after compiling dismal statistics of women in the entertainment business, “It is my understanding that Hollywood cannot be embarrassed about its treatment of women in the same way it can be for its underrepresentation of minorities. They just don’t care.”

Sexism has always been endemic to the film business. Before the studio system was born, women enjoyed a surprising degree of success—from 1911–1925, half of all the movies made were written by women. But men ran the studios and men hired men. And despite some success stories—it’s still true today. Women wrote only 17% of the screenplays that were produced during the past decade. Women get little over one third of the acting roles, and for women over 40, it’s 9%. In 1998, women directors worked only 10% of the total days worked by DGA directors. In the year 2000, only 17% of the producers, executive producers, directors, writers, directors of photography, and editors were women. But 90% of all executives are male. With the pressure on them to make money, they want to make safe choices regarding what films they make and whom they hire to make them. As Jodie Foster remarked, “When faced with giving someone \$5 million and an enormous amount of faith and good will, you’re going to give it to someone who looks like you. You’re not going to give it to the black guy and you’re not going to give it to the woman.” Women still suffer from the old prejudices: we don’t understand all the technical information, we can’t handle the money and the pressure, and we’re too emotional.

Never mind that it’s male directors who have the reputation of blowing up on the set and harassing their crews. Hollywood rewards bad behavior. They love their boy wonders, their *enfants terribles*, says director Julie Taymor. But women still get labeled as difficult. When women directors and producers don’t work it hurts women all the way down the line. Women are more likely

to hire women. Martha Lauzen’s study showed that when women direct, the number of women on the cast and crew increases by 150%.

There is prejudice against women’s movies, and what are typically categorized as women’s themes are often viewed as unimportant. I was talking to a husband and wife the other day and the man asked me if I’d seen *Apocalypse Now: Redux*. I said that I hadn’t heard enough good things about it to make me want to see it again, but what I really had liked recently was *The Deep End*. The depiction of the mother’s relationship with her teenage son really resonated with me. “But,” said the husband, “Coppola tackles the big issues like war and our country.” “As opposed to motherhood?” said the wife. Intimate stories about women that deal with relationships, friendship, family, love and romance, personal growth and empowerment—which are dubbed disparagingly women’s films—are considered soft and difficult to market.

Every two years or so after the “surprising success” of a *First Wives Club* or *Erin Brockovich*, we get a call from a journalist wondering if this doesn’t herald a new wave of women’s films. But it never has. Partly because—wouldn’t you know it—we’re too damn unpredictable. The marketing geniuses try to track our interests and our awareness of specific films to determine how many of us will show up to buy tickets, but they just can’t get a finger on it. Young males, on the other hand, are very predictable. They show up that ever-important first weekend seemingly regardless of reviews. Women wait and see, but when they like something they can show up in droves and remain loyal. Hollywood hasn’t figured out how to market to that huge audience. I don’t think they’ve really tried.

The consolidation of media ownership has made it even tougher. We made five feature films in the 1980s—four of them were for companies that don’t exist anymore. In 1982, there were over fifty media conglomerates dominating U.S. media; in 1997 there were ten. Some people say we’re coming to the day when there will be only three. Former AOL Time Warner CEO Gerald Levin foresees a world where the media business is “more

important than government . . . more important than educational institutions and non-profits.” So we have these people controlling the movie business and they aren’t in it because they saw *Citizen Kane* (or *Desperately Seeking Susan*) in college. They’re in it to make money and to maximize profits, and they want filmmaking to conform to the rules that govern the creation, production, marketing, and distribution of other products.

This isn’t good for film and it’s even harder on women filmmakers. In the 1980s, when we first approached a studio to try to get a movie going, the first thought in an executive’s mind was not how to sell it. There were executives out there who if they loved the script would energetically join with you in the creative process of finding the right director or actor. Now you have to go in knowing who’s directing and who’s going to be in it. They want to have a package with elements they can run the numbers on. Is the director known in foreign markets? How well did the actor’s last movie do? They want to know how to sell it before it’s been made. They’re looking to get at least 60% of the budget in presales from overseas and what they’re sure sells overseas are sex and violence—things that don’t need subtitles.

We don’t have time to go into the issues regarding sex and violence in film and television. I just want to say that when, for example, I hear people ask whether violence in the media creates more violence in the world (and actually most studies show that it does), I think we should flip the question and ask filmmakers: “What are you trying to say? What are you exhorting or inspiring people to do? Is your movie inspiring someone to dream or to help a child, to call their sister or forgive their father, or to fight against injustice in this world?”

On September 11, some people said that the unimaginable had happened and I thought, no, I live in a town where people dream this stuff up all the time and think about how they can make money off of it. And then they have the audacity to defend their right to do so as free speech without a thought to social responsibility. Even now as networks and studios pull shows and delay release dates of some movies, I think their first concern is

not to alienate their audiences. I would hope that the public has lost its taste for this kind of violence and mayhem, but Americans have always had an historical amnesia.

Last week I found myself looking over and over again at the image of the plane going into the second tower. I wanted to see it from all angles. I wondered why I was so compelled to do this. An article in *Daily Variety* quoted a grief counselor who described this as part of the grieving process. We need to get over our denial. Because these images are so mediated by the images we’ve seen in the movies, because these movies require us to detach from any thought of human suffering, the images of 9/11 seem unreal. The creators of violent fare keep trying to top themselves by imagining bigger explosions and new disasters, but their imaginations fail them when it comes to thinking about the aftermath: the horror, the suffering, the loss, and the grief. This stuff doesn’t sell tickets. I realized that I wanted to see those images to make it real to me, to imagine what really happened, to think about it in human terms.

After Pearl Harbor, Hollywood responded quickly. Movie stars enlisted. Directors went into war to make documentaries. And when they returned, they did meaningful work about their experiences, like *The Best Years of Our Lives*. The Vietnam era gave birth to a new wave of thoughtful, provocative films (films that inspired me to come into the business). Who knows what will happen now?

There are movies to be made. All of us know of the power of loss and grief to transform our lives. Women are particularly good at observing and valuing daily life, of seeing the miraculous in the mundane. I think they can help us comprehend the devastation in people’s lives and help us cope with our loss. I want to hear their voices. I want to have access to the fruits of their imagination. I wonder if I will.

# LEADERSHIP: REINVENTING THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL

## The Challenge of Global Sustainability

Frances Beinecke

Executive Director, Natural Resources Defense Council

After last week's events, I, like I am sure all of you, have had to go back to the basics of who we are and what we are doing, why we are doing it, and whether it has significance. Where have these events of September 11th taken us?

I am a New Yorker. I witnessed the attack on the World Trade Center from the street and then from my office on lower Fifth Avenue. I, with my colleagues, saw the same horrors that you have all seen. Some of you perhaps saw it live as did I, others on CNN and in the papers. The tremendous loss—of life, of a sense of security, and of normalcy—has profoundly affected all of us in ways that are still unfolding.

In the days immediately following, many of us could not imagine getting back to our day-to-day work. Still, at NRDC, like probably all other organizations and businesses around the city and around the country, we needed to quickly regroup and consider how to move forward. On Thursday, September 13th, we came to a full stop and began the process of considering thoughtfully where

our work of environmental advocacy fits into the new political and emotional climate in the United States.

Just to digress a bit, NRDC is a national environmental advocacy organization that uses a combination of legal, scientific, and technical expertise, litigation, media, lobbying, and grassroots support from 500,000 members to reach decision makers in government and in business. Our tactics are targeted, direct and pragmatic, and over the last eight months we have been vocal in our opposition to the environmental policies of the Bush administration. We have advertised widely and use direct mail as a major communication and education vehicle with our half million members and prospective members.

In short order, we reaffirmed our commitment to environmental advocacy. In our view, and as I will describe in more detail momentarily, environmental issues remain critical to our nation's security and prosperity in the immediate future as well as the long term. Our challenge today is to devise an advocacy strategy that communicates that urgency and significance in a time of national tragedy and a heightened attention to national security and patriotism.

First: what are the critical issues that we are at work to address and seek solutions for? To put it at its most fundamental, we are still a globe of six billion people putting enormous strain on the earth's resources; resources that we continue to depend on for day-to-day survival. The United States uses a disproportionate amount of these resources. Our appetite is causing strained relations around the world, as well as causing serious long-term ecological alteration. It is these globally significant issues of energy use, climate change, resource degradation of forests and oceans, increased use and human exposure of toxic chemicals that are the focus of much of NRDC's work. Global environmental trends in each of these sectors are indeed alarming: over 2,500 of the world's climate scientists have concluded that the earth's climate is changing as a result of increased carbon dioxide emissions into the atmosphere. The temperature is expected to change in the United States from 5 to 10 degrees Fahrenheit over the next 100

years unless greenhouse gas emissions are reduced substantially. Climate science is no longer part of the debate. The United States continues to emit more than 25% of the CO<sub>2</sub> worldwide, so making a commitment to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> through curtailing power plant emissions is critical.

Species are being lost at a rate unparalleled since that experienced at the time of the dinosaur extinction. And habitat is being lost at an alarming rate as well. One hundred and eighty million acres of forestland have been lost in the last fifteen years.

Seventy of the commercial fisheries are in decline. And yet many of the world's people depend on local fisheries as a major if not the principal source of protein.

The world's coral reefs, perhaps the canary of the oceans, are being bleached or dying off.

In mega-cities across the globe, from Beijing to Mexico City, urban air quality is causing significant health related impacts. Asthma rates have reached epidemic proportions in major cities in the United States, as well as around the world. In the U.S. alone there are 16 million Americans with asthma. Asthma incidence has doubled since 1980, and risen by 160% for children under age 4.

Over one billion people in the world do not have adequate freshwater; two billion do not have safe drinking water. This issue affects women in the developing world directly as days are spent carrying drinking water from source to home, and as millions of young children continue to die from dysentery and diarrhea.

We in the environmental community have said for years that many of these issues are becoming issues of international security as nations compete for energy, resources to feed their populations, water their crops. Although we are now faced with a major national security threat posed by terrorism, it is possible, perhaps likely, that oil and energy issues will quickly become entangled in the evolving fight against terrorism. In addition, these issues could easily lead to border wars in many parts of the developing world, particularly in Africa and the Middle East.

Many of today's issues also emanate from the modern, industrial society found in the developed world. Of the 80,000



chemicals in use today less than 10,000 have been tested for human health effects. Toxic exposure is on the rise and yet little is known of the human health consequences, although concern is growing as many cancers, including breast, non-Hodgkin's lymphoma, brain tumors, and childhood cancers rise. Breast cancer has been rising at 1 to 2% a year for decades, 180,000 new cases each year, only a third of which are thought to be genetic. Every three minutes a woman is diagnosed with breast cancer in this country, and that will continue regardless of global political turmoil. I am sure many of you in this audience are breast cancer survivors, as am I. I believe there is a close link between health and the environment.

As we have regrouped at NRDC, we have concluded that the role we play continues to be vital for the short and long-term well-being of the planet and even for the stability and security of the U.S. Finding and advocating policy and regulatory solutions, continuing to bring these issues to the fore, remains important to the long-term well-being of the individual and the planet.

Perhaps most pressing in the short term is the need to advocate an energy policy that reduces dependency from oil, period; whether the oil comes from the Middle East or the Arctic wildlife refuge. We are a nation that has no thought for tomorrow in the amount and sources of energy that our inefficient cars, air conditioners, heating systems, and refrigerators use. We at NRDC know that energy security can be achieved economically, and quickly, through a combination of conservation, efficiency, and new technology. One need look no farther than California, which in a time of emergency reduced their electricity demand by 12% in six months. We can do that as a nation, if we take on the cause with determination. Reducing our consumption will do far more for national energy security than a "drain America first" policy of drilling precious public lands and waters for oil. So that is our first challenge, to address the current crisis with a clarion call for energy conservation and efficiency to meet the needs of national security for now and the long term.

You might be wondering at this point where gender fits into this strategy. It does because women generally are successful at taking the long-term view and one that has the concern of future generations at its core. Our own membership of half a million is over 60% women. Women as a political wedge can play a critical role in influencing the direction of policy, if we are willing to use it. And many of the long-term environmental threats that we face have women at the core, from the rise in asthma and breast cancer rates in this country, to the curtailing of opportunity for women worldwide as long as they are preoccupied out of necessity with carrying water and firewood long distances on a daily basis and caring for children sick from contaminated water. Our work will be to focus on women as an interest group, and take the commitment and concern that we know is there from our own members, polls, and focus groups, etc., and translate that interest into action.

Many of us are struggling right now with how to be useful in this period of national distress. In the first days after the attack, I put environmental issues aside. Now I have concluded that their long-term solution is vital to solving the fundamental discordance we have with at least a significant part of the world. We have to demonstrate a broader concern for the fate of the world, its people, and its natural systems that we all depend on than we have in the past. We have to work with national leaders in business and government to make a transition to a world vision built on sustainability and not dominance. And we in the environmental community need to broaden our own vision of who our community is, both in the U.S. and worldwide. We need to partner with women's organizations, religious groups, and those interest groups who share our vision of long-term sustainability but address a different community, a different audience in reaching it.

Reaching those women who share the long view, and are willing to raise their voice and demand action to reduce our footprint on the world, will be our charge. I ask that you all join with me in trying to achieve it.

## **Women as Movement Builders: Building a World Fit For Children**

Marian Wright Edelman

Founder and President, Children's Defense Fund

In every major American and progressive political and social reform movement, women have always played a critical role, often in the background, employing organizational, communication, quiet leadership, and fundraising skills. They are quite often the glue that holds not only our homes together, but our congregations, institutions, and communities. I grew up in a household where my mother, who was a true leader and entrepreneur—the choir director, church organist, founder and head of the mothers' club, a pillar of the missionary society—was such a partner with my father, who was the pastor of our Baptist church. The church could not have run without her and the circle of formidable women she organized. I was so blessed to grow up in a household with a true partnership between a mother who taught me how to organize and mobilize communities and help keep institutions running and a father who made it clear that my sister and I were expected to achieve as much as, or more than, my three older brothers. Just as our church could not have functioned without

my mother, most churches and religious institutions would collapse today without women who provide the quiet human infrastructure to keep them going.

Women's leadership around the world reflects this pattern, slowly but surely transforming their communities and countries into places where food, shelter, and economic opportunities can be found. The Children's Defense Fund (CDF) has convened over a dozen meetings over the last two years to see if we can create a powerful global sisterhood of women committed to building a world fit for children in the 21st century and third millennium. September 11th has made building a strong voice for nonviolence and for peace with justice more urgent than ever.

Women in business, politics, education, media, science, and the faith community have gathered together to explore the possibilities for bringing their powerful resources to the work of protecting the future for children. One of our challenges is to weave a network of women of different colors, faiths, and income groups together into a coherent effort to find common ground. CDF has focused on children as the healing agents for community and movement building. I was really moved by the words of my dear friend, the former Minister of Women's Affairs in Iran. In New York when the Islamic fundamentalist revolution occurred, she found that she no longer held that position and that her fellow female cabinet member had been killed. A woman of deep spirituality and wisdom, she said that the key question for us to consider as women is how, in an age of modernity, do we hold onto spiritual and traditional core values which are important to us, to our children, and to our families in a world so driven by power, money, and violence?

I think the times compel all of us to examine more deeply life's meaning. Why are we here? This is an incredible moral moment in history to be alive. Few men and women have been blessed to experience the beginning of both a new century and a new millennium. How are we going to say thanks to God for the earth and the nation, world, and children entrusted to our care?

The 20th century was an era of stunning American intellectual

and scientific achievement. We earned 168 Nobel Prizes in science, sent humans to the moon and spaceships to Mars, cracked the genetic code, amassed tens of billions of dollars from a tiny microchip, and discovered cures for diseases, which give hope to millions if they can access treatment. We can transmit information faster than we can digest it and can buy anything we desire instantly online in our global shopping arcade. Wouldn't you think that we would make the commitment to figure out how to teach all of our children to read by the third grade and develop the moral and common sense to invest in all of our young who are our future? In America, a child drops out of school every nine seconds.

Are we pursuing the right priorities and should we be reassessing our choices? This is a time for new questions as we face a churning new world order that is struggling to be born and where there are no clear road maps. Isn't this an opportunity to build new paths and highways of hope, and bridges between those that have too much and those that have too little?

Changing rules of doing global business are creating new questions as well as challenges and opportunities. Who will gain and who will be left behind? Will the life chances of poor women and children be enhanced or exploited? Will powerful special interests eviscerate or respect democratic nation-states' decision-making processes? Will the changing nature of work to meet the demands of the new global economy strengthen or weaken job security, family, and community? Will cultural homogenization and corporate branding contribute to or detract from the rich diversity of our nation's and the world's people? How can we close the spiraling gap in health, income, and education that divides the rich and poor in the U.S. and in the world? Can we have better balance between the welfare of children and welfare of corporations? Can we ensure that everybody has a stake in building safer communities and nations? Dr. King was very clear about human indivisibility and how no person or nation is an island. And we all have to find ways, in our global village earth, of building a sisterhood and brotherhood to instill in our children a respect for human life. This has never been more urgent. So as

we face a new century, I hope we will look to some basic questions and finish the unfinished business of leaving no child behind in our own nation and in the world.

It is morally unacceptable that an American child is born into poverty every 46 seconds in the richest nation on earth. It also lacks common and economic sense. How many more prisons can we build? How many more children can we support in the overwhelmed juvenile justice system? We can prevent and eradicate child poverty and be a living mirror for what we would like to see in our world. It is not acceptable that we lead the world in health technology and let 9 million children go uninsured, 90% of them in working families. I'm proud that senior citizens receive Medicare, but I think every child should have a health safety net from birth. Through raised women's voices we can assure this.

It is shameful that an American child is abused or neglected every 11 seconds. We must place a priority on strengthening families and instilling an ethic of non-violence and new ways of resolving conflicts in our families, schools, and communities. Gandhi said women had a special role in teaching others to reject violence and that "the more I became non-violent the more I became like a woman." As the bearers and nurturers of children, we have a message to give to the world, particularly at a time like this. We should speak up against the cultural glorification of violence and habitual reliance on violence as the way to resolve disputes. It is not acceptable that one of our children is killed by guns every three hours and that we have lost 90,000 children to gun violence in our nation since 1979. What has happened to us that the killing of children has become routine not only here but all around the world? We have not seen or chosen not to see the invisible but relentless chronic toll of child deaths by gunfire. One of the things that I hope will come out of the tragedy of September 11th, which makes us all feel so vulnerable and without safe haven in the face of random terrorist violence, is that we might care and have compassion and be moved to action for those children who live in war zones in our cities year in and year out; children who will grow up in families who have never had a

sense of safety, permanence, and inclusion in our country. I hope that we can build bridges to those communities who feel daily what we have been feeling over the last year.

I started the Children's Defense Fund and its parent public interest law firm—the Washington Research Project—to try to pick up where Dr. King left off. I was moved the day after his assassination to go out into the public schools in Washington, D.C. to urge children not to riot or participate in the looting because they risked losing their future. A little boy about 11 or 12 looked at me straight in the eye and said, “Lady, what future? I ain't got no future.” I have been trying to respond and prove wrong that boy's truth for 30 years. I never dreamed it would be so hard.

