

Women's Issues

Women's Domestic Issues

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The Women's Legal Defense Fund's

GUIDE TO THE

family &

Medical Leave Act

Questions and Answers

THIRD EDITION (1996)

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Warren

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY, WED., MARCH 8, 1995, BLESSINGTON
AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH

THANK YOU, CHAIRPERSON NOLAN, FOR YOUR KIND INTRODUCTION.
AND THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME THIS EVENING.

WE ARE HERE TO COMMEMORATE THE WOMEN OF HISTORY WHO
HAVE FOUGHT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AND EQUALITY. WE ARE
CELEBRATING THE GREAT STRIDES WOMEN HAVE MADE IN RECENT
YEARS. BUT WE SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER WHAT THE FUTURE
HOLDS FOR WOMEN AROUND THE WORLD.

LAST MONTH, MY MOTHER DIED VERY PEACEFULLY IN HER SLEEP.
SHE WAS 104 YEARS OLD -- ALMOST HALF THE AGE OF OUR
REPUBLIC. AND I HAVE THOUGHT OFTEN SINCE THEN OF HER LIFE,
AND WHAT CHANGES SHE HAD SEEN FOR WOMEN IN THE SPAN OF
100 YEARS.

MY MOTHER WAS BORN IN AN AMERICA WHERE WOMEN COULDN'T
VOTE. WOMEN HAD NO PROPERTY RIGHTS. THEY WERE NOT
ALLOWED TO ENTER INTO CONTRACTS. IT WAS A SOCIETY THAT
PLACED WOMEN IN WELL DEFINED AND LIMITED ROLES. MY MOTHER
WROTE IN HER BOOK, "TIMES TO REMEMBER, THAT WOMEN WERE
EXPECTED TO DEVOTE THEIR LIVES TO THE THREE "C'S": CHILDREN,
COOKING, AND CHURCH. IT WAS FELT THAT PARTICIPATION IN THE
POLITICAL PROCESS WAS A DISTRACTION FROM THEIR PRIMARY
RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE HOME.

OVER THE YEARS, SHE SAW WOMEN GAIN THE VOTE. SHE SAW THEM GAIN THEIR RIGHTS. SHE SAW THEM BEGIN WORKING OUTSIDE THEIR HOMES.

IT WAS A GRADUAL, BUT CONSTANT CHANGE. WHEN I WAS YOUNG, I REMEMBER MY MOTHER ASKING ME WHAT I WANTED TO BE WHEN I GREW UP. I ANSWERED, AS MOST YOUNG GIRLS WOULD AT THAT TIME, "I WANT TO GET MARRIED." SHE ASKED MY BROTHER THE SAME QUESTION, HE SAID, "I WANT TO BE PRESIDENT."

WE BOTH PROUDLY ACHIEVED OUR GOALS. BUT SEVERAL YEARS LATER, WHEN I ASKED MY YOUNG DAUGHTER THE SAME QUESTION, SHE REPLIED, "I WANT TO BE PRESIDENT." AND I BELIEVE THAT, IF SHE WANTS TO, SHE CAN. IT IS REMARKABLE HOW FAR WE HAVE COME IN MAKING THE SEEMINGLY IMPOSSIBLE POSSIBLE--IN JUST ONE GENERATION.

STILL, WE HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO. WOMEN ARE STILL NOT EQUAL IN THE WORKPLACE, IN POLITICS, OR IN SOCIETY. WOMEN STILL EARN LESS THAN MEN. I READ RECENTLY THAT IN IRELAND THERE IS A 115 POUND A WEEK DIFFERENCE IN THE WAGES EARNED BY MEN AND THOSE EARNED BY WOMEN. WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES STILL EARN ONLY 71 PER CENT OF THE WAGES EARNED BY MEN. THE FIGURES GO DOWN FOR WOMEN OF COLOR AND WOMEN WITH DISABILITIES.

ONLY A SMALL NUMBER OF WOMEN HAVE MADE IT TO THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. OF THE 100 MEMBERS OF THE U.S. SENATE, ONLY SEVEN ARE WOMEN. THERE ARE ONLY 48 WOMEN IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES THAT HAS A TOTAL OF 435 MEMBERS. AMERICAN WOMEN SEEM UNABLE TO ACHIEVE WHAT YOU HAVE ACHIEVED IN IRELAND, A FEMALE PRESIDENT.

BUT I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE PROGRESS WE HAVE MADE. MY APPOINTMENT AS AMBASSADOR TO IRELAND IS ONE EXAMPLE. I KNOW MY FATHER WOULD BE SURPRISED AND DELIGHTED TO KNOW THAT WE ARE THE FIRST PAIR OF FATHER/DAUGHTER AMBASSADORS IN U.S. HISTORY. WHILE I AM VERY HAPPY TO BE A PART OF THE FIRST SUCH PAIR, IT MAKES ME EVEN HAPPIER TO KNOW THAT WE WILL NOT BE THE LAST.

IN IRELAND, WOMEN ARE MAKING CONTRIBUTIONS IN EVERY SECTOR OF LIFE. WHETHER WORKING IN THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, IN THE DAIL, OR IN A DOMESTIC ABUSE CENTER IN A SMALL TOWN, WOMEN OF THIS COUNTRY ARE TAKING LEADERSHIP ROLES. I RECENTLY INVITED A GROUP OF IRISH WOMEN WHO WERE COMMUNITY LEADERS TO MY HOME AT PHOENIX PARK. AS THEY TOLD ME OF THE WORK THEY WERE DOING WITH BATTERED WOMEN, WITH CHILDREN AT RISK AND WITH PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES, ONE COULD NOT HELP BUT BE STRUCK BY THEIR STRENGTH, THEIR DEDICATION AND THEIR COMMITMENT. THEY WERE CONVINCED THAT THEIR ACTIONS WOULD CHANGE THE WORLD. THEY ARE RIGHT.

THESE WOMEN, FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE BORDER AND FROM ALL COMMUNITIES, FOUND HOPE IN THE PEACE PROCESS. IT HAS GIVEN THEM A CHANCE TO WORK SIDE BY SIDE TO IMPROVE OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL OF IRELAND'S CHILDREN. BY WORKING TOGETHER TOWARDS THESE GOALS, THESE WOMEN ARE MAKING THE PEACE WORK. THEY ARE TEARING DOWN THE WALLS THAT SEPARATE THE PEOPLE OF THIS GREAT ISLAND.

I WAS REMINDED OF THIS AGAIN AS I READ THE HISTORY OF THE BLESSINGTON WOMEN'S COMMUNITY GROUP. WHAT STARTED AS A PARENT AND TODDLER GROUP ONLY SEVEN YEARS AGO, IS NOW AN ACTIVE VIBRANT COMMUNITY RESOURCE. I ADMIRE THE CONCERN AND DEDICATION DISPLAYED BY EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU.

IT WAS IN 1777 THAT ABIGAIL ADAMS WROTE HER HUSBAND, PRESIDENT JOHN ADAMS, WITH THE FOLLOWING RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE NEW NATION HE WAS FOUNDING:

"IN THE NEW CODE OF LAWS, WHICH I SUPPOSE IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR YOU TO MAKE, I DESIRE YOU WOULD REMEMBER THE LADIES, AND BE MORE GENEROUS AND FAVORABLE TO THEM THAN YOUR ANCESTORS. DO NOT PUT SUCH UNLIMITED POWER INTO THE HANDS OF HUSBANDS. REMEMBER, ALL MEN WOULD BE TYRANTS IF THEY COULD. IF PARTICULAR CARE AND ATTENTION IS NOT PAID TO THE LADIES, WE ARE DETERMINED TO FOMENT A REBELLION, AND WILL NOT HOLD OURSELVES BOUND BY ANY LAWS IN WHICH WE HAVE NO VOICE OR REPRESENTATION."

ABIGAIL ADAMS WAS A WOMAN OF STRONG CONVICTIONS. SHE WAS ALSO, OBVIOUSLY, A PRETTY GOOD JUDGE OF THE FEMALE CHARACTER. AS SHE PREDICTED, "THE LADIES" DID START A MOVEMENT -- MEN LIKE TO CALL IT A REBELLION -- FOR MORE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES. AND MANY STRIDES HAVE BEEN MADE. THEY WERE MADE DURING MY MOTHER'S LIFETIME, AND DURING MY OWN. WOULD MY MOTHER EVER HAVE IMAGINED -- WHEN SHE WAS YOUNG -- THAT HER GRANDDAUGHTER WOULD BE ELECTED AS LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF MARYLAND.

THIS SEPTEMBER, THE UNITED NATIONS WILL HOLD A CONFERENCE ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN BEIJING. IT HAS BEEN 10 YEARS SINCE THE LAST CONFERENCE IN NAIROBI, AND I THINK IT WILL BE FASCINATING TO SEE HOW FAR WE HAVE COME IN THAT TIME.

I HOPE THAT AS PART OF THAT MEETING, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS LIKE YOURS WILL BE RECOGNIZED FOR THE HUGE IMPRESSION YOU HAVE MADE, THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS. THOUGH THE PACE MAY SOMETIMES SEEM SLOW, AS THE SAYING GOES, THE RISING TIDE PULLS ALL BOATS. CONGRATULATIONS. I WISH YOU EVERY SUCCESS IN THE FUTURE, AND I ENCOURAGE YOU TO CONTINUE PUSHING FOR CHANGE.



1992 **Global Forum of Women**
New Visions of Leadership

Dublin, Ireland
July 9–12, 1992

Plenary Sessions
Volume One



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Volume One

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1992 **NEW VISIONS OF LEADERSHIP**
Global Forum of Women
New Choices: Political, Economic and Personal
Dublin, Ireland
July 1992

Introduction

The 1992 Global Forum of Women brought visionary women leaders from diverse countries -- from Bangladesh and Zimbabwe, the United States and Chile, Lithuania and Ireland -- together to share common visions of leadership for the future. Each of us returned to our countries richer, with new ideas for our work and a strong network of friends and colleagues.

All of us were inspired as President Mary Robinson of Ireland and President Vigdis Finnbogadóttir of Iceland established the tone for eloquent explorations of the unique qualities of women's leadership. Throughout all the sessions of the Global Forum of Women, examples of such leadership was demonstrated time and again in the presentations of women who, each in her own way, transformed their communities through their work.

In this volume, we are pleased to present the full proceedings of the plenary sessions, from the Opening Ceremony at the Abbey Theatre to the final Call to Action. We encourage you to share the information and ideas contained in this volume with the fellow women leaders in your country.

The Forum was just the beginning of a process. I hope that this volume keeps the spirit of the Forum alive, allowing all of us to continue to build strong, new alliances and to share information with our sisters throughout the world.

Irene Natividad
Forum Director

OPENING CEREMONY

Thursday, July 9
Abbey Theatre

Monica Barnes, TD (Ireland)
*Co-Chair, Irish Secretariat,
1992 Global Forum of Women
All Party Committee on Women's Rights*

I would like to ask you to welcome the two elected women heads of state in the world. It is with great pleasure that I do it. I would like to ask you to welcome Her Excellency Vigdis Finnbogadóttir and Uachtarán na hÉireann [President of Ireland], Mary Robinson. The opening of this Global Forum by the only two elected women heads of state is a reflection of the level at which this Forum has been convened and will operate. It will serve not only as a milestone in the progress of women at this vital level and stage in our history, but will also be a stepping stone to the next exciting phase. Women are the greatest transforming agency in the world today, and only with their full and equal participation will we truly have a New World Order.

It is again with pride that I introduce the Director of this historic theater, the Abbey Theatre, Ms. Garry Hynes.

Garry Hynes (Ireland)
Artistic Director, Abbey Theatre

Presidents, Your Excellencies, Ministers, distinguished guests. *Tá an athas orm fáilte mor a chur rómhaibh go leir ag Harchlainn na Mainistreach.* [I am very happy to welcome you all to the Abbey Theatre].

I am speaking to you this afternoon as Artistic Director of the Abbey Theatre, the national theater of Ireland. One of the important sources of this theater in the early part of the century was the Daughters of Eireann, who were not just a women's organization, but an explicitly

feminist one. In its early years, this theater was dominated, nourished, and sustained for almost 30 years by a woman, Augusta Gregory. In the almost nine decades of its existence, the Abbey Theatre has absorbed the work of women as actors, designers, directors, writers, and technicians. Now the work of any theater is, by definition, ephemeral. After it is done, nothing remains but the spirit. The work of women in the theater has, however, been doubly ephemeral by virtue of a woman's place in the world. In this sense, of course, the experience of women in the theater is no different than the historic experience of women worldwide. The event for which we are gathered here today, the Global Forum of Women, is, above all else, an act of occupying a public space for women. It marks the end of that period of history in which women's work is confined to the domestic and private spheres.

It is appropriate, therefore, that this Opening Ceremony should take place in this space, that is public, and yet contains the private imaginings of forgotten women. As we seek to envision a new future in which women will occupy and shape the public world, let us also remember and celebrate the women of the past.

Monica Barnes, TD (Ireland)

Your Excellencies, distinguished guests, I think [it was] appropriate that Garry Hynes made reference to women of the past. I now want to introduce a woman who learns from the past, and builds in the present for the future. She had a vision and a dream with some other women who formed an International Planning Committee a brief time ago to bring about this summit. [This summit was planned] to celebrate [the women] we have on the platform, [the women] we have in our audience, and -- even more important -- what we are going to develop,

activate, and initiate over the next four days. It's exciting. It was a vision, and now it is a reality. Indeed, it will be something we will build upon.

The person, the architect with all the energy (and indeed sometimes the frustration), the patience, tolerance, and -- above all -- a wonderful optimism, [is] Irene Natividad, Forum Director of the Washington office that made all this possible.

Irene Natividad (USA)

*Director, 1992 Global Forum of Women
Chair, National Commission on Working Women*

This opening ceremony is the end of a year-long voyage and I am awed and grateful to be in a historic theatre founded by a woman, in a program featuring two outstanding heads of state, who happen to be surrounded by women leaders from Fiji to Bangladesh, from Norway to Australia, from the United States to Ireland.

Now is the chance of a lifetime. Never before have the times been so frightening or so full of promise. Never before have the times been so full of opportunities for women around the world to change the focus of governance and lead to global and local harmony.

Take heart from those you will meet in the next few days. Celebrate who you are: cabinet ministers and community leaders; legislators and advocates; academicians and artists; members of parliament and presidents. You are the hope of the future for millions of women and their families in your countries. You can and will change the world.

The women leaders gathered here bring courage, know-how, persistence in adversity, and innovation to share. They bring love of country and love of family -- and they are uniquely able to combine the two for the betterment of societies and the world in which we live. The fates *have* opened the door. We have an historic confluence of governments in turmoil with women ready and able to lead. But history won't stand still and opportunities can be short-

lived. You are uniquely positioned to seize the day.

As we work together in the next few days, you will discover that we know a great deal about how to get things done outside the stale, male mindset. Let's learn from one another and not reinvent the wheel. Take home a renewed commitment to see that women's concerns and women's skills will be at the forefront in national and international policy-making. We women offer new tools, tested models, and creative strategies you can tailor to your national needs.

Above all, we bring to this world a view of the world at peace, a healthful world, a world of economic stability and opportunity. Our gender and our experience have prepared us for this destiny. We are strong. We are persevering. We are smart. There are more of us, and we live longer.

Margret Fine-Davis (Ireland)

*Co-Chair, Irish Secretariat,
1992 Global Forum of Women
Center for Women's Studies, Trinity College*

Uachtaráinn ne hÉireann [President of Ireland], President of Iceland, Ministers, delegates, and friends, Céad míle Fáilte, a hundred thousand welcomes. On behalf of the Irish Secretariat of the Global Forum of Women and the Centre for Women's Studies at Trinity College, which housed the Irish secretariat, I would like to welcome you to the 1992 Global Forum of Women.

Many people have contributed to this extraordinary event, both here in Ireland and all over the world, [particularly] Irene [Natividad]'s office in Washington and the International Planning Committee. I would like to thank some of them, but obviously I will not mention everyone. First, I would like to thank Mr. Tom Kitt, Minister of State for Women's Affairs, Department of the Taoiseach, for his generous assistance to the conference. I would also like to thank the Health Promotion Unit of the Department of Health in Ireland, who felt that

all the sessions of the conference had implications either directly or indirectly to women's health and well-being. I would like to thank the Department of Social Welfare, Allied Irish Bank, Jurys Hotel (David Lane in particular), Aer Lingus (John Griffin in particular), the Abbey Theatre, Aer Rianta, Bord Failte (Leo Ganter in particular), and all the members of the committees who have helped us here in Ireland. I would like to pay special tribute to Evelyn Conlon, who organized the music for both tonight and the Arts Evening, which will be held Saturday evening at Trinity College, featuring Irish musicians, poets, and writers. I would like to thank Ruth Riddick and her assistant Amy Garvey; Audrey Dickson, who has been working very hard throughout; Brenda O'Hanlon, Terry McNulty and many others on the Public Relations Committee; and the other committees.

I would also like to thank the Council for the Status of Women for all of their assistance throughout, and particularly for sponsoring the Open Forum yesterday evening, which made it possible for many Irish women to meet some of the speakers at the Forum. I would also like to thank the staff here in Ireland: Christine Clear, Joan Dooley, Mary McDermott; and the staff in Monica Barnes's office, Joan Ryan and Paul Barnes. [I would also like to thank] Irene Natividad and her staff: Samantha Garbers, Rebecca Tillet, Sarah Kuehl, and Jill Braunstein, as well as the volunteers -- too numerous to mention -- who have been extremely helpful. I wish you all a very successful, stimulating, and productive conference.

Her Excellency Vigdis Finnbogadottir *President of Iceland*

Madame President, Ministers, Ladies, and Gentlemen: Let me first of all congratulate you, Madame President, for holding this conference in Dublin and thank the Irish people for hosting it and arranging such a fine program for us.

We live, Ladies and Gentlemen, in an era of conferences. But why should we hold a special conference -- a global summit -- for women? I have never heard of men holding a global forum for men. The reason might be that it goes without saying that almost all conferences (in our latest beautifully matured times) are men's conferences anyway.

Men and women are equally dear to me. Sometimes I talk more warmly for men, sometimes for women, but mostly I talk about and to individuals as human beings, man or woman -- woman or man. Perhaps the most ambiguous aspect of men's attitude toward women can be seen in literature or culture, which, after all, are always to some extent an idealization of life, a desire to create a different world. Think of all the worship and admiration that has been heaped upon our sex by poets throughout the ages, at times when our social status enjoyed much less recognition than it does today. How often men have used female figures to embody their highest aspirations -- liberty, the muses, virtues, national freedom -- while still taking for themselves the jobs in the names of these ideals. There are vague figures such as Marie France, Britannia, and the Icelandic Fjallkona or Maid of the Mountains, who symbolized the national identity and national freedom, love of the motherland that was nonetheless called a fatherland, patriotism that should have been called matriotism!

What makes the situation of women the way it is today? In the West at least, many of the legal structures that once officially designated women as second-class citizens have been abolished. We have the same human rights on paper as males, the same theoretical opportunities. How is it then that we still feel "the system is working against us." The answer, I think, belongs with

prejudice above all else. Women have suffered because one generation after another has inherited the prejudice of confining them to a definite social position.

It is an Icelandic obsession to look at the etymology of words, not just in our own very transparent and literal language but in others that we use too. The word "prejudice" has Latin roots and means "a judgement beforehand," namely, making up one's mind before learning facts. This is a common human trait which has been with us since the beginning of humanity, and is really a defense mechanism, usually the product of ignorance or fear. Many men -- and many women too -- are just as afraid of what would happen if women were to take over, if this tremendous energy that dwells within one half of humankind were to be released. Women must be very cautious when embarking on leadership, for if we do something wrong we are attacked with the strongest weapon there is, namely the mockery on which prejudice thrives. It is remarkable to think that if one woman politician or public figure says or does something which is criticized, it is seen as reflecting on all women and their leadership qualities in general. But if a male leader does the very same thing, it never reflects badly on all males as such. The most likely mockery and prejudice he will encounter is towards his nationality. For some reason women are treated in this respect as a more global and cosmopolitan phenomenon than men, and we could perhaps use this to our advantage.

I am not saying that men in general work deliberately against women -- there are so many of them who are sympathetic and genuinely disturbed by not being able to do anything to help either. And by the same token, women are partly to blame. Some women simply do not have confidence in other women to support them to do what have always been "men's jobs," because they themselves lack self-confidence. But I know from my own experience that when women see that other women can actually take a place alongside men, they gain confidence to move into new ground themselves. "Women's leadership" should not be seen as dictatorship by women, but as a form of guidance towards a

society in which the question of male or female has become irrelevant.

In modern society, a lot of men -- and women too -- still seem to be guided by principles such as "Women are not competitive enough" or "Women do not understand the economy," although they might not state these principles outright, or even realize that they operate.

We can respond to such prejudices in different ways. One is to disprove them by "achieving" -- to use the fashionable phrase. The other is, strangely enough, to admit to them, to convert them from prejudices against us into values of our own that are worthy of respect. If half of humankind questions the priority given to consumerism, competitiveness, and materialism in the world today, is it not reasonable to try to change the trend that the modern world is taking, rather than letting half the world be told that it is out of step? Environmental perspectives, which question many accepted notions today, will become an increasingly important concern for humankind in the future, and I feel this is an area where women will have a much larger role to play, both in public and in private.

But let us return to this conference here today. I think it is appropriate for this forum, whose underlying theme is really special identity, to be held on an island. For island dwellers the world over have a common identity all of their own, and women who live on islands do so too. Two of us here today, both from island societies, are the only women now whose nations have shown them the ultimate confidence of electing them president. This [Global Forum of Women] was inspired by the 1986 Iceland summit between the superpowers which we all know opened the door to a new realm of East-West relations. For Icelanders, it would be hard to imagine a better place to stage this conference than among our close neighbors here in Ireland, with whom we have enjoyed contact and even bonds of kinship ever since Iceland was first settled.

In Iceland, the history of women has taken an unusual course, although its end result will hopefully not seem unusual at some time in the

future. Our nationalist awakening in the 19th and 20th centuries, with its promise of an independent nation, also inspired our women to seek independence and work towards their own self-realization. One major force in the national independence movement was the ancient literature which helps to give our identity in the world today, and women could look back to the strong, independent and much-respected female characters of the Sagas and identify with them. The outcome, to simplify greatly, was a women's rights movement that began late last century and has witnessed three peaks which a leading female anthropologist has described as: the right to speak, the right to work, and the right to have influence. What women have achieved in Iceland has also been taking place and in some respects surpassed in neighboring countries. I am convinced that the history of women in Iceland will be a microcosm of the future history of women elsewhere.

There were a number of remarkable turning-points in the first period of the movement, which ended with women being granted the right to vote and stand for parliament in 1915, seven years after they had won the same rights in local government elections. A law of 1911 confirmed women's equal right to education and public office, which was probably well ahead of its time by international comparison.

A long interval followed from 1920 to 1970 in which it is sometimes said that women did nothing. But in fact they silently laid the foundation of the modern welfare state; for example, taking the initiative in building hospitals and children's centers and assuring various aspects of social security through pressure on the politicians by women's associations. The next peak of activity focused around the mass one-day strike by women during the United Nations International Women's Year in 1975 (on October 24th). Some 90 percent of women in Iceland took part in this nationwide demonstration to underline the importance of their contribution, under the slogan "sisterhood is powerful." Certainly this demonstration for recognition of women's right to work outside the home has produced results, for some 90 percent of Icelandic women now

hold full-time or part-time paid jobs -- the highest figure in the world. They have increasingly been moving into areas once regarded, on the grounds of prejudice alone, as exclusively "male jobs," ranging from driving buses, being the main engineer of the Aluminum Plant, to the presidency of the republic. The remarkable thing about this process is that while the idea of a woman bus driver or woman president caused fear of uncertainty before it happened, now that it is a fate accomplished it seems perfectly natural. The thinking that once put up barriers against it seems impossible to imagine. In this respect, the women's rights movement has much in common with, for example, movements in other countries not so many decades ago to abolish racial segregation. It is simply impossible to imagine the clock being put back, because everyone can agree on the injustice of the old system once it has been replaced. After all, the opposite of integration is disintegration. However, problems still remain concerning the rights of women in the job market in Iceland, in particular the fact that they tend to earn less than men and be more dispensable during periods of unemployment.

Large-scale female redundancies might be an example of what we call in Icelandic "hanging the baker when the carpentry goes wrong" (*ao hengja bakara fyrir smio*). Women still need to play a watchdog role over their rights, which gives new truths to the old saying that "a woman's work is never done."

The third peak in activity came after 1980, when women in Iceland entered politics on their own terms, as you will hear later at this conference from another Icelandic speaker. In the 1982 local government elections, the women's share of local council seats doubled from 6 percent to 12 percent. By 1983, only twelve women had ever been elected to Iceland's parliament during its 1,000 year history; today, 15 of the 63 members are female.

The history of women in Iceland, and the world, has been a succession of such peaks, with quieter periods of consolidation between them, and the future can only mean the gradual ascent of the highest peak for us. What is the safest

way there? I believe it is through education -- of men as well as women, mind you -- to dispel ignorance and prejudice, and also to equip women for the task of leadership. Today there are more female secondary and university students in Iceland than male ones. Society will simply not be able to practice discrimination when this generation eventually moves into positions of influence.

The same essential demand is made of women now that has been made since humanity began to evolve: that they should give birth to children, and make an energetic contribution to their work. It is precisely in this area that women have had to display a different form of discipline from men, and they have shown an outstanding capacity for organization in doing so.

Madame President, Ladies, and Gentlemen, decisions are always being made which affect the future of nations and humankind. The demand of women today as half of humankind must surely be to exert some influence upon the decision-making process. We can also be in no doubt that, even though the world might not improve if women played an active part in decision-making, it would at least not be any worse a place to live.

For this we have of course to meet to change views across borders -- and to create friendship. Our ancestors in Iceland 1100 years ago knew the value and the core of understanding through friendship. They expressed it in poetry, inspired by our kinsmen here in Ireland, saying:

Know this if a friend you have
whom you trust well,
Go often to his house.
For the grass grows tall and rank
on paths that no man treads.

Her Excellency Mary Robinson *President of Ireland*

I am very aware that this is not just a conference about leadership. It is also -- even if nothing were to be said openly about it here -- a forum about perceptions of leadership. In fact, I know well that perceptions of leadership are one of the concerns of this gathering. But even if this were not the case, just the fact of you being here today -- with all the excellence you bring from your various fields -- guarantees its presence as a theme. None of us here today can be unaware that we live in a time of enormous change, advance, and challenge for women. One of the real adventures of this time is that women -- when they undertake a commitment or a job -- are not just getting that job done or honoring that commitment. They are also changing the perceptions of the way in which things are done. They are altering time-honored and entrenched ideas. And, as far as I am concerned, they are doing so for good.

And so I welcome you today to what are really two different contexts. The first is the context of this forum. I know it will be exciting and worthwhile. I am particularly sorry not to hear some of the exchanges and papers which I know will add so much to it. But there is another context: one which is less visible, and I welcome you to that also. It is the context of a change which cannot be measured. It is the frame in which a great new advance is happening. There is no exact way of quantifying it; there is no scientific data to put forward about it. What is happening is not accurately recorded and has never entirely been admitted. The nearest we get to a record is precisely a forum such as this which notes and preserves the change. Yet I know -- as do many of you -- that as women lead, they are changing leadership; as they organize, they are changing organizations. As they re-state the skill of administration, of law, of the arts and the academy, women are handing them on in a fresh and radicalized form. I know that many of you in this room are doing just that. And so I welcome you to a context which you yourselves are creating and which you will add to in Ireland because of your discussions.

The distinguished American academic Carolyn Heilbrun wrote a book called *Writing a Woman's Life*. She has this striking quotation in it:

"Let any woman imagine for a moment a biography of herself based upon those records she has left, those memories fresh in the minds of surviving friends, those letters that chances to be kept, those impressions made, perhaps on the biographer who was casually met in the subject's later years. What secrets, what virtues, what passions, what discipline, what quarrels would, on the subject's death, be lost forever? How much would have vanished or been distorted or changed, even in our memories? We tell ourselves stories of our past, make fictions or stories of it, and these narrations *become* the past, the only part of our lives that is not submerged." (p.51)

In a certain way, we are all writing the story of a woman's life in this generation. I think we know it. We are conscious that it is a different story: More challenging, more articulate and more available to future generations. It will not, I believe, be such a heartbreaking story as the ones we inherited from the past: full of silence and incomplete in terms of aspirations and achievement.