The Sunday before he was assassinated, Dr. King spoke at the Washington National Cathedral. He told the parable of Dives and Lazarus. He said that Dives did not go to hell because of his wealth. Dives went to hell because he refused to see and respond to his brother. Dr. King said that America had all the resources it needed to eradicate poverty and he called for a Poor People's Campaign. The question was whether or not we had the will to do it.

At the time of Dr. King's death we had 11 million poor children. We have made great progress in dramatically decreasing the poverty of senior citizens since 1968, but we now have 12 million poor children, 70% of whom live in working families. We have an economy that has nearly tripled since Dr. King's death. I think it is time to build a movement to answer his call to end poverty, especially children's poverty, in the richest nation on earth.

Our mission and strategy for doing so is the comprehensive Act to Leave No Child Behind®. It lays out, in twelve titles, what any great nation can and must do for its children: provide health care; end hunger, poverty, and homelessness; prevent and alleviate child abuse and neglect; invest in quality Head Start, child care, and early childhood education and in good schools rather than in prisons after children get into trouble—all common-sense measures for which we have wonderful models. It is not to be confused with the single-issue, underfunded Bush “No Child Left Behind” education bill. Ours is a big vision that we can all rally behind.

Now we must mobilize to make it a reality, and I think women are going to play a special role. One strategy we're using builds on an earlier witness of women in the 1960s—Wednesdays in Mississippi. During the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer, we heard much about the college students who helped open up Mississippi's closed society but little about a quieter witness of presence. Dr. Dorothy Height and Polly Cowan, then the wife of CBS's president, recruited a “Cadillac crowd” of women across race and faiths, including the National Council of Negro Women, The National Council of Jewish Women, and Catholic women and began Wednesdays in Mississippi. Very quietly, they would go down to Mississippi on Wednesdays and meet with Black and White women trying to build bridges for racial understanding. There was a great gap between women on both sides of the racial aisle and a gap between poor and middle-class women. But as they began to build bridges, the program transformed the lives of the women who participated.

We are going to be mounting Wednesdays in Washington and At Home™ in order to build awareness and a persistent witness of presence for our children and for new choices in America that leave no child behind, a strategy which we hope will spill over into the world. We need to pester our political leaders every Wednesday, through phone calls, letters, emails, and visits, and send a clear message: “You are going to have to take care of our children.” Like the parable of the unjust judge and the widow in Luke 18 in the New Testament, we will come back again and again saying, “Give our children justice.” I think this is the new women's movement for children, for families, and for a new set of values in America. I really hope that you will join with us. I have enormous respect for, and have been inspired by, the women who have transformed their homes, who can juggle multiple tasks at once, and who see what needs to be done and do it. We have done that in personal ways, in our institutions, in our congregations, and in our communities. It is time now to bring these skills to bear on big public policy changes.



I love thinking back to the courageous women who were God's instruments for transforming history: Moses' mother; Moses' sister; a Pharaoh's daughter of a different ethnicity and class; and two slave midwives, Shiphah and Puah, who had been ordered to destroy all Hebrew boy babies. But these slave midwives feared God more than they feared Pharaoh. These five very unlikely social revolutionists were God's instruments for changing the course of history. So must we be today in our nation and our world by saying no to choices and values that widen the gap between the powerful and powerless and between the rich and poor. We must judge whether policies are bringing people closer together and whether we are really making sure that all have a just stake in available opportunity.

I love when I look back at the role of women closer to home too. Dorothy Day, who started the Catholic worker movement, is one of my great heroines. Her hospitality houses are still operating all over the country with people trying to bring people together. She was also on the front lines protesting against war and policies that would leave so many people poor. Jane Addams started her settlement houses and spoke out in the national and international arenas for peace and justice and a new set of values in the world. We know what Rachel Carson did in writing *Silent Spring* and read in awe about the women who were behind and bolstered the nonviolent movement of Mahatma Gandhi.

You often don't hear about the women who were such an integral part of the civil rights movement. It was Mrs. Parks who sat down and got Dr. King to stand up. It was Jo Ann Robinson who said we will not wait for the male lawyer to come back to town—we will call a boycott in Montgomery right now. In fact, it was she who said we will override the politics among more established ministers and pick her new young pastor—Dr. King—as leader. Most people don't know Jo Ann Robinson, who was a professor at Alabama A&M. She and other women like her were the backbone of the civil rights movement. We have been bringing them together and having extraordinary conversations as we plant the seeds for the next movement. I am also impressed with

the role that the young girls as well as the boys played, because children as movement builders made history. We have so many inspiring stories and so much history to build on, examples and role models, from Rosa Parks to little Ruby Bridges to the wise Septima Clark and Ella Baker. Dr. King would have been a reactor responding to events had Ella Baker not set up an infrastructure to anticipate, catalyze, and help shape them. If Septima Clark had not set up citizenship schools there would not have been a vehicle for doing voter registration. We have an enormous opportunity to take their struggle to the next stage and to help America realize its ideals for every child.

I will end with a story about Sojourner Truth, who was an illiterate slave woman. She could not stand injustice and she never gave up the chance to speak out against the second-class treatment of women or against slavery, even in a time when change seemed impossible. She had a great sense of herself as a woman and child of God, and a deep sense of the injustice of slavery, and she challenged both every time she could. One day when she was making a very fiery speech against slavery she got heckled by an old white man who stood up in the audience and said to her, "Old slave woman, I don't care any more about your anti-slavery talk than for an old flea bite." And she snapped back at him and said, "Then, Lord willing, I am gonna keep you scratching."

I think the model for us when we look at the huge task and seeming impossibility of ending poverty, of closing the gap between rich and poor, of dealing with the violence that takes its greatest toll on women and children in our own nation and around the world, is to say that we are going to be fleas for justice. Enough fleas biting strategically can make very big dogs move and very big politicians uncomfortable. My vision for building a transforming movement to Leave No Child Behind® in our nation and world is to organize a massive flea corps led by women that will bite and bite those in power with our votes and voices until justice is done for every child.

## The Globalization of Leadership for Health

Sally Stansfield

Associate Director for Global Health Initiatives, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation

I'd like to turn our perspective for a moment to what I know best—the developing world. The global community must find ways to replicate or adapt some of these “best practices” discussed here today in developing countries to reduce the health disparities in the half of the world that lives on less than \$2 a day.

Globalization. The very word conjures fear in some, anger in others, hope in too few. But globalization could be an opportunity instead of a curse for the poor; I would argue that it is not globalization itself that is good or bad, but how we manage it. And present leadership and institutions are poorly structured to manage global issues.

Globalization brings expanded access to information, communications, trade, and travel and, along with these, new opportunities for human development. This unprecedented interconnection among human communities also introduces newly shared risks of epidemic communicable disease, accelerating global spread of resistance to antibiotics, and emerging environmental

health hazards. As we know too well now, it brings new risks of terrorist threats. Since productivity in poor countries is hampered by a larger burden of illness, efforts to address this inequity will be critical in preserving peace and international financial stability as well as global health.

I won't flatter Osama bin Laden by suggesting that he is committed to improving global equity. But I would be willing to wager that he would find it more difficult to recruit foot soldiers for his efforts if present inequities between the developing and the industrialized world were less stark.

**Excess deaths among women and children** Most deaths in rich countries are among the elderly. The contrast in the shapes of these graphs in Figure 1 provides stark evidence of the unacceptable differences in death rates among female children and women of childbearing age in developing countries.

**Women and AIDS** In poor countries, two thirds of all those newly infected by HIV are women, half of whom are between the ages of 15 and 24. In Africa, HIV-infected women outnumber men by 2 million. They leave orphaned children to start their lives without a decent chance of reaching their full potential.

**Maternal deaths** An estimated 514,000 women die annually from complications during pregnancy and childbirth. Ninety-nine percent of these deaths occur among women in the developing world. An African woman has a 1 in 16 chance of dying from complications of pregnancy or childbirth during her lifetime. Your chance of maternal death is 1 in 3700.

**Maternal tetanus** Virtually unknown in the industrialized world, it still claims the lives of 30,000 women a year, leaving newborns and their families without mothers.

**Nutrition** Iron deficiency anemia affects double the number of women compared to men. Protein-energy malnutrition is significantly higher in women in south Asia, where almost half the world's undernourished reside.

**MCH clinic** I've worked in villages in the Democratic Republic of the Congo where most of the population was visibly cretinous, an epidemic of intellectual disability that could have been averted

with pennies worth of iodized salt. The developing world carries 90% of the global burden of disease, yet receives only 10% of the world's resources for health. And most of this excess burden is borne by women and children.

### Solving Global Problems: Taking Action Locally and Globally

There are heroes. There are leaders who offer hope of constructive change:

**Gao Yaojie** is a 74-year-old physician who has been broadly recognized recently for her efforts to address the neglected problem of AIDS in China. She has shown impressive courage in identifying blood sales as a mechanism of transmission in Hunan Province and has used her pension and mobilized student volunteers to address the great need for HIV/AIDS education in rural areas.

**Bene Madunagu** is a biologist and head of the Botany Department at the University of Calabar in Nigeria. She founded an organization called the Girls' Power Initiative in Nigeria to improve self-esteem and negotiation skills among women and adolescent girls. She is working to encourage a new generation of strong Nigerian women who can take their destinies into their own hands and change the lives of women in Nigeria.

**Carol Bellamy** has restructured UNICEF to better support countries' efforts to implement the Convention on the Rights of the Child. She is now restructuring the agency to strengthen its core competency in support of immunization and to improve child health.

**Gro Harlem Bruntland** Since 1998, under the leadership of Gro Harlem Bruntland, the WHO has begun again to resume its appropriate role in pursuit of global public health.

**Grace Mbuya** This shopkeeper in rural Kenya recognized the opportunity to make a better living and to address the health needs of her community. She sought training and technical support from a nearby research unit staffed by KEMRI and Oxford University, and now offers antimalarials and contraceptives in her village shop. Her work has increased the proportion of suspected cases of malaria appropriately treated with antimalarials from less than 10% to over 30%. Through her efforts, her community has been

### Distribution of deaths by age-group in developing and developed countries 1990–1995

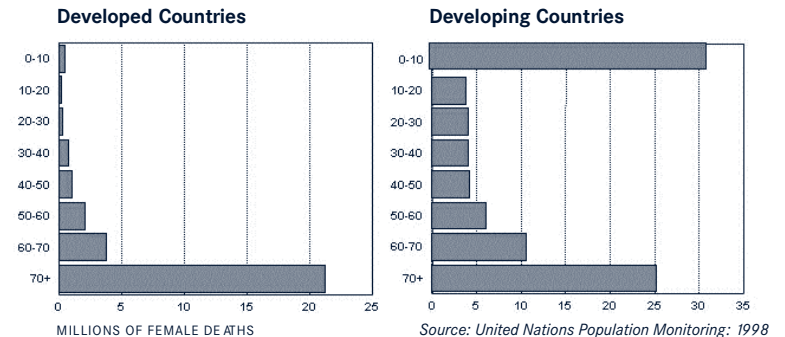


Figure 1

empowered to identify and pursue its own priorities for health and community development.

The leaders are there. I didn't select the women among them to skew this discussion to match the theme of this conference. It is no accident, however, that they are all women. Women are often found in roles where risks must be taken in pursuit of social goods. The very fact that we know about these women here today is testimony to the information and communications benefits of globalization. There is new potential for a sense of unity and cooperation in the human family. The "global public goods" of globalization can exceed the global public bads, if we have the vision and leadership to make it happen.

### New Leadership: Harnessing Globalization to Benefit the Poor

No one nation can solve global problems alone. Public goods, such as communicable disease control, are historically financed and provided for all citizens by governments. For reasons the economists love to debate, such public goods are undersupplied. Market forces cannot be relied upon to deliver them. But when public goods are international or global, they require transnational or supranational intervention.

But we do not now have, nor will we soon have, global governance to address these needs. Few nations would want to cede their sovereignty to Global Government. But the demonstrations

in Seattle, Washington, D.C., Quebec City and Genoa reveal a swelling uneasiness among the citizens of the world with the inability of nation-states to address global issues. Multinational corporations have been quick to step into this governance vacuum. There they have found opportunities to exploit and enlarge global inequities to maximize profits.

Our global institutions, including the U.N. agencies, have been so constrained by the member states as to be unable to mitigate or harness these forces for the poor. So far, only the private sector has been able to transcend national constraints.

But this new role for the private sector is not limited to the private for-profits. Private philanthropy is becoming more important globally in efforts to finance public goods. There is a new global network of private, non-governmental organizations committed to public goals. In the absence of a global government or a strong U.N., the recent emergence of a truly global civil society is a glimmer of hope. It is, to a large extent, a credit to global civil society that equity and health issues are now on the ascendancy on the global agenda.

Meanwhile, nation-states are still struggling to find ways to solve transnational problems. Billions of dollars have been committed and new kinds of transnational partnerships have been forged to respond to address inequities in nutritional status and access to immunizations. The new Global Fund for AIDS and Health offers fresh hope that global collective action can alter the horrific trajectory of the AIDS epidemic.

These transnational solutions require a new kind of leadership that transcends the nation-state. Global equity in health will require discarding traditional leadership models based on achieving and maintaining dominance. We must reward those who set aside conflicts to support larger goals, support partnerships rather than unilateralism, engage civil society and private citizens in the prioritization and financing of public goods. We must also provide far larger resources for the Graces and the Benes and the Yaojies who are the engines to address inequities. And each of us must serve this struggle in any way that we are able.

## **The Anonymous Past: Women and International Justice**

Patricia M. Wald

American Judicial Representative at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (1999–2001)

For centuries women have been the predominant victims of war crimes, crimes against humanity, even genocide. But only in the past decade has that dubious status been acknowledged or have women been permitted into the power circles that decide what international law forbids and how its prohibitions can be effectively enforced. Women's participation in international humanitarian law—its substance and the policymaking—is still fragile and it needs continual reinforcement. But their contributions in the last ten years have been formidable. The changes they have fought for and won in amazing ways show that gender does matter in war and in peace.

One of the chroniclers of women's pioneering journey into international law, Professor Kelly Askin, author of four volumes on Women and International Humanitarian Law and a fellow worker at the Yugoslav Tribunal, has commented in Dickensian fashion—"these are the best of times, these are the worst of times." Women are now represented in more international power



positions than in any other time in recorded history, but their numbers are neither equitable nor comparable to men by any measure. They are finally breaking out of their prior stereotypically gendered roles in U.N. and other international organizations—roles concerned with women’s issues exclusively—agencies labeled as having “marginalized power and limited impact.” But as my own experience at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia has shown, their foothold is tenuous and the specter of tokenism (even tokenism at the top) still haunts. Meanwhile—again to quote Professor Askin—“with increased technology, information, and struggles for equality come . . . greater and more frequent demonstrations of cruelty, power and subjugation” in which women are the primary victims. A few informational bullet points make the point.

Today about one in every 150 persons on earth (40 million) is displaced (refugeed) by armed conflict or human rights violations; 75% of the displaced are women and their dependent children.

During the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, there were an estimated 20,000 victims of sexual assault; an international expert panel concluded that practically every female over the age of 12 who survived the genocide in Rwanda had been raped.

There were no Bosnian women at the Dayton Peace negotiations in 1995; at the first Arusha peace talks on Rwanda-Burundi, only two of the 126 delegates were women.

At the U.N. Secretariat staff, the rate of progress among women in professional and high policy-making categories increases at 1% a year edging toward equality by 2012. The most senior grades are at a 10% female representation level; in the professional category as a whole they are 38%. The Security Council has repeatedly passed resolutions proclaiming its commitment to

the importance of women and their perspective in the peace process.

In the judicial domain, the war crimes tribunals of the ICTY and ICTR, as well as the other 17 other international courts with a total of 210 judges, only 13 are women. We will have only one regular member of my 16-person court after I leave. Until a year or so ago, the ICTR never had more than one woman judge since 1994. The International Court of Justice has one woman out of 15. The prestigious U.N. International Law Commission created in 1947 to codify and recommend changes in international law has only recently had its first woman among its 34 members. Auspiciously, the new International Criminal Court has just elected 7 women to its 18 person tribunal.

### **The Engines of Change**

Ironically, the emergence of women and their unique plight in times of armed conflict onto the international humanitarian law scene was sparked in large part by the media coverage and subsequent public outrage engendered by the widespread and systematic use of rape and sexual abuse as a tool of war subordination and subjugation during the Yugoslav war of 1991–95. Historians suggest similar violations have always occurred in prior wars—but what was different in this Yugoslav conflict is that enterprising and courageous on-the-scene media exposed those crimes as they were happening for a shocked world to see. When the U.N. set up the Yugoslav Tribunal in 1993, for the first time it included in the ICTY charter specific mention of rape in Article 5 as a recognized crime against humanity. The same was true a year later when the Rwanda Tribunal was set up in 1994. Half a century before, in Nuremberg and Tokyo, extensive crimes against women were acknowledged and documented as violations of the customary norms of international law but usually buried in the indictments and presented under generic labels such as inhumane treatment or crimes against honor.

The specific inclusion of sexual assaults against women as war crimes in the two ICTY and ICTR charters can be traced to a heavy lobbying effort by the NGOs concerned with women's issues, many of the same groups who had pursued equality in the form of the Convention for the End of All Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Madeleine Albright was the American Ambassador to the U.N. at the time the Tribunals were established, and her interest in women's parity helped put it on the front burner. The first American judge appointed to the ICTY was Gabrielle Kirk McDonald, whose place I took when she retired.

The women's NGOs—particularly the Global Campaign for Women's Rights—secured not only explicit recognition of rape as a crime against humanity, punishable in an international criminal tribunal, but the adoption of a position for a legal advisor to the Chief Prosecutor for Sexual Assault Crimes, a position now held for eight years by Patricia Sellers, an African-American woman. The women's lobbying groups were also successful in getting the ICTY to adopt Rule 96, providing for special protections for victims of sexual assault, i.e., no evidence of prior sexual conduct could be admitted, no need for corroboration of the victim's testimony, and limited scope for the consent defense, which excludes consent under conditions of detention, threats, or other duress. A Victims and Witnesses Section was also established to provide counseling and assistance to all witnesses with special emphasis on staffing by women for sexual violence victims. In addition to a woman President for two years (the Rwanda Tribunal has also had a woman President for several years now), there have been two women Chief Prosecutors. Indeed one might have thought that we had entered a new era in which women's newly prominent roles in international humanitarian law would bloom like a thousand flowers. A new breed of respected and productive international women legal scholars sprang up to dissect outdated notions of international law as they affected real life problems and women and to propose new concepts that would more truly reflect women's claims for parity in the realm of international humanitarian law.

And for sure there have been significant advances made in a relatively short period—advances which will hopefully be carried over into the new Permanent International Criminal Court to which the U.S. government has not become a participant. Article 36 of the new Court's Statute, for instance, requires adequate representation of women among the judges and staff. ICTY and ICTR jurisprudence meanwhile has filled in the interstices of what constitutes rape, or sexual outrages against the dignity of women or girls, i.e., making them perform nude in front of men even if they are not physically touched; it has proclaimed that rape may constitute the crime of torture and be a tool of genocide; it has deflated the argument—raised early on—that short of rape, sexual assaults are not “serious” crimes fit for Tribunal jurisdiction. The debate over whether rape can be a war crime under Article 3 as well as a crime against humanity under Article 5 has been settled with a verdict of “both.”