To start with, there have been enormous privileges and advances in this generation from the ones just before it. We are the beneficiaries of a strong women's movement. We have seen the equality laws passed and new opportunities created. When I worked as a lawyer, I took some of those very cases in the areas of equal opportunities, equal status, and participation in society. So I had the privilege of seeing, at first-hand, a vital and necessary change as it was formalized into law and turned from an issue of protest into precedent; almost, it seemed, overnight. And law has had a significant part to play in all this. During those years, Emerson's statement was often in my mind: "The wise know that foolish legislation is a rope of sand." It was part of the work of my generation to turn

that rope into something that would do good service.

Although nobody would say that the process is complete yet, there have been real and tangible advances. I think we can allow ourselves to hope now that no woman of gifts and vision and determination in the Western world need sit down as Emily Dickinson once did and write the poignant lines: "This is my letter to a world/ That never wrote to me." I think there are increased opportunities at every level. There are real vistas opening out in front us. We can see out and we can go out, and with every day, and every new report of a woman achieving a new distinction and making good use of it, we expand the vision and the horizon.

I feel particularly close to these questions and issues because since taking office some eighteen months ago I have witnessed the way in which such changes are happening, which is not always the way we might expect. I have been in situations and circumstances where women played a vital role in changing both an event and the perception of it. And I, in turn, changed my view of what leadership was, and could be, in observing the living example rather than the theoretical concept.

I suppose the most vivid example of it would be the women of various groups in Northern Ireland whom I visited in Belfast and who came to see me in my official residence, Aras an Uachtarain. They live in times of stress. They come from different traditions. But what I was most aware of was neither of these two features of their world. I was aware of something they had in common rather than what divided them from each other. I took away from every meeting with them a wonderful sense of their deep commitment to their families and their community. I could see how they sustained those families and that community with their story-telling, their vision, their humor, their sense of purpose. I could also observe that in their coming together individuality was guaranteed. In fact, they had an enormous relish for the distinctive person, the difference of method and the divergence of opinion.

I mention this because it is a particularly vivid example to me of the way in which women are changing the circumstances they find themselves in. To go back to the idea of writing a woman's life, I think we can see a fascinating detail about this generation of women. Certainly there are individuals who achieve eminence and visibility in terms of leadership. They are visible and exemplary; they encourage and illuminate the context they enter. And I do think you can fairly argue that they are indeed re-writing and re-stating the idea of a woman's life.

But there is another dimension to women's leadership in this generation -- it seems to me -- particularly opposite to the title of this forum, visions of leadership. I think women are changing the old concept of leadership in more than one obvious way. Through seeing and participating in so many varied occasions over the past year and a half, I have become increasingly aware that it is not just individuals who give leadership among women. It is also communities. It is gatherings. It is all those subtle, interactive networks of women. I spoke about the group of Belfast women who so impressed me in this regard. I could give many, many other examples. I have seen women organizing in many different kinds of environment, under very different stresses. I have seen their involvement in health and sports, in the arts and education. In all these areas their community sense is both creative and contributory. I think it is more that. Through their community sense women may well be establishing a new kind of leadership, one that does away with the traditional relationship between the individual and the group and one that is enabling and empowering of the individual and the group. They are revising the old division, put in place by a more traditional society, where the successful individual was sharply differentiated from, and considered superior to, a community context. This may have been a source of effectiveness. It could also be -- we have all seen examples of this -- an opportunity for arrogance and breakdown in communication between collective ideals and individual ambition. I have seen this done differently by women in challenging situations. When women lead, when they contribute and

articulate their purposes in a society, it seems to be increasingly that the individual woman and the community of women work together in a fresh and radical way. This method of dialogue and cooperation blurs the old distinctions and heals the old divisions.

I am especially aware of all this in the context of the developing countries. I count myself very lucky to have had opportunities as President to meet and talk with women from such countries. I have in mind those women from the South whom I met in the context of networks such as DAWN, standing for Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era, and WIDE, Women in Development, Europe. I am also aware that these networks have influenced the Council for the Status of Women and Banulacht here in Ireland, to encourage and support local community groups who are ready to go beyond their own self development and broaden into issue awareness on a regional and global scale. Those contacts confirmed my sense of the increasing importance of networking between networks of women. But they also brought home to me how the role of women in developing countries -- combining community and individual leadership in a continuum of generous and imaginative acts -- fosters insight about how to manage the difficult and sometimes intractable problems of their countries.

If I had to nominate the single most distinctive, creative, and optimistic aspect of women in leadership, it would be this one. It is the one which seems to be least likely to reconfigure all the old weaknesses and inconsistencies of leadership in the past. It seems to me appropriate and persuasive that women would not be content with just readdressing the idea of traditional leadership. The glory and struggle and self-deception of individual leadership is an important part of our Western heritage, but it is also a flawed part. Too often traditional leadership took very little account of that slow, unglamorous but enabling process I have just spoken about: where the consultative interaction between individual and community went ahead -- to the singular glory of neither but to the infinite benefit of both.

In a lecture I gave for the Allen Lane Foundation earlier this year, I spoke of how impressed I was with the skills of organization which women bring to their purposes. It seems to me, as I said then, that problem-solving by women can often be fresh and radical and unexpected when they are in situations that require it. In all these situations it is that dialogue I just spoke about between the individual woman and the community of women which is so empowering and effective. It can show itself in very particular ways, ways that would be easy to miss. Often, when I met a group or entered a discussion, it was as small a detail as that everyone in the group spoke to me, and not just one individual. Just something as tiny as that hinted to me that women were setting a new agenda for leadership and achievement: an agenda that was more concerned with participation than elite stances; that had more of a community running order behind it than an individual project. When I think of the new vision of leadership which women propose, I do think, of course, of individual women in the arts and sciences and politics who have made a difference. But perhaps most of all I think of this quiet, radical, continuing dialogue between the individual woman and the collective woman -- each able to interchange roles without rancour or difficulty. I have felt privileged to see that enabling dialogue in action. And I feel it is an index of the deepest and most creative initiatives being taken today in any forum of action -- independent of gender or nationality. But I also want to sound a warning note about it. It would be very easy for any one of us as women, placed in positions of responsibility, to ignore this dialogue in favor of the older methods of traditional leadership where individual action is as accepted as solitary reward. I think this is one of the most creative duties of leadership to take the other approach: to foster that dialogue between community and individual which is so much a part of the visionary leadership of women in a new age.

It seems to me exciting and appropriate that as women are adding to the product of leadership, they are also changing the process. It will be one of the truest gifts we can give to coming

generations: a more open, flexible, and compassionate style of administration and a new relation between the individual leader and community leadership. I know many of these ideas will be canvassed during this forum and I wish you well with them.

Those of you who have come from outside Ireland will no doubt have heard the phrase *Mná na hÉireann*, Women of Ireland. I now greet you as *Mná an Domhain*:

*Tá mná na hÉireann molta agam
-- Sean-scéal sin eadrainn tá.
Anois, a mhná an domhain mhóir
Fearaim rómhaibh fáilte is grá.*

[I have praised the Women of Ireland
-- That's an old story between us.
Now, Women of the World,
I bear you welcome and love.]

OPENING PLENARY

Crisis of Leadership

Friday, July 10

Irene Natividad (USA)

Director, 1992 Global Forum of Women

Chair, National Commission on Working Women

Can there be any doubt that we are facing a crisis of leadership? Some of the countries around the globe are splintering, fragmenting before our eyes into ancient allegiances and rivalries. Others are riven by religious jealousies. The global canvas is being sundered into economic fiefdoms with scarce resources. Elsewhere the crisis is less obvious, but no less real. In these countries, like my own, the United States, there lies an abiding disillusionment and lack of faith in hackneyed leadership. Government leading backward to problems papered over and festering unsolved. Terrifying debt abounds. Along with Bella Abzug, who has taken the lead on this issue for many years, we weep for the increasing degradation of the environment around the world. There is hunger enough to astound the hardest heart and good minds are squandered in constant striving just for mere survival. That's the bad news.

The good news is, we're here. We are women, and we can do anything. We are the women of our beleaguered planet, and we raise our voices to offer new priorities. We have more ideas, more experience, and a woman- and family-centered understanding of how to get more things done, with less money, for the benefit of more people. We stand ready to lead.

But we want to broaden our influence, bring new ways of governing, and open up avenues of leadership to millions of other women. We are here today to begin a gentle revolution around the world, not by firing a shot, but by freeing a part of the population undervalued and largely ignored since time began. We women are

leaders, and we have to keep saying that to ourselves. Listen to how we have managed, against all odds, as this distinguished panel shares their insight and experience. Listen, learn, and feel your pride and courage tell you, "yes, I can do it."

Let us begin today with the woman who began, for many of us, the women's movement not just in the United States, but globally: Betty Friedan. You have heard of her books, *The Feminine Mystique*, translated into many languages, and *The Second Stage*, which I'm sure some of you also read. She, too, was a guiding spirit behind this Summit. Let me present to you Betty Friedan.

Betty Friedan (USA)

*Author, The Feminine Mystique
and The Second Stage*

We women assembled here truly face a crisis of leadership worldwide. In the United States, in the countries of Eastern Europe, in the Third World, the very boundaries of nations, the basic assumptions of capitalism and communism, the political and economic paradigms which have shaped domestic and foreign policies in all our nations, simply no longer meet the needs of women, men, and children and the realities of their changing lives. The totalitarian dictatorships in the last few years have been crumbling for this reason. But the demand on the part of people everywhere for leadership that will confront their real needs, old and new, and give us real control of our own lives, is not being met. The models of leadership defined by men, and followed by the few women who have achieved political leadership up until now, no longer work.

In my country, the United States of America, the sheer frustration of people of all races and creeds, young and old, men and women, who have been moving for 200 years to ideals of democracy, ideals of equality of opportunity for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, this frustration is exploding in a national mood of political disgust and rage. In the last dozen years, the dreams of affluence spread to the world by American television have been denied as the political and economic leadership in my country has restricted more and more of the wealth and resources of our nation and the world to the top one percent of the people, while the poor of all races become increasingly homeless and desperate, and the middle class sinks into poverty and near-poverty.

This frustration, erupting now into increased violence and crime, is being manipulated into a polarization of race against race, of violence and backlash against women, increased incidents of anti-Semitism, and other searches for scapegoats reminiscent of conditions at the rise of Fascism 60 years ago.

In my nation, the emergence of women's new political power is the one hopeful note. 1992 has been called "The Year of the Woman" in the United States as more women than ever before run for political office -- for the senate in California, New York, Colorado, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, for Congress and for the state legislatures. The woman who upset all political predictions by being elected Governor of macho Texas will preside over the Democratic Convention, which I will leave here Sunday to attend.

The unprecedented political vitality of women presages a paradigm shift in American politics, and I think -- I hope -- in politics worldwide. It is the culmination of 25 years of American women's movement to equality and to empowerment. It was catalyzed into explosive force in 1992 by the anger of women at a government and a Supreme Court which has, in effect, reversed women's fundamental right to decide when, whether, and how many times to bear a child, the control of her own body and reproductive process, which for nearly 20 years

has been deemed a fundamental right in the United States. The right to abortion has become both symbol and substance of women's new independence and autonomy, our new control of our lives and choices in America, and Ireland, and in other countries. Never before in American history has a fundamental right, once granted to people under our Constitution, been withdrawn. The spectacle of a virtually all-male Senate and Supreme Court disdaining women's basic right, as aired in the Supreme Court hearings on our national television a few months ago, galvanized women to open rebellion against the male model of leadership which, in fact, has denied all our people's needs, new and old, in its subservience to the culture of greed.

In your nations, similar and different economic and political crises manifesting bankruptcy of national leadership and the growing frustration of real needs, are tearing all of our nations apart. We who are women gather here to share new visions of leadership.

In my country and yours, electing more women, while necessary -- urgently necessary -- is not enough, unless we truly bring to our troubled nations new visions of leadership. Research (from Rutgers University in the United States) has shown that, in fact, when women's numbers are significantly increased, as they have been recently in the state legislatures of the United States, the political agenda begins to change, not just in the defense of women's rights, but in new priorities for the real needs of people in life, for homes, health care, jobs, and schooling, and social innovations needed to support our changing families in confronting new realities of our cities.

From the women presidents of Ireland and Iceland, Norway and Pakistan, and women ministers and leaders present here from Africa, Asia, Latin America, we begin to see -- and need to articulate -- new visions of healing old political, racial, and religious divisions and hatreds that have wasted people's lives too long. We now need in all our countries new moves to control the technology -- polluting the water, air, and earth -- and to channel the energy that has been turned against each other in violence and

war into new initiatives that will open new possibilities for all our peoples to control their own lives in true liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

It is not enough just to elect more women to higher positions of power. Nor can we acquiesce in continued polarization of race against race, violence and sexual backlash against women, or any hint of new polarization of women against women, even the narrowing of our own anger into a rhetoric of sexual politics of women against men. Our own women's movements, which brought us to this point, also need new visions of leadership.

What we must articulate here is a true paradigm shift from the old power politics of dominance and control that men have defined and women have had to follow up until now. The businesses on the cutting edge of our different nations are also confronting this paradigm shift, reorganizing dinosaur multinational corporate monoliths into smaller, flexible, entrepreneurial units where responsibility and control are shared in new ways. This kind of people's real needs is not necessarily built into women's RNA and DNA, but has been our necessary experience for our families' survival.

I am the mother of you all. I have helped to lead and articulate the modern women's movement for equality. And I tell you now that it is time to move beyond -- even as we must urgently defend -- our necessary concerns for women's rights, including the basic right to control our own bodies, to a new vision of community, transcending the divisions paralyzing us, giving new political and economic priority to people's real needs in life. Resisting the forces of exploitation, manipulation, and violence, and the authoritarian forces to which we once were passive and which now threaten fascism in all our worlds. We must use finally our own political power to resist and to transcend this model. We are half the human race. We must articulate this new vision and move to a new stage along with men, who are also desperate for new visions of leadership. [We must work with] numbers of men of goodwill to demand a

government leadership and a control of our economies that puts life first.

Additional Comments:

We have been a part, for 25 years, of a massive change in all of our countries because of our own women's move to equality. Sometimes this change is visible in actions, and sometimes it seems paralyzed, and sometimes it seems like it is over, or has been pushed back. This happens, as we saw, for instance, in the X Case in Ireland of the 14-year-old girl seeking an abortion, or in the [United States] nomination of Clarence Thomas [to the Supreme Court] and the open contempt for women's rights shown in the treatment of Anita Hill. And sometimes the media proclaims the women's movement dead. Then, something else happens and one sees that a change is happening so widespread in society, which is what the women's movement has done to all our countries. It isn't even visible as such anymore, because the whole society has moved to a paradigm shift. And I think that this is where we are now.

In my country, in this election campaign that is tearing our nation apart, and where this explosive rage is now clear and visible, women -- seen so long as outsiders and so frustrated -- have enormous edge to win political office. This is because they have been outsiders to the paradigm shift of dominance and the culture of greed and cynical exploitation that American people are rebelling against. The women are saying, when the men -- even men that they have helped elect -- speak only in terms of the past, and not the real world that includes women as half, "they just don't get it." They just don't get it. Some men come to us and say, "We get it." And it is only the men who 'get it' that may survive politically.

We fought to get inside that man's world. And I am not going to say to you that when I speak of this paradigm shift that women are necessarily purer than men, that women face the realities of running for office and getting into office, dealing with factions, dealing with our own imperfections and making it happen, [dealing with] the imperfections of the imperfect world that we face. We get it. We must express

it. We must articulate it in a new way. We have been passionate in our political defense of women's rights. We have been politically passionate in our demand for equality and for freedom and for our own voice in society, and for the control of our lives.

We have been made to fight year after year for the right of abortion alone, which has become symbol and substance. It seems that we have been pushed back on this; [it seems so] with your X Case in Ireland, with the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas hearings. In the United States of America, that great free democracy that I am a part of, we had a Supreme Court decide in the *Rust [v. Sullivan]* decision that doctors could not even counsel women on that method of controlling their reproductive process; which is, in effect, the law you have in Ireland. But just as it seems that we were being pushed back enormously, because the backlash against all of women's movement to equality was expressed in this new hysteria over abortion, the sea changed. This paradigm shift was happening in all our societies. The polls in the United States show now something like 85 percent of the people in the country firmly in support of the woman's right to choose, no matter their own views, their own religious conscience on abortion. They firmly are in support of a woman's right to choose. I think the polls are beginning to show the same thing in Ireland.

Even as we thought we were being pushed back, the conservatives appointed to our Supreme Court last week made up a bare, dangerous majority that said we do not overthrow *Roe v. Wade*. Of course, they said, this is not a fundamental right, as it had seemed before. But still, they did not dare to really, in so many words, overthrow the decision that had given us control of our own bodies. This shows a sea change, just as I understand that the refusal of the Irish government in the X Case to really acquiesce in the position of the authoritarian forces that would have kept that 14-year-old girl, endangering her life if she had been forced to bear that child. The forces that had never done so before. The forces -- that were not women -- stood up to the authoritarians.

A paradigm shift [means] our women's movement itself needs new visions of leadership. We must stop wallowing in the victim state. In all our countries, we have empowered ourselves to the degree that we can blow the whistle on rape, sexual harassment, on violence against women. And we must begin to blow the whistle on economic exploitation; not only outright economic exploitation, where we are paid less than men, but in all the ways that women work in this world, where the work essential to the survival of our planet and the survival of children, men, and women everywhere is not even valued in the GNP.

Beyond individual rights, [there is the] personhood of women -- I helped articulate that, breaking through the feminine mystique -- but not feminism as opposed to the family. Not false waving of family flags, thinking we can revert to the past, but a real confronting of the needs and urgent crises facing all our families in all their diverse shapes and forms: single parent families, two paycheck families, traditional families, new families. They all need supports that they are not getting in the male governments that we all inhabit at this time.

[We need] a paradigm shift away from either/or, black/white, win/lose -- which is no-win polarization. We must have this new flexibility and responsiveness in our visions of leadership to reconcile differences. We know from the record of President Robinson that she is already transforming an office of Presidency that had been expected to be ceremonial to a healing office, reconciling differences. The mandate of Minister of State from Uganda, Betty Bigombe, who could not be here today, involves the reconciling of differences of tribes in Africa, not by war, not by violence. If violence happens, it is a failure of public policy. Under a new vision of leadership that we must articulate here, if war happens, it is the failure of public policy.

It would be a diversion at this moment of crisis in our countries to let all our energies go into sexual politics. As important as it is that we blow the whistle on sexual harassment and rape, we must move with greater energy on the economic exploitation and other divisions that

are tearing our nations apart. This is not a war of women against men.

We also have to find new ways of measuring success and failure, bottom-line. We have to face the realities of money, but also change our measures of what money can and cannot buy.

The new visions of leadership that we will try to articulate here do not come from abstract rhetoric or television sound-bites. They come from women's own experience, in various regions of the earth, as we struggle to confront and find real solutions to new and old problems of feeding our children; to restructure work, business, and national budgets; to meet the real and changing needs of people in all countries; to refocus spiritual vision stifled by fundamentalism in all religions to an energizing force in our daily lives; to ask new questions about the media images that can stifle or express our evolution; to find ways other than violence to reconcile the differences of race, class, and sex, now polarizing men and women; and finally, to call for action, not just empty promises, to meet the urgent problems of people and life. That must become the new priority for all our nations as we move to articulate new visions of leadership, not just for women, but to meet the crisis of our time.

Irene Natividad

Moderator

Thank you, Betty. Our next presenter is Dr. Kazimiera Prunskiene of Lithuania. She is the former Prime Minister of Lithuania, and was one of the founding members of the Lithuanian Reform Movement, Sajudis. In 1989, as the most visible and vocal advocate of economic independence for Lithuania, she became the first Sajudis leader to enter the then Soviet controlled Lithuanian government. She took on the responsibility of Deputy Chairman for Economics in the SSR Council of Ministers. She was elected Prime Minister of Lithuania in 1990 and resigned in 1991. She is currently a member of Parliament.

Kazimiera Prunskiene (Lithuania)

Former Prime Minister of Lithuania

Honored Presidents, Ladies and Gentlemen, I would first like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to come here and address you.

Lithuania, the country from which I come, has, after many long years of totalitarian rule of the Soviet regime, once again achieved freedom and is committed to the European community. Only a few years back, the notion of speaking openly and freely with other women of the world would have been inconceivable. Our country is now free, but the people are still encumbered by old social mores and the contradictions which arise as a result. The freedom of man, and especially that of women, is the highest priority of the political and social development of Lithuania. Women are the majority in Lithuania and comprise 52 percent of her population. Women dominate the fields of education and health, constituting over 80 percent. In the field of culture, women are the majority and make up almost 50 percent of the political economists. To that I must say, there are unfortunately too many!

In Lithuania, women traditionally play a large role in family life. There is a saying in Lithuanian: "In the household the women have three corners, the men but one." The mother has a predominant role in maintaining the existence of the family, the upbringing of the children, and taking care of the household. Lithuania is almost entirely Catholic. This presents two contradictory traditions. [The Virgin Mary] is seen as a strong and spiritual woman, and mothers are the central units of families; however, at the same time, there are many barriers for women in the work field, especially in public and social careers, and surely, politics, too.

On the average, women in Lithuania have a higher level of education than that of men. Of 1,000 women, 160 will receive the equivalent of an university education, whereas only 130 men will achieve this. Women have the same levels of interest in education, literature, and the arts.

The role of women in leading positions, even where they dominate, is unfortunately low. Here there are certain important factors which affect this situation. First, centralized traditions of the former Soviet Union: a good example is Moscow. Under Brezhnev or even Gorbachev, only a few women had formal positions in the major political structure of the government. Men were completely free of any competition from women. Men have always enjoyed this advantage. Today, there exists no obligatory political structure norms. In the current Lithuanian parliament only 8 percent of the body are women. In the government, there was only one woman, who resigned as I did one year ago. Secondly, women were at great disadvantages having to juggle their jobs as well as being mothers in poorly outfitted homes. This caused significant obstacles in their desire to contribute to the social and political realms of society. Presently, these kinds of problems are even more prevalent. Thirdly, there is a struggle for power. The women are more psychologically and morally vulnerable due to the persecution, the rumors, and the psychological terror. It is unfortunately very characteristic of the present extreme power to fight to maintain their absolute power and refuse to be a tolerant power.

We, as women, are aware that we have not contributed to the consequences of the ignorance of the political system. We have not participated in the former inhumane political decisions. Today women would like to consider the problems of the political system and the socio-economic problems. Women's largest priority is the loss of jobs. Simultaneously, women encounter difficulties in proprietorship because they lack experience. Nevertheless, women are still determined to find something new in life and to remain a constant support to their family. This unites women in an effort to cooperate to achieve these means.

We already have in place some new organizations which include the Women's University Association, Women in Business, Democratic Women's College, and many more. Women would rather participate in non-political organizations because the system is tied to

conflicts of morality and ability. This year many of the women's organizations were consolidated into cooperative groups. Because of the initiative of the women's groups, the Lithuanian European Institute, of which I am the director, was made possible. In May, we organized the first International Women's Convention. It helped us to collectively look at our potential as women and encouraged us as well. The new international contacts, which we are gradually making, help us to see our goals, gain experience and ideas, and the means to implement them.

It is very clear that women will be able to and are allowed to do more than simple work outside the realm of politics and major decision making. The passive participation through the voices in the voting of the new parliament, president, and writing of the new constitution is not a normal situation. The women must share the responsibility of shaping the present and future life of the state with men. Furthermore, they must contribute to the creation of human motivation in making and protecting the economy and the political system. A society or country which recognizes the capacity of women effectively makes itself a valuable nation. Today's activities of women of the world surely are not leading to a one-sided feminism or an absolute role of women. Instead, we are drawing away from former one-sided patriarchal customs to insure the fullest ideal of humanity.

I would still like to reassure our men and say that women will never practice politics which discriminate against men or any human. In fact, only cooperatively with men will we all be able to achieve peace for all, our spirituality, and well-being.

Irene Natividad

Moderator

Our next presenter is The Honorable Monica Barnes, who has served in the Irish Parliament since 1983. Prior to her election to Parliament, she held a seat in the Irish Senate, where she was Assistant Party Whip and spokesperson on law reforms. She also served for five years as a

member of the Board of Employment Equality Agency. Monica Barnes, Vice-President of the Fine Gael Party, is Party Spokeswoman on women's affairs, Chairwoman.... You know who Monica is? Monica is the women's rights advocate in the Irish Parliament. That's all there is. She was there from the beginning, when fighting for reproductive choice -- let alone contraceptive rights -- was totally unpopular. She is still there. She has been at every major women's conference, has represented Ireland at the Earth Summit in Rio, and she was at the United Nations Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985. And she is here with us today. It is with great pleasure that I present to you the Co-Chair of the Irish Secretariat for the 1992 Global Forum of Women, Monica Barnes.

Monica Barnes, TD (Ireland)

*All Party Committee for Women's Rights
Co-Chair, Irish Secretariat,
1992 Global Forum of Women*

It is a wonderful pleasure to be here this morning. I am not a morning person, but I am so enlivened and so excited, with the theme and level of contribution and all we are going to share and take away from this conference. We are just beginning this great adventure which will be another historic Summit. We will look back, hopefully, on this Summit and say, "Yes. That happened at the Global Forum in Dublin," as in the way we can look back on Rio, and we can look back on Nairobi, and we can look back on Copenhagen. That is the wonderful gift that we are now part of, that we share. We network, we inform. What we wish to do here in Ireland, as in your countries, is to distill, distribute, and share the information and the action that will be called for with the women from our countries who cannot be here today. Because what we must never forget is that we are merely here as representatives of those who yet have not had the opportunity of being here. We have a real responsibility to them...

I believe that from organizing summits such as this, women will be so multi-skilled, will be so

diplomatic, will be so incredibly multi-talented, that we will be able to take on any crisis of leadership. We are establishing it, actually, even by getting the wherewithal to allow us to meet like this.

I was very interested that Betty Friedan introduced into her speech the shifting paradigm. I have fallen in love with that word. I think it is a lovely and beautiful word to roll off the tongue: paradigm. But I think to women, it offers so much. We really are part, for the first time, of a wonderful shifting paradigm, a historic paradigm that will leave this world, hopefully, and all of us in the future in a different situation than we find ourselves now. Thomas S. Kuhn, in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, defined paradigm as an accepted model or pattern. Paradigms gain their status because they are more successful than their competitors in solving a few problems that a group of practitioners has come to recognize as acute. And, haven't women come together to recognize a few problems that are acute! I think that women actually began this shifting paradigm when they focused on those acute problems and realized that the structures we had at the time did not and would not allow for them to be solved in the human, all-embracing, universal way that we want them to be solved.

Above everything else, the women's movement must exemplify -- and to me, does exemplify -- inclusion. Not excluding, including. This is where the hierarchal system absolutely broke down. It excluded. As one went higher up the pyramid, more were thrown off, more fell off, more were victims, until you got the competitive one, the achiever -- as was then recognized -- at the top, with a sense of power and a lone sense of authority that did not come down the ranks to the bottom, at the base of the pyramid, where most people lay. But because women on the whole were settled, against their will, at the base of that pyramid, we realized, as we started getting upwards, that that was not the shape we wanted. The pyramid is not the shape of the future. We want the whole round world -- the holistic healing, whole, world, with the perfect balance that nature gave it before we interfered with it.

One of the most wonderful and enlivening allied events that went with women's real crusade about the rights for women, particularly the rights of women who were violently and exploitatively treated, is a real sense of the environment and what was happening to it. In the same way, on another level, women realized what had been done and what was being done to them on the one level, was also being done to the planet. So in saving the planet, we are also sending out a signal of what we are doing to ourselves.

We are saving and healing ourselves. In that way, we will also hopefully heal men, and get them to work in a balanced way. Many men today understand and realize that the [pyramid] structure was certainly not woman-friendly, but it was not even man-friendly. That is what we must negotiate with them. We must show a model or models that are so attractive that they will gladly join with us. I really believe that the initiative comes from us. They think, I believe, that they have much to lose. Enlightenment will show that they have much to gain. In the meantime, we know how much is to be gained. Our time has come and we will carry the message this time.

The exclusivity of the hierarchal structure was a denial of information to people, so that people who held information held power. A denial of emotions, because then one was seen to be more serious and one could make more ruthless decisions. A hidden language, a hidden agenda, official secrets, the politics of denial which has brought politics worldwide into an incredibly subverted and undermined state -- one that has really given us a crisis of leadership. The example of the presidential campaign in the United States -- this is not making an indictment, but it is an example and it is a campaign going on at the moment -- gives rise to all of us to recognize that there needs to be a structural change with regard to how we administer power, how we administer politics, and how we allow people into politics.

I really believe that it is only through crisis that action comes. Maybe we, as human beings, need crises to galvanize us into action. I believe

that this is what is happening. Women at this stage, through the organizing, through the networking, and through the sharing of information that we have received, are now in the position to take a pivotal role in that. That is my challenge to women.

Marilyn French said, in *Beyond Power: Women, Men, and Morals*, "If you want to create a different world, you must do it yourselves. No one else will do it for you." I think women should sit up every morning, and after they have told themselves how much they like and love themselves, and how good they are, they should say that. Because of our awareness, because of our consciousness, because of so much to be done still for the women who haven't come through yet, I don't even see it as a choice for women any longer. I see it as a responsibility. I also see it not filled with duty and guilt. I see it as one of the most exciting prospects. The experience, the expertise, the sheer living and surviving, the strength that women have inherited, is going to be such an incredible contribution. We are going to share it in such a way that for the first time, as women go into power, as they make decisions, they will be sharing it in a sisterly way that will give them sustenance, that will uphold them, that will support them. In fact, this will allow us to see power and the administration of it as life-giving. It will not be the total threat that the power structures offer to us now.

That may be a vision. But remember, the women's movement was a vision. These Summits were visions, and only came about with a lot of negotiation and a lot of work and a lot of cooperation from a great number of women. I see this as the next step.

President Mary Robinson spoke to you last night about one of the most incredible paradigm shifts going on at the moment, and that is what women at the community, grassroots level are doing for the communities, for the families, and for themselves. They share, they learn, they gain confidence, and they have a vision and a perception of power that is very different from the one that is practiced now. We must ensure that that is the model that comes through.

Having said that, as the individual community prospers, I want also leaders -- national and world leaders -- to emerge from those community empowering groups active at the moment. We need them not just in their community, but at the world and national level as well. We need the support of other women to get them there.

Finally, may I come to the beleaguered women who actually have made it up the ladder of decision-making. And may I say a very strong word on their behalf. It is important and essential that women get into the male hierarchal structures and stay there, but with a woman's vision and a woman's experience. They must, above all, retain the values and priorities of women, the language of women. Let us not be intimidated in getting into jargon, in not talking directly, in code signals that most of the people will not understand. Don't be intimidated. Women hold a central language. Women are the great communicators. Women teach the people of this world to express themselves, to speak, to sing. Women are the great communicators and let nobody put us down in the way we communicate. We teach the world. We have taught our sons, and they forgot it along the way.

That is what I ask of women who have gotten there. But I also say to the women who see them: I want those women to be role models, to give confidence, to let every woman see that if women can make it and hold on to their feminism and hold on to their womanly values and priorities, that they can do it as well.

Believe me, unless you inherited power, it was one big, long struggle. Very few women got to the top without pain, without obstacles, without discrimination, and without a huge amount of personal sacrifice. That is what pioneers are about, and that is what the women today who have made it there are about. *What they desperately need, and what they deserve, is the support of other women.* Sisterhood is only powerful when we are in solidarity, when we do not snipe at one another, when we do not divide one another. Enhance the role of women. Extol the achievements of women at every level.

Use the progress that has been made by women as a learning to come after and to come through. Pass it on to your daughters, and let us hope that it is never as difficult for our daughters as it was for us.

Lastly, the personal *is* political. That was one of our other powerful slogans that guided us and, indeed, was needed when we started out. Again, in the Media panel and in the other sessions we are going to have, the political becomes so personal with regard to candidates at this stage, that it is absolutely undermining democracy itself. People feel they are not willing to sacrifice themselves, their reputations, their families, their loved ones, to be ripped apart by a media who is not interested in their policies, who does not want to know what philosophy they have, who does not know what kind of agenda they would bring into politics, but does want to dig up dirt on them. I think it has reached a dangerous stage. I question how we can still hold that the personal is political; it is particularly dangerous where women are concerned. Our newborn women's confidence is vulnerable. Our women's caring leave us open to not sacrificing others on the table of politics.

I would like us, in these few days we have here, to look very carefully and very critically at what is happening, and try to draw up some guidelines that we might be able to introduce. I do not see women fully taking on the political which must be one of the great models for women. And [it is] a great transforming agent when you are around the table; you have a voice; you have a vote; and you use it wisely. That is power at its best, and that is power that is seldom accessible to women at other levels. That is why I have used all my time to get more women into politics at all levels.

Above all, the numbers of women, many of them here today: Bella Abzug, who has been a role model who has kept us going for so long; women presidents, elected by their own people. We need the symbolic power of our women presidents. We need the real power of women at the community level. We need the political power of women elected. And we need a communications network that will remind us

about our common agenda, and, by then, we will bring the holistic, the whole, the balance.

Women have written about a shifting paradigm, as have men. But women have also written about the age of enlightenment. My vision is that through women taking their rightful place, through the balance of women's decision-making beside men, that age of enlightenment is about to dawn. And you're all part of it.

Irene Natividad

Moderator

All of us here on this panel belong to the same generation. And clearly, if we are going to talk about the crisis of leadership, we need to face our own crisis in the women's movement, and that is to have the young continue our work. Our next speaker has the incredible burden of representing the next generation. She is Jinqing Cai, who left her home in Beijing after serving as a public and media spokesperson for the students camped in Tiananmen Square. It was, as the leader of the student pro-democracy movement, she said, that she started to realize the potential and the strength of Chinese women in influencing politics and changing the world.

Jinqing Cai (China)

Leader of Student Uprising, Tiananmen Square

As a member of the young generation of Chinese women, I feel honored to speak at the Global Forum of Women. Great opportunities have arisen for women of the many nations represented here today. Women have come from different cultural, political, and religious backgrounds, and different generations, to offer our perspective on the future in a new and changing world.

Three years ago, when I left China to study in the United States, I was among those liberal and outward looking college women who had felt constrained to a closed, Communist society for so long, and were eager to fly freely in the unbounded sky of the West. I started my

journey at Wellesley College, a women's college in the United States. There, I started to realize the common spirit and the essence of women and the many concerns we share. From then on, I started to look back with a new perspective at the women in my own country -- China -- to find out what our most pressing concerns are, and to ask how we, as young and educated women, shall contribute to the betterment of women's life there.

Traveling through China, one may still see very old women, though rarely now, whose feet have been painfully crippled from foot-binding. Yet, one will also encounter female adults working in the field and operating machinery in factories, as well as college-educated women in fashionable suits, talking in proficient English with their foreign partners in joint ventures. These contrasting images reflect the changing reality of the lives of Chinese women during the past several decades. It may be claimed as one of the greatest miracles of Chinese modernization.

But although we, as insiders of the "emancipation" of Chinese women, recognize the miracles that made the rebirth possible, at the same time we recognize the stupendous obstacles that were involved. The whole weight of traditional forces is still against us in a hidden and profound way: traditional economic forces, traditional social and family forces, and, in particular, the patriarchal-feudal forces. It is not easy to be an active and public-spirited Chinese woman today. We are beset not only by obstacles in the way of political and economic transformation to democracy and modernization, but also by disapproval of the conservative classes who have no faith in women's capabilities. Therefore, while Chinese women are encouraged on the one hand to "hold up the other half of the sky," as encouraged by Mao Zedong, there are still cases, on the other hand, of wives being abused by their husbands and female babies being drowned, especially in rural areas. Similarly, while 21 percent of parliamentary representatives in China are women, female college graduates are still sometimes rejected by their potential employers simply because of their gender. In the workplace, those few women who rise to senior

levels are frequently frustrated by a variety of social and professional impediments. In short, expectations run high, despite the extent of remaining problems. The reality facing Chinese young women is both encouraging and challenging.

One measure of women's status in China is the number of women who hold positions of responsibility in the government. Among political leaders, it is still generally true that the higher the political stratum, the fewer the number of female members. In this sense, one can say that China is still a man's world. The majority of the government leaders are male. Many men are still not comfortable seeing women become actively involved in political activities. Within the established political system in the history of the People's Republic of China, there has been only one woman elected as honorable president, the highest administrative position in the country. At present, among the 17 members in the State Council, the executive body, there is only one female member. Among 48 ministries or the equivalents, there are only 3 ministries which are under the leadership of women.

These figures have nowhere reached the ideal of equality of representation. Although the government has strongly advocated political equality between men and women, there is still strong resistance against women's participation in politics. Officially, "emancipation of women" in China has eliminated a whole history of cultural oppression or institutionalized and internalized subordination. Yet, traditional inequality between the sexes is perpetuated not only by many men's attitudes of male supremacy, but also by the unfortunate fact that society has encouraged many women to internalize negative attitudes of inferiority, self-abasement, and dependence. Women will remain isolated and outside the mainstream of events as long as they are under-represented in the membership and leadership of political institutions. Without self-awareness, women are not able to develop their infinite potential. Without setting themselves free, women will never be willing to fly, however high the sky.

Women's voices should have outlets besides the official one, where women's views are more or less silenced due to considerations of party unity. While it is not easy for anyone to dissent from the views of the Communist party, women find it particularly difficult to challenge the existing political system. Not only must they overcome the traditional barrier between men and women, but they must be willing to oppose aspects of the party line. It takes even more courage and determination to overcome the second barrier than the first one, since China is still a one-party ruling state. It is written in the Constitution that "sabotage of the communist system by any organization or individual is prohibited." Anyone criticizing the government can be accused of sabotage, depending on the political mood prevailing, even though that criticism may be constructive and well-intentioned. Without the guarantee of protection by the government, those anxious to retain their enthusiasm for social activity by offering constructive criticism may find themselves greatly frustrated.

Since the male style of leadership dominates China's political arena, women tend to be more daring and outspoken in addressing controversial issues than men are. After all, unlike men, women don't have centuries of conditioning in public life. They should therefore be willing to take risks, as they have nothing to lose. Newly awakened, they can use their untrammelled vision to light the way forward. If women are freed from their dependent and secluded roles, their deep and strong hearts can influence public views enormously.

The best examples of women's potential were during the pro-democracy movement of 1989. Women participated in large numbers in the massive demonstrations which were held during the months of May and June, 1989. The women of China, thanks to the events in Tiananmen Square, are now as active as Chinese men in discussing publicly the burning political question of the day: democracy. A new woman has therefore been forged by these events. A woman who is patriotic, passionate, and public-spirited. Overall, one of the most remarkable features of the pro-democracy movement over

the years has been the large part taken by the women of China. Indeed, they were seen to be as keen as their brothers in the desire for the betterment of their country's welfare, and were devoting much time to work out ways and means for attaining their objectives.

Female activists, among both intellectuals and workers, have participated actively and, at times, have taken the lead in the struggle for democracy. Among the old generation, Bing Xin, a well-respected woman writer in her 90s, drafted an open letter to Deng Xiao-Ping, the paramount of the ruling party, co-signed by well-known scholars and intellectuals in China, urging the release of political prisoners and promoting the political reforms in China. Among the middle-aged Chinese women, Dai Qing, an outspoken journalist and descendent of one of the founders of the Communist party, coordinated a national debate of the controversial Three Gorges dam project. It is a proposed large-scale hydropower station which the government wants to build on the Yangtze River in order to alleviate the increasing shortage of energy. However, there are serious social problems and enormous environmental risks involved. One-half to one million people would have to move and 10,000 to 25,000 ha of field would have to be submerged if the Three Gorges dam project were implemented. However, the people whose lives might be influenced never have a chance to know the facts. In part, as a result of Dai Qing's efforts, the ensuing debate of the project's impact forced the government to be more prudent before making a final decision.

The young generation of Chinese women, frustrated and disillusioned by a rigid and conservative Communist government, are more than eager to question the established political system and challenge it in their own way. Yet there is still a long way to go for Chinese women to have a real impact in shaping the political system and influencing policy.

Facing the reality of China today, the aims of promoting women's political profile should be the means to achieve the ends of further modernization and democracy. Chinese women

should be united by the sentiment of pushing the government for democracy and transparency in the decision-making process. Only when we unite, can we form a force to influence the politics. Only with the political force of women, can we urge the government to only discuss the development agenda and make the value and decency of human life a priority.

The task ahead of us requires more courage and dedication. We young women are aware of this and are accumulating our strength, both economically and politically. We want to contribute to the development and stability of our country. We want to make China a land with pride and honor, with decent people and decent life. A land that is able to contribute to the world peace and happiness of mankind.

All the social responsibilities to be tackled await us: poverty alleviation, education, environmental protection, and family planning. Despite the evident challenges, there is hope for Chinese women and for the country as a whole. History demands no less from us, the young generation of women.

Irene Natividad

Moderator

[We have seen all types of leadership. We have seen the] governmental leadership of President Vigdis and Monica Barnes; the leadership of setting off a movement in Betty Friedan; the leadership demonstrated when trying to transition a government from communism to democracy, as in Kazimiera Prunskiene, the former Prime Minister of Lithuania; the leadership of youth trying to unsettle an entire structure.

Devaki Jain has demonstrated leadership in a way that we know best: grassroots leadership. For 30 years, she has been engaged in teaching, research, writing, and action focusing on women in India and in the South. She is a founding member of DAWN, which is the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era, and is a member of the South Commission. She has written many books, and has taught at Delhi

University, and has been a visiting fellow at Harvard University, Boston University, and Sussex.

Devaki Jain (India)

Trustee, Institute for Social Studies Trust

We have had so many inspiring presentations, so many ideas that one can receive and journey through so many countries and experiences. I therefore will echo a few of the ideas we have heard. I will continue to beat the same drum, but perhaps with my own rhythm.

Irene [Natividad] summed up what I wanted to say. We started by thinking, perhaps, of the crisis of leadership as being a wider crisis, a crisis in male leadership, in political leadership. In a sense, I perceive a crisis in the women's movement itself. We really need to ask ourselves, by consolidating what we have heard: what are our characteristics; how do we consolidate; how do we become a global voice, a women's opinion on global affairs. This Forum gives us a great opportunity.

I think we also have to ask ourselves somewhat deeper questions, such as: What is the core essence of feminist leadership? We have had role models for us in President Mary Robinson and President Vigdis. But we have to see how we nurture and sustain those qualities, making them for generalization.

I would say that there are two tasks ahead of us. One is to give recognition to non-establishment leadership -- I use the word 'establishment' to mean governments, international organizations, corporations. That is, women in local government, women in cooperatives, women leading other women in small groups. We need to make them visible and give a sense that feminist politics is decentralized politics. Betty Friedan talked about a paradigm shift from a male-led countries to female-led countries. I would say we also need to add another layer of paradigm shift, and that is from national and centralized politics to decentralized politics.

I will give a few illustrations from India. I refer to two recent conferences in India. One was a gender response to India entering what is called the process of structural adjustment -- what is called "beginning to drink the strong medicine" the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank give to countries which are in debt and trying to get out of it. I am happy to say that there is a full circle here, in the sense that UNIFEM supported our little workshop. India has gone into the awful condition, after 45 years of autonomy from the IMF and World Bank package, so you can imagine the pain and the distress in the women's and the people's movement that we had finally to trade our domestic autonomy for an international intervention well-known for some of the devastation it causes. That consultation had a few grassroots activists, many economists, UNICEF, UNDP, and so on. We really wanted to capture that event and I will give voice from it in a minute.

My second consultation was to bring women from grassroots, local bodies to a national conference, asking how to strengthen those women who are now participating in local government. It was a national roundtable to design strategies and support services to strengthen elected women.

In India, we now have something that would really make you happy. We have a couple of states in which we have local self-government bodies, elected bodies for local self-government, with 30 percent reserved for women. In the state where I come from, in these local bodies, there are 12,000 elected women. There are young, old, high caste, low caste, and they are politicians. Suddenly, if you multiply that by 26, for the number of India's states, you have a huge number of women politicians in India. A flood coming into the mainstream. This is a critical observation, because we have been used to looking at grassroots as non-governmental organizations. Now, grassroots means politicians.

In the next Parliament in India, we will pass an amendment to our Constitution -- we hope -- which will enshrine that all states in India have

to have elections to local bodies. And in those elections, we have reserved 30 percent seats for women, so that we will have thousands of women politicians.

We need support from global fora, from thoughtful, active women of the world, to say feminist politics is decentralized politics, because there is a lot of doubt that decentralization is moving towards conservatism, that local politics is not progressive. There is a lot of doubt and skepticism even among feminists. Here are a whole flood of women coming out. It is up to us to provide them with theory, practice, cushions, legitimacy, to learn how to govern themselves and the rest of society.

I just want to give you five voices out of this. One voice, which I heard from a woman who runs a thrift society, a credit cooperative where women are managing their own credit without the bank and recycling it. When we introduced her to this conference as someone who was working at the 'micro-level,' she protested. She said, "I am macro." She said, "What we are doing are innovative things, and we are going to push this as national policy."

The second voice was a woman who is working with elected women, doing what is empowerment: quality services, letting them learn how to speak. When we asked her what those women wanted, she said that the women said, "We want to think. We want to sleep." They did not say what we think they want, which is that they want to be organized into income-generating activities, they want to be trained in leadership skills, they want to be taught how to write budgets and undo them. They wanted to think; they wanted to sleep. In other words, she was making the point that we tend to get women to work even harder by pushing a whole lot of things into them, but really they want to think, and they want to sleep.

There was one more voice, which I heard here in Ireland from my sister Audrey. She said that sometimes in Ireland, people ask, "Why do you always talk about leaders? We are leaders." She meant community organizers felt they were leaders.

I mention these three voices because, in a sense, they reflect the very interesting analytical framework that I think we received from the two Presidents yesterday. Let me recall President Mary Robinson, who said that when women come into leadership, they move from individual ambition to collective leadership, enabling others. Similarly, my sister President Vigdis used notions of language, full of normative prejudices. That is what these three voices are saying: we are not micro, we are macro; we want to think, we don't always want to give our services; [we are leaders.] It is all of these vocabularies and perceptions which we need to change if we are really going into the process of empowering millions of politicians.

But I think there is more to it than upturning vocabularies. Like Betty Friedan, I am a grandmother, I am grey and very old, and I have been to many of these women's conference, and I have heard all this. Women are always upturning vocabularies and saying, "This definition is not right. We are moving." But we are not really moving. We are just upturning vocabularies, but we are not capturing it into a construct of new theory. Just upturning the pyramid, or even making the pyramid a circle, as Monica suggested, is not sufficient.

I want to refer to a fourth voice, that of my mother. I went to a conference on Gender of Power in Holland, a brilliant gathering, reconsidering the gender of power. And I recall my mother, who was relatively silent and passive, even vague and confused. Don't worry; I am not going to glorify passivity or perpetuate stereotypes. But all of us in the family, and in the neighborhood and community, international friends and writers who came to see me, all thought that she was powerful. She was always enabling. If we look again at these words -- silence, passivity, vagueness, an inability to be quick and sharp -- we begin to see that if we want to understand, we have to listen. And if you want to listen, you have to be somewhat silent. If you want to accommodate, you have to be passive. If you want to be tentative and not aggressive, you have to have that sense of tentativeness and doubt. A panelist talked of tolerance of women: all these are enshrined in

some of these qualities, and we have to rethink our indices and characteristics of what is called feminist leadership. We shouldn't be frightened of silence or passivity just because Freud or some other grandfather said so.

As someone who works with poor women, I feel that if we can rethink these [ideas], we will make these women more comfortable. Many of you have worked in Africa and Asia. You go to a small village, and the women are sitting there silent. And you say to yourself, "They are really dumb." But that is not it. If you can redefine the indices of being a strong woman, a self-confident woman, then you probably will help those women to feel strong, and not dumb because they are passive. They are not uninformed because they are silent.

Finally, while I [propose] that the politics of decentralization is feminist politics, and that as true feminists we have to ask ourselves what these qualities are, and rethink them. Diseases such as anorexia come because we impose on the natural methods of women our modes of behavior as pressure of the male psyche and male forms of conduct. I am not sure, but I think these are the issues that have to be resolved with us.

At last, I want to say that I have Monica's concern. I am at a crossroads, and I am unsure which way to turn. I am hoping that this forum will help us to make [our focus] a little narrower, and not to be so divergent and confused in our perceptions. Monica said that in spite of all this low-level leadership, grassroots leadership, women being leaders in the home, we also need the Summit leaders. We need the Presidents, because they provide another platform for us. When I also agreed with her, I said to myself, "But perhaps Mary Robinson and Vigdis [Finnbogadottir] had mothers and grandmothers like my mother, who acculturated them to a certain grace and humility." We don't know. But if they had, it is up to us to revive or recall or strengthen or consolidate or theorize on those qualities and give new confidence to others. Because although, as Monica said, the generations which follow will be luckier than us, I sometimes feel they may

not be. Though I don't have a daughter, alas, I doubt that if I had a daughter that she would have had the touch that my mother gave me. I don't have that touch. It is not so clear that by widening the horizon of women's participation in politics, we are not going to have female impersonators. We may have to have real women like President Mary Robinson and President Vigdis. That is not going to be easy unless we do two things. If we want to go more into that sphere, we have to nurture them at the grassroots [level], in decentralized politics and we have to provide culturally consistent support to theory, philosophy, and writing. There is a great need for theory, philosophy, and writing to nurture this. We tend to be too active and not sufficiently thoughtful. Passivity is a form of giving space for thoughtfulness. I am hoping that this would be a challenge.

Do you think we are consolidated and ready to make that strike? Don't you think we need much more discourse, dialogue, fights, brainstorming to figure out our ideals, philosophies, and characterization of feminist politics? Don't we need to think of macro things like institutional frameworks for governance, not merely seeing more women in leadership? What about decentralized leadership? Have we done enough of that homework?

Now is a time to enter global debate, but it is also a time when, if we don't enter the global debate, they will run over us, in spite of wonderful women.

Irene Natividad

Moderator

I think it is fitting to close this session with President Vigdis. I introduced her yesterday to you. We were so proud. I know how many of you felt, because I felt the same way, when I saw President Vigdis walking down with President Mary Robinson. I thought that vision was what this is all about, for us to nurture leadership and to one day be able to affect the lives of millions.

Her Excellency Vigdis Finnbogadóttir *President of Iceland*

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am so grateful to see you here. I am used to speaking to mixed audiences, and I like men. Actually, I stated all my points yesterday. The idea was that I would sit here and answer questions, because we had no questions yesterday. I am willing to do so, and I will be brief with an introduction to some questions.

I have been listening to you, and I have been so inspired. Monica [Barnes] said, "We brought up our sons but they forgot it along the way." They didn't forget it on the way, Monica. We brought them up to be strong with other men, and they preferred it when they grew up. But in the back of their minds, they are with us. I know it. I know it from my father.

Devaki [Jain] talked about her mother. And I have to tell you my experience of my mother. My mother was a very strong lady. She was in every second association of women in Iceland, associations of women and men. I was so irritated in my childhood, that I promised myself that I would never enter any association. My father was a conservative man of the old school, a marvelous man. My mother was a marvelous lady, and they were a marvelous couple. He was very conservative, a professor of the university, with sisters and a wonderful mother. He had no ambitions for his sisters or his mother. And he was rather doubtful about the activity of his wife. But when it came to his daughter, nothing was too good for her. Absolutely nothing. And she was to have the same education as all the boys around, and she was to be better than the boys. Of course, there was a reaction to that too. I hated that. I had to go along the very middle of the way, which I did and have always done. But this family of mine brought me up with a responsibility to society, with honesty and responsibility.

The word that I was fascinated with, as you said, Monica, is responsibility. And with this obsession with words, I started to think, what is a responsibility? How is that word composed? Responsibility is a reaction. It is not a choice.

From *respondere* in Latin: it is to sing back, to echo. It is a responsibility we have.

We know that everything can be changed in 40 years. The Israelis were in the desert and came back after 40 years. Everything has changed in 40 years; its part of a generation. I think that every value that we have today will have changed in 20 years, because of Mother Earth. That is where we women have to step in. That is where we have our responsibility, because we have this sense for value to prioritize not what is an immediate economic reward to live in more luxury, but to think of our children and what they will inherit.

My last point will be to tell you how I was elected, to my own great surprise. I was asked to stand in the wake of the Women's Day in 1975. In 1980, my predecessor was leaving office and there were Presidential elections in Iceland. People couldn't accept it in Iceland after the Women's Day in 1975 not to have a woman among the candidates. That would have been a real defeat. So people started looking around. My women friends in Iceland and actresses in the theatre and ordinary people started looking around for a woman somewhere who could do this. And I saw, one sunny day, a letter in the paper with my name. I am told, in the theatre, that I came to the rehearsal and one of our artists said to me jokingly, "So you are becoming a President." Apparently, I blushed from my hair roots because he was mocking me.

Then, this became extremely serious, and people were coming from all around. Sea men were so strong in this. Why sea men, my friends asked this morning. Because in islands, as here in Ireland, where the sea is around the country, large or small, women have a special confidence. Especially in a country like Iceland, where the sea men are away so much, the woman builds the house, raises the children, and the sea men trust women. Have you also noticed that old men, old mature men trust women. They know the quality of women. So, finally, I jumped. People said to me, "We are behind you. You are our candidate." And I thought, since they have this confidence, why shouldn't I have this confidence in myself?

My first reaction was, of course, "Me? A woman? No, I can't do that." Also, I knew that some of my friends found this hilariously absurd. My mother found it so absurd that she said to me, "You are neither a lawyer, nor a doctor, nor a political philosopher; how on earth can you think of this?"

My politics are about the human being, not about the traffic in society, about the development of the human being. I jumped, and I accepted this challenge. And I won with a very narrow margin. Why didn't I win, with 50 percent? I often thought of this, because I knew of all my lady friends of my age voted for me. I knew of the young women who voted for me. I knew of all the young fathers who voted for me, because their children came to me and said, "Daddy is going to vote for you because of us, the little girls." Where were the women? They didn't vote so much for me, otherwise I would have gotten at least 50 percent. But I won, and I was elected. I had no opponent after four years. After eight years, [I did have] an opponent, and half of the population of Iceland -- women -- wrote to me at the office and said, "You have to stand." They changed their minds [and wrote,] "You have to stand. If not because of us, because of the children." Now the children are so used to having a woman as a President, that they take it for granted. When the male Presidents of the world appear on the television, little boys call to their mothers, "Mommy, Mommy, come! There is a man President!"

So the moral of the story is that if we stand together, if we believe in each other, and I believe in all of you. What I miss is the young girls. Jinqing [Cai], thank you for coming. We need the young girls, but they are too preoccupied with more superficial things, unfortunately. In the ladies' journals, why don't they begin them with a line of philosophy on politics and ambitions for girls? I feel it around me because I am the mother of a girl. I feel that there is a lack of interest for this. So, to begin with, we believe in one another here and we spread this in our countries. We have to believe in our qualities. And it is our responsibility to respond.

Together, we can do it. All heroes of freedom have been quoted to say, "Together we stand strong, but asunder we are weak."

Questions & Answers:

Marvellous Mhloyi (Zimbabwe)

I have been so greatly inspired. This is my first time to attend a women's forum, and it has been so inspiring. What I am really requesting is a write-up of the ideas presented. I think there has been a bias against women's meetings, women's fora, etc. I have never heard what I heard today: it can change a lot. It can change the world, as you have presented.

Maureen Kinsler (Ireland)

The Women's Political Association would like to ask Monica Barnes if she can give us a very brief answer now, perhaps elaborate later in the weeks to come, on how she thinks we can empower women and get the women into the positions of power as we have been trying to do for the past 21 years.

Monica Barnes, TD (Ireland)

I am a veteran of the Women's Political Association myself. I think that President Vigdis summed up a tremendous amount for us. We have to effectively encourage and look for candidates. I take very much what Vigdis said regarding the empowering of women at the community level, and the decentralization of power, of course. But also, the women in that community have got such a wealth of experience and models to bring in at the higher level of politics that we really must invite the women leaders in communities to come forward as well.