And in the past year, the first prosecution based entirely on crimes of sexual enslavement and rape was brought against three Bosnian Serb soldiers who had kept young women and girls confined in a house for their pleasure—much along the lines of the Japanese “comfort women.” The convicted defendants received sentences upward from 28 years.

These are praiseworthy achievements. The wartime violation of women's human rights—like domestic violence in peacetime—long invisible to law enforcement bodies has been forced onstage. The historical reticence of male-bound institutions—be they municipal police stations or international law-making bodies—to address violence against women has been surmounted, or at least we hope so. The national prosecutors and courts who down the line must take over the responsibility for prosecuting most war crimes and crimes against humanity have been alerted to the fact that the international community has defined the norm to include crimes against women.

### **The Tasks Ahead**

But make no mistake. There is much more to be done. The struggle

for women to take and keep power positions in the humanitarian law explosion is not over. Since its beginning only two of the 16 members of the Yugoslav Tribunal—different ones at different times—have been women. (There is much more ethnic and racial than gender diversity; not more than one member can come from the same country and third-world countries are in general adequately represented.) Despite attempts to generate interest and enthusiasm for women candidates among the national governments who nominate judges for election by the U.N., not a single woman other than Florence Mumba from Zambia—a member since 1996—was put forth in 2001, and she just squeaked through at the bottom of those elected. Similarly the Tribunal in Rwanda where rapes were a pervasive weapon in the genocidal campaign has had only one woman among its nine members since its beginnings in 1994. Thank heavens, the international press raised enough of a fuss about our elections so that when the 27 *ad litem* judges (who supplement the regular corps of judges at the ICTY, each one sitting on a single case), were nominated, a sizeable portion were women and the first 5–6 *ad litem*s already assigned are women. But that is not good enough; the *ad litem*s, while a valuable resource, do not have the same powers or prestige as the full-time judges and will not sit on the appeals court which ultimately has the last say on what this new body of evolving humanitarian law is.

As I mentioned, we have had two women prosecutors for both the Yugoslav and Rwanda Tribunals, and an extremely able advisor on women issues at the ICTY. There is also a cluster of women among the senior litigators. But it is still unclear that any true priority for women's problems has yet permeated the organization. Attitude on gender matters down the line is crucial. There has to be a sense of awareness from the moment a war crimes investigation begins that gender-related crimes are a priority; the field workers have to start looking for information and evidence about war crimes against women years before an indictment is written and a prosecution begun. They have to be trained in what questions to ask and what kind of evidence to

look for. If the forthcoming ICC is to do better in this regard it must insure from the beginning that women are placed in supervisory and policy-making prosecutorial positions down the line (not just at the pinnacle). If women are to assume their rightful policy-making positions in the enormously important developing field of international humanitarian law, attention must be paid to the structural systems of bodies that interpret and enforce the new humanitarian law. My fear is this—the world of academia that studies us is studded with female stars—but the world that operates the system is still very much on the cusp as far as progress for women is concerned.

### Final Thoughts

A final word. The new breed of women international scholars has been busy documenting women's systematic exclusion from the early development of international law, and their omission from representative positions in national states, the U.N., and international organizations, with tragic effects on issues pivotal to women throughout the world. Even when the focus has finally turned to women in the past few decades, it has generally been with respect to blatant gender-specific discrimination, i.e., the Convention to Eliminate All Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). But this kind of formal legal parity is just the beginning and never enough by itself. Women soon find out that apparently non-gender specific principles of human rights are quite differential in their relevance and application to women's lives. Women's lives in underdeveloped countries are so different from men's that a male norm for equality is totally inappropriate and often useless in bringing them out of economic and social subjugation. Thus U.N. conferences and commissions on population, the environment, social development, education, and housing have only begun to integrate women's social roles as primary caregivers and caretakers into a human rights agenda. The trend unfortunately is to enlarge and expand the articulation of formal rights while *de facto* inequality continues unabated but even there to give only token acknowledgement to enforcement of any kind.

Equality for women defined as rights equal to men's is not a satisfactory standard. Indeed it may ultimately impair or deny women's ability to achieve full realization of their human rights and fundamental freedoms. Real equality has to challenge the underlying masculine-dominated structure of global economic, political, and legal systems.

Even in my limited corner of the world scene, I can see this. A war crimes tribunal would be remiss to operate a witness protection unit that treated men and women witnesses alike. Women—especially victims of sexual assault—suffer an additional burden of stigma when they go public with their experiences; they need a different kind of reassurance, counseling; the ways in which they can be intimidated and retaliated against in their home communities are more varied and more insidious. The physical and mental effects of bodily assaults are different for men and women; the indirect effects on women of losing their husbands, fathers and sons in terms of community standing and ability to start-up new lives is more far-reaching and culturally based. Indeed in the recent Srebrenica decision—the first genocide conviction at the Yugoslav Tribunal—we used the inevitable and predictable effect on their wives and children of the mass killings of young Muslim men as a proof of genocidal intent on the part of the Serbian perpetrators. To make a difference in women's lives, humanitarian and human rights law must be reality-based with a continual focus on women's lives in the here and now and on what economic, political, legal, and cultural obstacles to change are embedded in their current status. Bars against open discrimination against women in favor of men will change a little but not enough.

The tasks ahead are enormous; but a decade ago they were not even defined. Women—in academia and especially women in international organizations and NGOs—have made a real difference in putting women's special problems in conflict situations center stage. What remains is to make inroads on the fundamental problems that implicate their human rights in war and in peace. The women scholars and activists have shown that international humanitarian law is permeated with a male norm—combatants

are given priority over civilians; combatants are mostly men, civilians are mostly women; more rules protect the male combatants and breaches of those rules are considered graver than those affecting civilian women; the rules that do affect women are directed primarily to their perceived status as weaker beings and to interfere with their sexual and reproductive roles. International humanitarian law is still of limited relevance to their most basic problems in times of unrest—displacement and refugee arrangements, distribution of aid and assistance, training of military peacekeepers. In the words of Michele Jarvis, an Australian writer, human rights advocate, and my colleague at the Tribunal, “as long as men make the decisions for women, irrespective of how well-intentioned they may be, the particular experiences of women in armed conflict will always be overlooked.” That goes double for human rights in peacetime.

Women have landed on the global scene but the engagement is just beginning. I hope some of you out there will be part of that engagement in the decades to come.



# FOUNDERS, ENTREPRENEURS, AND ACTIVISTS

## A Personal Look at Race and Gender

Mishka Brown

Cofounder and Chief Executive Officer of Aerolith Incorporated

Up until late last night I was going to begin my remarks by saying that I never really felt the effects of gender before going into business. I was going to talk about the women who raised me in Jamaica—when I was young they were literally superheroes to me. No one could tell me that my mother didn’t know everything, that my grandmother couldn’t do everything. I was going to mention my summers in high school, spent at college programs and one in particular: “Women in Engineering” at the University of Maryland, College Park, that included trips to visit different female engineers working in their fields.

At Yale issues of gender were far from my mind except when they came up during theoretical discussions in class; I guess I have the women who came before me to thank for being able to have that experience.

What I did feel at Yale was race and class. I spent a lot of time working in the dining halls with low-income minorities who did not go to Yale. I worked at the Public Defender’s Office and

tutored at the Juvenile Detention Center, both places over-represented by low-income minorities. I was definitely aware of and uncomfortable with my position of privilege as a black person at Yale in New Haven.

I was going to continue by describing how issues of gender have come up only since becoming an entrepreneur—gender issues have come up in mostly negative ways and have complicated the process of running my business. It's been very surprising how much sexual innuendos and outright propositions are a part of business communication. It really caused me to question myself: Was it me? Was it my clothes? Am I flirting without knowing it? Is that even possible? For a while, I was really unsure of what to do and kept checking and rechecking myself. Am I overreacting? Underreacting? Am I burning this bridge? Should I even be talking to this guy?

But thinking back last night, I remembered how gender came up before, how it had affected me. At the juvenile detention center where I used to tutor I became pretty close to one girl. At the end of each session we would just talk and the conversation would always get around to her counseling me (unsolicited of course) on my clothes, my hair, the way I talked: "You don't act like a woman; don't you want a man?"

My mother and grandmother, the superheroes, said to me throughout my life: "I can't wait until you start dressing like a girl"; my aunt: "I can't picture you with a man, you're too argumentative, they don't like that."

So it's not correct that I've experienced the effects of gender only since going into business. What is true is that until going into business gender was only present in my personal space. My work/academic career had always been gender neutral. In fact, I think that if I was going to be black, it helped that I was a woman—while I was an undergraduate the black female to black male ratio was 3 to 1. Race was always there but I knew how to deal with it. In high school we had to fight for me to take honors classes. I have always been politically active.

It wasn't until I started thinking about my gender similar to how I thought of my race that I was able to deal with the problems I was having in my business. Basically, it's less about me and more about the person I'm dealing with. It's my job to take care of my business and I should simply ignore/avoid when I could or fight back if I had to.

The ways I was able to deal with negative issues of race and gender was by knowing and being secure in what I want, what I am good at and what I enjoy. My privilege is that I had opportunities to find out that knowledge for myself and have had support from my family, educational institutions, and my business partner. I also think that having grown up somewhat outside of overwhelming influences of TV and other corporate advertising helps.

To go back to my stylist extraordinaire, Nicole, in the detention center, at 15 she could not imagine a life for herself outside of this city and outside of abusive relationships. She spoke about Branford as if it were Brazil. Most of her education has come from TV and music and she's not watching the Discovery Channel or listening to NPR—corporate advertising.

We created Aerolith, formed a corporation, because we think that's the best way to reach people like Nicole, who are in many ways our target audience. Make good entertainment; provide media training in an attempt to demystify the production process so that they can see for themselves the work and motivations that go into advertising and media. We worked with 20 teenagers this past summer and hope that we can do this type of work on a larger scale.

## Policy Research for Social Change

Heidi Hartmann

Founder, President, Institute for Women's Policy Research

I'd like to give you a brief overview of what the Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR) does and relate the work I do there to some of my experiences at Yale University. I'll begin by describing how and why we got IWPR going and end with some of the challenges we face at IWPR today in bringing research to bear on the policy process in a way that will improve women's lives in the United States and throughout the world.

I was the primary founder of the Institute in 1987, but I did have help from many friends. One was Terry Odendahl, an anthropologist who studies women's giving and philanthropy. She helped me write the first proposal and shop it around to foundations in New York City—she said she was tired of my talking about it for several years without starting it, so she really provided the catalyst that got it off the ground. In that regard I should mention that it has always seemed to me that men are actually pretty good at starting things. They just get some stationery, put their name on it, and they have that center or business rolled out.

Women are a little more hesitant to do that, to take that economic risk, though I also believe women are much more likely to take other kinds of risks, such as supporting unpopular causes. Among all entrepreneurs today, two-thirds are male, and only one-third are female, but women are the fastest growing share of entrepreneurs—perhaps eventually they will catch up with men. Our entrepreneurship in starting IWPR has been successful, but it was not without disappointments in those early years.

To return to my narrative about IWPR's start-up, in her research, Terry had found a philanthropist who said she wanted to start a feminist think tank that addressed economic issues from a radical perspective and had the means to do so; Terry thought she might be a good match with our interests. When I was in graduate school in the late 1960s and early 1970s, radical economics and feminism were both in the academic air—radical political economy was quite a popular, if minority, discourse within economics, especially among entering graduate students. Women's studies was in the very exciting phase of just beginning, when everything about women was a new discovery, and it too was attracting many graduate students. I had thought at the time, while in graduate school, that we needed a feminist think tank focusing on economic issues affecting women. I thought it should look at class and race as well as gender and try to contribute knowledge that would be useful to the women's movement, but I'm sure I never got beyond that rather vague concept at that time.

As for some of the early disappointments, I can assure you that that particular philanthropist didn't actually bankroll the Institute (she later started her own organization), but her gift of several thousand dollars was the first one and did get us going. We were able to find enough funding to set up an office and keep it going during that first year by assembling many gifts and start-up grants of that size and smaller. IWPR's total revenues (and expenditures) in its first 18 months were about \$150,000—now its annual budget exceeds \$2 million. The Institute has grown from myself working part-time with a temporary assistant to 27 staff, including 10 Ph.D.s in different social sciences, and 15 members

of the Board of Directors from all sectors—private, nonprofit, and public.

When we first named the Institute we called it the Institute for Feminist Policy Research. That name was scary to every potential funder with whom we spoke. There are now some successful, primarily academic, research centers with the word feminist in their names. But back then, in 1987, that name was so threatening, so indicative of the fact that we could not possibly be serious social science policy researchers, that it lasted only about a day as I recall. Our current name has served us well in that it clearly indicates what we do, but since much of our work necessarily compares women with men, many people probably don't realize how much research we do on men as well as women.

Let me describe IWPR's mission and program areas. We try to provide cutting-edge research to evaluate the economic impact of existing and proposed policies on women and their families. We work in five program areas, as you can see in Figure 1. The first three capture our focus on economic issues. We study such issues as equal pay, welfare reform, and childcare subsidies. Most of our work over the years falls in these three areas. We also examine economic aspects of health and safety, such as women's access to health insurance and the economic costs to society of domestic violence. We are also increasingly working in the fifth program area, that of civic and political participation, because we would like to understand why, when, and how people



Figure 1

## Starting IWPR

- To address women's economic, social and political disadvantages
- To use education for public good
- To fill an obvious gap in Washington—the conduit of rigorous social science studies on women's policy issues
- To build the intellectual capital of the women's movement
- To unite intellectuals, activists, and policy makers to improve the status of women

*Institute for Women's Policy Research*

Figure 2

participate and what impact their participation has on the adoption of progressive public policies.

To comment for a moment on women and politics, I don't think we can just assume that "women" equals "good" or women equals pro-peace, anti-poverty, or pro-children. For example, women were very strong participants in the Ku Klux Klan. That was one of our own local terrorist organizations and, yes, women can be terrorists. So we cannot assume that all women are more in favor of peace, social spending, public education, and strong government that protects women and families. But, the research shows that women *are* more in favor of these things on average. At IWPR, we would really like to understand this phenomenon better. It is an area where we might well be able to cooperate fruitfully with researchers at Yale University.

There are many reasons the Institute was needed fifteen years ago, as shown in Figure 2, and all of these are still valid today. First, women's status is still very much lower than men's; women still lag behind men economically, politically, and socially. Let me comment on women's economic disadvantage for a moment. Women are still earning only about 75 cents for every dollar a man earns, that's for full-time, year-round work. Among older single women, more than 65 years of age, 40 percent of women are poor or near poor living on less than \$10,000 per year, compared with fewer than 13 percent of men in that same age



group. These facts would be shocking if we weren't so familiar with them. They cry out for social change and for public policies that can fundamentally alter these facts.

Let me address the second reason listed in Figure 2, using education for the public good. I am someone who has *always* thought that the point of getting an education was to use it for the public good. I'm not sure where that idea came from, but I imagine my public school teachers had a lot to do with instilling that value in me. I grew up poor. My mother, for most of my life, was a single parent raising two kids on a near minimum wage job. I think that's why I felt that economics would be a useful field for me. Somehow, I got the idea that there was something about the economic system that creates poverty and wealth and determines who has which, and it would be important to figure that out. When I came to Yale as a graduate student I was not committed to earning a Ph.D. In fact, I thought I would probably stay for one or two years and earn a Master's degree. I had been working as a research assistant here in New Haven, putting my husband through law school, and I realized a Master's degree would allow me to get a better job, such as teaching at a community college where I could also be involved in political organizing.

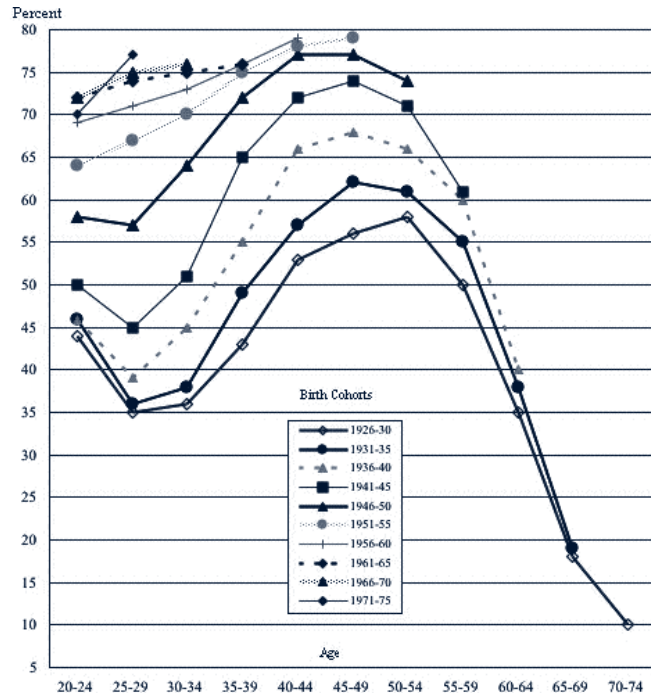
But the intellectual and political ferment that was going on at the time here at Yale hooked me. My time at Yale was a highly political time. I entered in the fall of 1969 and finished in 1974. It was the Bobby Seale/Black Panther trial, it was Vietnam, Cambodia, and anti-war activity. New Haven Women's Liberation had started to meet in the city in 1969, participating in Women vs. Connecticut and the campaign to desegregate Mory's. We shortly formed the Yale Graduate Students Women's Alliance, in which women studying in different departments at Yale got together usually about once a month to discuss our studies, our personal lives, politics, careers, and our futures. Instead of getting an M.A., which I thought was going to be my union card to get a decent paying job so I wouldn't be poor, I realized I could use a Ph.D. for social change. I went on to earn my Ph.D. in economics, writing a dissertation on women.

Another motivation for starting the Institute and focusing on economic issues was the obvious gap in policy analysis in Washington (see Figure 2). I saw a market niche that needed filling. Of course, there were then, and still are now, other think tanks focusing on women, but most of them were not doing rigorous, quantitative, social science studies focused on current policy issues, especially those policies that particularly affect women, such as child care, paid family leave, and equal pay. I thought a new think tank could fill this gap. I realized there was both a supply, competent social scientists who had learned to view the world through a gendered lens, and a demand for such research, a group of policy makers, men and women in Congress and in Statehouses across the country, who wanted to develop policies to improve women's lives, even if for no other reason than that women's votes might be very important in re-electing them (really a perfectly sound reason for public policy in a democracy!).

It was very difficult to convince funders that this niche was unfilled, that it was not already being met by the existing think tanks, and that it needed to be filled. But fortunately over the years and with the really hard work of the board and staff we have been able to do that.

Other important reasons for starting the Institute include building the intellectual capital of the women's movement to increase its effectiveness, and bringing together researchers, activists, and policy makers to improve women's lives. One motivator or contributing factor in starting the Institute, and one not included in Figure 2, is my willingness to take risks and start something new, something I alluded to briefly earlier. My growing up with a single mother in near poverty can explain my choice of study and my desire to use my education to make life better for women. My mother's family in Southern Germany consists of small farmers and businesspeople, so perhaps I had a childhood familiarity with business. But one of the other exciting things about my time at Yale may have contributed to my entrepreneurship. In both the economics department and women's

### Trends in Labor Force Participation Rate for Women, 1950–2000, by Birth Cohort



Source: Social Security Administration, 1993; U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1996; U.S. Department of Labor Statistics, 2001b.