Above everything else, we must try to give a sense of confidence and pride in all women to trust women. [President] Vigdis was so right. We don't have enough confidence in each other to elect one another. We are half the world.

We can transform in less than 20 years if we really trusted in one another, confided in one another, and supported one another.

Irene Natividad (USA)

I was Chair of the National Women's Political Caucus for four years, an organization in the United States which Bella [Abzug] and Betty [Friedan] founded. It self-consciously tried to train women. There is a trick to running for office, there are specific skills. We support them with money: we have to invest in our own candidates. Saying you will vote for them is not enough; you have to fork out the dollars, or the Irish Punts, or the Krone. Lastly, you must indeed vote for them, especially if they stand for your issues. Once they are in office, you remind them that you are there.

WOMEN & PRIVATE SECTOR LEADERSHIP

Friday, July 10

Irene Natividad (USA)

Director, 1992 Global Forum of Women

Lilia Clemente is recognized as a pioneer in global investment. She was called by *Asia Week* as "Wonderwoman of Wall Street," so don't measure her by her size. Measure her by the amount of money that she manages, which comes to \$7 billion.

Recently, in *USA Today*, she was quoted as saying, "I have been blessed by my multilingual, multicultural roots. Coming from a developing country helps you bridge East and West, especially when it comes to money."

Lilia Clemente (The Philippines/USA)

President, Clemente Capital Management

I am honored to have this opportunity to moderate and address this conference, and share with you some thoughts and reflections on women and our progress in what has been traditionally called "a man's world." There is so much to tell about women in business. We all know about the long series of hurdles, the slippery paths, and the rough rides, all of which cause us to periodically regain our balance and review our journey.

Today, to present an overview on women and private sector leadership, I am pleased to present Dr. Judy Rosener from the United States, Professor and former Dean of the Graduate School of Management at the University of California [Irvine]. Dr. Rosener conducts research in the area of cultural diversity, men and women at work, and business and government. Widely published in both academic journals and popular press, her work includes "Ways Women Lead," a study in the *Harvard Business Review* and *Workforce America*:

Managing Cultural Diversity as a Vital Resource. Dr. Rosener will soon have a new book published, *America's Competitive Secret: Women.*

Dr. Judy Rosener (USA)

*Professor, Graduate School of Management
University of California, Irvine*

I have been asked to give you an overview of women in private sector leadership, and I have been given twelve minutes. That's like asking me to settle the Middle East Crisis over lunch. It's not easy.

What I want to do is make a few observations. I want to focus on what I see emerging around the world, particularly around the United States, which I call the feminization of leadership. I also want to talk about our belief that there is one best way to lead or manage organizations. I also want to talk about our perception of the word 'difference,' which we see as a pejorative, that difference means better or worse. When you put this concept of difference together with our belief in one best way to lead, you begin to see why women have been disadvantaged in corporate life.

What do I mean by the feminization of leadership? It seems to me that there is an increasing acknowledgement that the attributes which have been associated with women -- and have historically disadvantaged them because women have been viewed as non-leaders -- are now being championed precisely because those are the attributes that appear to be most effective in the kinds of organizations we see in the global environment. While the feminization of poverty doesn't seem to be bothering male leaders very much, because it doesn't impact them, the feminization of leadership is causing male leaders a great deal of discomfort because it affects them directly. It challenges their

notion of what it is to be male, to be in command, and to be in control.

What are the attributes of feminine leadership? I think everyone in this group knows them well. As a matter of fact, President Robinson alluded to them last night in her comments: comfort with ambiguity; comfort with the sharing of information and power; concern about relationships and process and empowerment; motivation based on the transformation of individual self-interest to the achievement of organizational goals; participatory decision-making with an emphasis on inclusion; and the valuing of diversity. I have called those who exhibit these kinds of attributes 'interactive leaders' and my research findings indicate that women tend to be interactive leaders.

The more traditional command-and-control style, which is the one preferred by men, is associated with a different set of attributes: need for clear lines of authority; coveting of information and power as a source of status and credibility; motivation by reward for individual contribution; work as a competitive, win-lose game based on the self-interest of subordinates; top-down decision-making with an emphasis on tradition, rules, and efficiency; and a discomfort with diversity.

I think the reason that my *Harvard Business Review* article[, "Ways Women Lead,"] has generated so much interest is because my findings are contrary to studies which show that there are no gender differences in leadership styles, or that in order to succeed, women have to behave like men and be command-and-control leaders. Ironically, the organizations of the future require leaders that exhibit the attributes that are associated with the shared experience of women. Yet women in many countries and many cultures continue to be seen as not leader-like. My work confirms the notion that women who are interactive can be successful, but not in large, hierarchical, traditional organizations that devalue differences and believe that there is one best way to lead. Rather, they succeed in very fast-changing service-oriented, international, entrepreneurial organizations where cooperation, adaptability,

and innovation are important, and where diversity is valued. Therefore, private sector organizations that want to compete effectively in a global environment should look to women as an untapped resource.

However, to say this and to make it happen are two different things. Why? Because, in most countries, the issue of difference is fraught with value judgements. When we say something is different, we say it is better or we say it is worse. We don't seem to be able to accept the notion of difference as just difference. And because we tend to operate in a world where we think always of the one best way to do anything, we imply that if women lead differently than men, then somehow women have to be either better leaders or worse leaders, not just different kinds of leaders. That is not my message, that women are better or worse. Rather, my message is that female leadership should be valued.

Why do we continue to believe that there is one best way to lead, and why is it that women are devalued as potential leaders because they don't lead like men? How can we change the corporations' mindset so that they value differences? For too long, women have accepted the notion that it is they who need to change. Not so. It is the organizations that need to change, and that requires that the males who control those organizations see that change [to be] in their self-interest.

I am reminded, in this context, of a story that Golda Meir told when she was Prime Minister of Israel. She said at one of the meetings of Prime Ministers, the subject of an increase of male assaults against women at night was raised, and one of the Ministers said, "We need a curfew that will keep women off the street at night." To which Golda Meir responded, "Since it's the men doing the assaulting, why don't we keep the men off the street." (I am not male-bashing, for you males in the audience; I hope you appreciated the story.) The point is, they were focusing on the wrong target. Our task is not to change women to make them more male-like, or to buy into the model that to be a leader is to be a male. Rather, our task is to challenge the notion that being different means being

deficient or deviant or dysfunctional. Our task is to promote the reality that diversity means added value. That the feminization of leadership, the emerging recognition that the way women lead has value for the organization, is a signal to the private sector that they have an untapped resource. We need to do away with the notion that there is one best leadership style, the command-and-control style. And we need to disabuse ourselves of the notion that it is the women, rather than the organizations, that need to change.

Saying this is easy. Convincing those with the power to make those changes, the men at the top, is more difficult. To say that women can lead, and to say that there is value in the ways women lead, is to challenge the main source of self-esteem for men, their dominance as leaders, their ability to command and control. If women can do what men can do, men will say, what are we as males?

It seems to me that pushing for corporate change won't work if we base it on social equity. The push needs to be based on economic necessity, on a bottom-line rationale. In other words, if human resource utilization is to be effective, women need to be viewed as potential leaders. This message has been heard by a number of leading-edge executives in the United States. They are aware that women bring new insights; that they bring new ways of identifying and solving problems; that they bring new ideas about products and services; and, most importantly, that they bring an infusion of care about people as other than mere cogs in a machine.

In addition, many women who, until recently, have seen themselves as the problem, now feel it is okay to do what comes naturally, to lead as women. They have renewed self-esteem and are starting companies of their own. In the United States, [women are starting their own businesses] at a rate of three to five times the rate of men. They are leaving firms that devalue them and moving to small and medium-size start-up firms where they are valued. Eleanor Roosevelt would feel very good about this, because it is she

who said, "No one can make you feel inferior without your own consent."

In summary, I see the feminization of leadership as a cutting edge issue in the corporate world. And this is not to ignore the difficulty in changing our notion of difference, and this is not to ignore the difficulty of convincing men that their value is not diminished when women leaders are valued. This is not to ignore the difficulty in changing organizational practices and policies that disadvantage women merely because they are women. However, in my opinion, this change will take place.

And as a corporate executive in the United States has noted, there are no more prizes for predicting rain -- we know women can lead. There are only prizes for building arks. So let us leave this conference convinced and committed to building new kinds of arks, ones that value women and see the feminization of leadership as a resource, not a problem.

Mary O'Rourke, TD (Ireland)
Minister of State for Trade and Marketing

I am very glad to have the opportunity to say a few words today. I hadn't met Judy Rosener before, yet listening to her, I heard all of the thoughts I had arrived on the platform with, and which I had already shared with my neighbors. If I could then carry on a bit further the theme, I know we will find an echo, because I looked out when she was talking, and it is so obvious that what she was saying was striking that chord.

Perhaps she, in her coming to another country, did not want to rock the boat too much. But I think that I should. And it is to say that unless we become non-conformists in business, we will not succeed. By conformity, I mean the business structures and scriptures which have been laid down, and which heretofore women thought they had to embrace, if they were to come up the ladder and into what they regarded as the coveted board room. The more we become non-conformists with the establishment, with laid out paths, with all of the established norms of business, the more we will succeed. And the

more the diversity of which she spoke will become the agenda, rather than us conforming to the agenda.

And so, who says that there has got to be breakfast power meetings? And who says that there has to be top management, middle management, lower-middle management, bottom management, and all of those structures? You covet your place on that, and if you don't get it, you somehow see that you haven't made it up the ladder of corporate success. Who says the word 'corporate' has to be kept? Who says that all of those terms -- the 8:00 a.m. breakfast meetings I spoke of, the structured weekly agenda, and the structured points that you work through, and hooray, you're allowed something under any other business. Well, who says that any other business isn't the most important item on that agenda? Who says that you only talk to people within your own circle of whatever level of management has been laid out by the top manager?

Let me give you some examples about myself. When I came into government, it was in the Department of Education, traditionally seen as a proper caring one for a proper caring woman. (I loved my time in the Department of Education, let me be very clear about that.) For civil services, there are the same hierarchies and structures, and the way things are laid out as in corporations. It seemed to me that I was being told that I would just speak to the Secretary of the Department, and he would relay from my august lips what were my requirements. But more importantly, relayed back through him, was how I was to behave and what I was to say and how I was not to go on and on about things that were not my province or not my preserve.

Very quickly, I decided that wasn't the way I was going to do my business. I was going to speak directly to people, no matter what level of the 1,000 strong civil service organization, not to count the thousands and thousands of people in the teaching profession. I was going to speak directly to them, so when I wanted to speak to someone at whatever level I wanted to talk, I lifted the phone and dialed the number. And I got them. Lo and behold, we spoke. And the

roof didn't fall in on the Department of Education. Rather, it became strengthened and buttressed. And it became quite a joke. In the morning time, I would be in the office, and I would look out the window, and I would see somebody I wanted to talk to at some level. I would lift the window and I would say, "Can I have a word with you?" And he would come up. So, the word went around that you walked in under the window, rather than in front of it, where 'she' could see you.

Gradually, as time went on, [there was a] line of instant communication, of direct contact -- of me getting the information I needed not watered down and refined, but as it was, about the difficulties that the person was experiencing in their area of responsibility. I broke down that rigidity of a memo coming to me through 14 people with all of their comments. What was I there for? To put another tick on it and send it down on its merry way, 14 steps down again.

I tell this to you to show the involvement at every level, the breakdown of rigidity, the breakdown of the structures. We need to see that that is what will happen in business. The successful businesswomen I have met have been those who do not conform, in every sense of the word.

Yesterday, I spoke with a woman who was the Deputy Managing Director of a privately-owned firm employing about 3,000 people, and, hopefully, within the next two to three years, 5,000 people. When that woman went into a board room [and acted] in what people would think was the proper way, [it was] a revelation to everyone. She spoke frankly and openly to me. She was on first name terms with everyone we met on the factory floor and that we met at all these imaginary ladders of management of the line. She spoke very naturally about her family, how she managed her family, and how she managed her business. It didn't mean that she had to leave with a bulging brief case at 7:30 a.m. every morning. It meant she came in when it suited her. She worked until the time that suited her. She did her work, and she was very formidable. Not in the formidable, off-putting sense, but in the sense of truly able to

manage, to get grips on the situation, and to know what it meant. She wasn't relying on memos coming up to her. She was relying on what she saw, what she listened to, what she observed, and then what she put into action.

I have only a very simple message, and I intend to say what I feel myself. Women, if we want to succeed in business, we have to not conform. To all of us, that is my message. Go the way your instincts tell you. Go the way your business reasoning -- which isn't borne out of high-class business schools, but is borne out of your experiences -- [tells you.] That is where the difference and diversity comes in.

Lilia Clemente (The Philippines/USA)

Moderator

Thank you for taking the road less travelled, and making a difference. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Patricia Barron, who is President of the Office Products Division of Xerox Corporation. You all know Xerox, one of the largest businesses in the United States. She has moved up the ladder since she began with the company in 1979, [when she was] brought on board to manage the establishment of Xerox operations in China, a real pioneer. Her efforts included creating a new company in Beijing, and leading negotiations to establish a manufacturing joint venture.

Patricia Barron (USA)

*President, Office Products Division
Xerox Corporation*

This is a humbling experience, to see so much talent in the room and to find out that some of the thoughts I had are totally unoriginal, and that everyone else has heard them before. I am not an expert on leadership. I have not studied it; I am not a researcher; I just do it. I have gone wherever the path has gone, so I want to speak from observations and experiences.

I firmly believe that command-and-control cannot go side by side with the more feminizing

qualities of leadership. In fact, business is only going to succeed if it completely revolutionizes the command-and-control structure. I am most fortunate, and it has been part of career choice to make a decision with my eyes open, to work in a company that does believe that command-and-control has to go. I would like to say that I was a pioneer out there, but in fact, our Chairman is a pioneer of making sure we strike out the command-and-control structure in the company.

I am going to talk about a leadership style that has proved effective for me. I will tell you I am learning at it everyday, and I have also observed it in a number of the very strong women we have in Xerox and Rank-Xerox and Fuji-Xerox. It is pretty difficult to find a woman at Fuji-Xerox -- with all due respect to my colleagues from Japan here -- but they are beginning a program to make sure that they use the talent of women, and they are going to go aggressively after it.

I want to start by saying, however, that I believe there are three precursors to leadership. The first is an obvious one: you have to start from a base of recognized competence, and you have to do a lot to establish your credibility. For us, we have to push for the right set of experiences, manage your own career. I think the concept of mentorship is a dinosaur concept, and it doesn't work, in my view. You have to engage in the art of what I call positive politics, not the crappy politics that goes on in corporate life and government life. [Engage in the positive politics] that revolve around the content of the work, the content of what needs to get done. Let people see how good you are in the context of content, not through boasting or empty rhetoric. Clearly, deliver results early and often.

You have to be a change agent. I think that goes with non-conforming. You can't just be there and go along, and just play by the rules. This means you have to take risks. At the same time, be a team player with independent thought. By the way, you have to go way beyond doing a good job still as a woman in corporate America. The biggest sin is to be a 'good girl,' because you will just get sat upon.

The second thing I would say is that you have to know yourself and be yourself. You have to be comfortable with all of life's choices. You are the one that has to make the trade-offs, and then be comfortable with the trade-off. If the trade-off means your coming in at 10:00 a.m. after taking your kids to school, that's what you do and you don't feel guilty about it. Or, if you have to stay late at work, you can't feel guilty about going home late either. You have to live with all of the trade-offs that go with what you have chosen to do in life. You can have no regrets, or you have to change it. It is particularly important in corporate life that you be comfortable with yourself and who you are, having your own voice. There is enough tension at work, where you spend most of your day, that you don't need the added tension of being disconnected from yourself.

The third point is that you have to have a life. We live, in many cases, to work; and you have to work to live. I have said enough about knowing yourself and being yourself. As leaders, we have to have a clear set of values for the organization. They have to be a wellspring from your own personal values, by the way; otherwise, you're disconnected again. You have to have an inspiring mission and you have to have very clear objectives.

Here are all the things I think lead to feminizing of a corporation, but are the only way to run any enterprise, whether it be profit-making or not.

You can never communicate too much. If you've got an inspiring mission and clear objective, everyone in the organization needs to hear it, and understand it, so that everyone is working together for the same objective. You have to get to all levels, and in many different ways.

You have to be open and honest at all times, and tell it like it is. Your trademark has to be that of a straight talker. Why should there be any mystery in what we are all trying to do for a common purpose? If everybody -- right down to the factory level, or the sales representative talking to the customer, and particularly those

who are talking to the customer -- totally understands what the business is about, then they will pull so much harder for the business.

It is essential to pick a strong team, a team that is better than you are. Pick a diverse team. The reason that diversity is so important is not to give other people opportunities. Diversity brings a melting pot of ideas. Just as there is no one right way to run a company, there is no one answer to all the problems. And different people from different cultures and economic classes and different backgrounds bring totally different ways to solve problems. Therefore, building a team with diversity is an imperative for success.

By the way, it has to be okay to have healthy debates. So conformity is out. There is no one right way, but you build a strong team so that once you've had your debate, you can all agree to go along because everyone has at least been heard.

You have to have strong listening skills. That way, the leader doesn't have the answer, the people closest to the action have the answer. The people talking to the customers know what the customers need. The person on the factory line knows if the product is defective or not, and should stop the line so it doesn't go out. I can't do that from where I sit. So you have to listen to what is happening at the pulse of the organization.

You have to drive empowerment to the lowest level, where the real knowledge is, closest to the action. You give clear boundaries with empowerment, and then stay out of the way to let people manage themselves. So your role as a manager or leader at any level, is as coach and counselor. Not to tell and measure.

You have to have a hallmark of participative management. Again, this goes along with everyone having worked towards one common purpose. That focus on teamwork not only has to work within your own organization, but it also has to span all the organizations you come into contact with. For example, we run many teams, teams that comprise not just Xerox people, but

also our product suppliers and our customers. We all have to work together so that we are all productive in our respective economies.

I talked about picking great talent. You have to give credit to their good ideas when you do that. You have to be their coach and counselor, when you can be; in many cases, they'll be better than you. You have to take risks with the talent too; sometimes you'll be surprised at how much they can deliver. You have to give feedback, as part of being a coach and a counselor. Even more importantly, you have to solicit feedback in how you are doing, which we do about two or three times a year.

You have to build a learning organization so that you learn not only from the things that have gone well, but also from the things that haven't gone so well, so that you can eliminate root causes to problems and do it better next time. You have to be in that mode continually.

You have to reach out into the community, because the corporation doesn't stand on its own. It is part of a larger community. The people in the corporation have to be a part of the community they work in, because when they go home, they are part of the community.

Last but not least, we all have to be role models so that this leadership gets instilled in all people put in leadership positions, be it Division Presidents or people who are leaders in a work group of 29 people who are managing their own work.

You learn every day about this. All the characteristics I have outlined are the characteristics of a role model manager or leader; in order to get promoted, you have to evince those characteristics, whether in the profit or non-profit sector.

Lilia Clemente (The Philippines/USA) *Moderator*

Our next speaker is Freda Hayes. She is Chief Executive of Blarney Woolen Mills, a company that represents some of the finest traditional

Irish industry. A major advocate for Irish trade, she is Director of the Irish Trade Board and a member of the Executive Committee of the Court Chamber of Commerce and the National Federation of Irish Employers. In addition, she is a fellow of the Irish Management Institute and the Irish Hotels Federation.

Freda Hayes (Ireland)

Chief Executive, Blarney Woolen Mills

As the previous speaker, I am feeling humble by having such illustrious people sitting on my right and my left. I wonder what you want to hear from me. Having left school at 16 and started on the road to business, perhaps I can tell of the painful escapades I have had to endure to get to stand up here 25 years later.

Blarney Woolen Mills, the company I now run, is very much part and parcel of Ireland today. We sell the best of Irish products in Ireland and throughout the world. But of course, we are a business, and we must run as a business even though we are also a family. The purpose of business is to create products for our customers, products they want to buy; provide work for employees; and make profit for shareholders and investors. But let's be honest. Doing business is tough, and it is getting tougher, whether you are a man or a woman. However, I have to say the lot of Irish working women today certainly is much improved than it used to be. Up until 1974, we had a marriage bar in Ireland, which meant that if you were a woman employed as a civil servant, or in semi-state bodies, you were not entitled to work after you got married. This practice influenced all aspects of female life in Ireland. Therefore, the education available to women 20 or more years ago was all geared towards short careers. When I was in school, we were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Ladies, as Mary O'Rourke said, were encouraged to go into the 'caring professions': nursing, or teaching, or being someone's secretary, or if we were lucky enough, Minister for Education.

However, I was extremely lucky because my home and family environment was a little bit

unorthodox. I was born fourth in a family of seven -- a nice small Irish family. My father was the kind of man who, when we were young, started a myriad of small businesses and always involved the family. It didn't matter if you were a boy or a girl, you were a pair of hands he could use when he was stuck. I think that involvement from an early age has always been fantastic help to me going through life. Also, of course, that early involvement was a boost for self-image and entrepreneurial courage.

The fact that none of my father's businesses were profitable never seemed to matter at the time. He was a great inventor. He never went out and bought a box of apples; he always bought the orchard. So, as kids, we were sent after school to pick the pears and apples and then we had to sell them on Saturday. That was the environment I was brought up in. So, when my father, in 1969, decided that Blarney was not capitalizing on the thousands of people that came to kiss the Blarney Stone, he decided we should embark on another venture: selling souvenirs to the tourists. It wasn't any great shock to anyone that he said to me, "Well, you're 16. It's about time you got into the real world of business and come out here and run this shop for me." I didn't think it was that unusual.

People now ask me how I came Chief Executive of Blarney Woolen Mills, and it's really no mystery. My father worked in the insurance company. There were three younger children who still needed to be fed and looked after. My three older brothers were all in gainful employment, learning their trade. For me, there was no financial risk to the family in taking me out of school and having me go in and run the shop. So, I'd love to say that it was for my business prowess and fantastic abilities at the time. But really, I was in the right place at the right time. Of course, that can be very good for women. That's how most of us get to where we are. If you can take that opportunity and run with it, then you're on the first step.

Sometimes I feel, when I work with my staff, I see such a mistake when someone says, "I don't think I'll move up to assistant manager in the

Cambridge shop because I don't want to go away." They lose that opportunity that doesn't often come around. Anyhow, that's how I got started in business.

Having had no formal business education, all of my learning experience has been literally by the seat of my pants. I suppose I became street wise. But I still think that no matter what basis and foundation you get in business schools and college, you still need to be street wise in business. I have been painfully learning from both mistakes and successes over the years, buying and selling, getting a thorough knowledge of the business from retailing to manufacturing, and eventually, conquering the mystery of the finances of the businesses. It was my downfall, and I assure you it took me a long time to question things like projections.

I cannot underestimate the value of a deep and instinctive knowledge of every aspect of business. One is expected to have a solution to every problem, and rightly so, if you are in charge. But you cannot have [solutions] if you don't know the nuts and bolts of business. I've taken an awful lot of risks and I take advice too. I often find, though, that too much advice is confusing, and I end up wondering what the right direction is. I often find that if you over-analyze something, you will end up doing nothing.

Sometimes, I look back and think that the fact I was 16 and naïve has always been an advantage for me. If I knew what I was getting myself into, I would probably have stayed in school. So there is no crystal ball. You have to put everything onto the line and be prepared to lose it; if you're not, don't go into business for yourself.

Studies have shown again and again that one of the biggest inhibiting factors to women's progress is our lack of self-confidence. There are many reasons for this, but what is important is how it manifests itself in the lower career aspirations, reluctance to take on leadership roles, lack of initiatives sometimes, willingness to accept the underdog position, and slowness in looking for promotion. Confidence in our own

ability is essential. Confidence is the key which makes us believe enough in ourselves to take risks, ride with the mistakes, and get up and try again. Most people start off as I did, considering not what is needed to succeed, but what is needed to survive. And that survival itself is what feeds the confidence we need to go on.

I've always set my own goals -- and I know this goes against most theory -- but I've set some low but achievable goals. When I achieved these goals, it made me feel good and I went on to the next one. Business is all about 'baby steps.' Take the first step, conquer it, and move on.

I've always found it more effective to be direct. The ability of women to cut through the red tape and get to the real problem is a great trait of women. Everyone talks about a problem, but at Blarney we talk of a 'real problem.' [When you get to that level,] you have a chance of solving it. Women are more inquisitive by nature, and we therefore have the ability to get closer to people, and get feedback. When you are the boss, you cannot know what 350 people are doing every minute of the day. But if you have a relationship with feedback, there is a line of communication that tells you how your company is going. There is not much use in having all the leadership skills in the world if you don't know what is going on. In business, professionals and especially consultants like to camouflage the message to such an extent that you have to hire them again to explain and untangle the mess. It took me a long time to have the confidence to say, "I don't understand that. Would you please explain it in simple language?"

Women bring a different approach to business. Not better, just different. Our life experience is different and we therefore look at problems and opportunities in a new and alternative way. We have a natural flair for markets, particularly in consumer products, retail, and services. And we have a great capacity for a no-frills, common sense, hands-on approach to getting things done.

If you are leading, you have to believe in something so others will follow. [That is] what

leadership is supposed to mean. If that's the case, why should they follow me? If we have the knowledge and commitment, the tenacity to hang in there in the bad times, if we have the track record and the determination, people will follow. A leader shares her dreams and hopes and affections with her team and the people around her. That is where women stand out: we're not afraid to share, and we share a vision of the future. How can we expect people to follow if we don't know where we're going?

Lilia Clemente (The Philippines/USA) *Moderator*

In addition to her work as a member of the Board of Directors of Sara Lee Corporation, a large US-based international corporation, Ms. Manley serves on the board of directors for several other corporations and on advisory councils of three prestigious graduate schools. In 1984, Ms. Manley retired from her position as Group Vice-President at Time Incorporated after 30 years of work in the book publishing business. During her tenure there, she served in several executive capacities, including that of Chairman of the Board of two wholly-owned subsidiaries.

Joan Manley (USA) *Corporate Director, Sara Lee Corporation*

I am delighted to be here and to be participating on this panel. My role today is to focus on issues related to leadership and women in large corporations. I should note two things at the outset. First, my perspective is largely based on my background with US corporations. In addition to serving on the Board of Sara Lee, I am a Director for an insurance company, a publishing company, and a retailer. And while all of these businesses have an international component, all are headquartered in the United States.

Second, I should note that my point of view may be different from others simply because my career has roughly paralleled the generation-

long rise of women in the workplace. In the mid-1950s, when I began my working life, women college graduates often learned shorthand, as I did, because we knew our first job would be as a secretary. In the 1960s, when I made it into management, the women's movement was beginning to flower. During the 1970s, when I was appointed to Time-Warner's Board of Directors, *Time Magazine* named twelve women to share the title "Man of the Year." By the 1980s, when I retired from active management, women were earning a third of all the MBAs and starting their own businesses twice as frequently as men. So I have seen change and progress during my business lifetime. But the important question remains, as always: where do we go from here?

To help answer that question, I would like to share a brief look at how women managers are faring in corporations today, why barriers to advancement may still exist, and what can be done to expand the leadership options and opportunities for executive women in the future.

With respect to the first question, how women executives are faring in corporations today, the answer is just 'fair'. Women make up 40 percent of the workforce in the Western world, yet in the United States and Great Britain, for example, only about 2 percent of board members in large corporations are women. In fact, among the 500 largest industrial and 500 largest service companies in the United States, almost half do not have any women serving on their boards. Meanwhile, women CEOs are virtually non-existent in large companies. Even the Chairman of Liz Claiborne, the apparel company, is a man. As is, by the way, the Chairman of Sara Lee, the world's biggest company named for a woman. Further down the ladder, women hold almost 40 percent of all managerial jobs in corporate America, a figure that has doubled in the past 20 years. Yet women comprise only two to three percent of senior executives, and that figure has changed very little in the last five years. And when it comes to compensation at the executive and managerial level, some surveys show a woman's average salary to be less than 70 percent of her male counterparts'. So despite considerable

progress on many levels, the advancement of women in leadership positions within corporations has been sporadic at best. Why? As usual, there are no easy answers. Some attribute the problem to the likelihood that people tend to hire people like themselves. That is certainly true in theory, it has been demonstrated in psychological studies. It is also sometimes true in practice, as any woman who has run up against the old-boy network can attest.

Change in any organization is part of a continuum, and it usually moves from the bottom up. The white males running most corporations today represent one end of the change continuum, while most women executives are further down the timeline. Is progress slow in this area because women's leadership styles are not aggressive enough? Studies show that women are not as verbally aggressive as men in groups. As Judy Rosener has observed, women also tend to be more collegial, rather than dictatorial, in their management styles. But that is hardly true of all women, and many people believe a more collaborative style is an asset rather than a liability in today's teamwork-oriented corporate cultures. Certainly, the kind of macho manager who would fire a subordinate in public just to make a point -- and I've seen that happen -- is less likely to be respected by men or women today. In any case, it is risky to generalize about male and female management styles or personality traits.

So is the rarity of female senior executives due to something else? Is it because women have to make more difficult choices than men? By the time they reach the age of 40, for example, 90 percent of male executives have children; only 35 percent of female executives do. In my own case, I decided by the time I was 18 that I did not want to have children, and that made pursuing a career immeasurably easier. But most women feel otherwise, and that creates ongoing conflict.

Perhaps there are fewer women in the top echelon of management because promotions at that level are made on a very subjective basis. It seems unarguable that every senior executive

needs vision, stamina, the ability to plan and motivate, and the intelligence to grasp details without being absorbed by them. But beyond these qualities, personalities and management styles have a lot to do with who gets promoted at top levels and who doesn't. One often hears about meeting an executive who can 'pull the team together' or who can 'rattle some cages around here.' These are valid considerations. Different organizations need different kinds of leaders at different times. But are these more subjective kinds of criteria used, knowingly or otherwise, as an excuse not to promote women to the uppermost reaches of management? Perhaps.

Or is the lack of progress due to what some have called a conspiracy of silence on the part of male and female executives? Do men ignore the issue because they don't want to know, or admit, that they or their companies may be consciously or unconsciously sexist? And do women avoid confrontations on the subject because they don't want to be seen as whiners or troublemakers within the company? Again, the answer is perhaps, or sometimes. There is probably some truth in all these observations. Certainly, no one answer explains the situation in full.

So what can be done to improve things? First, let's review what companies can do. They can make the choices women face less difficult. They can help expand options for child care and elder care; women are, after all, the primary caregivers for the young and the old. Companies can arrange more flexible schedules and working arrangements. They can also work to raise the consciousness of both men and women, with sensitivity training and communications programs. One of the most important things a company can do is create networks through targeted recruitment strategies and -- dinosaur or not -- mentoring programs. At Sara Lee, for example, 45 percent of the high-potential MBAs hired during the past year were women, and one-third of the participants in the corporate mentoring program are women.

Corporations can increase the visibility of women achievers not only within the corporation, but within society as well. In

addition to supporting this Global Forum of Women, for example, Sara Lee sponsors the Frontrunner awards, which annually recognizes the contributions of women. There are also things individual women can do. Help develop a clear concept of what they want and what they are willing to sacrifice to get it. Women can also be persistent. I recall three times in my career when I felt I had been unfairly passed over or even demoted. Each time, I said I would give the new assignment three months; and each time it turned out I had a better job than the one before.

Ultimately, of course, women who want to make it to the very top have to be prepared to give up almost everything else. In this case, the rules are the same for men and women. If you want to be number one at work, work has to be your number one priority. But the question remains: will all that be enough? For those women willing to make that kind of commitment, will this be the decade they finally break through? Will we see significantly more women senior executives and women CEOs at major corporations? Predicting is a daring enterprise, but [I predict] yes.

Women managers are beginning to reach a critical mass at the level just below senior executive. Today, for example, there are several women one rung down from where I was at *Time*, compared to none when I left eight years ago. But numbers by themselves don't guarantee success. In the same eight years since I retired, not a single woman has been promoted to the level I occupied.

Nevertheless, I am optimistic. Women are moving into positions of real power. At Sara Lee, three of our Division Presidents [are women], and I see corporations more serious and systematic about this issue. They know global competition and potential labor shortages are making good minds more valuable than ever. They know they can't afford to alienate or ignore a large portion of that shrinking talent pool. If they do, good jobs will fall to inferior managers, putting those firms at a competitive disadvantage. The competitive gap will widen, because companies with women in top positions

will have the credibility to hire and promote the best women in the future.

Increasingly, the question of women in leadership positions is being seen as a competitive issue by corporations in North America and elsewhere. It is a matter of winning and losing. And I can tell you one thing: if there is one thing those old white men who run corporations hate to do, it's lose. I do believe this competitive imperative will expand the leadership options for women in corporations in this decade and beyond. Good luck to us all.

Lilia Clemente (The Philippines/USA) *President, Clemente Capital Management*

As Moderator, I want to wrap-up, and perhaps give insight into what it's like to be on Wall Street. Not too long ago, Wall Street was indeed a walled street that kept capital from leaking out and women from coming in. When I arrived in America from Manila in 1960, Harvard University would not accept women in their business school; you had to go to Radcliffe. It came as a shock to me, because at the University of The Philippines, we outnumbered the men three to one at the time, and we still do today. I recall in the 1960s the finance jobs were advertised for men, while the accounting jobs were advertised for men and women.

Muriel Siebert, the first woman to own a seat on the New York Stock Exchange, making the male to female ratio 1,365 men to 1 woman, was told that the Stock Exchange could not admit women because the language on the floor was too rough -- you know, all those four-letter words. She was also told it was no place for women because there were no women's bathrooms on the main floor. As a woman economist in the mid-1960s, I knew I was not getting equal pay with men for equal work. Somehow, I didn't complain, I just decided I had to deliver and produce first, be the first to arrive in the morning, the last to leave in the evening.

So you can just imagine how grateful I was to Betty Friedan and Bella [Abzug] and all the other feminists who did the complaining for me. I said to myself, this is not my country and it is my first job. I just have to get into the door. In the East, we call this mastering the art of stooping down to conquer. I didn't mind carrying coffee cups. When you're hardly five feet tall, they think you're harmless. [I didn't mind] sweeping the floor, sharpening the boss's pencils. As my mother reminded me, no job is too big or too small. I thought carrying a chip on my shoulder because I was a woman and a minority would only weigh me down. And you know how hard it is to get anything done when something in your head weighs you down.

I remember writing monthly economic letters in my first job. I once saw the man across the hallway in that investment department reading one of them. I told myself I had to move up there, so I applied for an opening for Investment Analyst following metals. And the bosses said, "What?! Women just follow Sears and Avon. What do you know about metals?" And I said, "Listen, if you come from the Philippines, you better know your copper and nickel, since you have to live with them."

When I was age 28, I was so fortunate. The late Henry Ford gave me a break, and they made me the Director of Investment Research at the Ford Foundation. I co-managed \$3 billion of their investment funds. In 1969, global investing was unheard of. The dollar was fixed until 1971 when it was changed by Mr. Nixon. When I proposed to buy Japanese securities then for the Ford Foundation, people didn't even know what to say. I remember going to Tokyo in 1969. Japanese were borrowing money from us, Hitachi was. I walked in -- you know the wives walked in behind their husbands at that time -- and they didn't know what hit them. "Are you American?" they asked. "I live in America, but I am from the Philippines." It looked like 8 out of 10 of these men were in the Philippines during the war. "What do we do with her?" they asked. So I said, "Gentlemen, Why don't I just pour you tea, and then I'll tell my boss you don't like our \$5 million." "Sit down!" they said. So once a year, they come and they say Hitachi

is doing okay. In the fifth year, they finally invited me to go to dinner with the wives. I had a big kick out of it. In 1978, 135 of us were on the US trade mission to Japan and there were two of us ladies: myself and Juanita Kreps, Secretary of Commerce.

In 1970, the world revolved around Wall Street. Seventy-five percent of that equity market was Wall Street, and nobody cared what the rest of the world was doing. Today, the share of the US Stock Market is about 35 percent, and the opportunities outside are 65 percent. And now foreign securities and technology allow one to perch on a Colorado mountaintop or alongside the Blarney stone, to buy stocks in Singapore, or buy Guinness or Irish Allied Bank, all by telephone. You strike a few keys on the computer. Money is no longer under your mattress. Money blips on your computer screen.

So stock markets in all nations expanded enormously in the 1980s. There were emerging markets, and suddenly the value of South Korea's market jumps 25 times. I used to say, buy Thai stock, and they would think of Yul Brynner jumping up and down. And now, the Thai market has gone up 15 times. In China, everyone is buying all those stocks, and there is a torrential cross-border flow of capital breaking down buyers across cultures, minds, and hearts. The more buyers are broken down, the more people of diverse origins can do with each other in tackling problems of global dimensions. Time and distance continually shrink, compelling people to confront their differences.

At Clemente offices, we are like a mini United Nations. Employees from practically all continents of the planet are in constant informal learning of traditions and languages, since we invest in 30 stock markets around the world. You can't help but follow the lives and events in these countries on a daily basis.

Technology and business are now married to raise global human beings. What does this marriage mean to women of the world? Women may have won the right to live in a man's world, but the necessity to devote time and energy to our education and later professional life are still

a force pulling her away from her life as wife and mother, which fulfill her feminine and biological needs. And in spite of this pull, countless women are champions of both home and career, and they should be constant reminders to help effect a more productive transformation from the world of brawn to the world of brains.

I cannot mention such women without mentioning my mother, who juggled home, business, politics, and seven kids. [She was] the only woman who had a seat on the Manila Stock Exchange, the first woman governor of a province, and [worked on] a host of charitable activities. Mom handled all that with great skill and givingness. Many such women are in our midst right here in this room, thanks to the immense strength that we have harnessed.

I see the partnership of the women's movement, the information age, and the private sector as engaged in a struggle to change the role definitions laid into place by the Industrial Revolution. In that sense, [we are] part of a large historical movement, carrying us beyond traditional industrialism. To help carry this project through, women need to take advantage of the myriad of opportunities, learn and earn whenever desired. Soon, we will say goodbye to the assembly-line thinking and the 9 to 5 jobs. Trade flows are being dwarfed now, according to Peter Drucker, by capital flows and information technology. Our ability as women to sort through diverse elements to establish meaningful wholes, which is said to be the woman's way of seeing things, is now more in demand than ever. Globalization requires the capacity to intuitively and intellectually connect psychoanalysis with economics, homemaking with business management. To pigeonhole discipline is a sure way to get lost in this global maze.

Another sure way to get lost is to pigeonhole the feminine in women and the masculine in men. As one anthropologist said, "The woman who needs liberation is the woman in every man." As such, we could all say perhaps the man that needs liberation is the man in every woman. We are in an age that calls for a happy balance between the feminine and the masculine

in every human being. Life will continue to be full of adventure and opportunity. The world faces very complex problems and we need new creativity, imagination, inspiration. We can only do this when men and women work together in harmony and understanding.

I would like to share with you what qualities and approaches I feel have worked well. For me, there is no one way, but for women in the investment business who are in the 24-hour trading, one must have absolute integrity and commitment. They must be willing to work with no thought of time, just a desire to learn the business from A to Z. Of course, education, street smarts, a college degree, demonstration of self-discipline, and concentration help. Flexibility is an unmistakable requirement for a successful businesswoman. She must know when to buck the tide, when to go against the maddening crowd. Sometimes being contrary can be very lonely. In the end, you must also have a disciplined mind.

I would like to stop and repeat these. A woman, no matter how creative and artistic she may be, cannot succeed in the business and add to anything else unless she has a disciplined mind. A woman can sail away on a galleon of dreams and desires, but eventually if she is to mold her dreams into substance, she must come back to the yardstick of discipline and hard work. The creative mind and the disciplined mind must continuously work together if there is to be success in anything. The creative sense must be strong in its conviction, able to take uncharted steps with confidence. The sense of discipline must be in command, command of the new techniques to be used, bringing ideas into being, into a logical commercial destination.

To dream is fine, but dreams can be futile in business. Whatever it is, whether in business or other professions, a woman in a career needs to face the fact that she is a woman. What's more, she can be proud of it because she uses her qualities as a woman: her understanding, her energies, her many abilities. She can face any situation and come out not only with an artistic and womanly situation, but also with a profit.

As I conclude, let me speculate about the future. We now seem to enjoy greater prosperity than before. Human knowledge is accelerating. More than half of the discoveries in the natural sciences have been made in this century: 50 percent of all that is known by medical doctors wasn't known 20 years ago. After the great 1929 crash, we Americans had no Social Security, no airlines, no Xerox, no faxes, no frozen foods, no television, no lasers, no nuclear energy, no Securities Exchange Commission, no pension plans, and over half of the books [then] were written in the past century.

Will this trend continue? As long as we can preserve and enhance freedom, this trend will continue and accelerate. We may expect more rapid change and wider frustration. Someone said, "The only thing constant is the rate of change itself." We face very complex problems, and my belief is that this creativity can only come when women and men work together as agreeable human beings. Things can change for the better.

I think another basic attitude we must embody in our work is a distrust of grandiose schemes for social improvement. We've learned that you can set out to improve society until you learn how little can be done. Remember the song, "Little Things Mean a Lot"? Well, institutions are solid blocks on which we can stand. Networks at our conference today provide a context in which individuals can safely learn, grow, and change. As Hazel Anderson describes, the future is "networks," such as we have here today, "[which] have no headquarters, no leaders, no chains of command." They are free-formed, self-organizing individuals who share a similar view. Their chief product is information processing, pattern recognition, and social learning through our small, informal groups such as all of us present today who learn quietly and act quickly.

Before I conclude, I want to write off, completely and forever, the idea that business is man's world and that women have to take second place in it. This is a rumor, a masculine canard, fostered by some men who live in daily fear, as they see capable and energetic women

moving into big business. These men are also afraid that the truth will leak out, and the secret of their own success will become known: that the reason for being in a high place in the first place is that they have surrounded themselves with smart women.

The modern woman, as C.G. Jones said, stands before a great cultural task, which means perhaps the beginning of a new era. Each of us may interpret this differently. As for me, the great cultural task is to use our nurturing powers, whether in our home or in the workplace, to see to the growth of true global citizens in every way we can, beginning with ourselves.

MEDIA & THE CHANGING IMAGE OF WOMEN

Saturday, July 11

Irene Natividad (USA)

Director, 1992 Global Forum of Women

Let me start by introducing your moderator for today. She is well known to a lot of people, but especially to Irish readers. She is Mary Holland, Political Journalist with *The Irish Times* and a writer on Irish affairs for *The London Observer*. She has received numerous rewards for her television and print journalism, particularly for her coverage of the tragic conflict in Northern Ireland. Let me share with you today Mary Holland of *The Irish Times*.

Mary Holland (Ireland)

Political Columnist, *The Irish Times*

I would like to say first how honored I am that I have been asked to moderate this session on media and the changing images of women. The sight and sound of this great gathering is inspiring, and from the sessions I have been to, I've gotten nuggets of gold and insights into women's lives which I know will stay with me. I am grateful for that. I would have expected it, because that is always the case when large numbers of women are gathered together, at least in my experience.

There seemed to me to be two separate agendas for this session. These two agendas connect with each other, and they will be addressed by the panel of distinguished women today. The first is what women expect and have a right to demand from the media, the way the media as a whole treats women and covers what are described as women's issues. Many speakers over the last day or two have pointed out that these should not be women's issues; they are issues for everybody. Do images of women exploit and distort low women's self-esteem, often damaging their physical and mental

health? How can women change that by exercising their political and economic clout to improve the situation? The second agenda is the position of women working within the media as journalists, producers, presenters, executives. What is our responsibility to other women? How can we affect the news agenda? Do we have enough power, and do we use it positively to create more positive images of women?

I am very conscious of the anger which many women feel about the media, the way it is used to exploit women, to accentuate a subservient traditional role. I was very struck by President Vigdis's assertion that the reason many young women today aren't interested in feminism is due to the media, to the emphasis on trivia rather than on positive roles for women. I am not myself quite sure I agree with this; I think it may be somewhat oversimplified. I think that one of the reasons that many women aren't enthusiastic about feminism is a quite healthy reaction to the preoccupations of their mothers, but I hope that is something we will be able to discuss.

I would like to talk to you briefly about my own experience, as a woman working in the media, particularly about having responsibility towards other women. Because, obviously, that is something which any woman who works in the media has thought about. I think that quite often there can be a conflict for women. I will start with an example closest to home, which is this conference. I know that journalists covering this conference have found that there is quite a lot of anger and feeling of exclusion by some Irish women's groups, and the feeling that the great issues which have preoccupied Irish women in recent months -- abortion, reproductive rights, and so on -- have not been adequately addressed here. I also know that any conference like this is a nightmare to organize, to bring together a group as large and diverse as

this, to try to cover everything long-range is well-nigh impossible. I know, from having talked to women, particularly today, that the whole situation does seem to have come together and that people feel enriched and happy with the way it is going and the way it has gone. I also know there is a duty to report the sense of discontent which some women have felt about [the conference]. If I were actually having to report it, I would find that a difficult assignment. On the one hand, like many women, I have tried to report on those who feel themselves marginalized, excluded from society; on the other hand, one feels a feeling of solidarity with women who put so much work into this conference, which is a tough task.

I think women in particular will feel that conflict because, in conferences I've been to, and wherever women journalists are gathered together, I have found it quite striking the way that women bring different perceptions to bear on the news agenda. If I can perhaps quote from one example in my experience, from a conference held in Washington, DC in 1991 by the International Women's Media Foundation, which brought together women journalists from all over the world. This was a conference funded and organized by powerful and successful American women, what Irene [Natividad] says she sometimes feels is [characterized as] the "ugly Americans." They weren't like that at all, of course. To an extent, all the women there wanted to talk about women in the media; the number of executives at senior levels; why there aren't more of them; their role in decision-making. But what was most striking about that conference and the way it proceeded, was that women seemed to be concerned more than anything with the responsibility they felt as journalists in shaping their own societies, and the conflict that presented to them, particularly in situations of conflict, in nations emerging into democracy, or in countries where human rights abuses had been very frequent.

I remember a young South African journalist telling us of covering the story of Winnie Mandela and the conflict that presented her with. On the one hand, she had a desire not to damage the liberation struggle; on the other,

she had a feeling that the story had to be exposed, that not to do so would somehow damage it more. There was an Indian woman telling us a story where Hindu soldiers had gone into a Muslim village and beaten up the inhabitants there. If they used the story, there was the danger that they would provoke riots across the whole state; if they didn't use it, however, were the soldiers of the army ever to be brought under control? A West German television producer spoke of how difficult it was to write anything about the psychological problems of reunification, the rise of the Right in Germany. All of these problems we have seen emerge into mainstream news. What is striking about these women was that they regarded these as important moral issues in a way that I have not found [in men]. I am not saying that men do not regard them as moral issues, but I do not think it would have been the primary theme at a conference of male journalists. I was particularly struck by an Argentinean journalist who was talking about the emergence into democracy and how fragile that was, and how you tackled it if you saw that there were abuses in the system. She finished with a quote, "We must not forget those who have no jobs, no home, no hope. Our task is not to seek revenge, but never to forget the past. Our challenge is to rebuild our country." And I think for women everywhere, whatever their situation inside or outside the media, that is the challenge.

Finally, I would just like to say that for me, one of the discoveries of that particular conference in Washington, DC, as important perhaps as anything at that conference, was the [National Museum of Women in the Arts], which did so much to reclaim women's achievements. I am delighted that the founder of that museum, Wilhelmina Holladay, is here and that there is a whole session devoted to women and the arts. Because it seems to me -- and I'm sure everyone here will agree with me -- that we face the same challenge encapsulated in the old marching song *Bread and Roses*. We need the bread, and much of this conference has been devoted to bread, but we also deserve the roses. And I regard it as a duty of the media never to let women forget that fact.

Statement of Crisis:

Mitsuko Shimomura (Japan)

Editor-in-Chief, Asahi Journal

It is so exciting to be here. It is so encouraging to me that a global forum can now be truly global. It is so natural to be with women from different cultural backgrounds, and it is now easier for me to communicate with women from different countries and cultural backgrounds than to communicate with a man from my own country. However, although our purpose is to have the women's viewpoint more powerfully and honestly presented in the mass media, this does not automatically exclude the male component. It was, I think, an English poet who suggested simply drawing a magic circle of love and friendship larger and larger until there were no more alienated humans.

I'll tell you a little of my own experiences. When I first became the Editor-in-Chief of the *Asahi Journal*, which was really a male-dominated magazine, and I became the first woman Editor-in-Chief, I had no role model to be a woman editor, or a woman boss, or a woman leader. I had four editors working under me, and all of them were shocked to have a woman boss. They never even expected that in their lifetime they would have to work for a woman. They think they are the ones who are going to be the boss. So the problem for us, both myself and them, was to really try to establish a new and different kind of relation. I myself had to establish a new style of leadership as a woman. I didn't want to imitate the male style of leadership. And all the men working for me had a hard time, and it was an interesting learning process for them to deal with a woman boss. I think it was a real experiment. After six months, we started establishing an interesting relationship between the editor and the people working for them which none of the sections ever had. It is a new style.

For example, you have probably heard about the famous Japanese *sake* parties, that most matters are discussed at a Geisha house or in bars. It

was very difficult for me to ask one of the male editors that we go out and have drink together to discuss work. If I asked one of them, the other three would wonder what was going on. Also, it was difficult for them to tell me that there was something they wanted to talk about, [and to ask if] I would mind going to have a drink together [to discuss it]. There are a lot of interesting experiments, and it was a challenge. I really believe that after six months to one year, the both of us started to establish a new, interesting style of leadership, a new way that Japanese men deal with a woman boss.

I did not want to be a copy of a male model. We want to be fulfilled as women, comfortable with ourselves and expressing our talent naturally. At the same time, generally there is an ambience where men and women are away from their rigid chauvinism. For that reason, as a media woman, networking must extend to women beginning to gain decision-making power elsewhere: in politics, bureaucracy, academia, business, and so forth. It has been my experience that once women represent about one-third or three-quarters of a given group, real change happens. If they are not entirely lost causes, men in certain environments do find themselves becoming more open to the feminine priorities and viewpoints.

One thing we can do to help ourselves as media women is to work closely with career women, exerting influence in our important field. I can give you quite a dramatic example. A close personal friend of mine is a woman bureaucrat who became Chief of the Women's Affairs Bureau in the Ministry of Labor. For many years, Japanese women campaigned for equal employment opportunity laws. My friend, as a bureau chief, was responsible for drafting the law; however, this was strongly opposed in Japanese business circles. Finally, in 1985, she and her allies persuaded the Ministry to bring the legislation before Parliament. But the National Federation of Employers Association began preparing a formal announcement opposing full equality for women in the workplace. This male-dominated federation is so powerful that even our ruling party, LVP, cannot register opposition. My bureaucrat

friend was in despair. Such an announcement, she knew, would kill her legislation and the cause could not be delayed for another ten years. By then, I was a senior staff writer at *Asahi*, and so she called me at midnight and said, "Please help me." She even begged. I still remember that it was a stormy midnight, because a typhoon was coming to Tokyo. She explained the situation over the phone. I immediately thought that this was a crisis for Japanese women, and I decided to do the story. Even important women's issues like this were usually only discussed in the women's pages of the national newspapers. The only hope was to get a prominent display in the political pages to sway male opinion. My friend gave me an eloquent interview and I was able to get her views full coverage not in the women's page, but in the business and political page. In the national debates that followed, the Employers Federation decided not to announce its opposition. For the first time, Japanese women gained equal employment law. My friend still says that she will never forget the typhoon evening, the night that changed the history of Japanese women. Later, she became Ambassador, and our team work was more influential after I became Editor-in-Chief.

As often happens in Japan, the law still did not have enforcement powers. It was more a nature of guidance. Yet, two years later, opinion polls found that more than 70 percent of the big corporations were changing their ways. In the annual hiring of new college graduates, there are no more discrepancies between males and females. This was an astonishing 100 percent increase in management beginning to practice equal opportunity. The men were doing this, in theory, from the goodness of their hearts, of course. The still-booming economy in the 1980s was leaning into labor shortages.

Today, women represent more than 40 percent of the total national workforce. Almost 70 percent of those women are married. No profession in Japan today is closed to women simply because they are women. Of course, there is still latent male resistance to promoting women to higher positions, but more women are

able to make independent careers, forming their own companies to practice their special skills.

This changing status for women can be measured in my own company. When I joined *Asahi* more than 20 years ago, among 3,000 reporters, there were only 10 women. Today, there are close to 300 women on the reporting side. It is still only 10 percent, but for Japan, it is a dramatic step forward.

The media, along with all consumer-related businesses in Japan, are having to change their strategies away from male exclusivity because of the enormous purchasing power of modern Japanese women. The most remarkable case is that of young girls taking jobs between leaving school and getting married. Those so-called office ladies, not so long ago had hardly more opportunities than looking pretty and serving tea. Because many of them live at home or have family support for their living costs, many of these girls have as much as 98 percent of their income to spend on themselves today. They are a substantial market force and the mass media must cater to their tastes. Because of more equal pay, their goals are higher when it comes to fulfilling lives. They are likely to wait for marriage, and even opt for the single life of a career woman if they have the drive. They don't want to trade off their freedom or independence with serving husbands anymore. In rural districts, the sons of farmers have such a difficulty attracting wives to share the hard work, that some of them are turning to mail-order brides from overseas. Besides, Japanese women now have 14 weeks maternity leave on either side of the birth, and one year child care leave for both women and men, with guarantee of getting the job back.

I myself was an early beneficiary of this dramatic cultural shift underway in Japan. When the opportunity came for me to become the first woman foreign correspondent based in New York 10 years ago, my husband was very supportive and he was the one who was commuting. The image of the meek, submissive little woman walking half a step behind her husband is no longer true in Japan. If anything, men of the old school have complained that it is

the husband who walks a half step behind his wife.

Another encouraging development is that there are many activist women's groups who come looking for guidance on how to develop a newsletter or mini-magazine. Desk-top publishing systems are now in the popular price range. As an Editor, I find the flow of newsletters across my desk to be a very effective way of bringing issues to the attention of mass media. It is encouraging, too, that there are more uses for bringing the media of cable television networks, or local television and radio stations, fax machines, videotapes, and so forth. Generally, I think we should do all we can to educate the public about how to use media techniques to promote our genuine causes.

There are three things I would like to suggest to you, from my experience. When we talk of expanding networks of women in the media, this does not automatically exclude men. There are men who can be won over to fair-minded attitudes. I really think that, as an editor with a proven record, I can read arguments simply on the merit of an issue. Shortly before I came here, I went to the Chairman of the Board with a joint project from a close American friend. We had been working together on an annual survey to promote more social awareness among corporations, including better treatment for working women. He expressed a keen interest in supporting us.

The priority for me has been to get coverage of women's issues out of the woman's page, [and get it] into the political pages and business pages with the general news coverage. Specialized women's magazines, at least in Japan, are not very helpful. They tend to be frivolous, with fashion, cooking, cosmetics, romance trouble, and so forth.

We need more women coming to be leaders, yet what we are dealing with is not merely a woman's issue. Men are the issue; it is the men who have to change socially, culturally, economically, politically, and internationally. I deeply believe that women are the ones who will create the new values for the coming century.

Breakthrough Model:

Sonia Montañó (Bolivia)

Correspondent, *Mujer Fempress*

I want to greet all of you, and try to introduce the so-called breakthrough experience of *Fempress* in Latin America and the way Latin American women have been trying to reach the media. They say that eating and talking are one of the biggest pleasures in life. But when you mix both them, we have trouble. So I will try to keep it short; as a Latin, I tend to forget the time when I speak.

Fempress started in 1980, when most of the Latin American countries were facing, as many of you know, military dictatorships and therefore a lack of democracy. So from the very beginning of *Fempress*, even though it was raised in women's issues, it had to deal with the global concept of democracy. We are trying to [cover] issues that would democratize society and family, as well as political power. We are glad now that since democracy has been slowly and with difficulties coming back to the continent, *Fempress* is now headquartered in Santiago, Chile, where, as most of you know, a transitional democratic government has taken place.