Figure 3

studies more generally, students were creating their own courses because we found what we were being taught lacking.

Many graduate students in the economics department rebelled against the mainstream neoclassical economics courses we were taking. We created our own study groups and seminars and found faculty members willing to sign off on them so we could receive course credit. The second semester of my second year I took three independent studies, reflecting my participation in those student-led seminars. We also created our own courses to study women. There were virtually no women faculty here, not only in my department, but also in all the others. There were no courses on women to take, and if you were interested in learning

about women you had to invent courses. Francine Blau, now the Francis Perkins Professor of Economics at Cornell University, was a “faculty wife” here at Yale. She was finishing up her dissertation at Harvard University and it dealt with women’s earnings and the sex-segregated nature of the labor market—women tend to work in one set of jobs while men tend to work in other higher-paying jobs. She developed and taught the first senior seminar in Yale College on women and economics—a new senior seminar required a lesser level of faculty approval than adding a course to the regular curriculum did. As a graduate student I assisted informally in that seminar and then went on to teach it myself. After I stopped teaching it, one of the new assistant professors in economics, Marsha Goldfarb, taught it and it eventually became a part of the regular curriculum in economics. That was an exciting development. A group of women law students got the Law School to recruit a part-time teacher to come and teach the first course at Yale on women and the law. The same kind of thing was going on in English, History, Political Science, and Sociology. In a sense we took our education into our own hands, and we succeeded in helping to transform the curriculum at Yale and elsewhere. That was an early exciting example of entrepreneurial success. Of course, over the years I’ve come to value and recognize how much of what I learned from the mainstream has been very useful to me as well, but I do think that the experience of doing something important myself stood me in good stead in starting the Institute, as well as at many other times in my life when something established needed to be challenged.

Earlier, I briefly described IWPR’s five program areas. Now I want to discuss a few examples of our work in more detail. Figure 3 presents data on women’s participation in the labor force over their lifetimes as they age for different cohorts of women, women born every five years between 1926 and 1970. This figure, more than any other data I could display, shows why we need a public policy think tank focusing on women’s lives. The increase in women’s labor force participation over this period has been phenomenal and our public policies have simply not adjusted to

this new reality. While these data are for the United States, many other countries have experienced the same phenomenon and some have adjusted their public policies more successfully than we have, while others have done an even worse job.

The bottom lines show the labor force participation of the earliest cohorts of women, born in the 1920s and 1930s. As young women, in their twenties, only about 45 percent of them worked in the labor force. Then as they aged and had children, their labor force participation fell even lower, to about 35–40 percent. As their children got older, their labor force participation rose to almost 60 percent and then tailed off again as they neared retirement. Compare that experience with women born in the 1960s. They start out their careers with labor force participation of more than 70 percent; there's no drop-off in participation during the childbearing years. Labor force participation continues to increase as these women age, and will likely slow and fall as they near retirement, just as men's labor force participation does. Each new generation of women has worked more than the previous one; yet despite this long standing and steady change, our public policy has simply not kept up with this trend. A lot of the work we do at the Institute is designed to develop a sense of what kind of public policies can really help us to adjust to this reality.

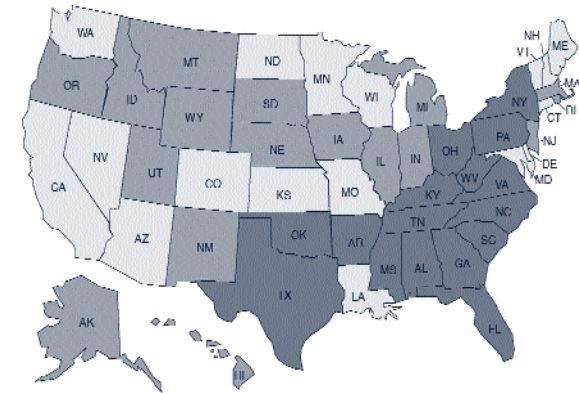
Figure 4 provides some information about an important IWPR project, *The Status of Women in the States* reports. We will

### Status of Women in the States

- Analyse and disseminate information about women's progress in achieving rights and opportunities
- Identify and measure remaining barriers to equality
- Provide baseline measures and a continuing monitoring of women's progress throughout the U.S.
- 42 individual reports published in 1996, 1998, 2000, and 2002
- 9 will be published in the 2004 series, for a total of 51 (including the District of Columbia)
- A national overview report is updated every two years

*Institute for Women's Policy Research*

Figure 4



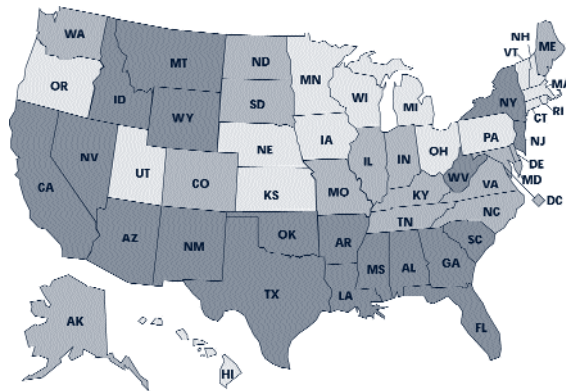
Map 1

have published reports on all fifty states and the District of Columbia by 2004. In this project, we collect and present data on key indicators of women's status in five different domains: economic, social, political, legal, and health. Using these indicators we rank and grade the states and compare them to one another on these different dimensions of women's status. Map 1 presents data on women's political participation. What we can see is that the worst of the states, the more darkly shaded areas, are generally in the South, while in the Northeast and the far West women usually fare better. Map 2 shows the percent of women with health insurance, and you can see that where women's political participation is low they also have the worst access to health insurance coverage.

We believe our work makes a difference, but it is very hard to prove that any intellectual work makes a difference. Commissions on the status of women have been established in some very unlikely places, such as Mississippi and Louisiana, at least partially because of our work in those states. We make sure that we disseminate our work to policymakers in the states and in Washington, D.C. We also work closely with advocates who can often use our research results to support the policies they are working for.

At IWPR we consider both the research itself and creating a community to produce and use research equally important. We maintain two electronic list-serves which serve this broader community, and we also host a biennial conference that brings researchers, advocates, and policymakers together—the June 2001 conference attracted nearly 500 participants. Our list-serve on women and poverty is used by activists, academics, policy researchers, congressional staff, and journalists. A journalist might use the list-serve to find welfare clients to interview. A welfare recipient might describe her situation and get help to resolve it. For example, one low-income mother said she was trying to finish college but her case worker was trying to make her drop out because of “work first” policies. Other participants on the list-serve were able to help her by finding out what the regulations in her state actually required. She was able to stay in college. Anyone can sign up to participate in IWPR’s list-serves by checking our website: [www.iwpr.org](http://www.iwpr.org).

I want to end with a discussion of some of the challenges we face at IWPR because these occupy me intellectually every day: how to choose our research questions; how to maintain our credi-



Map 2

bility as social science researchers without losing sight of our social change goals; how to fund our work; and how to maximize the impact of our work.

We have found in our work that one of the best ways to choose research questions is to listen to what the advocates who are trying to bring about social change say they need. They are the ones on Capitol Hill lobbying or trying to convince corporations or labor unions or even the women’s movement that this would be a good policy change and should have priority. What kind of research would help them make their case? To do this we go to twice as many meetings as anyone else! We go to all the advocacy and policy meetings in Washington, D.C., and in many of the states to keep abreast of policy developments and advocates’ needs, and we try to go to all the major professional and scientific meetings to keep in touch with research developments in our disciplines.

Unfortunately, some people assume that if we have “women” in our name, and if we work with advocates, we can’t really be researchers. They assume we are not conducting research but must know the answer we’re going to get before we start out. Of course, that is not the case. I like to wear the clothing of the objective, Yale-trained labor economist who is not biased—especially when I testify—just as all the researchers from all the other think tanks do. But we all know that the real truth is that everyone brings their own biases and their own values to their research. We are taught to use research methods that are designed to help us find the truth of the issue, and we all must sort out our biases from our findings. The main difference between researchers at IWPR and other researchers is not in how we design research studies or go about conducting them, but in which questions we choose to ask. We are answering questions that most other researchers do not ask. We apply the same scientific methods that anyone else would apply (although occasionally we have to invent new methods in order to get at some of our questions). We share the same standards of social science work that other social scientists share.



Some think tanks are now being called “advocacy tanks” because there seems to be a think tank on every side of every question. I believe that the Institute for Women’s Policy Research has been able to maintain its credibility as a genuine social science think tank much like the Urban Institute or others, because of the kind of social science work that we do and the care with which we do it. We do indeed sometimes get answers to questions that we don’t expect. We do not suppress those studies, although we may not go out of our way to highlight them in certain situations. Once early on, we had a conflict with a funder who expected us to find a particular answer—that out-of-pocket health care costs were going up in a recession as the cost of health care was rising and insurance coverage was falling. Unfortunately we didn’t find that answer—it turns out that some health care expenditures are discretionary, they can be put off, so out-of-pocket costs actually fell in the recessionary period we were studying. But because the sponsor didn’t like the answer, they didn’t fully fund the work we had done. Those kinds of things do happen. We just have to maintain our vision, our independence as a think tank, and our standards of quality, so that we can continue to do the kind of work we can be proud of as professional social scientists.

How can we fund our work? Individuals are very important. Individuals not only make decisions about their own purchases and charitable gifts but they also make decisions for their organizations. I thought what the artistic panel said this morning was wonderful: if you support women artists, buy their poetry books or their paintings. If you support the kind of policy-relevant research I have been describing you can become a member of IWPR’s Information Network. You can also become a member of the other organizations we’ve heard about today, the Children’s Defense Fund and the Natural Resources Defense Council to name just two. For all of these groups, individuals are a large source of support and the number of supporters is an indicator of the impact of the work—members are a good way to spread the word. Many of IWPR’s members are professors who use our research in their teaching, so our work is continually reaching new audiences.

How can we ensure that our work has impact? We have learned over the past fourteen years that there are two different aspects of our work that give it impact. One is the specific number our research sometimes generates: How much will a new policy cost? How much is it costing us now not to have a policy? A dollar sign on a policy proposal can really have a big impact, particularly on Capitol Hill or in state legislatures. The other is when our work is strongly supported by an accepted concept.

I will give one example that illustrates both aspects. One of IWPR’s very first studies in 1987 was on the value of establishing a policy of providing unpaid family and medical leave for workers. Of course, we all know that unpaid leave cannot be taken by everyone who needs it because some cannot afford to give up the pay to take the leave. But what the proposed bill, made law in 1993, did do was to guarantee a worker a job to come back to, a right they hadn’t had previously. Even very low income workers have to take leave for some events, such as the worker’s own serious illness, the birth of a baby, a parent’s death, a child’s serious injury, and so on. The Family and Medical Leave Act guarantees they will have a job to come back to.

Our study showed how much money workers lose, particularly women workers, when they have babies but do not have leave and do not have a right to return to their job. That number turned out to be higher than an estimate made by the U.S. General Accounting Office of what it would cost employers to provide the unpaid leave. In other words, it would cost businesses less to provide the unpaid leave than it was costing workers not to have it (because workers were losing jobs and having to find new jobs and losing earnings as a result). This is the kind of situation in which the businesses should be forced to provide the leave, because the winners can afford to pay the losers and society comes out better in the end. That number was very, very important at that time in enabling the bill to be passed in both houses of Congress.

But we realized another interesting thing during this policy debate: that number wouldn’t have made any difference if there

hadn't been 20 to 30 years of feminist scholarship around the concept that women have the right to work and to be paid fairly for their work. If we had said 20 or 30 years earlier that women lose money when they have babies, everybody would have laughed. They would have said: "Of course, when you stop working you lose money." Thirty years earlier, virtually the only maternity leave we had in this country was that women quit and hoped their husbands could support them. Women didn't have to be fired; they just quit because they knew their job wouldn't be there if they tried to return. You quit and stayed home, because for most workers there was no maternity leave. Of course, women lost money when they had babies. But 30 years later when the concepts of discrimination in the labor market, equal pay, affirmative action, and equal employment opportunity had become well established, then it became possible to make an issue of the fact that women do lose money when they have babies if they have no jobs to which to return.

In work like ours, both the concept and its practical application—the number—whether measured in dollars or not, are important. The concept comes from the development of theory, from all of the academic scholarship that goes on around the world. Sometimes that scholarship doesn't seem all that relevant to our daily work, but in a fundamental sense it is. That is one of the reasons why we very much see ourselves at IWPR as trying to pull all the constituencies together to produce research that can make a difference in women's lives: the intellectuals with the activists and the policymakers.

## Entrepreneurship and Gender

Linda Mason

Chair and Cofounder of Bright Horizons Family Solutions

I was asked to talk a little bit about my entrepreneurial experiences viewed through the gender lens. But before I get into that, I want to tell you a story of an experience I had this week. I arrived in New Haven today from New York City where my organization, Bright Horizons, has been in the midst of launching a major emergency response effort on behalf of children and families affected by the September 11 tragedy. We put together a very unusual partnership with two other organizations to launch this effort. We partnered with our largest client in New York City, JP Morgan Chase—Chase has 20,000 employees in a building close to the World Trade Center who were directly impacted by the tragedy. We also joined with Mercy Corps, an international disaster assistance organization. So corporate finance, early education, and international disaster assistance—these are not three types of organizations that often work together. But we quickly joined together to respond to this tragedy in New York.

We brought together Monday morning in New York City a small group of senior decision makers from each of the three organizations to hammer out what we wanted to do, to create the plans, figure out the resources, and get it going. We felt a sense of urgency. There were five of us who gathered on the 45th floor of the Chase Tower in midtown Manhattan to make it happen: myself, our senior client from JP Morgan Chase, the Executive Vice President of Mercy Corps (someone who spent many of the last recent years launching major relief efforts in other countries), and two people we designated to be on the ground in New York City to roll out this program. Five of us sat there, and in a matter of hours we came up with a solid, ambitious plan, and over the next few days we marshaled significant resources for the operation. It is now rolling out. Four of the five people in the room were women.

As I was driving here today thinking of gender issues, I thought that was pretty exciting that a small group of five people—four women and one man—made this happen so quickly. While I have your attention on that subject, if you're interested in learning more about this emergency effort, if you are looking for ways to help and get involved, log onto our website at [www.brighthorizons.com](http://www.brighthorizons.com).

I want to talk about two different entrepreneurial experiences in my past and reflect on how gender matters. I graduated from the Yale School of Management in 1980, and went off to work in the emergency refugee relief world. I went to Cambodia with two classmates to run emergency programs in the Cambodian refugee camps right after the Vietnamese invaded. One of the classmates I went over with, Neal Keny, is today the executive director of Mercy Corps, the large disaster assistance agency that we have partnered with in New York City. The other classmate was Roger Brown, who many years later became my husband! After working on the Cambodian border, Roger and I then went off to Sudan and Ethiopia in the mid 1980s to assist in the African famine relief effort. We were hired by Save the Children Federation to create and launch a large program there. They had already raised several

million dollars in African relief but had no operation on the ground. We arrived in Khartoum with those funds and then raised significantly more capital from the international community there to start a program. We quickly traveled around the country, decided where we could intervene and where we could best use our resources, and created a relief effort that served a large part of western Sudan and operated two refugee camps on the border of Ethiopia.

Now going over there as a co-country director and a woman in a very conservative fundamentalist Muslim state was very interesting. There were very few, if any, other women in senior positions there. The Sudanese were not used to dealing with women. As I look back on that experience through a gender lens, I actually think it was a great advantage being a woman. I was in charge of all of our negotiations with the Sudanese government for our country agreement. I negotiated with many tribal leaders in western Sudan. We had a program where we distributed large amounts of emergency relief to a large area of western Sudan. There were small villages interspersed throughout the desert with no infrastructure, no communications, no vehicles, no roads. We launched a massive camel brigade to get this relief food out to 1,000 villages in the provinces in the Sudan. I negotiated with very corrupt truckers to get a fleet of trucks to transport the goods from Khartoum to the provincial capital.

There was a fair amount of suspicion and reticence on the part of the Sudanese vis-à-vis western white men. To the Sudanese they represented exploitation. It was hard to categorize me. I obviously was not a western white male but I was unlike anyone they were used to dealing with. This proved to be an advantage. I gained respect quickly and was able to get strong local support. It was actually through my experience there that I really learned my negotiating skills. I learned to be tough but to negotiate with great respect. I learned the concept of “saving face”—even though you are negotiating a tough agreement, make sure that there's always respect and consideration for the other side.

We worked in the Sudan for a couple of years and returned to the states in 1986. It was at that point that Roger and I decided we wanted to create an organization of our own. We wanted to focus in the children's field since much of our work overseas had been with young children. They are the most affected by war and famine and dislocation. After some research and investigation, we created a company called Bright Horizons, an organization that creates high-quality childcare at the work site as a benefit for employees. We set out to raise venture capital to create this organization.

Raising venture capital as a couple was difficult. Investors were concerned that if our marriage broke up their investment would be at risk. They wondered if we each brought equal skills or was there one that really had the talent and the other was a tag-along. Before they would give us their funding commitment they asked if we would agree to be analyzed by a team of psychologists to analyze our marriage and see if it was strong enough for them to invest a few million dollars!

Of course I was totally insulted that they would ask us to do this, but Roger thought it was pretty funny and thought we should do it. We agreed and flew out to California to spend a couple of days being analyzed by a team of psychologists. Now our venture capitalists didn't really do their homework very well because this team of psychologists turned out to be a married couple. They thought our partnership was great, they wrote a good report, and we got our funding.

That was back in 1986. Over the fifteen years we have grown quite a bit and today are very much a female organization. We now employ 14,000 people in 360 child development centers across the United States and in the United Kingdom. We care for 45,000 children every day. Ninety-eight percent of our employees are women, 80% of our senior management team are women, and four of our seven-member executive team are women. The culture of the organization is one that I think draws on the best of women's leadership and managerial styles. It is a collaborative culture, a team-based culture, where we are supportive of one

another. We look at the employee as a whole person, we recognize that employees have lives outside the job, and we celebrate that. We have a supportive family-friendly work place. Advocacy has been central to what we do.

Two years after we started Bright Horizons we started an affiliate organization, called The Horizons Initiative, which provides childcare for the homeless. Three years ago we created our Bright Horizons Foundation, a national organization that provides a variety of services to homeless children and other children at risk. It is through the foundation that we are running our emergency effort in New York City. We have combined this collaborative supportive culture with a results-oriented culture. We have high expectations, high goals, and are very focused on results.

Roger and I took the company public four years ago. Childcare has long suffered from being a very under-valued and invisible profession, a women's profession that has never gotten the recognition of its social value in society. Our public offering was very successful. Our employees are all stockholders so it was an important event to them.