Another element to take into consideration to understand this strategy is the fact that Latin America is well-known as the macho continent and as the superwoman continent. We are all macho there, because men are doing the things that would stereotype them as typically macho, but women are answering correspondently. So, to break through these stereotypes, a whole bunch of creativity and innovation was needed to be able to accept that we were not much different from the Irish or English, for example; that patriarchal societies exist all over the world; that there was therefore nothing particular in Latin America; that we, in fact, had to deal with a global problem.

The media in Latin America has a peculiarity. We are on a continent which is really an oral continent. Written press does not have a lot of

room, not just because [illiteracy] is [widespread], but also because we have a long tradition of oral history and oral communication. So, to put a strategy, as *Fempress* did, which was mainly written in the beginning -- we have started this month with radio programs also -- required not only money but a new language that would be accepted by a diverse region.

So, in the context of changing from dictatorship to democracy, in great cultural diversity, in the context of a global and continental vision of women's issues, we had to discover which were the ingredients we would put together to achieve what we had achieved until now. And those ingredients were first and most importantly, a fundamental loyalty to the women's movement. *Fempress* is a media strategy that is not based on the idea of becoming a professional press agency accepted by the establishment, but rather we wanted to give women the opportunity to communicate what they are feeling and how they are doing it. This fidelity to the women's movement was one of the fundamental contributions that *Fempress* has done. Being faithful to the women's movement meant that we had, from the beginning on, to respect cultural, regional, political, and religious diversity. So one of the basic ingredients of *Fempress*, in the 1980s, which is now becoming part of our feminist common sense, is that we are women; we have common things, but we are also different and we have to respect each other. So you could find, in the pages of *Fempress*, stories about young and old, black and white, indigenous and non-indigenous, with a big emphasis on the popular movement. Maybe a big advantage *Fempress* had is that Latin America had a very strong women's movement which was not based on the idea that we are weak. We Latin American women always knew that we are strong; we just wanted to make it visible. That is what *Fempress* has been doing.

Another ingredient besides being faithful to the women's movement and cultural diversity was a concept explained by our Chilean friend, the idea of democratizing private and public life: democracy at home and democracy outside the home. At the same time, we had to deal with an important element, which is the idea of being

'alternative.' This means there are two alternatives: using toilet paper to publish something, or [being] as beautiful and perfect as possible. We went with the second choice; we tried to do our best and we tried to be professional. *Fempress* correspondents are part of the movement. They are very active, dealing daily with the women's movement. At the same time, we are learning each time to be better, and to be as professional as possible. As we all know, women have to be twice as good as men.

As a result of this, after 10 years, we are now produced in most of the media in Latin America. We have correspondents in 12 countries and we have legitimacy, which does not mean we accept the establishment. We have a profile which is very important. We have started with radio programs.

Of course, the last ingredient I cannot forget -- because especially in the North they tend to think then we can be self-sufficient -- was international cooperation. One of the obstacles we still have to face is that we cannot be financially independent so long as we want to be loyal to the women's movement. We have to compete under equal conditions with other press agencies that are pouring information that has been piled up on editors' desks. As women that are engaged, we are still dependent on international cooperation, which was a fundamental ingredient in our breakthrough strategy.

Leadership Analysis:

Betty Friedan (USA)

**Author, *The Feminine Mystique*
and *The Second Stage***

I want to speak about the importance of the image of women and the breakthrough of a narrow, obsolete vision of women for the whole advance of women and now, at this time, for the further paradigm shift that I think is needed for the new visions of leadership. As you will recall, it is almost 30 years [ago] now that I wrote a book called *The Feminine Mystique* that is

sometimes said to have helped launch the modern women's movement. That started with an analysis of the media image of women. At that time, the only image of woman in America -- from the popular media, the television, the newspapers, the women's magazines, to the sophisticated thought taught in the colleges and textbooks -- was woman defined only in sexual relation to man: man's wife, mother, sex object, serving the physical needs of husband, children, home. [A woman] was never a person defining herself by her own actions in society. That was considered the truth of women. This feminine mystique -- it wasn't called that then; I called it that -- had come back in the years after World War II, after a century in which women had fought to win the vote. Feminism had been wiped out of consciousness. Women's rights were no longer discussed, and there was a reversion to pushing back women into the home.

When we began to name, there was no name then for the problems women had that didn't have to do with getting the kitchen sink clean or the shirts ironed or the children's bedwetting or the husband's ulcers or maybe the woman's own lack of orgasm. I listened to women. I had been fired from a newspaper job because I was pregnant. Then, there was no word for that: sex discrimination. I was home as a housewife but secretly freelancing for women's magazines. And I listened to women say, "Well, I'm BJ's wife and Junior and Jane's mother and I am a server of meals and a putter-on of diapers. But who am I? The world is going on without me." There was no name for that problem. I called it the problem that has no name. Naming our problems, and beginning to say that we will say who we are, and we will define who we are, made it possible for us to break through that obsolete image the mass media [created], and claim for ourselves our human birthright of equal opportunity and our own voice in society.

We began to move and take women's concerns seriously. We got ourselves taken seriously by the mass media. It was a while before even the women's movement could be treated as more than a joke. Our own actions finally got us on the front pages, with our own marches. Women began to move off of the women's pages, not

just reporting engagements, marriages, recipes, fashions -- to the reports of news on the front pages. Women began to move into television, off from just diaper commercials to actually broadcasting the news. The image of women began to change in the magazines and on television from just a housewife like *I Love Lucy* and all of that to more gutsy spirited women like *Mary Tyler Moore*. They first flew out of the houses as witches at night and then became women policemen, lawyers; we began to see women on television in different ways, even in situation comedies.

Five or six years ago, some of my colleagues who are here in the academic world and in the professions of the mass media began to sense a backsliding and a backlash. We felt it necessary to start seriously analyzing again the image of women in the media to see if it really reflected the diversity and the actions of modern women; to see if there was a new feminine mystique telling women to go back home again; to see what was happening with the participation of women in the media; to see what difference it made for women to be recording and analyzing the news and to be directing and writing the movies. What we found was fairly significant. We found that although women were now the majority of journalism students, though women held 40 percent of the entry jobs in the news room and elsewhere, that at the middle level they were blocked at about 20 to 30 percent. [We found] that at the upper level that defined and assigned the news, [at the level] that really carried the action and had the decision-making power on the television programs, women were still much, much less [represented].

We found, perhaps reflecting this, that there was what we called a symbolic annihilation of women on the front pages of American newspapers. [We found] that though women are 51 and 52 percent of the population of the United States, that if you counted any time anybody was mentioned or quoted on the front pages of the newspapers, women were only 13 percent. In other words, 87 percent of the people mentioned, pictured, or quoted in the news are men. Somehow or another, this represented not a conspiracy against women, but a blind spot on

the part of the men dictating and assigning the news. It meant something else. It meant a male definition of the news. We also found that on broadcast news that though the legal actions of the women's movement had begun to move [women] into reporter and anchoring positions, there had also been a backsliding there and they were only 15 percent or less. We were analyzing the image of women and the participation of women in creating the images not just because we were interested in more jobs for women in journalism, but because we felt it was a Rorschach test: it reflected the status of women in the larger society, and it also shaped it as it shaped our consciousness.

What we found is that by calling attention to this, by making conscious this analysis, and by calling attention to the breakthroughs, we began to revive the process of blocking the backlash against women in society, of a new feminine mystique. By making conscious -- such as through Susan Faludi's book *Backlash* -- we began to counteract it. For instance, only one out of ten people quoted on the broadcast stories on the news two years ago were women. Even this year, when many stories of major importance to women broke -- such as the Anita Hill exposé of sexual harassment in the Supreme Court confirmations in the United States or the exposure of the lethal nature of silicone gel breast implants -- that the experts quoted were men, not women. As a result of exposing this -- as our group, The Center for Women, Men, & Media, did -- the number of experts quoted who were women doubled from 1 out of 10 to 2 out of 10. It's still not a very large number.

Now, the breakthrough work we began also showed something rather important. Here is where we come to the paradigm shift leading to new visions of leadership. It turns out that this male blinded media represented not so much a conspiracy against women, the men circling the wagons to keep women from real power (maybe some of that), but a definition of news that was based on male experience. In a certain sense, the model of business leadership had become obsolete. What we found was that when women did begin to come into editorial positions of decision-making, and women began to report

more and more political news, the nature of the news began to change. Instead of just wars, violence, or win-lose elections, there were more dimensions of life, more news having to do with the way people live their lives. What are so-called women's concerns, as they got onto the front page, are more than lifestyles. It is the stuff of life itself.

It also became clear that the declining newspaper readership in the United States and the declining share of viewers of networks may have had something to do with the obsolete male model. Women were a huge market being lost by the newspapers, and going away from the television networks to the new cable stations, where women had more decision-making power.

So I submit to you that we must keep a close eye on the definition of the image of women. In many of your countries the feminine mystique still prevails: women are seen only as mothers or wives, or they are not seen at all as participating in society. This affects the very consciousness and ambition of the girls. And it affects the way women are treated in society. In our country, the backlash is also manifest in a new depiction of women just as sex objects or as passive victims of violence, even in advertising. It is really necessary to break through that and have active, diverse images of women. But second, the paradigm shift that is involved in the new vision of leadership has to do with using the experience of women and the sensitivity to life. Maybe [using the experience] of the new men that will be sharing in the upbringing of children -- the new definitions of news that will help our society evolve out of the previous male model of violence, dominance, and control that is not going to save our earth.

Discussants:

Dame Jocelyn Barrow (England)
Deputy Chair, Broadcasting Standards Council

First of all, may I say how very glad I am to be here and to be able to share with you all the feelings that we as women need to change our

societies -- not just the image of ourselves, but our societies. We have the power to do that. I want to continue, in the few minutes I have, from the discussion Betty [Friedan] started. She talked about helping our societies to evolve. I use the word change, because I see us as agents of change, with a great deal of power to do this. But I want to explain to you the way in which, in the United Kingdom, we have been able to do this in terms of the media.

I spent eight years of the last ten governing the largest broadcasting agency in the United Kingdom, called the British Broadcasting Corporation, better known as the BBC. When I got there as a governor in 1981, there were no women in the top 200 jobs that governors were responsible for appointing. So I set myself two tasks at the BBC in the first five years: one, to get women from the bottom of the triangle -- they all [reached a] plateau in the middle, as Betty mentioned -- to get them into the top peak of the triangle; secondly, to change the system from a mono-ethnic institution into a multiethnic institution. Britain is a multiethnic society, in spite of the images you saw until very recently on television. It was an extremely difficult task, not just because I was trying to change the minds of men; it was an equally difficult task to persuade the women who were stuck in the middle plateau that they needed to challenge the system, to confront it and to get themselves out of the trough or plateau on which they were stuck. It took three years to get an equal opportunities policy, and it took another two years to get the implementation of this policy throughout this large organization. That now has changed and one of the ironic things that has come out of this -- and I keep smiling about it every time I think about it -- is that the organization now sees itself as leading Britain in providing equality for women.

For 11 years, we had, as you know, a Prime Minister who was a woman. The position of women did not change under her leadership and that, in itself, created for the women who were in public life -- like myself, women politicians, women who were the head of industrial organizations or head of commercial organizations -- a great difficulty. She had made

herself function as if she were a man. That is a problem we face when only one or two women get promoted to the top. They are still in a male environment, they feel obliged -- and I choose my words carefully -- to conform to the male environment so that they begin to behave and to come to decisions like men, to make choices like men, and not ever to exercise their female instincts. They are afraid, and they get disturbed when men say, "Well, of course, it's a womanish point of view; it's slightly emotional," and they don't behave properly.

So my message to you this afternoon is that we as women -- and those of us who are here have broken that mold, and have decided that we want life to be different for other women -- have got to help to empower our sisters, wherever they are in the world, to take their rightful and legal place in society, at the top, making the choices as well as making the decisions, but making it in our own image, not in the male image.

Kathy Bonk (USA)

President, Communications Consortium

I would like to respond to some of the voices on this panel, because I find it very interesting. Mary [Holland] opened by saying something about the meeting in Washington, DC where the women journalists discussed their responsibility, or their burden, as women journalists to pursue the issues of concern of women. And frankly, those are the same things women politicians say, the same thing women who are in corporations say. I guess maybe we are in a place now, Mary, where it is our responsibility. Many of the women who work in the media understand that some of the male editors are going to have to retire or die off because they really don't get it. I think we may have to look at that differently.

Mitsuko [Shimomura] made a comment that resonated with me when she said that here at this conference talking to women from various countries and continents is much easier sometimes than talking to men in our own countries. We have a book in the United States that has been on the best-seller list for more

than two years called *You Just Don't Understand*. It had very little marketing, very little fanfare but it has sold almost two million copies, with women passing the book to each other. It is about different languages in English; how men and women talk different languages because of their different cultures. I think that that is something we all can go back with and understand more.

The presentation on *Fempress* quite frankly may be a new vision for our futures, particularly for the new democracies that are emerging, where the public policy questions of media have yet to be resolved. The Russian women that are here, for example, brought their own film crew. They are organizing through their women's center a women's channel called Alantis, and they are in control of what will be edited and what will be on Russian television, what will be reported on this conference. And so I am hoping you can spend time with the Russian women talking about your experiences with *Fempress*. There are many things we can learn in the United States about that model.

To Betty [Friedan]'s point, we had another feminist in the United States named Susan B. Anthony, and in 1898 (I believe), her statement went something like this: as long as men own and control newspapers, women who work for them must write what men want. And until the time when women own media, their true beliefs and convictions will not be heard. I think for me, at least, ownership is probably the new vision and the new place to go. I hope it is something we can achieve at least in my lifetime.

Also, I think with the new technologies that are available today one addition to the new visions may be some sort of international cooperation, a syndication effort: videotapes that can be exchanged among our women producers who have done films of their own, with Alantis, with *Fempress*, that we can exchange on paper, on video, on computer, and through the new technologies that are emerging. Maybe there is a seed for some hope for us.

Finally, the British experience of how government can play a role. My friend Nancy

[Woodhull] tells me it is easier to rock the boat when you are outside the boat than when you are inside the boat. I think it is a true. I see a triangle that needs to work together: women who are in the media, those of us who have been on the outside demanding improvement, and also some responsibility from government to be the watchdog and to improve the employment for women.

Jennie Buckner (USA)

Vice-President for News, Knight-Ridder

Thank you for allowing me to share these past few days with you. It has really been a true honor to be in the company of these women, all of you. It has been enlightening and surprising and challenging and most of all, really inspiring.

Those are words I wish I could use to describe my country's coverage of women. In truth, I can't. There is not much inspiration on too many days. I am afraid I would have to describe the efforts in even the best of American newspapers as erratic, faddish, too often unsubstantial. To an amazing degree still, women are simply invisible, as the annual study done by the group Women, Men, & Media shows. Betty [Friedan] and Nancy [Woodhull], who have really worked to put this study together, I think you have done the American media and women a great service. The group has literally counted the references of women, the pictures of women, and have shown us, as Betty [Friedan] said, that only 15 percent of those quoted or pictured most days are women.

But here is the good news. I really sense the stirrings of change, and serious change. More and more, newspaper publishers and editors are talking about what they must do to win back women readers who have been deserting them at a disturbing rate. Twenty years ago, as many of you know, a greater proportion of American women than men read newspapers; today, the opposite is true, and that has publishers scared to death. There is a gender gap that is growing: it is now at four percentage points nationally, and that translates into lots of readers. If the same proportion of women as men read

newspapers, the United States would have nearly four million more readers each day.

At my company, Knight-Ridder, we decided to take on the issue of women's readership as a major corporate initiative. To help us, we pulled together a task force of some of our best editors. The group, comprised of four men and four women, were asked to review all of our readership data at all of our newspapers. Then, they were asked to look at the best journalistic practice on the coverage of women and women's issues. They looked especially at papers which had no gender gap: what were they doing right? The group talked to outside experts, and then they talked to the most important experts of all: women themselves. The ordinary yet extraordinary people that make up our communities. We talked to 154 of them in 7 Knight-Ridder communities one-on-one for at least one hour each. We listened as women talked about their lives, the topics of concern to them, and how they used media. It was fascinating stuff, and it had a profound effect on those conducting the interviews.

The messages from women were surprisingly the same. We heard how newspapers had failed to make themselves a priority by really connecting women with the news. We heard that women didn't really feel that the newspaper is for ordinary people like them; they see it as elitist. Women griped about fashion spreads featuring clothes no normal person could begin to afford, modeled by stick-thin women no healthy person should ever look like. Women complained about government stories written with interpretations of events that had no apparent relevance to their lives, when they knew very well it did.

So after all the listening and all the studying, our group brainstormed strategies and produced a rather hefty report which was sent to all the publishers and all the editors at our newspapers. It was full of recommendations for changing the newspaper and the newsroom and its culture. Now, lots of our papers are taking up the cause. They are designing strategies to better serve women and men. They are creating new beats and covering issues like work and family and

child care. They are conducting their own analyses of their newspapers from front to back, measuring coverage, counting pictures, counting by-lines. They are updating their source files to assure that plenty women are available as spokespersons. One paper has started a Womannews section, another has just hired a new woman columnist. And all of them are trying to increase the range of women's voices throughout the newspaper. At one paper, which does not have many women at the department head rank, women from the staff are being invited to attend each day's news meeting to assure that a woman's voice and a woman's point of view is always represented.

At the corporate level, we have made diversity one of our most important goals. It is beginning to pay off. We have 28 newspapers in our group. Five years ago, we had only four women in the top two editing positions; today, that number has risen to 15. I am not saying that our papers are there yet, providing a full, fair picture of the American woman and her concerns, but I am saying that our company, and other like Gannett and Scripps-Howard are trying to take women seriously. That is progress.

We found that by including women, we can broaden the definitions of news. By including women, we can give new life to dull, institutional coverage. And by including women, we can bring understanding to a world deeply in need of it. That is serious progress.

Chemi Che-Mponda (Tanzania) *Tanzania Standard Newspaper*

I am a journalist from Tanzania. Women journalists in Tanzania play an important part in ensuring that there is a positive portrayal of women, because Tanzania is a patriarchal society. However, from my experience, I found that being a woman and being a journalist does not ensure that women will be positively portrayed. Because Tanzania is a patriarchal society, everything revolves around the men. Everything is dominated by men. The press is completely controlled by men.

The only exception in Tanzania, when it comes to women, is the Tanzania Media Women's Association, which is completely controlled by women. It produced a magazine with ideas about women, for women. The reason why women journalists in Tanzania got together and formed this group was because we found that the male editors were considering stories about women to be filler stories, not important. They could lie around for two or three days without seeing the light of day if they would get to the paper at all. Stories about women were written in a biased manner, or ended up ridiculing women.

When I was hired by the *Tanzania Standard* in 1984, I wrote a lot of pieces about the mistreatment of women in society. I wrote about men harassing women, and even women harassing other women, which exists over there. Those were human pieces, and they weren't taken seriously by the public, and even by the editors themselves. However, judging by the feedback which I am getting even today, it seems that some of those messages did get in.

Currently, I consider myself to be a policewoman when it comes to the news stories about women in the daily newspaper there in Tanzania. I find myself taking a special initiative to write news stories about women and their problems. I will give an example. Only three weeks ago, I helped a woman who had been thrown out of her home -- her own home, she owned it -- by her husband. The same husband was an employee of the Ministry of Home Affairs, and he was misusing his power. Whenever she took him to the police, she was the one turned into the criminal. By writing the story in the paper, the case was brought to the attention of the Minister of Home Affairs, who then called them and solved the problem. I assure you that when that woman came into my office, wearing only wrappers, I took pity on her. A male journalist might have just thrown her out saying, "Get out of here -- we don't deal with this kind of stuff." I even risked my name by sending this story to a Swahili paper, because I write for an English newspaper. I broke our ethics and sent it to Swahili newspaper so that she could get the publicity she needed and stop

her problems immediately. Luckily it worked. I am very thankful for that.

In 1988, there was a middle-aged man who was paying underage schoolgirls to have sex with him. That man is now serving a seven-year sentence because of me. Mind you, this story was assigned to another woman journalist who refused to write that story, saying it was taboo and that it was untouchable. So a news editor asked me if I could take up the story, and I did. Now, that man is in jail from the publicity it got.

What I have noticed is that, because we [women] are conditioned from the time we are small to be subservient and meek, when women journalists go abroad for studies and come back, they come back liberated with ideas. They come back even bolder to speak out and challenge men. Right now at the daily newspaper we have an editor who is a woman who studied in Canada, and she is also helping to ensure that stories of women get the publicity they need in the daily news.

Women like us are labeled crazy, frustrated, mental cases -- everything -- but I don't care, I don't mind. Right now, I am trying to start to a media watch in Tanzania in which we are going to look at stories which are oppressive to women. We are going to write letters to the editors and complain about them. And if anyone has any ideas about this, I would appreciate having them.

P'ei-Fen Christine Cheng (Taiwan)
Columnist & Manager, Overseas Edition,
Central Daily News

As a professional journalist from the Republic of China, in Taiwan, I want first to give you a general idea of the media situation in Taiwan; secondly, my own experience in media as a professional journalist; and thirdly, the situation of women journalists in general.

Taiwan is an island of 35,000 square miles, but the population is more than 20 million. And in a small island nation with such a high density of population, a per capita income of more than

US\$8,000, plus 70 billion in foreign exchange reserves, it is not difficult to understand why the media is considered to be a booming business in our nation. The figures below will give you some idea. For instance, since the government left the registration of new newspapers in January 1988, we have more than 230 newspapers -- but don't worry, only 78 newspapers have publications. The total daily circulation of all dailies is approximately 4 million copies. Besides newspapers, we have 33 broadcasting companies and 3 television stations and 178 news agencies. 98.7 percent of households in Taiwan have television sets. 66.1 percent of the households in Taiwan have video cassette players.

Secondly, as a professional journalist for 20 years, I have been a news reporter, editor, deputy chief, editor-in-chief, and columnist, TV news commentator, and TV producer, plus author of 3 books. I had American training background, which gave me more opportunity and a better connection than my colleagues -- men as well as women -- in the early 1970s in Taiwan. Just to name a few, I was invited to Gerald Ford's State of the Union address in 1975 and President Carter's and Ronald Reagan's inaugurations in 1977 and 1981, respectively. I was also sent by the US-Taiwan Defense Commander to make an exclusive interview with Admiral Gaylor, the US Navy Commander-in-Chief in the Pacific in 1974. Starting in October 1988, I was given a chance to appear weekly on a TV news program to comment on the worldwide news events. As one of the two first women commentators in Taiwan, my performance did indeed prove to the public that women also have the capability, courage, and knowledge to come in and analyze the world affairs and national policies and public issues. One point I want to mention is that all the articles I wrote in the newspapers and magazines, at least 20 percent were devoted to women's issues or about worldwide women's figures in politics and media.

Thirdly, I would like to talk a little bit about women journalists in Taiwan. It may be partially true that compared to our sisters around the world we have more women

reporters and anchors in numbers. For instance, women are more than 40 percent of the reporters; and 80 percent of anchorpersons are women. But there is still a limited number of women in news editing departments, and only a handful of women reach a decision-making level in the whole media world. Since the decision-making level serves as the gate-keeper for the content for all the media, news stories pertaining to women are rarely treated seriously and are rarely displayed in the important pages.

But things are changing, and for the most part for the better. In a short period of 1986 to 1992, women's performance in many aspects of our society has indeed indicated a great step forward. Women in the media definitely will not let themselves be left behind. In 1986, the Taipei chapter of the World Association of Women Journalists and Writers was formally launched and began to function. This group included almost all the outstanding and talented women and journalists of the time in Taiwan. Its membership has reached 190 as of July 5th, when I left Taiwan. Women journalists are the group who can eventually exercise the power to control the news coverage of issues and educate the public about the image of women. Therefore, I believe that as long as women in the media world join their hands together, we can not only make ourselves different, but we can also make the world different.

Danielle Debbas (Canada)

Journalist; Former President, FRAPPE

I do want to issue one warning to all of you: when we talk about how we can influence and change the way stories on women are presented in the media, I just want to tell you that hell is paved with good intentions. I am afraid that what we are talking about is a little bit of manipulation, and manipulation is the first step to censorship. I am absolutely opposed to it. I would rather see bad information on women than to see censorship. So we have to find other ways than manipulating the news. You will tell me that news is manipulated, and I agree with you. We have seen it even recently with the Gulf War, but that is not the reason we

should do it. We have to find other ways. And we have to remember that the press must be free to present the news as objectively as possible and as accurately as possible, and also to present as broad a view as possible. We, as readers, can make our own decisions; and we as women can influence it that way. Please, let us not talk about manipulation or censorship; it is very dangerous.

I want to talk to you about how we can influence the image of women in the media through our economic clout, because we do have economic clout. We buy things: we buy food for our families; we buy dresses; we buy everything. So even if we are not rich individually, we have the economic clout. I will give you an example of something that has been done in Quebec, Canada, which proved how strong we are when we want to be. The Quebec Council on the Status of Women, 10 or 15 years ago, launched a contest with an award because many, many women were distressed and furious about the way the advertisements were showing us as cleaning persons, with images of women as objects. They were writing a lot to the Council criticizing some of the art. And the Council decided to make a contest in which they would give an award called the *Demeritas*, which is a Latin word, to the worst or the best in the field of sexist advertising. Many, many women wrote in and there were lots of submissions. One, in particular, was a television ad of a cleaning product called Mr. Clean -- or Monsieur Net in other countries -- which was a product of Procter & Gamble, or Lever Brothers, I'm not sure. This particular ad showed a little boy and a little girl in the bathroom. And the little boy had just taken his bath and left a horrible ring around the bathtub; and the little girl was there with her little bottle of Mr. Clean, showing to her brother why she was cleaning the ring around the bathtub, saying, "Look! Mr. Clean is good!" Of course, it was horrible and we all revolted against it. Mr. Clean got the *Demeritas* award, but they didn't take it seriously. So women sort of decided to boycott the product. Let me tell you, in no time at all, Procter & Gamble or Lever Brothers called the Council on the Status of Women, asking them what they could do, how they could repair [the situation],

asking the Council to please accept their apologies. They took off the ad from the media, replaced it with another one, which they had shown to the Council first. Since then, the *Demeritas* award was extremely popular every year. And let me tell you the image of women as presented in ads in print, on the radio, or on television has very much changed.

I can say that we have almost no problem, but the problem is still there. There are the ads with all the mechanical parts and car parts which are horrible, and the ads for jeans, for some reason. But those are two items with which we don't have much economic clout, so we are not able to influence them. So now there is not one company that dares to make sexist advertising, and it is a big win for women. To prove how successful this thing was, the *Demeritas* award, which was then followed with a *Meritas* award for the best ad, was the victim of its own success. For the past two years, we have not had one. Before I came here, I called the President of the Council to ask her what happened, and she said, "The criteria we have do not apply anymore. We kept receiving entries, but we are rethinking how we can go on with it. For the time being it is, as they say in the United States, in hiatus." So this program is in hiatus.

There is another group that is extraordinary, a group born in British Columbia, called Media Watch. It is now all over Canada. Their role is to survey and make presentations and protests regarding any television show, radio show, or ads with [negative] images of women. They are putting a lot of effort right now on videos because this is a big, big problem. This is where most of the worst images still exist. On television, you hardly ever see the bird-brained Lucille Ball image; it's much more mature, and much better. But video is still a big, big problem. So this group is across Canada, and they make presentations to the Canadian Radio and Television Council, which makes the rules and gives permission for the different radio stations. They are very strong. But they also have an education program: they try to show kids specifically about the video issue.

Anne Deveson (Australia)

Producer; Chair, National Working Party on Portrayal of Women in the Media

I would like to start with the story of how we came here. We are making a documentary film about the Forum, and we came with an all-women crew. When I went around to a couple of television stations to see if they were interested, the response was, "We've already done enough about women this year." Half the human race! I speak with you today with the background of a practicing journalist and filmmaker, someone who has worked in media management, in media training, and in government, trying to affect legislation concerning the media.

In Australia, we have been very lucky to have a supportive government. I say lucky with some qualification, because it came about from the efforts of women. But we do have a government that is committed to a positive and realistic image of women in the media, and a government that also provides support for measures to redress sex discrimination in reporting and advertising. I want, then, to concentrate on how we have worked through government and through the industry to try and effect changes. The government's commitment to changing the image of women in the media came about through a national consultative process. In other words, it came about from the grassroots, through women themselves. The government, as part of its national agenda for women, consulted over 26,000 women around Australia of all ages and all backgrounds. A major concern of those women was the way that we were portrayed in the media, particularly in advertising, in the ways we all know so well.