I have recently finished writing a book for Random House, a book on working mothers. I try to reposition the debate on working mothers to talk about the welfare of children. The welfare of children is not solely a mother's issue; the welfare of children is a societal issue and a fatherhood issue as well. In this book I am trying to make the point that for a working mother to thrive and for children to thrive three important supports are necessary. The first is the father. Most children have an identified father, whether the mother is married, single, or divorced. It is the father's equal responsibility to be engaged in the daily upbringing of the child. The second is a supportive employer. The workplace in America has to evolve considerably to respond to the new demographics of the workforce. And finally—excellent childcare. The first five years of life are critical in setting the child on her cognitive path for life; what kind of care she receives in those first five years will determine the direction she goes in.

# REFLECTIONS FROM WOMEN ALUMNAE

## Fields of Labor

Linda K. Lorimer

Vice President and Secretary of Yale University

The intrepid pioneer of women's education in the 19th century, Mary Lyon, regularly challenged her Mt. Holyoke students by saying, "When you choose your fields of labor, go where nobody else is willing to go." The lives of the women gathered here, to a remarkable degree, offer a testimonial to Mary Lyon's charge to "go where nobody else is willing to go":

whether in starting the Children's Defense Fund,  
undertaking path-breaking research,  
initiating the Natural Resources Defense Council,  
starting up a business,  
breaking the gender barrier as the first female  
president of Duke, or  
creating the Liberty Hall Foundation or the First Light  
Program for kids.

You, Yale alumnae, and female faculty of this institution are an inspiration. I thank you for being here. But more importantly, I thank you for the work you do.



I was asked by the Women Faculty Forum to offer a few observations about Yale and how gender matters. I am someone who has had an uncommon combination of experiences at the University—having been a student, a long-time civil servant and a Yale trustee. I do believe Wendy Martin had it right in her anthology about women writers when she said, “We are the stories we tell.” My story begins in 1974 when I arrived at Yale Law School at a time when there was only one tenured female faculty member, no women on the Yale Corporation and only 21% of my classmates were women.

Now women comprise 48% of the entering class of the Law School, which is just about the overall University average. The number of women on the Law School faculty has grown from two in my day to 22. And four of Yale’s sixteen trustees are women.

So there has been real progress. In my first years on the staff here, I could go for a month and not have any meetings with another woman. Last week, I left a meeting in the President’s Office where he had been counseled by five individuals—all women.

While there is much progress to commend, we recognize that there remain many unrealized opportunities to reinforce both *that* gender matters and *how* gender matters. And we need to be vigilant to ways in which this institution can provide leadership in assuring that women’s equality is fully achieved.

I offer as a homily this story to reinforce that institutional good will is not always enough. You may know about the founding of Vassar College, which was a pioneering institution for women’s higher education. James Renwick, famed for his gothic St. Patrick’s Cathedral and norman Smithsonian Institution, was the architect. The intention of the founders to provide quality education for women was most admirable. However, it was only after Vassar College opened in Poughkeepsie with its magnificent 12-foot corridors and splendid quadrangle that the underlying design for this educational community for women became evident. When the women students moved into their rooms, there were no wardrobes for their clothes. When pressed for an explanation, it became clear that the architectural design for Vassar was

precisely the one that Renwick had used for a mental asylum. So even Mr. Vassar’s bold vision of expanding opportunities for women to pursue higher education was literally encased in structures that showed ambivalence about the enterprise.

I offer that story as a reminder for those of us who work most closely with Yale, either in teaching or in supporting the enterprise. It suggests that a certain humility is required in terms of our thinking that we have it right. I hope the story also reinforces the lesson of the value of embracing multiple perspectives by those who care. In this case, our women graduates.

In sifting through the stories about the University’s history in my role as Tercentennial coordinator, I have come across several others which also reinforce the same sense of humility required by those of us who are administrators of this place. I opened my remarks by quoting one president of Mt. Holyoke. Less than a century ago, Yale honored another president of Mt. Holyoke, the renowned Mary Woolley. Yale had already given her an honorary Master’s Degree in 1914 and then bestowed upon her an honorary doctorate in the 1920s. When she received the Doctor of Laws degree, the formal introduction included the following: “Nine years ago, we gave Ms. Woolley the degree of master’s of art and the results have been so gratifying that we have requested her to return. A woman with two Yale degrees is certainly the equivalent of a Yale man.” And isn’t it even more astonishing that when the admission of women to Yale College was advocated by the then Dean of Admissions, Yale’s President Griswold penned this poem:

“By keeping in step with the male,  
we proceed at the pace of a snail  
said the Dean of Admissions

“Let’s shift our positions  
and get some fast women at Yale.”

I offer these historical vignettes, one about Ms. Woolley from the 1920s and one about President Griswold from the 1950s—as an exercise in administrative self-awareness that our good intentions may sometimes fall short of the optimum course of action.

Let me turn now to my own responsibilities as the Yale officer responsible for serving as liaison for alumni relations. This Convocation has demonstrated that the women graduates of Yale are a powerful resource for the University itself. Yale has much to gain, and much to learn, from listening more attentively to Yale's women graduates who have in many cases been distant from the institution. Some of us have been active with our own Yale professional school or with Yale College reunions, but never had a sense of contributing—or connecting—to the larger enterprise of the University. Many of us who were in a professional school had little contact with the College, for example. Yale has not done a good job at reaching out to the remarkable resources within the alumni body represented by the women graduates of all of its schools. There will be many legacies of this conference but I hope especially that there is an interest in having real attention devoted to creating a women's network of Yale graduates, with Yale faculty and students. The insights you alumnae can give to the institution as a whole, and the mentoring you can offer to Yale women students provide a potential resource of enormous magnitude for Yale.

I would like to leave you with the thought that a Yale women's network could do much more than help Yale gain your counsel or enlist your help in the mentoring of students. I speak now not as an officer of the University, but as a sister alumna. I have an idea which I know is audacious. We've heard for so long about the "old boys' network." Could we imagine a "new sisters' connection," one that had such a robust inventory of the resources Yale women represent (our experiences, talents and interests) that we could call upon one another to help address the larger issues facing our society? Let me be more concrete. Marion Wright Edelman and I had lunch in the last year—which is always a treat. She sketched out a new initiative for the Children's Defense Fund which would try and launch a legislative initiative in every one of the 50 states to have a "children's first" set of public policy objectives as a companion piece to new Federal legislation. Large numbers of citizens in all 50 states would need to be mobilized to

offer support and to lobby their legislators. Marion and I spent the morning brainstorming about where you would find the array of women volunteers who might be eager to support such a venture. Might there be some women who are professionals in public relations; are there some women out there who could be enlisted with statistical background; are some proficient in fundraising; are there scholars who could help do research; are there talented women who would be willing to devote a day going to Capital Hill to press the case for giving children a higher priority in our national agenda? We scribbled a list of names and some ideas about how a cadre of women might be enlisted. But is it preposterous to think that we might have a way to tap into the talents of the women represented by a Yale women's network of both faculty and graduates, some of whom might, as volunteers, feel inspired to contribute to a worthy cause?

Similarly, I bet Frances Beinecke in her role as Executive Director of the Natural Resources Defense Council has a number of projects where a Yale women's network might respond to help advance some of the most important projects to protect our precious but precarious natural environment.

I can imagine that there must be scores of our women faculty members who are undertaking research projects where the help of Yale women graduates—and the doors they could open—can be invaluable. The old boys' network seemed to focus on providing a personal advantage by way of the association: entrée into a country club or references for a job where the individual was the beneficiary. I am wondering whether there are ways in which a Yale women's network could connect some of us to service for others. In our state, there has been a modest example of women from all walks of life coming together to support women candidates for elected office. But there seems to me no reason why the Yale connection may not even have more potential than the geographical one.

These musings are rooted in the enormous inspiration I have had from the conversation in the last day and my hope as the University Officer responsible for alumni relations that this

not simply be a single occasion but rather the beginning of some periodic assembling of the women of Yale.

I turn now to offer a series of heartfelt “thank yous.” The first go to our panelists and presenters. The Corporation authorized a striking of a Tercentennial medal for those who were the major presenters throughout the Tercentennial, and it is my honor to award a Tercentennial medal to each of our speakers during this conference.

But there is another set of thank yous I have to offer. Alison Mackenzie will undoubtedly be thanked again before this event is over; however, her attentive planning to every detail over the last year and her good company in the Tercentennial Office have been remarkable gifts in themselves.

One of the great joys of the Women Faculty Forum is that it has been a continually growing group with additional members and additional energy. It is a group that has worked through consensus and with an ever-widening group of leaders. It goes against the grain of that team model that I undertake one pre-emptive action. I do think that all of the members of the Women Faculty Forum will recognize that there have been three of their number who have been most engaged for the longest time in developing the Forum and in the Tercentennial programs culminating in this symposium. It is my honor to convey three additional Tercentennial medals to: Dolores Hayden, Judith Resnik, and Nancy Cott.

I must ask Nancy to remain for one moment. I do not need to tell anyone here that Yale is blessed to have a stunning array of faculty members whose reputation is worldwide and whose scholarship is renowned. So many make a lasting mark on their discipline and a profound impression through their research. But there are only a few who do that and who have a profound influence on this place.

Nancy Cott is one of those. For 26 years, she has stood for women’s studies at this institution. She was already a phenomenon on this campus by 1978 when I audited one of her courses. But more importantly, she has been architect for the elevation of women’s studies and its larger manifestations in the current

department. It is harsh for many of us to recognize that she feels the need to go and improve that place Harvard—for what we will hope will be only a temporary sojourn—but I know I speak for everyone on the Women Faculty Forum and for the thousands of students and others of us inspired by Nancy to extend our heartfelt thanks for serving Yale and all of us so remarkably.

## The “Woman Question”

Deborah L. Rhode

Ernest W. McFarland Professor of Law, Stanford University

William F. Buckley’s recent collection of speeches recounts an experience at his fifteenth reunion that captures the flavor of women at Yale “B.C.”: before coeducation, as we used to put it. It was 1969 and he was seated next to the then Provost watching two “striptease artists, both of whom obviously put their hearts into their work.” After they finished, the Provost was asked: “what is the official Yale position toward this?” The Provost looked sternly in the direction of the empty stage and replied: “Yale’s position is that the Second One is better than the First.”<sup>1</sup>

The introduction of women as equal members of this community did not occur without some difficulty and this publication is an opportunity to chronicle our partial progress. Yale’s experience is in many ways emblematic of the broader national struggle for equal opportunity, and it offers a chance to reflect on the past and present challenges for women on this campus, in the humanities generally, and in academic and other leadership settings.

The struggle for coeducation has been aptly recounted in a 1971 book, *Women at Yale*, inaptly subtitled *Liberating a College Campus*. When I arrived in 1970, the second year of coeducation, many of the natives appeared unaware of their liberated status. The decision to admit female undergraduates had not, of course, been greeted with enthusiasm on the part of all faculty, alumni, or students. The reasons varied. Some thought Yale’s responsibility was to produce leaders, which by (their) definition excluded women. From their perspective, it was “not an accident of history” that virtually all world leaders were men.<sup>2</sup> And as one professor explained, “I feel a greater sense of accomplishment when I direct my efforts toward those who will one day have a greater role than women in society.”<sup>3</sup> A male student put it more directly: “Investing money in girls is a bad investment.”<sup>4</sup>

Another common view, expressed with uncommon candor by one disgruntled alumnus, was that male undergraduates who wanted to concentrate on important matters like “the basic principles of thermodynamics” would be diverted by all the “idiotic trivia that all women try to impose on men.”<sup>5</sup> And the type of female student who might want to focus on topics like thermodynamics was equally unattractive. Women who were “assertive” in the classroom or too “intellectual” outside it were “unfeminine.”<sup>6</sup> Coeds were captive to the perennial double standard and double bind: they were at risk of appearing too feminine or not feminine enough, and what was assertive for a man was abrasive for a woman.

There were turf problems as well, literally and figuratively. Many athletes and coaches were reluctant to share space and resources with women, who, in those pre Title IX days, were products of physical education programs involving hula hoops, rhythmic ring toss, and pep club rallies.<sup>7</sup> Other university administrators cited the absence of adequate space and funding for women’s facilities as an insurmountable bar to women’s admission. The Yale School of Medicine was unable to overcome this obstacle until the father of a female applicant called its bluff and endowed a ladies’ room.<sup>8</sup>

In this cultural context, the administration of President Kingman Brewster deserves enormous credit for admitting classes inartfully described as including a “thousand male leaders and [250] women.”<sup>9</sup> Yet it seems doubtful that either Brewster, or the administrators and trustees who embarked on coeducation, really grasped the transformations that it implied. Ironically enough, for two centuries, women had been excluded from institutions like Yale on the assumption that they were different. But once they were admitted, the assumption seemed to be that they were the same, and that few adjustments would be necessary to accommodate their presence. The dominant view was similar to that expressed by Harvard Law School Dean Erwin Griswold when female students first gained admission to that institution in 1950. To Griswold, this development did not seem “very significant.” After all, as he reminded anxious alums, “most of us have seen women from time to time in our lives, and have managed to survive the shock . . . I think we can take it, and I doubt it will change the character of the School or even its atmosphere to any detectable extent.”<sup>10</sup>

In a similar spirit, the Yale campus made modest preparations for the onslaught. The bathrooms got mirrors, the health service got a gynecologist, and the freshman dorm for women got a security guard.<sup>11</sup> As far as most of us could tell, that was about it, and we weren’t altogether sure about the function of the guard. Whether he was there to prevent mayhem or to protect morals seemed unclear to him as well as us. In the face of administrative ambiguity, he steered a prudent middle course. Male visitors were not barred at indiscreet hours but they were greeted with stern and reproachful glares, reminiscent of a vigilant junior prom chaperone.

Other issues were also left unresolved or in a state of unhappy compromise. Women’s access to athletic facilities was a source of particular friction. The women’s field hockey team requested practice space; it ended up in the Yale Bowl’s Parking Lot A, which often hosted cars and debris as well as the coeds. The women’s varsity tennis team insisted on court time, but gave

up on lavatory facilities, and settled for coaching by a local gym teacher. Her contribution was to bring iced tea and cookies to matches and murmur “good shot” at appropriate intervals. For years, the women’s crew team politely and ineffectually pleaded for shower facilities at the boathouse. Results required federal legislation and an inventive “Title IX strip.” Crew members arranged a meeting with the Director of Athletics, printed “Title IX” in block letters on their bare backs, and disrobed in the presence of invited guests, including a New York Times photographer. A picture ran the following day; showers followed quickly thereafter.<sup>12</sup>

Similar skirmishes involving traditionally all-male enclaves occurred in every corner of the campus, as well as its outposts in other cities. Sacred terrain was gradually, but not always gracefully, surrendered. The New York Yale club was a site of longstanding struggle. Women kept escalating their demands: first to use the main entrance, then to infiltrate the second floor lounge, and finally to have equal access to the swimming pool.<sup>13</sup> Mory’s eating club held out for a valiant interval, unmoved by pickets, mass resignations, and boycotts. It was only the threatened loss of its liquor license that forced introduction of women members.

There were issues of sexual harassment as well, although women students had neither a name nor a remedy for the experience. They just had a “problem” with a professor. And the problem was always theirs, never his.

In fairness, it should be emphasized that men were responsible for solutions as well as problems in most of these struggles. Not only were they the gatekeepers who ultimately opened the doors to equal opportunity, they often actively supported women’s struggle for access and made them feel welcome on arrival. I could cite innumerable examples, but one captures the spirit. The Yale Corporation, the University’s governing board, traditionally held two-day meetings with a dinner in between to which spouses were invited. They were, however, seated at a separate wives table, presumably to prevent female trivia from interrupting male discussion of important matters, like thermodynamics, or the performance of the Yale hockey team. When Hannah Grey



became provost, her spot in this seating arrangement provoked much consternation. It was finally resolved to place her with the other male trustees. But the greater problem arose when her husband, a history professor, refused to join her there, and insisted on sitting with the wives. The arrangement was thereafter scuttled: Provost Grey was an acceptable honorary male but Professor Grey as an honorary female was too humiliating. However, not all the seating dilemmas were then put permanently to rest. Several years later I was elected as a trustee (the alumni voters presumably having forgotten that they'd already elected a woman) and my husband joined me for the first dinner. His place card listed him under my name, which required a good humored explanation to President Giamatti that this was an error; he had kept his own name after marriage.

The two contexts in which barriers to change were most pervasive and persistent involved the content of the curricula and the composition of the faculty. In retrospect, that should hardly be surprising. These are matters on which the University's most powerful constituency has the greatest stake and most actively resists external pressure. Yet the likelihood of conflict on these issues seems not to have occurred to many leaders of the coeducation initiative. I served on Yale's first Committee on the Education of Women, and it came as a shock to its administrative members that some women students wanted courses by and about women.

At that point in history, at Yale and most other universities, women's studies were noticeable for their absence. One of my own particularly memorable experiences involved a class on American Progressive Movements from 1900 to 1920. The professor was one of Yale's most distinguished historians. He relegated the entire women's suffrage movement to a single run-on sentence. It went something like, "Just after World War I, women's activism increased, and in gratitude for their war service, women received a constitutional amendment granting them the vote." My college art history text listed some 3,000 male artists and not one female. Several years later I graduated from Yale Law School without ever having a course taught by or about women.

My experience was not atypical. A survey of history texts at the time revealed a biological oddity: a nation with only founding fathers. Material on women constituted less than one percent of the total. In one leading text, the development of the six-shooter received more coverage than the women's suffrage movement.<sup>14</sup> Many students graduated from the best universities unaware that there even was a significant movement. My own first foray into empirical research confirmed the extent of historical amnesia. Under the auspices of the Committee on Women, I surveyed a random sample of Yale undergraduates to determine how many could name two leaders of the women's rights movement. The result was about 10 percent and that involved giving the benefit of the doubt to answers like Joan of Arc. The standard curriculum at Yale and elsewhere remained hostage to "great man" historical frameworks. The texts were as Jane Austen once described them: "quarrels of popes and kings on every page; the men all good for nothing and hardly any women at all. So very tiresome."<sup>15</sup>

Issues concerning the representation of women on the faculty and in professional roles more generally proved equally problematic. Yale gave no indication of wanting to be at the forefront of change on these matters. The dean in charge of coeducation had been picked because, as a senior male administrator explained to the New York Times, she was a "girl with a lot of inner charm, a really brilliant gal who doesn't push it."<sup>16</sup> The college had gone coed; it had not gone feminist.

The distinction was apparent in the interviews conducted by Lever and Schwartz. In a chapter titled "Yin and Yang at Yale," they chronicled the pervasiveness of traditional gender roles and the hostility toward those who actively challenged them. "Women's liberation types" were scorned and shunned by most male and female students alike. Even Kingman Brewster admitted to being somewhat "Victorian" in his attitudes. Although he acknowledged some basis for women's "gripes and agitation" about discrimination, he viewed the attempts to defy gender differences in men's and women's social, family, and occupational roles as "ridiculous" and "repulsive."<sup>17</sup>

His views were widely shared. Most male students wanted to marry talented and intelligent women, but expected them to stay home with their children, and take “feminine” jobs that would accommodate that domestic role.<sup>18</sup> Secretarial work was acceptable, and so even was teaching in the humanities, as long as it was done at the elementary or secondary level, or perhaps at junior colleges.<sup>19</sup> But women who wanted careers in law, medicine, or management were destined to become “cold and callous” and to lose touch with their femininity.<sup>20</sup>

Those views were not, of course, universally shared. And even some of their adherents recognized the difficulty. One male student wanted a wife of equal intelligence, but also wanted her to occupy a traditional role. Yet as he acknowledged, if she were truly equal, “she obviously wouldn’t want to sit home and cook breakfasts [for me]. It’s a problem.”<sup>21</sup>

It was. And still is. The difficulties of balancing work and family responsibilities, and the struggle for equal opportunities in employment and educational settings are still with us. Over the last three decades, much has changed but too much has remained the same.