As a result of that, the government then undertook a series of surveys to gain further information about that and then set up the National Working Party on the Portrayal of Women in the Media. Now for me, the strength of that Party, which I currently chair, is that it is a tripartite group. It is composed of industry, government, and consumers. In the beginning, I think there was -- and still is -- a tendency, when we work in trying to effect change, at

working with those sections of the media that are already sensitive to our issues. In other words, we work with the women's press. I think it has been very important in the success of our Party that we have had representatives from the mass media, because, I think, they keep reminding us of the reality of the commercial entity of the media. [They remind us] that information is a commercial commodity, whether we like it or not. So we have to think of ways of working within that constraint.

The first working party worked for two years and concentrated on advertising. They produced some excellent support material and educational material, but I think their strongest contribution was working with the advertising industry itself. They tried to strengthen the codes for working in that area, but they also worked with the advertising industry to help produce the sorts of advertising that Danielle was just talking about. That has been very effective. There is one series of advertisements concerned with meat short cuts, in which everyone else is seen cooking the dinner, while the woman of the house organizes them. Those advertisements have been very successful and have had good response from consumers.

The second phase of the working party, which I have been involved with, has extended its reach to the general media, has focused in strengthening legislation, and on producing a media complaints brochure that tells women how to complain, and on working within the industry itself in order to increase opportunities for women working within the media. I think that is another critical area.

We are looking at systemic discrimination, that we must tackle on every front possible: through legislation, through education, through the media itself. We work from within and without systematically, relentlessly, cleverly, and together.

Adi Mei Kainona Gauna (Fiji)

Controller, Radio Fiji

Greetings. I am deeply honored and happy to be invited to share in this Global Forum of Women, and I must say thank you to Irene Natividad and all those who have made it possible for me to be here. I also thank God for the opportunity to share with a wide range of women leaders from around the world on this wonderful occasion. I have been told that there is an award for the person that has travelled the farthest for this Forum. But I think the biggest award for me would be the experience and vision I will take back with me to share with the women of Fiji.

I have been asked to speak briefly on how I, as a woman journalist, have affected and can affect coverage of women's issues in the media and the image of women in Fiji. Before I do that, let me pose a few questions for us to ponder upon. I will address these at the end of my address. We are specifically looking at the media and the changing image of women. My questions are: What is the image of women? Who created or determined that image? Has that image changed? If so, how and why?

I never dreamt that I would have a career in the media, especially as one of the critics of our radio media. I have been in that medium for 10 years now. However, being born into a family with traditional obligations and responsibilities of leadership, I was nurtured and brought up to provide leadership for my community, not only at the provincial level, but also at the national level. That leadership is provided through service. I became involved with community service at a very young age, especially so with women's organizations. As I said before, I never dreamt that I would be in the media. Sometime in my life, about ten years ago, I decided to commit my life to God, and to let Him to lead me in the kind of service that I could best do for my community. And I believe with a very strong conviction that God guided me and gave me this job in the Radio Fiji; first, to start as a Fiji women's program organizer, and now as a controller of the English programs.

Fiji consists of about 320 islands in the mid-Pacific, 90 of which are inhabited. About one-third of the population, which is a little more than 750,000, lives in urban areas. The rest lives in the villages or rural areas, and some of them in the remote islands. National growth of the population of the last decade has averaged 2.2 percent per year for the rural areas, and in the vicinity of 2.4 to 2.9 in urban areas. Radio is a very important element of communication in Fiji. If developed well, I believe it can contribute to the solution of the problem of isolation, in which most of the countrywomen suffer through inadequate communication systems. I would like to quote a bit from the Women in Development issue that was printed by the International Women's Tribune Center, which gave me encouragement in the type of women's programs that we developed in Fiji:

The problem of isolation is a very serious one for women. We are often not only isolated from each other, but also from society as a whole, especially if we live in rural areas. It is difficult to identify needs publicly. Communicating these needs to those in a position able to help is even more difficult. It is a problem that is made worse by the mass media, which rarely reflects the reality of women's lives and concerns. More often, it presents a very negative image of women in general. If we agree that women can and should play a primary role in the development of their countries, and that they should be the primary force behind their own advancement in society, it therefore is essential to tackle the problems of isolation and inadequate systems of communication. This is particularly urgent to the most isolated in every society in the developing world.

Our radio programs now cover the women's programs daily, an hour-long program in all three languages: English, Hindi, and Fijian. Our two main daily papers now have special weekly supplements on women. My sister-in-law started a monthly paper which was called *Fiji Women*. All this media coverage does portray

very positive images of what women are doing in our society and our community in Fiji.

They say in radio that five minutes is a long time; it seems that in Dublin, five minutes is not long enough. Before I share my vision for this Forum at the conclusion of my time, I would like to have everyone hold hands with everyone across the room. I would like to share with you one chorus of a song, because I believe I have come this far for us to be able to achieve what we are here for. Please bear with me. For those of you that can sing with me, it is a very well-known song, "How Great Thou Art." As I sing, please think of the visions and strategies we have shared in these few days, and how you are going to achieve them.

*Oh, Lord, My God,
When I in awesome wonder consider all the works
thy hand hath made, I see the stars.
I hear the roaring thunder that passes throughout
the universe displayed.
Then sings my soul, my savior God, to thee.
How great thou art. How great thou art.
Then sings my soul, my savior God, to thee.
How great thou art. How great thou art.*

My vision for this Forum is this: our frustration about the global leadership from men has stemmed largely from the fact that men have made this their world. We often [say] "It's a man's world." But Ladies, let's not be disheartened, because this is not a man's world. It is God's world. God created everything. In answer to the questions I posed earlier -- What is the image of women? Who created or determined that image? Has the image changed? If so, how and why? -- the answer is, God created man in his image. In the image of God, he created male and female. He created them. And as we were created in that image of God, that image is truly wonderful and larger than life and the universe itself. God does not want us to deviate from the image he created us in, but it is mankind's perception and portrayal of that image which has changed over the years. Today, I believe that God is using us, the women of the world, to tell the world that this is not a man's world, but it is God's world. I believe that as we determine at this Summit the

strategies confronting not only women, but the whole human race, we will certainly need power to see this through and make it a reality.

So, Sisters, let us join hands and move forward together. Let the divine power of God guide and lead us through to achieving what we are striving for. That is, to make God's world the Garden of Eden which he originally created for humankind and all of us to enjoy.

Eda Kriseova (Czechoslovakia)

Journalist; Advisor to President Vaclav Havel

Dear Friends, I wish that I could stand here and tell you that the political changes which took place in my country in 1989 have lead to a flowering of awareness about enhancing the role of women. It would be nice if I could report that a basically free press is once again operating in Czechoslovakia, [with] women journalists taking leading roles in public discourse and management of influential media. It would give me a great pleasure to announce that I have closed a hole in the ozone layer. But I can't tell you any of these things because they have not happened.

In fact, I must report that perhaps the most common image of the woman in the media of Czechoslovakia these days consists of bare breasts, as a result of the rapid increase of soft core pornography, following the lifting of press restrictions. Lately, the amount seems to have levelled off since such things are no longer a novelty. The free market at work. I won't be alarmist about the amount of female nudity on public view in Czechoslovakia because I think the level is close to other European countries. But I mention it because, unfortunately, it is the most significant coverage of women in the media. There is not one publication or broadcast in my country concerned with women's issues, unless you consider the handful of magazines about cooking and domestic things. There are few women in politics and public life, none in the business world, and very few journalists who have any influence.

Let me give you a brief overview of the women's movement in Czechoslovakia. It does not exist. What's more, most women reject any mention of feminism or women's rights. Why? We have heard it all before, but under Communism, under the myths that women here had been immediately granted equal status. All these leagues of socialist women. And so, as every other part of the system, they have left a legacy of cynicism toward any effort to organize women just because they are women. So, with women showing little desire to assert themselves as a group, the other half of the population -- men -- has barely accepted the situation. By and large, Czech women are expected to keep the kitchen and keep quiet, but of course go to work. Yet we are told that serious affairs, politics and business, are too dirty for us. It is common for a woman's work to be discredited with, "Well, she's quite smart, but she's just a lady." Or if, by chance, a woman is being considered for a position, the conversation often ends with, "Well, she's a lady. That's a problem." And by and large, Czech women accept this situation, because...Well, I don't know why.

The recent elections have shown that there will be very few women in leadership positions, no women Ministers and just a handful in the various parliaments: 5.8 percent. Of the dozens of political parties running in the elections, not one has a woman at the head of the party. None of the parties has anything in the platform that could be defined as supportive of women's issues. Furthermore, there is practically no debate whatsoever about women's issues in the major media and political life.

You must be thinking that I live in a primitive land. Well, it is not all so hopeless. I am not here to deliver a message of despair. Women are taking part in the transformation of our society, but more often at the lower levels, at the grass roots. The turn of decentralization gives more influence to local politics, a field that women have proven they are well-suited for, and where they can have influence and responsibility, and can affect giving birth to a new being. Many men consider local measures too small for their egos, choosing to practice their expertise by sitting in beer pubs. As our society

transforms economically and politically, it is certain that the role of women will change also. As we integrate rapidly with the West, the ideas and experiences of others come rushing in.

My hope and my prediction is that society will enhance the positive values and qualities that are considered female; I mean intuition, inspiration, nurturing. As we search for new ways to face the challenges of work, people will see that an integration of the male and female approaches to life must take place. People need to conduct their lives with their heads and hearts. Building democracy and a civil society is something like raising children, and women have proven that they are up to this task. It is not so glamorous, this work. It takes stamina, persistence, patience, and an ability to repeat yourself over and over. And like raising children, nobody appreciates what you have done until it is all over.

Maud Motanyane (South Africa)
Editor, *Tribute Magazine*

First of all, I would like to say that I am grateful to be here today because it freshens in my mind what an abomination apartheid has been. It also makes me very angry to realize that while women of the world were busy addressing real issues, we have been busy in South Africa fighting a monster which has no reason to be existing in the 20th century. However, a lot of changes have happened in South Africa. At one moment, you feel you are one step away from true liberation. At another, you feel the road to true liberation is hard and slow.

In December of last year, 20 organizations got together to form Codessa, which was to negotiate the future of South Africa. Of the 60 people who attended that conference, not one was a woman. The fact that women protested and finally managed to have women in Codessa is an indication that South African women were not prepared to have their lives continue to be ruled by men. The fact that men even considered a Codessa without women was an indication of how unseriously views of women are taken in the country.

The media in South Africa is controlled largely by men -- white men, I might add. Therefore, the issues of women are few and far between in the media. What has to be remembered is that long before the state of emergency and all other controls in South Africa, the media in South Africa is the most controlled in the world. Therefore, in practicing as a journalist in South Africa, I have had to learn to be crafty, to find a way of getting that message across within the limitations of the medium.

I will say this one message. What worries me is that with the world becoming such a global village, with women from the North and the South reading the same kind of magazines, [watching] the same kind of television, with the same buying markets in Europe -- buying *Rambo*, buying *Basic Instinct*, buying *Fatal Attraction* -- South Africa, and Africa generally, or the underdeveloped world, is susceptible to these messages. Therefore, it puts an extra responsibility on our sisters in the West to see that these messages do not get through to us.

When we talk about the media, I find that feminists tend to ignore and dismiss the glossy magazines -- *Elle*, *Cosmopolitan*, those kinds of magazines -- and unfortunately, this is what women consume. This is what women read. Are the images of women in those magazines positive? The answer is no. So, my view is that until such time that we educate the women not to eat the poison that they are fed, we will continue to have the magazines that succeed, which is *Cosmopolitan* talking about orgasm, etc. My last message is that as we provide alternatives for women, we must educate women. No one can feed you poison if you know it is poison.

Nancy Woodhull (USA)

Founding Editor, USA Today;

President, Woodhull & Associates

I think you came here today because you wanted solutions to take back to your own country. If I can build on what Maud [Motanyane] is saying, we need to help women not receive the poison. Betty [Friedan] talked about symbolic

annihilation; that is, if the press does not cover you, for all intents and purposes, you do not exist. The question is, how do women change that?

We can change it in a couple of ways. We at Women, Men, & Media can teach you how, in your own country, to do a study of page one of your newspaper or a study of your newscasts. What I would like to offer is that for those of you interested in focusing on solutions -- how to do a page one study, how to teach women to speak out in their own countries -- maybe tomorrow morning those interested in that can get together with a group of us for breakfast. We can hear specifically in your country what you need to make happen. We can help you with solutions on how to do it. We can teach you very briefly how to do the page one study and we can get the information to you. Secondly, we cannot wait for the fair thing to happen to us. As Maud [Motanyane], Jocelyn [Barrow], and Danielle [Debbas have] said, we have to act.

We have to be comfortable with speaking out. I want to give you two ways to speak out right now. First, it was very interesting this morning that *The Irish Times* devoted more time to the confusion about organizing a conference versus the content of what went on. We need to write a letter or we need to call, and say, "No. You missed the biggest story. The content is women connecting or talking to each other." One of the things that we as women have to get comfortable with around the world is speaking up. We are not comfortable with it. Freedom is partially freedom of speech. Each one of us has to learn to speak out.

There is a term being used in the United States to refer to the women's movement: a *tsunami*, a lot of little earthquakes under the sea. It is not noticeable when it is way out; you can't see the water rise and come down again. But when it gets closer to shore, it pulls back and sweeps over everything, changing it forever. We each must become a little earthquake under the sea, creating the women's tsunami.

Questions & Answers:

Participant-Observers (Ireland)

Is it time to establish a world women's newspaper?

Betty Friedan (USA)

In tomorrow's final session, the Call to Action, we are going to talk about what we might want to do from here, following up this Global Forum of Women. With the technology that has been referred to here, it might be that we could figure out a way to do that. It is something we should discuss, some network of communication that we could do.

Nancy Woodhull (USA)

It is very possible to make something like that happen because of technology. I might also add that already in the United States, at the national Democratic Convention next week, a group of women have gotten together to create their own newspaper. This is not an unusual thing to happen, and we can do it.

Danielle Debbas (Canada)

I just want to say that it needs money. If we have the money, we can do it. Yes, we have the technology, but do we have the money? We have to be realistic.

P'ei- Fen Christine Cheng (Taiwan)

Even if it is an interesting idea, we have to keep in mind the idea of decentralization. A world newspaper can be very appealing, but on the other hand, it can be very totalitarian. Maybe it is interesting to think the other way around: to go back to the more local and original expression of women, which is a priority for me.

WOMEN & THE ARTS

Sunday, July 12

Monica Barnes, TD (Ireland)

Co-Chair, Irish Secretariat,

1992 Global Forum of Women

All Party Committee for Women's Rights

I have the great pleasure in introducing Minister Tom Kitt, who, as Minister for Women's Affairs and Arts and Culture, chose to be here this morning because of the Forum's importance. He is also [Minister] of European Affairs -- he wears three hats -- and he works within the Office of the Prime Minister. He served on the parliamentary women's rights committee which I chair, so I have the pleasure of bringing him to order. He has liaised constantly with us, with the Irish Secretariat, and has given us all kinds of support, formal and informal. In Ireland, an awful lot of support is informal. He hosted the state function, the reception in Dublin Castle [on July 9]. He gave us Céad Míle Fáilte, one hundred thousand welcomes. I give him the same this morning.

Tom Kitt, TD

Minister of State

for Art, Culture, & Women's Affairs

Thank you. They say life begins at 40, so I am pleased that my life begins here this morning with you, at this important Forum. I would just like to say how pleased I am to be here with you, to share with you in what is a most significant and historic event for us here in Ireland. To bring together so many women leaders is certainly a unique event. I must, on the outset, congratulate the members of the International Planning Committee and the Forum staff and volunteers, not only for their organizational ability, but also for their vision and dedication to the task. We hear all too often what ought to be done, usually by others, but not in this case. The ability of the

organizers to give practical effect to their ideas is clearly evident, and I commend them on their achievement.

As Minister of State with responsibility for both women's affairs and the arts and culture, I am glad to be with you for this particular session, Women & the Arts. In recent years in Ireland, there has been some improvement in the level of women's participation in and access to the arts. While it would still be true to say that women are very much a minority in some disciplines and aspects of activity, there are areas in which women excel. I think if we look at the arts in Ireland we can see very many women who have distinguished themselves, whether it be the Abbey Theatre, from Augusta Gregory right through to Garry Hynes; in theatre and dance, women like Rosie Lenahan and Joan Denise Moriarty, the founder of the Irish National Ballet; in the visual arts, people like Evie Hohan, whose work is, in fact, very proudly displayed as a centerpiece in my own workplace, the Office of the An Taoiseach, the Office of the Prime Minister; composers like Jane O'Leary; singers like Mary Black and Maura O'Connell. The list is endless.

But it has been the experience of the arts council that in arts administration, fundraising, and sponsorship, one is far more likely to find women rather than men in key positions. In dance, for example, and to some extent music, women are far more numerous than men. Yet we have few women dramatists or composers. This may well reflect, of course, some educational or historical basis which encourages women or discourages men from taking part in certain activities; or indeed, it may be due to our legacy of imbalance, where the arts were seen largely as the creative responses of men. The traditional female role was to be the source of inspiration or idol. Modern popular culture, particularly television and cinema, may be

reinforcing this passive role. As the program material suggests, the distortions and absence of women in the arts affects their role in society, and may be yet another reflection of the inequality of power between women and men. Your discussions on the work of today's producers and how women might impact on them should be most interesting. There is little doubt that strategies to promote equality between the sexes, in empowering women, would have the added bonus of portraying the real image of women in the arts, in enriching them, by their increased participation and contribution. Because real equality of opportunity between women and men has yet to be achieved.

The question of women and the arts must be grouped together with other key issues in the equality debate such as women's full access to employment and training opportunities, equal pay for work of equal value, and women's full participation in the economic, social, political, and cultural life of our countries.

Here in Ireland, there have been a number of very successful women's groupings in the areas of literature, visual arts, and drama. These women have come together to enhance the opportunities for artists to have their own distinctive voice heard, and to enrich the totality of the artistic work which is available to the public. I am thinking, in particular, of the publishing house, Attic Press, which was set up to tackle head-on the perceived obstacles met by women writers when trying to get their works published. Needless to say, Attic Press has made an enormous contribution to contemporary Irish literature, in ensuring that women's talents are properly recognized.

I would also like to mention the work of the Women's Commemoration and Celebration Committee, under Chairwoman, Monica Barnes, TD. This is an interdisciplinary group formed to celebrate the contribution of women at all levels of Irish society. [Their goal is] "to bring women from out of the shadows in which they have waited for too long and to reclaim and record women's achievements and experiences." Last year, the Committee organized an exhibition

entitled "Ten Dublin Women" to record a sample of the struggles and successes of tens of thousands of ordinary women whose contributions have largely been overlooked, and certainly had not been celebrated previously. I met some of the young school-going women who took part in the essay competition associated with the exhibition. Their pleasure at having completed research on women they could admire demonstrated clearly how more fortunate future generations of women would be, able to select role models from among the many women whose stories are only now being recorded, and whose contributions are only now being acknowledged. However, despite the achievements of the recent past, much remains to be done to ensure that there are supportive and sympathetic mechanisms and frameworks in place so that even more women are enabled to give expression to their life experience and to their views of society.

As I have said many times before, and I will no doubt say many times again, my attitude and approach to the principle of equality between the sexes is not based on any grand philosophy, but on my respect and concern for all my fellow human beings. As a spouse of a very special woman, Jacinta, a committed feminist and as a father of a young, independent, and outspoken daughter, Ruth, I quite simply believe that all of us, regardless of gender, must have the same opportunity to exploit our talents to the fullest. Unfortunately, despite the declaration of equality in our constitution, this has not yet been realized. Women in our society continue to confront obstacles to basic human rights, ranging from subject choices in their schools to equal pay in their employment. Society is poorer for it, and I believe that a sustained and broader campaign to change attitudes is required. In order to make progress, we have to personalize the debate to make clear to those still holding traditional paternalistic views that sex discrimination blunts the potential of wives, daughters, sisters, and mothers. That cannot be condoned.

On the practical side of things, I believe that the mix of our national machinery for the promotion of equality between the sexes is evident in our

commitment to its achievement. That machinery comprises my own role as Minister of State with responsibility to monitor and coordinate all aspects of government policy as they affect women; the Joint Oireachtas Parliamentary Committee on Women's Rights, with the power to examine and report on equality issues; the Employment Equality Agency, with effective powers to pursue incidence of discrimination through the courts and to assist individual women in seeking redress; the Second Commission on the Status of Women, under the Chair of an eminent high court woman judge, which is charged with the task of making recommendations on the means by which women will be able to participate on equal terms and conditions with men in economic, social, political, and cultural life; the Council for the Status of Women, an autonomous body representing some 90 women's groups, which receives its funding from my department; and the Interdepartmental Committee on Women's Affairs, comprised of key civil servants from all government departments, which I have established, and through which I propose to exercise a proactive role in monitoring and developing equality strategies across all government departments. I hope to ensure that women's interests are reflected in mainstream public policies, and the whole area of women's advancement becomes one of higher priority. I can see that the strategy must be to exercise the full potential of all these national structures and organizations. They must be stretched to the limit. Things will only happen if we work together, through consensus and consultation. That is the way I operate, and I have already begun to work on this basis.

Finally, I would say that I acknowledge that much has yet to be done; however, I am confident that there is a readiness to address and tackle the major obstacles facing women today. I know that here in Ireland the report of the Second Commission is awaited with interest, and I look forward also to receiving your recommendations for further action. You can be sure that I will do my best to facilitate the necessary changes. I wish you all the very best for today's session."

Diana Meehan (USA)

President & Founder, VU Productions

I am very happy to be here with my eight-year-old daughter, Cailin Goldberg Meehan. [Members of this panel] met yesterday to address the issues we thought were important about this [panel], and our subject in particular. Arts is an interactive communication, and we wanted to be more interactive. We wanted you to have a chance to express yourself more. There are those on my panel who came a long, long way and prepared presentations as long as 15 minutes, but they gave up a night of revelry to re-work their presentations so that we can be briefer than we had originally contracted.

I would like to begin the session with a prayer, St. Augustine's prayer.

God, grant me the courage to change the things that can be changed, the serenity to accept the things that cannot be changed, and the wisdom to know the difference.

Breakthrough Model:

Wilhelmina Holladay (USA)

*Founder & President,
National Museum of Women in the Arts*

I am President of the Board of the National Museum of Women in the Arts, and I brought some slides today because so few women know their heritage in the history of art, so I thought I would very briefly run through a few to show you. Succinctly, the collection was put together when it was discovered that there were no women in any of the source books we were using in the United States. As a matter of fact, our leading text, Jansen's *History of Art*, which is used in every college and university in our country, had no women in it until the year our museum opened. And in 1987, Paul Gottlieb, the President of the publishing company, Abrams, called me up and said, "Get up here and help us celebrate. We're putting women in the book." That was only five years ago. [Before that, there was] not one woman [artist]

in the main text book in our country where people study the history of art.

Slide Presentation:

This is Lavinia Fontana, the leading artist of Bologna in the 1500s. The Pope had her come and be the Vatican painter.

[This is] Elisabetta Sirani. People came from all over Europe to watch her paint. She was murdered when she was 29, but in the museum, we have several of her magnificent engravings and the oil [paintings].

This is Clara Peeters, born in 1594. Clara Peters's work is found in the Prado and in the National Museum in Austria, because the great collections that were put together early on were put together by the royal families, and when kingdoms became republics, some of these became national collections. So while the women were left out of the popular writings and were forgotten, you can still see some of their work in the European museums.

We discovered a woman named Maria Sibylla Merian, who went to South America one hundred years before Darwin to record botanical and zoological specimens.

[This is] Rachel Ruysch, whose father was the physician to Peter the Great of Russia, [and who] grew up in court circles. Her life overlapped a bit with Rembrandt. She actually got more money than he for a painting.

The court painter of Marie Antoinette was Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun. This is a painting by her. When the French Revolution occurred, she had to flee, of course: she was a royalist. Her husband, who was an addicted gambler, deserted her. She went with her young child to various courts of Europe, painting with great success. She ended up in St. Petersburg, where we have 38 of her handcolored sketches. [By the time] she returned to France, she became a feminist. [She found that] her house was being lived in by her husband, even though she had purchased it. It was in his name because women couldn't have real estate in their name. He was being

threatened with debtors' prison, and she said she would pay his debts if he would put the house in her name. So she was the first woman, according to records, to have real estate in France in her name.

[This is] Angelica Kauffman, who actually helped found the Royal Academy in England. Because she was a woman, they wouldn't hang anything of hers in the Royal Academy, but they put her portrait in the foyer.

This is the first professional American woman [artist], Lilly Martin Spencer. In our country, during the pioneer days, women were very important; that prestige lasted for a while, into the 1800s. Later on, it became very déclassé to be an actress or an artist. But Lilly Martin Spencer was a professional.

[In this painting by] Jennie Brownscombe, you can see the religious overtones in the 1800s in the United States.

This painting was painted at the same time as the last slide, by Berthe Morisot. You can see the difference in what was happening in France, with Impressionism having started. Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt did a great deal to establish the Impressionist period.

Our museum is the only one in America to have had a show of the work of Camille Claudel, the great French sculptor. It was spectacularly successful.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of Mary Cassatt was printmaking. She did an in-depth study of Japanese printmaking, and introduced those methods which are still used today.

This is Lilla Cabot Perry. It is sort of the logo of our museum, and she is on the front of the folders which are available here.

[This is] Käthe Kollwitz [who was] the great political German artist.

A Russian, Alexandra Exter, went to Paris in the early 1920s to do costume designs.

[Here is] a Swiss woman, Alice Bailly, who worked with Picasso and Braque with Cubism.

[This is] Gabriele Münter, the mistress of Kandinsky, the father of abstract art, [who was] working in Germany.

This is Georgia O'Keeffe, who is perhaps America's best known woman artist.

[This is] Gwen John, an English woman whose brother, Augustus John, was very famous in his day. He said, "One day I'm going to be known as Gwen John's brother;" and that is actually happening.

This is a French woman artist who was the mother of Utrillo. Utrillo, as you know, became very famous for his street scenes. And she actually taught him to paint because she thought it would help him with his dipsomania.

Women have done well in photography. This is Edna St. Vincent Millay, by Berenice Abbott.

This is Grandma Moses, an American.

This is Barbara Hepworth, the English sculptor.

Frida Kahlo is a Mexican artist.

Ninety percent of all the Native American Indian art was done by women. These are the great pots of Maria Martinez.

This is to show you where the museum is. In the lower right hand corner is the White House, on Pennsylvania Avenue. As you proceed, you go obliquely left. The building with the red roof is our museum.

This is the museum while it was being renovated. It took us two and a half years, but when we finished, we won seven prizes. This is the way it looks now. This is the exterior of the building.

The museum actually opened in 1987. It was put together in 1982, when we became incorporated. It was done entirely with private funds: we raised \$20 million. Since the time we

opened, some wonderful things have happened. We have become truly international. The Queen of Denmark asked that part of her state visit be held at our museum. We've had a show of Korean art, funded by the Korean government. Melina Mercouri, the Minister of Culture of Greece, approached me and the Greek government underwrote a show of their art. It is wonderful. Each year we try to feature another country's work. We also have committees. Every state in our country has asked for a committee; we have 14 that are active. We have a committee in France, one in Belgium, one in Poland, and the Danish embassy just approached us and we will be starting one this summer in Denmark.

Over 100,000 people have joined the museum, which makes us one of the largest museums in the world when measured by membership. Many of you have come up and told me you were members. I want to tell you how greatly you are appreciated. It is not the few big givers who have made and sustained the museum; it is the vast number of women who have joined at the \$20 and \$25 level.

Many things have happened. The goal of the museum was not separatism, but rather that the museum act as a foreground so women would be included in collections and shows. That is happening. I sat beside Philippe Montebello, who is director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which had, for the first time in 138 years, a show by a woman. I thanked him for it, and he said, "You have heightened our awareness."