On a curricular level, the progress has been dramatic but by no means complete. Since 1970, when the first women’s studies program crept into a university curriculum, over 700 have gained a toehold.<sup>22</sup> Research on women and gender has dramatically altered academic landscapes. Yet full integration of women’s perspectives and concerns remains an aspiration not an achievement, at Yale and throughout higher education. Recent surveys of women’s studies programs reveal that many lack adequate resources and support, and some are targets of significant harassment.<sup>23</sup> Women who raise women’s issues are too often dismissed, devalued, and demeaned. Gender-related issues are still missing or marginal in the core curricula of many disciplines at many institutions. Still less attention has focused on the intersection of gender with race, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. Yet there is no “generic woman.”<sup>24</sup> And it does not advance analysis

if those asking the “woman question” ignore the diversity among their subjects of concern.

It also matters who is doing the asking. And in the academy, as in other elite professional settings, women remain underrepresented in positions of greatest power, status, and security. Although women constitute a majority of college students, they account for less than a fifth of university presidents or tenured full professors.<sup>25</sup> The underrepresentation of women of color is still greater. Significant disparities exist even among men and women with similar qualifications and experience.<sup>26</sup> In many contexts, the problem isn’t the lack of women in the pipeline. It is rather that the pipe leaks. At Yale and elsewhere, if we simply wait for time to correct the problem, we will be waiting a very long time.

The same is, of course, true throughout American life. Ironically enough, our recent progress toward equal opportunity has created its own obstacles to further change. Women’s growing opportunities are taken as evidence that the “woman problem” has been solved. Yet this perception has itself become a major barrier to reform. This “no problem” problem prevents Americans from noticing that on every major measure of wealth, power, and status, women still are significantly worse off than men. Eighty-five percent of legislative office holders, and 95 percent of corporate executives are male; two thirds of poor adults are female. Twenty-five years after passage of the Equal Pay Act, women’s salaries still lag 25 percent behind men’s. Sexual violence remains pervasive, and reproductive rights are often available only to those who can afford to exercise them. Women continue to shoulder the vast majority of responsibilities in the home, a burden that limits their opportunities in the world outside it.<sup>27</sup>

There is, in short, some room for improvement. And institutions like Yale which do, indeed, prepare the nation’s leaders, need to address those issues. The challenge of the next century is to inspire and equip those leaders to compete the progress toward equal opportunity that coeducation helped begin.

- 1 William F. Buckley, "Resolutions on the Side of Yale's Survival," in *Let Us Talk of Many Things: Collected Speeches* (Roseville, Cal.: Forum, 2000), 149–50.
- 2 Janet Lever and Pepper Schwartz, *Women at Yale: Liberating a College Campus* (Indianapolis: Bobb-Merrill, 1971), 243.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 37.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 215.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 215.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 186–88.
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## Yale Honorands Remarks

### Patricia Wald

American Judicial Representative at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (1999–2001)

I was instructed, as representative of the honorands, to deliver a few paragraphs (no more than three) full of warmth and humor. Easier said than done. My twenty-two year stint as a judge has honed my ability to make other people stop talking, but not necessarily to curb myself. But I will try.

First the warmth. Yale is the premier university; I say that unashamedly although I have a husband and a son who graduated from Harvard and two daughters who now work there (one, fortunately, like me, a Yale law graduate). Fifty years ago, Yale gave me a *laissez passer* into the big chilly world at a time when women needed heavy credentials to move around out there; more importantly, it taught me reverence for the enduring principles of fairness, equity, and the need for rules to govern their application, instilled in me a healthy irreverence toward the way in which those principles are enforced or not enforced in the so-called "real world," and bred in me a passion for justice and discipline in attacking injustice. It gave me a succession of versatile, brilliant,

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

## Gender and Generation Y

Alison Mackenzie

Former Research Director and Program Coordinator of the Women Faculty Forum

Few undergraduates realize that Yale College became coed only thirty-four years ago. Three years ago the Women Faculty Forum screened a film about the early days of coeducation at Yale, *Boola Boola . . . Yale Goes Coed*. I had not attended Yale, and had gathered from speaking with faculty members that the story of coeducation was part of Yale College lore. As it turned out, most students I spoke to had either never heard of coeducation or assumed it had taken place in some far distant past—you know, like the 1950s. I got the sense that women faculty members didn't quite know what to make of the students' lack of knowledge.

The story of coeducation struck a nerve when I realized my own mother could not have attended Yale. But having recently graduated from Stanford, I understood the blasé reaction of Yale undergraduate women. For people my age, it's inconceivable that institutions could place such blatant limitations on women's ambitions. The stories about demonstrations in front of Mory's or the Title IX strip-protest to get locker rooms for the women's

crew team seem almost anachronistic. Of course men and women receive equal access and treatment. Many young women feel that equality has arrived and we are living it.

I decided that students' ignorance of the coeducation struggle was not emblematic of a problem, but rather a perverse sign of progress. Young women have built on that past and made Yale a different kind of institution. My tidy conclusion hit a roadblock when, during *Gender Matters*, Nan Keohane began to speak of her experiences at Stanford. After a few years in New Haven I felt I understood women's undergraduate experiences at Yale. But I had lived through it at Stanford. In truth, I had become increasingly grateful for my college experience as I learned more about the difficult history of women at Yale. After all, Stanford had always been coeducational—my own grandmother graduated in 1931. As an undergraduate I came into contact with amazing female role models in the history and feminist studies programs. In my mind Stanford didn't have a difficult history regarding gender issues.

Imagine my surprise to hear of Stanford's strict quota on women that persisted through World War II. I squirmed in my seat; while I had vague recollections of my grandmother's stories about college life, I had to admit to myself that I knew nothing about this part of the university's history. I also had no idea about the struggles to start up the feminist studies program. Like many young women I assumed that such programs just sort of materialized on college campuses in about 1975.

While I had been able to justify the ignorance of coeducation at Yale, now that it hit closer to home I began to wonder again what it meant. I *knew* that the history of women's experiences was critical in helping change the future, but I had remained totally ignorant. Even I, on some level, had come to believe it didn't matter to my life.

Having just completed my first semester at Yale Law School, I realize that many of my peers have had similar experiences. Our futures look very different from those of our mothers. We rightly believe that we can accomplish just about anything.



While this freedom is exhilarating, it makes it difficult to identify the barriers we keep coming up against. A few weeks into the term a friend confessed that, though she had always been an active class participant, she had recently stopped raising her hand in class, after realizing she wasn't going to get called on. Another friend who had majored in math in college (and never had an interest in gender issues) confessed that, to her surprise, she was really looking forward to taking classes with female professors in the spring semester.

My friends and I are loathe to admit that inequities exist *in our lives*, but these experiences illustrate that gender does matter. Unlike before, our generation doesn't have to worry about gaining access—we just expect to constitute half of the law school class. Instead, we experience subtle setbacks, such as not being called on in class and a lack of mentors.

My friend recognized that not raising her hand anymore signaled a problem, but she didn't know what to do about it, since, in her eyes, it didn't constitute blatant sexism. My other friend had never expected law school to so closely mirror life as a math major. She, like myself and many others, had no female professors the first term of law school. Never taking gender into account can have detrimental effects, especially for women in my generation who have always assumed nothing would stand in the way to success.

Today my peers and I truly can live out the ideal of feminism—the freedom to choose one's own path. The stories told at *Gender Matters* help to bridge the gap between the lessons of the past and the less obvious forms of gender inequity that persist today.

## Looking Back, Looking Forward: One Hundred Years

Judith Resnik

Arthur Liman Professor of Law, Yale University

Anything may happen when womanhood  
has ceased to be a protected occupation,

I thought, opening the door.

—Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* 1929

A century ago, few of the women who have joined in this volume could have invoked Yale as a source of their academic degrees and honors. *Gender Matters* (in both its form as a conference and now as this monograph) marks a profound shift, occurring over the course of one hundred years, in understanding what work women can do.

The conference proved to be moving—in all senses of that word. More than 300 people gathered, just shortly after the tragedy of September 11, 2001, to explore the roles that women play in the academy and the ideas and inventions that women bring to the academy and all of life's realms. We who were faculty felt especially lucky to learn from the many distinguished women

who had Yale affiliations and who returned to meet with and teach us. At a visceral level, the conference proved powerful, both joyous and poignant.

But the commitment required for such a conference gave us something more: insight into what was both present and absent at Yale. Our joining together to create a bold acknowledgment of the distance Yale had traveled over the century moved members of the faculty to understand the work that lay ahead in the coming years.

Yale has many distinguished programs, including a rich undergraduate curriculum on women and gender studies, on gay and lesbian studies, and a program on African American Studies. Further, at the College as well as at graduate and professional schools, Yale has dozens of faculty whose expertise engages questions of gender and women's roles. For example, at the Medical School, under the leadership of Professor Carolyn Mazure, an interdisciplinary program, Women's Health Research at Yale, funds research and focuses on curricular development on science and health care practices for women. In addition, Yale has many women faculty whose work does not focus on women but who feel that their lives as professors are deeply affected by the fact that they are women. But Yale has not (yet) shaped integrated structures that enable a formerly exclusionary university to become a fully inclusive one for women.

Therefore, after the *Gender Matters* Conference, a small group of us went to the President and Provost to ask for their support in exploring how more could be done to complete the project of coeducation, begun at the undergraduate level just thirty years ago. We were warmly welcomed, with provisions for a three-year seed grant to the Women Faculty Forum to develop programs and to make suggestions about what needed to be done.

Reflective of our own commitment to knowledge and of our socialization as women establishing credentials in atmospheres often hesitant to acknowledge our contributions, we did research (our "homework" of sorts). With the able assistance first of Alison Mackenzie (now a student at Yale Law School) and thereafter of

Rachel Thomas (Yale, B.A. '02), we undertook to survey what other universities were doing to understand the effects of coeducation on their institutions and to take account of the generativity of scholarship that had been produced since women took up roles as professors.

We learned that, over the past three decades, many universities have developed interdisciplinary programs or projects with gender as a central focus. Some programs are very well funded and staffed, and others are minimally supported. The range includes research institutes, development groups, policy institutes, and mentoring programs. That research in turn resulted in our convening a seminar series, "Instituting Gender," to which we invited leaders from other universities to explain about how they had shaped their programs, the challenges, and their purposes.

We also realized that we needed to understand better our own shared interests as a community of women scholars and our status in the University. Again, our methods were and are familiar: education through joint study and research. A key issue is the degree to which, in addition to sharing the status of being women faculty and scholars at Yale, we have intellectual kinship. Our membership includes those who hold professorships in subjects ranging from architecture to astronomy, from the social sciences to the humanities, law, and medicine. Therefore, we ran another seminar, *Science, Sex, and Gender*, for which we read and to which we invited leading scholars from other universities to explore the degree to which gender and sex were—or were not—relevant to each of our own disciplines. We choose science as the template because within our group are scientists deeply committed to the proposition that gender theories do not inform their scholarship.

Not surprisingly, we learned that theories of gender have varying degrees of proximity to our scholarship and teaching. Yet all of us were clear that our gender was all too proximate to other aspects of our lives—having significant effects on our professional status within our own disciplines. Therefore, we launched a major research initiative to identify the roles women play in the University. We asked about women as faculty members,

speakers, and honorees; about where women's pictures appeared and about what leadership roles women played. That report, *Women and Yale University: A View from 2002*, was compiled in 2001–02 and taught us that our personal feelings of more or less isolation reflected institutional patterns in which some departments or divisions remain predominantly male. Concerned also about the small numbers of women of color at the University, our research data addressed the intersections of gender and race whenever possible.

We also focused on the challenges of women as workers to respond to the many demands and desires of their lives—to participate in families and to give care to those around them, including obviously the intensely demanding role of parenting. We did yet more research, on leave policies for individuals who become parents while professors and on child care facilities and support. Our roots as a group came from activism, aimed at enabling the University to mark the entry of women to Yale's faculty as a major aspect of its Tercentennial year. Similarly, our post-Tercentennial activities have also included activism, aimed at shifting the University's policies to recognize how the presence of women requires reorganization of scholarship, teaching, and professional life.

We have come as a group to aspire for much, for the University and ourselves. We hope to facilitate interdisciplinary classes, projects, and symposia and to enhance community life for women scholars, students, and administrators. We are now joining with other divisions (including the Center for International and Area Studies, the Law School, and the Medical School) in the planning of two major conferences, one on women in science and another related to migration, the nation-state, and gender. We have also launched an initiative to focus on the role of women in the classics, and in conjunction with the Beinecke Library and the British Art Center, on women in arts and literature. We have begun to develop research archives on the role of women in higher education and to explore how, given the leadership of our libraries and museums, we can enrich the research holdings on

women both at Yale and from Yale. Projects of differing scopes are possible, ranging from oral histories and filmed documentaries to development of major archives.

To help sustain junior women and to welcome beginning scholars, we have also, under the leadership of the current Research Director, Shilpa Raval (on leave from the Classics department) crafted a spring series around how one accomplishes the many tasks of a professor. One particular area of concern is support for junior faculty and the need for mentoring. We have therefore revamped our own structure by expanding our steering committee (now including Kim Bottomly from the Medical School, Paula Hyman from History and Religious Studies, and Elizabeth Dillon from English and American Studies), working out formats for discussions among the Council, and obtaining liaisons with undergraduate and graduate students. We are focusing on how the University can better understand the degree to which women are still deeply absent as well as present at Yale and what methods—such as targeted fellowships, stipends, research funds, institutes—can bring about significant changes.

Therefore, I write these concluding remarks about a project that is *in medias res*. We are only in the middle of the unfolding of the project of coeducation. The last one hundred years have answered the question of whether women could take more roles at Yale than serving as its cleaning and administrative staff, and as the wives, mothers, daughters, or sisters of men of Yale. The next one hundred years will tell us how the opening to women of all possible roles at the University reframes understandings, theories, and practices of gender and of Yale.

## ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

**Elizabeth Alexander, B.A. 1984,** Associate Professor (Adjunct) in African American Studies, Yale University

Elizabeth Alexander is a poet, playwright and scholar. She earned her undergraduate degree at Yale in 1984, pursued a degree in creative writing at Boston University, and received her Ph.D. in English at the University of Pennsylvania. She has published three poetic works, *The Venus Hottentot*, *Body of Life*, and *Antebellum Dream Book*. Professor Alexander has taught at the University of Pennsylvania, Harvard University, and the University of Chicago. She was the first Director of the Poetry Center of Smith College and has come to Yale as an Associate Professor (Adjunct) of African American Studies. She teaches courses exploring problems in the study of African American literature.

**Frances Beinecke, B.A. 1971, M.F.S. 1974,** Executive Director of the Natural Resources Defense Council

Frances G. Beinecke is the Executive Director of the Natural Resources Defense Council, one of the nation's leading environmental organizations that uses law and science to advance environmental protection in the U.S. and abroad. Ms. Beinecke has been involved with NRDC since 1973, first as an intern, as a resource specialist with the Coastal/Marine program, as the Associate Director from 1990 to 1998, and now as Executive Director. She has managed NRDC's programs, restructuring and strategic planning process over the last decade. Ms. Beinecke also serves on many boards, including the Yale Corporation, World Resources Institute, and Ethical Culture Fieldston Schools.

**Seyla Benhabib, Ph.D. in Philosophy 1977,** Eugene Meyer Professor of Political Science and Philosophy, Yale University

Seyla Benhabib is Eugene Meyer Professor of Political Science and Philosophy and the Director of the Ethics, Politics and Economics program. Her research and teaching focus on 19th and 20th century German social and political thought, moral philosophy, and most recently citizenship studies. Also a renowned feminist theorist, Professor Benhabib came to Yale from Harvard University, where from 1993 to 2001 she was Professor in the Department of Government and Chair of Harvard's Committee on Degrees in Social Studies from 1997–2000. She also chaired the Standing Committee on the Status of Women in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences from 1995–97 at Harvard. She is the author or co-author of seven books, including most recently, *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt* (Sage 1996; reissued by Rowman and Littlefield 2003), *Transformations of Citizenship: Dilemmas of the Nation-State in the Global Era* (The Baruch de Spinoza lectures, Amsterdam, 2001) and *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era* (Princeton 2003).

**Mishka Brown, B.A. 1997,** CEO of Aerolith Incorporated

Mishka Brown is CEO of Aerolith Incorporated, a media consulting and technology development company based in Harlem. After graduating with a degree in African American Studies and Political Science from Yale in 1997, Ms. Brown worked as a corporate paralegal before partnering with fellow Yale graduate Bill Mack. Over the last four years, Aerolith has worked for both large clients such as Lucent Technologies and the New York City

Board of Education and small community based organizations. Ms. Brown was selected for *Fast Company* magazine's Brain Trust of Experts, was a Delegate-at-Large at the National Summit on Africa in 2000, and is a member of the Black Documentary Collective and the New York New Media Association.

**Johnnetta Cole, L.H.D. (Hon.) 1991, President of Bennett College, President Emerita of Spelman College**

Dr. Johnnetta Cole was named the 14th president of Bennett College in 2002. In 1997, Dr. Cole concluded a decade of service as the seventh president of Spelman College. From 1998 to 2001, she served as the Presidential Distinguished Professor of Anthropology, Women's Studies, and African American Studies at Emory University. Dr. Cole began college at the age of 15 when she entered Fisk University. She completed her undergraduate degree at Oberlin College and earned a Ph.D. in anthropology from Northwestern University. Dr. Cole's teaching and research in the areas of cultural anthropology, African-American studies, and women's studies inform her advocacy for people of color and women throughout the world. In 1987 Dr. Cole became the first African-American woman to serve as president of Spelman College since its founding in 1881. During Dr. Cole's tenure, Spelman made history by becoming the first historically black college to receive a number one rating in *U.S. News and World Report's* annual college issue. Under Dr. Cole's leadership, in 1997 Spelman completed a major capital campaign that raised 113.8 million dollars, which was at that time the largest sum ever raised by a historically black college or university. Dr. Cole is an active member of numerous

community and corporate boards and organizations including The Carter Center, the National Council of Negro Women, and Coca-Cola Enterprises. Dr. Cole has received honorary degrees from 47 colleges and universities including Yale University, and most recently received the Radcliffe Medal from the Radcliffe College Alumnae Association.

**Nancy F. Cott, Jonathan Trumbull Professor of American History, Harvard University**

Nancy Cott taught at Yale from 1975 to 2001, the year she was named Sterling Professor of History and American Studies. She moved to Harvard in 2002, where she teaches in the History department and serves as faculty director of the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. She is the author of many books on gender history, marriage, and feminism in the United States, the most recent being *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (HUP, 2000). Professor Cott completed her undergraduate work at Cornell and received her Ph.D. in the History of American Civilization from Brandeis University.

**Marian Wright Edelman, LL.B. 1963, M.A.H. 1971, LL.D. (Hon.) 1985, President of the Children's Defense Fund**

Marian Wright Edelman is founder and president of the Children's Defense Fund (CDF). She began her career in the mid 1960s when, as the first black woman admitted to the Mississippi bar, she directed the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund office in Jackson. In 1968, she moved to Washington, D.C., as counsel for the Poor People's March that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.,

began organizing before his death. Ms. Edelman founded the Washington Research Project, a public interest law firm and the parent body of the Children's Defense Fund. For two years, she directed the Center for Law and Education at Harvard University, and, in 1973, began CDF. She has received many honorary degrees and awards including the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Albert Schweitzer Humanitarian Prize, and a MacArthur Foundation Prize Fellowship.

**Heidi Hartmann, Ph.D. in Economics 1974, Founder and President, Institute for Women's Policy Research**

Dr. Heidi Hartmann is the President and founder of the Washington-based Institute for Women's Policy Research, an independent, non-profit, scientific research organization. She is an economist with a B.A. from Swarthmore College and a Ph.D. in economics from Yale University. Dr. Hartmann has authored or co-authored a variety of reports, such as *The Impact of Social Security Reform on Women; Unnecessary Losses: Costs to Americans of the Lack of Family and Medical Leave*; and *Women's Access to Health Insurance*, which are widely available in the United States and abroad. In 1994 Dr. Hartmann received a MacArthur fellowship award in recognition of her pioneering work in the field of women and economics.

**Dolores Hayden, Professor of Architecture, Urbanism and American Studies, Yale University**

Dolores Hayden is Professor of Architecture, Urbanism, and American Studies. An urban historian and architect, she writes about the history of American built environments and the politics of design. Her books include

*The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (1981), *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life* (1984, 2002), and *The Power of Place* (1995). Professor Hayden has taught at MIT, UC Berkeley, and UCLA as well as Yale. She has been a Guggenheim Fellow and a fellow of the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts. She lectures internationally on urban design, public history, public art, preservation, housing, and suburbs. She was educated at Mount Holyoke College, Cambridge University, and the Harvard Graduate School of Design. She is also a poet with recent work in *Yale Review*, *Southwest Review*, and *Michigan Quarterly Review*.

**Nannerl O. Keohane, Ph.D. in Political Science 1967, President of Duke University**

Nannerl O. Keohane, president of Duke University since 1993, was a 1961 Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Wellesley College. Thereafter she attended Oxford University on a Marshall Scholarship taking a B.A./M.A. with First Class Honours in philosophy, politics, and economics. She earned her Yale Ph.D. in political science on a Sterling Fellowship in 1967. Before becoming president of Wellesley in 1981, Dr. Keohane taught at Swarthmore College, the University of Pennsylvania, and Stanford University. Dr. Keohane, who also holds the rank of Professor of political science, has written extensively in the fields of political philosophy, feminism, and education. She is the author of *Philosophy and the State in France: The Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Princeton University Press, 1980) and co-editor of *Feminist*



*Theory: A Critique of Ideology* (University of Chicago Press, 1982).

**Richard C. Levin, Ph.D. in Economics 1974, President of Yale University**

Richard C. Levin, the Frederick William Beinecke Professor of Economics, was selected Yale's twenty-second President in 1993. He received his B.A. from Stanford University in 1968 and studied politics and philosophy at Oxford University, where he earned a B.Litt. degree. In 1974 he received his Ph.D. from Yale and joined the Yale faculty. Before becoming president, he chaired the economics department and served as Dean of the Graduate School. As president, he has invested in the physical renovation of the campus on an unprecedented scale, worked to improve relations with the City of New Haven, and launched a half-billion-dollar expansion in the sciences. Mr. Levin currently is a director of the Hewlett Foundation, Journal Storage, and the National Academy of Sciences' Board on Science, Technology and Economic Policy. He also chairs the board of the University Alliance for Lifelong Learning, a joint venture of Yale, Oxford, and Stanford universities.

**Linda K. Lorimer, J.D. 1977, Vice President and Secretary of Yale University**

Linda Koch Lorimer is Vice President and Secretary of the University. She is the officer responsible for an array of institutional functions, ranging from corporate governance to external affairs (both public affairs and alumni relations). She has served as a member of the Yale Corporation, president of the board of the American Association of Colleges and Universities (an association of over 600 institutions of higher education), and president of the

Women's College Coalition. Ms. Lorimer was President of Randolph-Macon Women's College from 1986 to 1993. She held a series of administrative appointments at Yale from 1978 to 1986 before returning as Secretary in 1993.

**Alison Mackenzie, Former Research Director and Program Coordinator of the Women Faculty Forum**

Alison Mackenzie was the Research Director and Program Coordinator for the Women Faculty Forum from 2000–2002. During this time she helped to organize the *Gender Matters* conference as part of Yale's Tercentennial celebration. Ms. Mackenzie is currently a first year student at Yale Law School.

**Linda Mason, M.B.A. 1980, Chair and Cofounder of Bright Horizons Family Solutions**

Linda Mason is Chair and Founder of Bright Horizons Family Solutions, the world's leading provider of employer-sponsored childcare, early education and work/life solutions. Ms. Mason also founded The Bright Horizons Foundation for Children and The Horizons Initiative, which provides childcare to homeless children in the Greater Boston area. Prior to founding Bright Horizons, Ms. Mason managed large-scale relief operations overseas. She co-authored the book *Rice, Rivalry, and Politics*, based on her relief experiences in Cambodia. Ms. Mason's recent book, *The Working Mother's Guide to Life*, was published in November 2002.

**Sarah Pillsbury, B.A. 1974, Producer, Sanford Pillsbury Productions**

Sarah Pillsbury began her career working in documentaries as associate producer on *The California Reich* (nominated for an Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature) and attended

UCLA film school. In 1979, she produced Ron Ellis' *Board and Care*, which won the Academy Award for Best Live Action Short Subject. Ms. Pillsbury joined forces with Midge Sanford in 1981 to form Sanford/Pillsbury Productions. Together they have produced nine feature films and four television films including the Emmy Award winning HBO film, *And The Band Played On*. In 1976 she co-founded the Liberty Hill Foundation which now gives away over \$3 million a year to community organizations in Los Angeles County working for economic, social, and environmental justice.

**Shilpa Raval, Assistant Professor of Classics and Research Director of the Women Faculty Forum, Yale University**

Shilpa Raval has taught at Yale since 2000. Her research interests include Latin poetry, gender and sexuality in the ancient world, and feminist, literary, and queer theory. Professor Raval is currently working on a book on literary representations of rape in ancient Rome. She received her B.A. in Classics and English with a minor in Women's Studies from Drew University and her Ph.D. from Brown University.

**Judith Resnik, Arthur Liman Professor of Law, Yale University**

Judith Resnik joined the Yale Law School faculty in 1997, where she teaches and writes about procedure, federalism, large-scale litigation, women's rights, and feminist theory. Her essays consider 20th century changes in the role of judges, dispute resolution, adjudication, gender, international law, and jurisdiction. She is the co-author of *Procedure* (1988) and of *The Effects of Gender* (1994), the first monograph about gender in the federal courts. Professor Resnik

has testified many times before congressional and judicial committees. She is a graduate of Bryn Mawr College and New York University Law School. Before coming to Yale, she was the Orrin B. Evans Professor of Law at the University of Southern California.

**Deborah Rhode, B.A. 1974, J.D. 1977, Ernest W. McFarland Professor of Law, Stanford University**

Deborah Rhode is the Ernest W. McFarland Professor of Law and director of the Keck Center on Legal Ethics and the Legal Profession at Stanford Law School. In 1998, she served as president of the Association of American Law Schools, and as senior counsel to the minority members of the Judiciary Committee, the United States House of Representatives, working on impeachment issues. She is also a former chair of the American Bar Association's Commission on Women in the Profession. Author or coauthor of eight books and over 111 articles, Professor Rhode graduated Phi Beta Kappa and summa cum laude from Yale College and received her legal training from Yale Law School. After clerking for Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, she joined the Stanford faculty. She is a former director of Stanford's Institute for Research on Women and Gender and writes primarily in the area of legal ethics and gender discrimination. She is a former trustee of Yale University.

**Alison Richard, Vice Chancellor of Cambridge University, Provost Emerita of Yale University**

Professor Richard received her undergraduate degree in anthropology at Cambridge University and her doctorate in primate biology from London University. She joined the Yale faculty

in 1972 and was named professor of anthropology in 1986. Professor Richard is widely known for her research and writings on the evolution of complex social systems among primates. This work has taken her to Central America, Northern Pakistan, and in particular Madagascar, where she has maintained a field research project for the past 15 years. Professor Richard chaired the Department of Anthropology at Yale from 1986 until 1990, and received a joint appointment as professor of environmental studies in the School of Forestry and Environmental Studies in 1992. Between 1991 and 1994, she served as Director of the Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, where she oversaw one of the most important university natural history collections in the U.S. and played a leading role in initiating the museum's \$20 million capital drive. From April 1994 until she stepped down from the position in December 2002, Professor Richard served as Provost of Yale University. The Provost is the chief academic and administrative officer of the University after the President. As such, the provost has oversight of educational policies of all sectors of the University, and prepares the operating and capital budget. In December 2002, Professor Richard was named Vice Chancellor-designate of Cambridge University. She will take up the position on October 1, 2003.

**Sally Stansfield, Residency Internship 1977, Associate Director for Global Health Initiatives for the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation**

Dr. Stansfield was educated at the University of Washington and completed a residency internship in internal medicine at Yale University. As the Associate Director at the Bill and

Melinda Gates Foundation, she identifies opportunities for improving global health equity, develops strategies for evaluating global health programs, and manages the grant review process. Prior to the Gates Foundation, Dr. Stansfield managed the USAID-financed Reproductive and Child Health Alliance Program in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, and helped to develop the Master's in Public Health Program at Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia. She has conducted research on high hazard viral diseases (AIDS, Ebola fever and Lassa fever) for the Centers for Disease Control and evaluated health projects in Mauritania and Bangladesh for the World Health Organization (WHO).

**Nancy J. Vickers, Ph.D. in French 1976, President of Bryn Mawr College**

Dr. Nancy Vickers is President of Bryn Mawr College. Prior to assuming her current position in 1997, she was the Dean of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Southern California's College of Letters, Arts and Sciences and a Professor of French, Italian, and Comparative Literature. Dr. Vickers received her bachelor's degree from Mount Holyoke College in 1967 and her Ph.D. from Yale University in 1976. She has received awards for her excellence as a teacher from both the University of Southern California and Dartmouth College, where she taught from 1973 until 1987. Dr. Vickers is a scholar in the fields of literary and cultural studies; her publications include *Language Machines: Technologies of Literary and Cultural Production*, *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Differences in Early Modern Europe*, and *A New History of French Literature*, for which she and her co-editors received the Modern Language Association's James Russell Lowell Prize in 1990.

**Patricia M. Wald, LL.B. 1951, LL.D. (Hon.) 2001, American Judicial Representative, The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (1999–2001)**

Judge Pat Wald became the American Judicial Representative on the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in 1999. Previously, she served as a U.S. Circuit Judge for the District of Columbia Circuit Court for 20 years, serving as Chief Judge from 1986 to 1991. In 1977, she became the Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs in the Department of Justice, a position she held until she was appointed to the bench in 1979. Judge Wald has also served as Vice President of the American Law Institute from 1988 to 1998, and is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. She has authored over 100 articles on national and international legal topics, and in 2001 she received an honorary degree from Yale University.



## Opening Remarks



Richard Levin



Alison Richard



Judith Resnik



Linda Lorimer



Dolores Hayden

*Conference images were taken by Michael Marsland, University Photographer*



## Women and Universities



Nancy Vickers



Johnnetta Cole



Nan Keohane

## Invention: New Research Questions



Naomi Schor



Seyla Benhabib



Maxine Singer converses with audience



Marianne LaFrance



## Imagination: Center of the Arts



Sarah Pillsbury, Gloria Naylor, Mary Miller



Elizabeth Alexander



Gloria Naylor



Dolores Hayden, Mary Miller, Sarah Pillsbury



Dolores Hayden, Sarah Pillsbury



Emily Bakemeier



**Break-out Groups: Panelists discuss issues with  
conference attendees**



Karen Wynn, Elizabeth Dillon



Seyla Benhabib



Deborah Rhode



Frances Beinecke



Frances Beinecke, Kathy Knafl, Mary Clarke



## Leadership: Reinventing the Local and The Global



Marian Wright Edelman



Frances Beinecke



Mary Clark



Sally Stansfield



President Levin and Jane Levin converse with panelists





## Founders, Entrepreneurs, and Activists



Sharon Oster



Mishka Brown



Heidi Hartmann



Nancy Cott



Linda Mason



Shirley McCarthy, Paula Kavathas

## APPENDIX A: GENDER MATTERS THE CONFERENCE PROGRAM

### Contemplating the History of Women at Yale

The celebration of the Tercentennial offers a chance to contemplate the history of women at Yale as a means to clarify our understanding of the present and our goals for the future. As we mark Yale's 300th year, we are keenly aware that the arrival of significant numbers of women at Yale, as students, staff, administration, and faculty, is a hallmark of this century.

How to record the history of women at Yale is one of the questions that frame this conference. Even the "first woman admitted" is not an unambiguous benchmark. For example, the first women to enroll as graduate students in the nineteenth century were admitted because the donor funding the School of Art required it to be open to women. The Law School admitted a woman in 1886 because, given her name, she was mistaken for a male applicant. Immediately thereafter, the Law School formalized a males-only admissions policy. The medical school admitted a woman in the 1910s, after her father countered the school's objection to admitting women by donating funds for building toilet facilities for women. Should we be celebrating these particular episodes?

Separate schools, with their diverse specializations, have different histories. The School of Nursing, for example, was founded in 1923 by women and did not enroll a male student until thirty years had passed, while the Forestry School did not enroll a female student until 1967. The undergraduate college first enrolled women in 1969—yet it would take many more changes for the school to outgrow centuries of institutional life as a school for men. How would we define the point at which women were fully integrated into Yale College? It was not until the 1990's that women and men were admitted in roughly similar numbers to study in Yale College. The creation in 1979 of the Women's Studies Program—and its transformation in 1998 into Women's and Gender Studies—are other markers of change in Yale College, and so is the appointment in 1991 of the first woman to serve as a dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.

As we point to such individual moments, we remain keenly aware of continuing large issues. The faculty, administration, staff, the structure and content of a Yale education, of Yale's facilities, and nature of the university's goals—all are aspects of the current relationships of women to Yale. Much work is still necessary to complete the project of coeducation. The Women Faculty Forum has been established to recognize both the growing presence of women at Yale and the distance to go to ensure that women are full participants in all parts of the University. This conference is the first of many occasions to spark reflection on women's roles here and thinking about the years to come.

The conference *Gender Matters* took place on September 20–21, 2001. The program and persons as then identified are:



## **APPENDIX B: COUNCIL MEMBERS OF THE WOMEN FACULTY FORUM**



Mahzarin Banaji



Michele Barry



Seyla Benhabib



Kim Bottomly



Catherine Gilliss



Dolores Hayden



Margaret Homans



Paula E. Hyman



Sheila Levrant de Bretteville



Carolyn M. Mazure



Shirley McCarthy



Mary E. Miller



Judith Resnik



Nancy L. Rutherford



Naomi Schor



Barbara A. Shailor



Hazel V. Carby



Kamari Clarke



Nancy F. Cott



Elizabeth Dillon



Serene Jones



Ilona Kickbusch



Kathleen A. Knafl



Marianne LaFrance



Priyamvada Natarajan



Sharon Oster



Linda H. Peterson



Alice Prochaska



Reva B. Siegel



Meg Urry



Laura Wexler



Karen Wynn

**Mahzarin Banaji, Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics and Carol K. Pforzheimer Professor at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, Harvard University**

Until 2001 Mahzarin Banaji was on the faculty at Yale as the Reuben Post Halleck Professor of Psychology. She is currently the Richard Clarke Cabot Professor of Social Ethics in the Department of Psychology and Carol K. Pforzheimer Professor at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard University. Professor Banaji's work is at the intersection of cognitive and social psychology. Her research focuses on unconscious processes in social judgment, particularly implicit forms of prejudice and discrimination. She has authored or co-authored more than 100 articles or papers for scientific journals and other publications. Professor Banaji is a graduate of Nizam College in Hyderabad, India, and earned her M.A. in psychology from Osmania University in Hyderabad. She earned a second M.A. and a Ph.D. in psychology from Ohio State University.

**Michele Barry, Professor of Medicine and Public Health**

Michele Barry has been on the faculty at the Yale Medical School since 1981. She helped organize the first residency program in International Health in the United States and developed the first U.S. certification examination in tropical medicine and traveler's health. She is currently the Generalist Firm Chief at Yale-New Haven Hospital and the Director of the Office of International Health at the medical school. She was recently elected president of the American Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene and member of the Institute of Medicine of the National Academy of Sciences. Professor Barry

completed her undergraduate work at Bryn Mawr College and her graduate work at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine and Yale University.

**Kim Bottomly, Professor of Immunobiology**

Kim Bottomly has taught at the Yale Medical School since 1980. Her research focuses on the factors that regulate CD4 T-cell differentiation and function, especially as regards the pathogenesis of asthma. She also serves on the National Advisory Allergy and Infectious Diseases Council of the National Institutes of Health. Professor Bottomly completed both her undergraduate and graduate work at the University of Washington.

**Hazel V. Carby, Professor of African American Studies**

Hazel Carby joined the faculty of the African American Studies Department at Yale in 1989. In her writing and teaching Professor Carby focuses on issues of race, gender and culture and theories of racial formations. She is the author of many articles and books including the recent *Cultures in Babylon: Black Britain and African America* (Verso, 1999). She is currently working on Octavia Butler and a history of radical black women. Professor Carby received her Ph.D. from the Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University in the U.K.

**Mary L. Clark, Visiting Associate Professor, Washington College of Law, American University**

Mary Clark currently serves as a Visiting Associate Professor at American University's Washington College of Law, where she teaches and writes about property and feminist jurisprudence. Previously, Professor

Clark was a Research Scholar on Women in the Legal Profession at Yale Law School, where she prepared a monograph on the history of women at the Law School. In the fall of 2000, she taught the first-ever workshop on this subject at the Law School. Professor Clark is a graduate of Bryn Mawr College and Harvard Law School.

**Nancy F. Cott, Jonathan Trumbull Professor of American History, Harvard University**

Nancy Cott taught at Yale from 1975 to 2001, the year she was named Sterling Professor of History and American Studies. She moved to Harvard in 2002, where she teaches in the History department and serves as faculty director of the Schlesinger Library on the History of Women at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. She is the author of many books on gender history, marriage, and feminism in the United States, the most recent being *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (HUP, 2000). Professor Cott completed her undergraduate work at Cornell and received her Ph.D. in the History of American Civilization from Brandeis University.

**Elizabeth Dillon, Assistant Professor of English and American Studies**

Elizabeth Dillon came to Yale in 1997 and writes and teaches on American women writers in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Her areas of interest also include lyric poetry, feminist theory, and literary theory. Her book, *The Gender of Freedom: Fictions of Liberalism and American Women Writers, 1630-1870* (forthcoming, Stanford University Press), concerns gender, political theory, narrative, and the print public sphere. Professor Dillon received her Ph.D. in Comparative

Literature from the University of California at Berkeley in 1995. Before coming to Yale, she held a Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship in the Department of Comparative Literature at Cornell University.

**Dolores Hayden, Professor of Architecture and Urbanism, Professor of American Studies**

Dolores Hayden is Professor of Architecture, Urbanism, and American Studies. She writes about the history of American built environments and the politics of design. Her books include *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (MIT Press, 1981), *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work, and Family Life* (W.W. Norton, 1984, 2002), and *The Power of Place* (MIT Press, 1995). Professor Hayden has taught at MIT, UC Berkeley, and UCLA as well as Yale. She has been a Guggenheim Fellow and a fellow of the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts. She is also a poet with recent work in *Yale Review*, *Southwest Review*, and *Michigan Quarterly Review*.

**Serene Jones, Associate Professor of Theology and African American Studies**

Serene Jones has taught at the Yale Divinity School since 1991. In her writing and teaching Professor Jones focuses on systematic theology and feminist theory and theology. She is the author of many books and articles including most recently, *Feminist Theory and Theology: Cartographies of Grace (Guides to Theological Inquiry)* (Fortress Press, 2000). Professor Jones is a graduate of the University of Oklahoma, the Tamil Nadu Theological



Seminary in Tamil Nadu, South India, Yale Divinity School, and Yale University.

**Ilona Senta Kickbusch, Professor and Head, Division of Global Health**

Ilona Senta Kickbusch joined the faculty at the Yale School of Epidemiology and Public Health in 1998. She heads the Division of Global Health at the Yale School of Epidemiology and Public Health. Prior to Yale, Professor Kickbusch was the Director of the Division of Health Promotion, Education, and Communication at the World Health Organization (WHO). She continues to advise a wide range of organizations on global health issues including the Pan American Health Organization, the European Commission and The United Nations Association / U.S.A. She presently heads the Fulbright New Century Scholars program on Global Health. Professor Kickbusch completed her undergraduate and graduate studies at the University of Konstanz, Germany.

**Kathleen A. Knafl, Professor of Nursing**

A sociologist who has spent most of her career in academic nursing, Kathleen Knafl joined the Yale School of Nursing faculty in 2000. Her research focuses on how families respond to a child's chronic illness and the role of health care professionals in supporting the family's adaptation. Dr. Knafl's work has been influential in shaping programs related to family-centered care. She currently has funding from the National Institute of Health to develop and test a measure of family management of childhood chronic illness as well as funding for a study of how parents with a child with a genetic condition access, interpret, and use

information about the condition. Dr. Knafl also is participating in a study being done under the leadership of her colleague Dr. Margaret Grey who is testing a school-based intervention for reducing the risk for type 2 diabetes in obese children. She is a graduate of the University of Illinois.

**Marianne LaFrance, Professor of Psychology, Women's and Gender Studies**

Marianne LaFrance joined the Yale faculty in 1998. Her research examines how subtle communication processes reflect and maintain gender, power, and cultural distinctions. Nonverbal behaviors, such as facial expressions, are of particular interest because they lend form to apparent gender differences even while doing so off-the-record. Professor LaFrance's research also explores the forms and effects of apparently minor sexist acts such as job interview questions. In another line of research, Professor LaFrance is investigating how media reports of scientific findings pertaining to sex differences induce and perpetuate the idea that sex differences are basic, prevalent, and immutable.

**Carolyn M. Mazure, Associate Dean for Faculty Affairs, Yale School of Medicine, Professor of Psychiatry, and Director, Women's Health Research at Yale**

Carolyn Mazure joined the Yale School of Medicine faculty in 1982 after completing her postdoctoral training at Yale University. Her research is aimed at determining predictors of illness onset and treatment response, particularly in depression and, more recently, in addictive disorders. Current research is designed to generate models that explain the effects of stress on health

status. Professor Mazure also directs Women's Health Research at Yale which undertakes new studies on sex differences in health and disease; is the Principal Investigator for the NIH-funded Yale Research Scholar Program on Women and Drug Abuse; and leads the Sex-Specific Factors Core of the NIH-funded Tobacco Use Research Center studying nicotine-dependence and treatment.

**Shirley McCarthy, Professor of Diagnostic Radiology, Professor of Obstetrics and Gynecology**

Shirley McCarthy joined the Yale Medical School faculty in 1984. Her research interest is in the applications and cost effectiveness of magnetic resonance imaging of the body, particularly gynecologic applications of MRI and other imaging techniques. Professor McCarthy is also interested in body CT and the newer applications of multi-detector CT scanning. She is a fellow in the International Society of Magnetic Resonance in Medicine, and is considered an international leader in her field having served on the Board of Directors of both MRI societies. Professor McCarthy completed her undergraduate studies at SUNY and her graduate studies at Yale and Cornell.

**Mary E. Miller, Vincent Scully Professor of History of Art**

Mary Miller joined the Yale faculty in 1981. A specialist in Precolumbian art, she is the author or co-author of several books, including the recent *Maya Art and Architecture* (Thames & Hudson, 1999). She is wrapping up a multi-year project to document and disseminate the Maya murals of Bonampak, Chiapas, Mexico, a project which has received extensive support from both National Geographic and the Getty Grant. She is

also the guest curator of *The Courtly Art of the Ancient Maya*, an exhibition that will open at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., in April 2004 and then travel to the Legion of Honor, San Francisco. Since 1999, Professor Miller has served as Master of Saybrook College. Professor Miller completed her undergraduate studies at Princeton and received her Ph.D. from Yale.

**Priyamvada Natarajan, Assistant Professor of Astronomy**

Priya Natarajan joined the Yale faculty in 2000. Her areas of research span several areas in contemporary theoretical astrophysics: gravitational lensing studies of clusters of galaxies, the distribution of dark matter on galaxy scales within clusters, dynamics of galaxies in clusters, the accretion history of super-massive black holes, feedback issues and evolution of the neutral gas content at low redshifts in the context of galaxy formation. Professor Natarajan completed her undergraduate education at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and was a graduate student in the Program in Science, Technology and Society pursuing her interest in the Philosophy of Science. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Cambridge, U.K., in theoretical astrophysics and is a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

**Sharon Oster, Frederic D. Wolfe Professor of Economics and Management**

Sharon Oster has taught at the Yale School of Management since its founding in 1974. She specializes in competitive strategy, microeconomic theory, industrial organization, the economics of regulation and antitrust, and nonprofit strategy. She has written



extensively on the regulation of business and competitive strategy. Her books, which include *Strategic Management for Nonprofit Organizations*, (Oxford University Press, Third Edition, 1999); and *Modern Competitive Analysis*, (Oxford University Press, 1990, 1999) emphasize an economic approach to strategic management and are widely used at management schools. Professor Oster completed her undergraduate work at Hofstra College and received her Ph.D. from Harvard University.

**Linda H. Peterson, Niel Gray, Jr.  
Professor of English**

Linda Peterson came to Yale in 1977, and teaches 19th-century literature, including women authors, women's literary history, Victorian poetry and nonfictional prose. She is the author of several books, including *Traditions of Victorian Women's Autobiography* (1999), and is currently writing on the professionalization of the 19th century woman of letters. Professor Peterson chaired the English department from 1994–2000. She is a graduate of Wheaton College and Brown University.

**Judith Resnik, Arthur Liman  
Professor of Law**

Judith Resnik joined the Yale Law School faculty in 1997, where she teaches and writes about procedure, federalism, large-scale litigation, women's rights, and feminist theory. Her essays consider twentieth century changes in the role of judges, dispute resolution, adjudication, gender, international law, and jurisdiction. She is the co-author of *Procedure* (Foundation Press, 1988) and of *The Effects of Gender*, the first monograph about gender in the federal courts. Resnik has testified many times before congressional and judicial committees; in 1987, she argued a local

Rotary Club's right to admit women in the United States Supreme Court. She is a graduate of Bryn Mawr College and New York University Law School. Before coming to Yale, she was the Orrin B. Evans Professor of Law at the University of Southern California.

**Nancy L. Ruther, Associate Director,  
Yale Center for International and  
Area Studies, Lecturer in Political  
Science**

Nancy Ruther came to Yale in 1988 as the Associate Director of YCIAS, the principal unit at Yale for research, teaching and community outreach in international affairs. Her research focus has been international higher education, public policy and international development. Ms. Ruther focuses on faculty, fellowship and scholarly resource development and curriculum and program development in the ten degree programs of YCIAS. She also teaches the required introductory course for the Master's students in International Relations. Ms. Ruther began her career as a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Agency for International Development. She completed her undergraduate work at University of Pittsburgh, and her graduate work at Cornell and the University of Massachusetts.

**Naomi Schor, Benjamin F. Barge  
Professor of French**

From 1999 until her death on December 2, 2001, Naomi Schor was the Benjamin F. Barge Professor of French. Her areas of research included French literature, women's and gender studies, 19th century France, and bureaucracy. Professor Schor was the author of numerous articles and reviews, and five books on French literature, aesthetics, and feminist theory, including

*Bad Objects: Essays Popular and Unpopular* (1995). She was a founding co-editor of *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*. Professor Schor was elected to membership in the Academy of Literary Studies in 1984 and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1997; in 1990 she received a Guggenheim Fellowship. Professor Schor completed her undergraduate studies at Barnard College and received her Ph.D. from Yale.

**Reva B. Siegel, Nicholas deB.  
Katzenbach Professor of Law**

Reva Siegel joined the Yale Law School faculty in 1994, where she writes and teaches about constitutional law; contracts; antidiscrimination law; legal history and inequality from diverse disciplinary perspectives. In her work, Professor Siegel often employs the methods of legal history to explore contemporary questions of civil rights law. Her journal articles analyze the modernization of gender and racial status law during the 19th and 20th centuries in areas ranging from abortion and domestic violence to voting rights, sexual harassment, affirmative action, and federalism. Professor Siegel is a graduate of both Yale College and Yale Law School. Before coming to Yale, she taught at the Boalt Hall School of Law at UC Berkeley.

**Karen Wynn, Professor of Psychology**

Karen Wynn joined the Yale faculty in 1999. She is Director of the Infant Cognition Laboratory. Her research examines the nature of cognition within the first months of life, as a means of investigating the foundational structures of the human mind prior to the influences of language, culture, education and extensive experience (and upon which these influences build).

She is recipient of the National Academy of Science's Troland Award, and of the American Psychological Association's Distinguished Scientific Award for Early Career Contribution to Psychology. Professor Wynn completed her undergraduate studies at McGill University and received her Ph.D. from Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

2002–2003 Council Members. Since its inception during the Tercentennial, several new individuals have joined the Women Faculty Forum. They are:

**Seyla Benhabib, Eugene Meyer Professor of Political Science and Philosophy**

Seyla Benhabib is Eugene Meyer Professor of Political Science and Philosophy and the Director of the Ethics, Politics and Economics program. Her research and teaching focus on 19th and 20th century German social and political thought, moral philosophy, and most recently citizenship studies. Also a renowned feminist theorist, Professor Benhabib came to Yale from Harvard University, where from 1993 to 2001 she was Professor in the Department of Government and Chair of Harvard's Committee on Degrees in Social Studies from 1997–2000. She also chaired the Standing Committee on the Status of Women in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences from 1995–97 at Harvard. She is the author or co-author of seven books, including most recently, *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt* (Sage 1996; reissued by Rowman and Littlefield 2003), *Transformations of Citizenship: Dilemmas of the Nation-State in the Global Era* (The Baruch de Spinoza lectures, Amsterdam, 2001) and *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era* (Princeton 2003).

**Kamari Clarke, Assistant Professor of Anthropology**

Kamari Clarke writes and teaches about culture and power theory, globalization, international criminal law, and religious nationalism in West Africa. In December 2001, Professor Clarke received a University fellowship, one of twenty-two awarded annually to outstanding junior faculty members

to help advance their research at critical points in their careers. She has published work on Transnational Cultural Processes and is currently authoring a body of work on Conflict and Membership in the Making of the International Criminal Court. At Yale she serves on the Council of African Studies, the Women's and Gender Studies Council, and has a courtesy appointment with the Department of African American Studies. Professor Clarke received her Ph.D. in 1997 from the University of California, Santa Cruz and is in the process of completing a Master of Studies in Law from Yale Law School (May 2003).

**Catherine Gilliss, Dean and Professor, Yale School of Nursing**

Catherine Gilliss became the eighth Dean of the School of Nursing in 1998. She has distinguished herself as a leader in graduate education in nursing. From 1984 to 1998 she was a faculty member at the University of California San Francisco, where she served as Director of the Family Nurse Practitioner Program (1989–1993) and as Chair of the Department of Family Health Care Nursing (1993–1998). At Yale, she has been instrumental in the development of partnership models of nursing education that have brought minority scholars to Yale to pursue graduate education and careers in nursing research. She serves as Director of the NIH funded Exploratory Center to Eliminate Health Disparities, which supports this work. Dean Gilliss' research interests address the family and chronic illness. A graduate of Duke University, she holds an MSN from The

Catholic University of America and a DNSc from the University of California, San Francisco, where she also completed her post-doctoral studies. Dean Gilliss recently served as a Regent of the University of Portland; President and Board Member of the National Organization of Nurse Practitioner Faculties; President of the Primary Care Fellowship Society; and Member of the Connecticut Institute for Child Health and Development. She is now serving on the Board of the American Academy of Nursing.

**Margaret Homans, Professor of English and Women's and Gender Studies**

Margaret Homans has taught at Yale since 1978. She writes and teaches about nineteenth-century literature and feminist criticism and theory, with particular interest in George Eliot, Virginia Woolf, and Amy Lowell. She is the author of *Women Writers and Poetic Identity: Dorothy Wordsworth, Emily Bronte, and Emily Dickinson* (1980); *Bearing the Word: Language and Female Experience in Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing* (1986); *Royal Representations: Queen Victorian and Victorian Culture, 1837–1876*; and essays on Victorian literature, on recent African American women writers, and on feminist criticism and theory. She is co-editor of *Remaking Queen Victoria* (1997). Professor Homans received her B.A. and Ph.D. from Yale University.

**Paula E. Hyman, Lucy G. Moses Professor of Modern Jewish History**

Paula Hyman has taught at Yale since 1986. She writes and teaches about modern European and American Jewish history, with a special emphasis on the history of women and gender. She has written many books including,

*The Jews of Modern France* (1998), and *Jewish Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (1997). Most recently, she edited, annotated, and wrote the introduction for a woman's memoir, *Puah Rakovsky's My Life as a Radical Jewish Woman: Memoirs of a Zionist Feminist in Poland* (2002). Professor Hyman received her B.A. from Radcliffe College and her Ph.D. from Columbia University.

**Sheila Levrant de Bretteville, Professor of Graphic Design**

Sheila Levrant de Bretteville is Professor and Director of Graduate Studies in Graphic Design at the Yale School of Art. Her appointment in 1990 made her the first tenured woman faculty member in the history of the School of Art. She has designed numerous publications on art and culture, including *The Photographs of Dorothy Norman* and *The Motown Album*, as well as many public art works including *Path of Stars* in New Haven. Her work in books, magazines, and newspapers includes the redesign of the *Los Angeles Times*, and special issues of the *Aspen* and *Times*, *Everywoman*, *American Cinematographer*, and *Arts in Society*. Her posters and fine press editions are found in the special collections of many libraries and museums including the Museum of Modern Art and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. She created the first women's design program at the California Institute of the Arts in 1971 and, in 1973, founded the Woman's Building and the Women's Graphic Center in Los Angeles. Professor Levrant de Bretteville received a B.A. in art history from Barnard College, an M.F.A. from Yale University and honorary doctorate degrees from several colleges of art and design.

**Alice Prochaska, University Librarian, Sterling Library**

Alice Prochaska joined Yale in 2001 as the University Librarian. She is the author of the *History of the General Federation of Trade Unions* (1982) and *Irish History from 1700: A Guide to Sources in the Public Record Office* (1986). She has also authored numerous articles, reviews, and museum publications. Prior to coming to Yale, Ms. Prochaska served for nine years as director of Special Collections at the British Library, the national library of the United Kingdom. She received her undergraduate degree from Somerville College, Oxford, and her D.Phil. in modern history from Oxford.

**Barbara A. Shailor, Director of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library**

Barbara Shailor joined Yale in 2001 as the Director of the Beinecke. She is a specialist in Latin manuscript studies, the transmission of classical texts in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and women in classical antiquity and the Middle Ages. She is the author of many books including the three-volume *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*. Before coming to Yale, Ms. Shailor served for five years as dean of Douglass College at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, where she also served as professor of classics. She received her B.A. from Wilson College and her Ph.D. from the University of Cincinnati.

**Meg Urry, Professor of Physics and Astrophysics**

Meg Urry, who joined the Yale faculty in 2001, is the first female tenured faculty member in the history of the Yale Physics Department. She directs the

Yale Center for Astronomy and Astrophysics, and has an adjunct appointment in the Astronomy department. Her scientific research focuses on supermassive black holes in galaxies, and she has published over 100 refereed articles in scientific journals. Professor Urry comes to Yale from her position as a tenured member of the senior scientific staff at the Space Telescope Science Institute (STScI), which runs the Hubble Space Telescope for NASA. Professor Urry serves as co-editor of STATUS, a publication on the status of women in astronomy (<http://www.aas.org/~csa/pubs.html>). In March 2002, she led the U.S. delegation to the first international meeting on Women in Physics in Paris, France. Professor Urry did her undergraduate work at Tufts University and received her Ph.D. from the Johns Hopkins University.

**Laura Wexler, Professor of American Studies and Women's and Gender Studies**

Laura Wexler is Professor of American Studies and Women's and Gender Studies. Her publications include *Pregnant Pictures: Photographing Women in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, co-authored with Sandra Matthews, and *Tender Violence: Domestic Images in an Age of U.S. Imperialism*. Her courses include "Photography and Images of the Social Body," and "American Documentary Film and Photography." She is beginning research on a new book about little-known FSA documentary photographs still in the files at the Library of Congress. She is also continuing research on "The Awakening of Cultural Memory," and hoping to bring forward an edited collection of photographic criticism previously published

by the *Yale Journal of Criticism*. This past year she co-edited a special volume of the *Yale Journal of Criticism* on contemporary critical perspectives on the Holocaust, presented a paper on Kate Chopin at the ASA in Washington D.C., and participated in the first international American Studies Symposium at the University of Bologna, Italy. Also, *Tender Violence* won the Joan Kelley Memorial Prize of the American Historical Association, for the best book in women's history.

**Shilpa Raval, Assistant Professor of Classics and Research Director**

Shilpa Raval has taught at Yale since 2000. Her research interests include Latin poetry, gender and sexuality in the ancient world, and feminist, literary and queer theory. Professor Raval is currently working on a book on literary representations of rape in ancient Rome. She received her B.A. in Classics and English with a minor in Women's Studies from Drew University and her Ph.D. from Brown University.

**Rachel Thomas, Program Coordinator**

Rachel Thomas serves as Program Coordinator of the Women Faculty Forum. She is a recent graduate of Yale College, having received her B.A. in Humanities in 2002. While a student at Yale, Ms. Thomas worked in the Communications and Marketing department of the Yale Office of Development.