Breakthrough Model:

Raana Shaikh (Pakistan) ***Independent Filmmaker***

I am Raana Shaikh from Pakistan. I am an independent television and film producer, and I have a production company of my own. It is not very successful, but we are trying very hard. During the last three days, I have heard so many brilliant presentations that I find it very difficult even to come up to that standard, but I will try

very hard. I feel very humble right now, after these presentations; a novel experience for me, I might add, because I don't feel that way very often. The subject which has been assigned to me is so close to my heart that it should not be difficult to talk about it.

Coming from a developing country like Pakistan, where there are so many issues and problems, I do not think it is going to be easy to project each issue in detail. But I would like to give you an idea, very briefly, of my particular concerns. In Pakistan, which has a population of over 112 million, where the literacy rate for rural women is below 18 percent and for urban women 37 percent, where the population is multiplying at the rate of 3.1 percent, women's issues come way down on the list of priorities for the powers that be. Although there are women now in virtually every field -- doctors, architects, politicians, writers, journalists, social workers, everything -- the numbers are really so small that they are not able to be very effective.

In the print media, we manage to do very well. We've got a lot of editors and writers, and there is one particularly good magazine, like *Time* or *Newsweek*. It's a monthly, run and owned by a group of very talented, educated women. Then there is a very large English daily, owned and edited by a brilliant young woman who is a doctorate from the London School of Economics. So the print media is doing very well. Unfortunately, there are no specific women's magazines or women's newspapers, so the focus is not really on our issues.

Then there is my field, television and films. Television is very new in Pakistan. It was introduced in 1965, and I joined the field in 1967. Today, there are lots of women who are technicians and writers and directors like me on TV. But unfortunately, like television in most countries I have visited, a lot of television time is wasted on mushy soap operas and projection of ministers -- with due apologies -- and government functionaries who want to appear on the idiot box. Some of us, though, have, over the years, realized that we owe something to our viewers, particularly in a developing country like ours. We do feel very strongly that the media

should be used to create a sense of awareness both for the target audience and the decision-makers of the country, so that a climate may be created where there is an understanding of these issues. That understanding can lead to positive results. In the minds of most people at the decision-making level there, women's rights do not figure very prominently.

Then there are the constraints: the fact that the audience is largely uneducated; that people have gotten used to mindless, very simple entertainment; the fact that although television is linked by satellite all over the country, there is not electricity all over, so a lot of people don't get to watch it. There is a low- and middle-class syndrome in the urban areas, where the women have been brought up to believe that marriage and children should be the only goals for a woman; so the women don't even want to know about these issues. Things are changing, though; I don't want to sound too bleak. It is coming; it is very slow, but it is happening, because of economic constraints, because of the little things the media is doing. Some of them are interested in the more serious plays and the more serious documentaries that some of us are doing.

About seven years ago, I did a 90-minute special play on television, which was about two women, one educated and sophisticated and the other, a very poor illiterate woman. The rich woman was married to a very spoiled man, and the poor woman was married to a gardener who works in the rich man's house. Through subtle developments, I then presented a picture of two repressed, exploited women who, for different reasons, had not thought about alternatives or choices. One woman is forced to make that choice when her husband chooses to bring a second wife into the home because she is unable to have any children. And the other one, when her husband refuses to let her work because society expects something different from that kind of couple. So they come closer together, these two women from such different backgrounds. Ultimately, they made very good decisions. What I wanted to say in this play was that whatever your background or status, ultimately all of us face the same kinds of

problems with men in our lives, especially in a country like mine, with all the different issues at stake. So, it is very essential to be prepared for any type of struggle, and for that struggle, one has to be educated and one has to have economic independence. The play, I might add, created a lot of furor in the country, and there were write-ups in the newspapers all the time. The orthodox element was very angry with me, and I got a lot of dirty letters from them. But the press really came out very strongly in my defense. The other best part was that I received so many beautiful letters from women all over the country thanking me for bringing out their issues into the open; it was the first time anybody had done that (I also tackled divorce in the play, which is a terrible subject). I felt rather gratified.

After that, I felt a little bold and I went on to do a play -- a film, really -- about the rural craftswomen in Pakistan and the problems they face in their labor, and how they are exploited by middle men, because they have no idea what their rates are or how much their work is selling for in the market. I made these rural women rebel in the end, although I had been told by the television and the film authorities that there should be no strike. So I had no strike; I just made these women get up and walk out -- I said that was not a strike. So ultimately, they took over in the end, they took over the craft industry in the village, and threw the middle men out. It gave me a great sense of satisfaction to see the way the ordinary village women, when I was shooting the film, understood the message I was trying to give. Towards the end of the filming, every evening, they would come and sit with me, and they would chat with me, telling me their problems. We developed a terrific sense of rapport, and for that alone, I felt that it had been worth it.

These days, I am in the midst of directing a 13-episode serial for prime time television. It is a sitcom -- I feel rather embarrassed admitting that, but I needed the cash. But more importantly, jokes aside, I thought that there are so many constraints and everyone has to clear so many things with various authorities, so I told them I would do a comedy, but a comedy with

a difference. This comedy has very strong women in it. One is a divorcée, and if you are a divorced woman, you are not supposed to be very happy about anything in life, you should look very tragic and sad and miserable. But this divorcée is very happy, and she is working, a confident woman who takes on men; she is just fantastic. She has a younger sister living with her, who is a career woman and a very strong feminist, who refuses to get married the way most Pakistani women get married, an arranged marriage. So I believe that in this light fashion I will dictate my own takes at people.

Apart from this, what I am doing is building a shelter for homeless women in Dadu, which is in the southern area of Pakistan. It will house 200 women and it will train them in craft-making, with literacy classes. It is under construction right now, and should be ready next year. It is something I am very proud of. We've already got 60 women there, living in rented quarters, and they will be moving there by the end of this year. I have also done some films on population planning.

I wish I could tell you more, but I hope we can meet again. I want to tell you one more message: let us pass on the right kind of message to our own daughters so that they become a strong generation.

Mona Helmy (Egypt)

Feminist Author

My name is Mona Helmy, and I am a writer from Egypt. I was asked to talk about my experience in writing in five minutes. Since this experience is a reflection of my own life, my developing and maturing, I therefore find it challenging to tell you all that in just a few minutes. Creative writing is never anything but meeting challenges.

I started writing 15 years ago, when I was 17 years old, studying economics in Cairo University. My first writings took the shape of a diary and free thoughts, and they expressed my dilemma at that time. I didn't know what I wanted to be in the future; I didn't imagine

myself as an economist, dealing with theories and numbers -- in fact, I hated economics. On the other hand, I never imagined myself as a writer, or that writing could be my career.

Maybe one major reason for this is that my mother is a writer herself. Ever since I was a child, I used to see her occupied with writing, reading, fighting to get her books published, struggling to get her voice heard. She actually gave up two husbands and her post in the government, but never gave up writing. So I thought myself that one female writer is enough in our family, and I doubted that I had her fighting spirit. I wanted to enjoy life more than my mother did, to take it easy, and not to be burdened with all the responsibilities writing seemed to imply. In 1982, after getting my master's degree, I didn't really know what happened to me as I started to take writing seriously. Later on, I realized that the writing urge was always inside me, and it came out just when I was ready for it. That's why I don't think it was up to me, really, to choose writing. Rather, it is the other way around: writing chose me.

When I saw my writings in print for the first time, followed by my name, something was born in me. You feel that life is worth living, a new discovery of my real self. This feeling changed me. It gave me confidence, pleasure, and, first of all, an orientation. As I have been wondering how I could introduce myself to the work, writing gave me my identity. I also felt that I could communicate my ideas, especially to women, to get their reaction. Since then, I never stopped writing, whether short stories, essays, or poetry. Now, I said to myself, what's wrong with having two female writers in one family? To my surprise, I had a fighter in me, but didn't know what to fight for.

In my writings, I try to create a new image of the Egyptian woman: a woman who is economically and psychologically independent; who respects herself as a mind and a body; a woman who thinks and criticizes; a woman who does not give up her work or creativity for the sake of being an obedient wife or devoted mother; a woman who is convinced that her

worth is realized through her own life and work, not through a man or husband or children. In my writings, I show that marriage is just a choice, and not a destiny, and without which, women can go ahead and be happy. In my writings, I also try to show how difficult this is and the high price women pay for their freedom. My mother always tells me that women, either choosing slavery or freedom, pay a high price. So we better pay it and be free.

I wrote an article titled "My Three Deformities," in which I described how my problem is triple-fold: being a female, being a creative writer, being single. As a female, I am looked upon as inferior to the male sex in the traditions and some of the laws, and in the eyes of some fanatics who interpret religion as a way to press women backwards. As a creative writer, I suffer from the traditional school of literary criticism. And if you are talking about male leadership in politics and economics, I think we should also include male leadership in the spheres of cultural leadership and the arts. According to the majority of male critics, my writings are considered subjective against men, against femininity, against religion, against the family, and against morality. In fact, this might be true. Since creativity means breaking through old systems and old traditions, and to be engaged in an everlasting process of reforming our lives, as a single or unmarried woman, I am looked upon as odd -- even immoral. Marriage is the utmost ambition of a virtuous women. Also, in my writings, I try to express myself as a part of the whole universe.

Regarding the issues of leadership of women, I think that two kinds of leadership must go hand-in-hand: leading in the fields of political and economic and business decision-making, considering women's priorities, and leadership in our personal, daily lives. I have an Egyptian friend who is a successful and famous business woman, who has proved to be efficient enough to head an advertising company; however, she is going to get married only to be accepted by society. She told me, "I don't want to fight in two fronts." I feel that there is a sort of contradiction, a gap, between leading other people in different workplaces and leading our

own personal lives. We need to understand why this contradiction happens to some of us. We need to understand why it is always difficult to begin with ourselves. In my case, I don't experience this contradiction because I write what I live. And because what I live is the exception, I hope that my writings are leading for a new horizon for Egyptian women.

Finally, I say that meeting all of you here can only give me more inspiration, more courage in my life and in my writings to go against the current. I hope we can solve all our disagreements and differences and stick to what is really common between us. It can create a new world, a more human one.

Garry Hynes (Ireland)
Artistic Director, Abbey Theatre

I would like to detail my own experience and how I came into theater. I am currently Artistic Director at the Abbey Theatre, but actually came into theater directly from university by founding a theater company in Galway, on the west coast of Ireland, called Druid Theatre Company. I was born, in a sense, to a privileged, middle-class background where I had every expectation of going to university -- and I indeed did -- where I could be financially supported in so doing. I went to the university in the early 1970s, at a time where, certainly in Ireland, any thing was possible. There was no sense in my mind that I would be prevented from doing anything that I wanted to do. I was also privileged in the sense that I was born into a family that encouraged that sense, and who saw no reason why I should not do anything I wanted. In that respect, I would say that my sense of any difficulties in my position, being a woman in the world, or a woman in the arts, simply wasn't there. I think I suffered from ignorance in that instance.

My personal [goal of] founding Druid Theatre Company [was based on the fact] that there was no professional theater outside of Dublin at the time. I asked, with all the innocence of youth, why that should be. There was every reason that there should be professional theater in

Galway. People have often said that it was an act of courage. In no sense was [that correct]: it was an act of youth. Within about five or six years, when the company came to some national attention, questions started to be asked of me which I didn't understand: "How do you feel to be a woman running a theater?" I literally didn't understand the question, because I had never thought of it like that. Nothing in my past experience had ever given me a sense that I should think myself to be particularly privileged or to have particularly achieved something because I was a woman running a theater company.

The point I really want to make from all this is that I did not know how lucky I was. In the sense that I was doing something that had not been done before, I was free to define myself as I wanted to define myself. I think if I had attempted to go into theater by the established route, if I had decided, for instance, that I wanted to be a theater director and started by becoming a trainee in a theater, I am quite sure that I would be a different director now, and a different person. That is the critical point that concerns me: that we are able to create a world in which we can express ourselves in some direct way, not as some consequence of the fact that we are women.

To me, the critical point is the recording of women's achievements and the recording of women's place in the world. My central concern now, in my position as Artistic Director at the Abbey, is the absence of women writers. The fact is that in Ireland we do not have a major woman writer for the theater in the same rank as the established male writers. This is in a country that is renowned for its writing, and has been celebrated internationally for its writing. That is my crucial concern, and I think the difficulties of that are far greater than perhaps I would have anticipated many years ago when I was setting off on my career in theater.

Diana Meehan (USA)

President & Founder, VU Productions

Last night, at one o'clock in the morning, I discovered a terrible thing: my speech which I had been working on for many weeks, which I had rewritten to make a little shorter, had disappeared. My speech was going to be on the diversity of women's voices. In my younger days, I would have stayed up all night rewriting it, but now I am older, and I went to bed. I decided that I would let women's voices be my speech.

*In childhood, the homeland was love.
My mother's warm breast, the smell of milk, my
father's hand on a cold night, covering me.
My grandmother's voice on summer evenings,
telling tales of monsters and sea sprites.
The aroma of bread and cactus, and grass.
The jug on my cousin Fatima's head, brimful of
water of the Nile.
The waves of the sea at Alexandria
and the roar of students in the street, shouting,
"Down with the king!"*

[That was a poem by] Nawal El-Saadawi.

*Little has come down to me of hers:
a sewing machine, a wedding band,
a collection of photos,
the sting of her hand across my face
in one of our wars
when we had grown bitter and apart.
Some say that's the fate of the eldest daughter.
I wish now she'd lasted until after I'd grown up
We might have made a new start
as women without tags
like mother, wife, sister, daughter,
taken our chances from there.
At 42, she headed for God knows where.
I've never gone back to visit her grave.
She's bending over crimson cloth.
The other kids are long in bed
late summer, cold enough for a fire,
she works by fading light
to remake an old dress for me.
It's the first day back at school for me tomorrow.
"Pure lambswool, plenty of wear in it yet.
You know, I wore this
when I went out with your Da*

*I was supposed to be down at a friend's house.
Your Granda caught us at the corner.
He dragged me in by the hair
it was as long as yours then
in front of the whole street.
He called your Da every name under the sun
corner boy, lout.
I needn't tell you what he called me.
He shoved my whole head under the kitchen tap
took a scrubbing brush and carbolic soap
and in ice cold water
he scrubbed every speck of lipstick and mascara
off my face.
Christ, but he was a right tyrant your Granda.
It'll be over my dead body anybody harms a hair
on your head."
She must have stayed up half the night
to finish the dress.
I found it airing at the fire.
Three new copy books on the table and a bright,
bronze nib, St. Christopher strung on a silver wire
as if I were embarking on a perilous journey to
uncharted Romes.
I wore that dress with little grace
to me it spelled poverty, stigma of a second hand
I grew enough to pass it on by Christmas to the
next in line.*

[That poem was by] Paula Meehan.

"Today, masses of Black women in the US refuse to acknowledge that they have much to gain by feminist struggle. They fear feminism. They have stood in place so long that they are afraid to move. They are afraid of change. They fear losing what little they have. They are afraid to openly confront white feminism with their racism, or Black males with their sexism. Not to mention confronting white men with their racism and sexism. I have sat in many a kitchen and heard Black women express a belief in feminism, and eloquently critique the women's movement, explaining their refusal to participate. I have witnessed their refusal to express the same views in a public setting. I know their fear exists because they have seen us trampled upon, raped, abused, slaughtered, ridiculed, and mocked. Only a few Black women have rekindled the spirit of struggle that stirred

the hearts and minds of our 19th century sisters. We, Black women who advocate feminist ideology, are pioneers. We are clearing a path for ourselves and our sisters. We hope that as they see us reach our goals, no longer victimized, no longer unrecognized, no longer afraid, they will take courage and follow."

[That was by Belle Hooks.]

Salem Mekuria (Ethiopia)

Documentary Filmmaker

I was hoping that I would not have to add to more bad news than we have had so far. But it seems to be our lot, especially when speaking about women and the arts in Africa, of which I cannot be an authority. But I do have to mention some things about African women in filmmaking, which is my field. African women are virtually absent from filmmaking, and the media in general. There are some people who are struggling within the countries to survive in the existing government-controlled television and film. But most have not been able to reach any level of independence or creative self-expression. I salute those who are there and struggling through to do whatever it is they are allowed to do. My personal experience and my effort to represent images and issues of African women have to be understood in the context of this wider picture.

African filmmakers in general, and women in particular, face overwhelming odds in our effort to make films on the continent or outside of the continent. Among these are lack of infrastructure in many countries; continued dependence on the West for training, technical expertise, and financing; monopolistic control of the distribution network by the West, which is well-known throughout the Third World -- we have to compete with imported soaps; language diversity and the search for a common means of communication; illiteracy, the main problem, especially for subtitled films; a hostile cultural and political environment in most African countries. [These are the impediments to] the development of independent creative expression,

especially that of women, and even when films are produced by men or women, many of them end up being banned in their own countries.

The lack of indigenous critical voices is very, very important because African cinema is denied its most important audience, the African people. This has made it difficult for indigenous critical voices to develop. Many of the films are better known outside than in their home countries. There is sort of a vicious circle created here because the lack of critical voices has impeded the growth and development of African films and filmmaking. There is an interplay there. So when this history is applied to examine the participation of women both behind and in front of the cinematic camera, as well as in the critical literature arena, there is a deafening silence of African women's voices. They are neither representing themselves nor talking about their representation; nor is anyone else examining the issue of how women are represented or why they are not making films. So filmmaking in Africa, whatever of it there is, is a totally male domain, especially outside the government-controlled media and the really nascent independent filmmaking. Men, especially in the independent arena, seem to manage to carve out small niches and succeed in sustaining a fledgling industry while, as a friend and a film historian André Watkins noted, African women on the continent and in the diaspora are still playing the nurturing role of mothering, festivals, and libraries.

Even if we succeeded in overcoming the logistics of financing and obstacles of exclusionary policies, we are still faced with an uphill struggle in our effort to express ourselves and to represent our images and our issues as African women. In the first place, we have to combat a slew of stereotypes -- the list is endless -- which have dominated our representation in films today, both by African men and others. I don't think I need to get into the list, because they have been listed in many different ways here.

I cannot help but remember a quote from *Season of Enemy*, when the male protagonist Ofe declared, "Vision is eternally of man's own creating. The woman's acceptance, her

collaboration in man's vision of life, results time and again in the periodic embodiment of earth and ideal." This is a classic example of the indigenous patriarchal fantasies of female subordination with which we still have to contend. Transgressors, like most of my sisters and myself, pay a high price for defying these fantasies. The experience of intimidation and ostracism you have heard about over and over again here. As an African woman filmmaker, I am truly exotic, a freak. In order to practice my art, I live in exile -- I live in the United States -- and my films are exiled. I am made to question the legitimacy of my own vision, so how can I continue to be deprived of my most important audience and source of inspiration, that is my people, and survive, create, and be legitimate? How can I provide assistance to those women on the continent whose creativity is being suppressed and snapped out before their voices are heard? How can I continue to straddle worlds, with demands so conflicted as to make me believe I am betraying sacred traditions when all I do is expose the brutality of these traditions to women's bodies, to our voices, to our health, to our growth, to being human? Where do I go from here?

My search for a voice and my own creativity is intricately tied to that of Africans everywhere. I am convinced, as an African and a woman, that our absence from self-representation denies us the opportunity to play meaningful roles in the true development of our societies; deprives our societies of a powerful source of wisdom and energy; let alone depriving the development of our own personal potential. It is my privilege to take the task of articulating women's experiences from every angle of vision: the political, social, and personal, the biological, sexual, and spiritual. [It is my privilege] to treat every woman's thoughts and feelings with the respect, depth, complexity, richness, and critical eye that my ability will allow me. Yet I recognize that our struggle is part and parcel of the struggle of Africans and all oppressed people as a whole. But the exclusion of our voices, our visions, our aspirations, and experiences, I believe is detrimental to any desirable outcome of this struggle. I intend to keep fighting (and being a freak) anyone,

woman or man, who stands for exclusion or keeps me from doing what I want to do.

Larisa Vasilieva Nikolaevna (Russia)

Poet

I will begin with a small poem in Russian, the language of Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, and Pushkin -- not such a bad language. The translation will be a little later.

Poem in Russian

Well, a friend, a gentleman, a good writer, a poet, often told me that poetry and women are a paradox. Nonsense, it is nothing. Women must be muses. They must give inspiration, but [to be poets] themselves is abnormal. I never heard him, because I was more successful than him. Maybe not better, but successful. I had more readers, more books, and I was strong. But sometimes I began to think that he was right. If we think about women's past in literature, we had our heights -- for example, Sappho, Inez De la Cruz, the Brönte sisters, Margaret Mitchell, Emily Dickenson, and so forth -- in our century. But on the wuthering heights, where live Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Tolstoy, Chekhov, another case. But maybe in the future.

This gentleman told me one awful thing. In nature, [there is] the same situation: a male nightingale sings songs, but the female nightingale [makes] the children. I closed my mouth and thought. I was always very proud, and then during the poetry meeting, the moderator said, "And now we will hear the woman, Larisa Vasilieva. A chance for a woman. She is a poetess, but she is much more than a poetess; she is a real poet." I am a poor creature; I was awfully proud. You know, I was typically a spoiled woman. But one day the poetry meeting was with our union of writers and there was an election on the tutorial board. Among 100 men, there were 25 women of different ages from different parts of the literary circle, left-wingers, right-wingers, poets, writers, essayists. But they all were [acting out] with laughter, with jokes; it was awful. At that

moment, something new was born in me. I rushed to the podium and cried, "All women here, we must be together. We must begin to speak." At that time, we began a new life. Now, as a result, we have a league of women writers in our country.

I have one proposal. We have power in the 20th century, a new power of women. Betty Friedan, thank you for that. And we have new power in the mass media, especially television. I am really sure that we must have an international center. We began this in our country, but we need the center in one place for mass media, for every country. We must have a television channel with our women, international newspapers and magazines just with women's points of view; not just for us, [but also] for them, our beloved men who just are near the end with us. We can't struggle with them; we must help them with our love. This center can do it.

I would like to finish by translating my small poem into English, because it is about love.

*I am in love and can do everything
I am in love and I am disappearing
You are everywhere, in my every step,
in my every glance
Tell me I can go to the fire
Tell me I can come from the fire just alive
You are everywhere
But my mother looks at me very sorry
and says nothing*

Diana Meehan (USA)

Moderator

Now we will go to the audience to have a dialogue, with questions and comments. Is there anyone in the audience who would like to share thoughts?

Questions & Answers:

Alice Shalvi (Israel)

I, for many years, taught a drama class at the Hebrew University and my question is addressed to Garry Hynes. One of the things that strikes me is that while there are very many women novelists, and particularly lyric poets, there is a strange absence of women dramatists. I long thought that was because of the politics or economics of theater, that you have to have someone who is prepared to back your play. That has not been sufficiently addressed, by the way, the economics of writing. Now there are a significant and increasing number of women producers and directors, and yet I don't think we're seeing a similar increase in the number of women dramatists.

Is it possible that there are some artistic forms which women artists find more congenial than others, and that perhaps the absence of women in some artistic areas may be rather in our modes of expressing ourselves than any external, objective factor?

Garry Hynes (Ireland)

The point is that that is very true. The gap between women writers in theater and women writers in other forms is so great as to beget major questions as to why this should be the case. Obvious answers come to mind. Your appropriate address to the economic issue of it [was right], that in order to get a play produced, a writer must become involved in a very public form of activity; whereas to write a novel, it is completed in a private way. On a personal level -- [this may] be controversial -- I realize that the writing of women is often private in a way that is inappropriate to the public nature of the theater. I am, in some way that I can't explain, frequently disappointed and frustrated by both the theme and the form of a lot of the women's writing I read.

Remedios Rikken (The Philippines)

I would like to follow up on that comment. We have literary awards that encourage people to write plays. But we find it an anomaly: we call them filing cabinet plays -- because they are judged as written plays. I used to head a theater group, and the only way to produce playwrights is to let them write and critique their play. A play that is not put on stage is not a play. We felt the only way to encourage playwrights was to put on what we called the aesthetics of poverty. The theater doesn't have to have perfect costumes or a perfect set or stage. To us, a stage is anywhere: it can be under the trees, or under a house. The thing is to fill the space and to encourage playwrights, to encourage directors to direct, and people to act. This whole philosophy of theater has to be changed.

At the same time, we are also beginning to get women writers. We need to get creative writers together. In the Philippines they are now beginning to come together and say that women are creating alternative cultures and alternative futures. These are women, and I would like to endorse the possibility of networking among women writers as they put themselves together on a national level, on a regional level, and on an international level.

We reviewed our concept of theater; we reviewed our 15-year production; and we found out that we are coming out with certain aesthetics, which we call the aesthetics of poverty. This is now written. Maybe I can share this with you; this is from the Philippine Educational Agenda Association. At the same time, we have networking in Asia and we have now come together to call ourselves the International Popular Theater Alliance. We are beginning to put ourselves on a regional and global level with our networking. But [there is] a certain philosophy of theater -- the theater is people, and it must be in the hands of people. It's not a stage, it's not a building. The theater is a living thing.

Raana Shaikh (Pakistan)

I would like to add something here, to when you talked about theater being in different places, not necessarily a theater building. In Pakistan, we have several women's theater groups that are performing in the street theater. They go around small villages, and [present] plays with a message. Then, there are theaters that are called experimental groups, that are performing in gardens and houses of whoever invites them. Then, there are the professional theater groups. We do try to make an effort, but I agree with you that networking is important.

Salem Mekuria (Ethiopia)

I am not sure if I can draw a parallel between theater and film, but there are a lot of African women who are writing extremely, exquisitely brilliant novels which have found limited readers because of the illiteracy problem. I would like to see [these novels] made into films. I am not sure whether it is possible to adapt novels to plays. But if there are novels that can be made into films, then I'm pretty sure the same kind of treatment can be applied to make them into plays. I am not sure then that there is a scarcity of dramatic writing material. A lot of the novels are very dramatic, materials that explain and contain beautiful expositions of women's lives.

Participant-Observer (Ireland)

I have a problem, but I have a plan and I need your help. I am not a trained volunteer; I am actually a civil engineer. I consider myself an artist because civil engineering is the art of creation. It can be the creation of monstrosities and it can be the creation of wonderful projects that enrich our lives. I have worked in the North Sea on a drilling ship, as the only woman among 45 men. I did that for a year until my body could not longer cope. I need other women engineers, and I am doing everything I can to encourage women students to finish their degrees, and to encourage teenage girls to take engineering. However, I have analyzed a way in

which we can solve this problem. If girls were encouraged to be interested in the art of engineering at a very early age, they would become engineers. Therefore, I would like to talk about the art of teaching. This is where you can help. If, at the primary school level, there were engineering on every syllabus, girls would see their teachers as role models who are interested in engineering. So please, my appeal to you is this: re-evaluate your own ideas about civil engineering. It is an art. Go to the schools of your children and your grandchildren and your friends' children, and make sure that there is engineering on the syllabus, and make sure that there are engineers involved at that level.

Vicki Miles LaGrange (USA)

During my last six years in the Oklahoma State Senate, as a member of that body, I have become acutely attuned to just how much impact the arts have on politics and in helping to resolve social problems. I see how art forms can occupy young minds. They have actually impacted the problem of gang violence in an inner city urban area through summer programs. I have actually seen how art, sponsored by the state through various programs, can give hope to young people by enabling them to communicate ideas and provide a vehicle for their own creative expression. It is a concern in Oklahoma and in the United States for people of color, like myself. I was reminded of it when you read the poem, Diana [Meehan], and mentioned Black women who found it difficult to get in step with notions of feminism because of overriding concerns of racism.

My question to the panel is: What role can women play in creating a more diverse opportunity for various expressions of art forms? The predominant art which is given validity, which is legitimized in the United States is so Eurocentric that the opportunities are not there as much for non-majority artists. There are two instances that recently occurred in America. The first was the silencing of a Black filmmaker, Spike Lee, by a major film production house in California, right in the middle of a somewhat controversial film. Another example of the

quelling of non-Eurocentric art expression was the incident between a major presidential candidate [Bill Clinton] and a Black female rap artist [Sister Souljah] in America. I am begging for help, because if women don't do it, it is obviously not going to get done by the male community, as history tells us.

Wilhelmina Holladay (USA)

I am delighted that Vicki brought that up. I would like to speak to the whole audience on the issue of the arts in general. Every civilization since the beginning of time has known that the arts were absolutely essential for a healthy society. Without them, people become ill. The most primitive tribes dances to the beat of a drum and paint their faces. I think that as you look over history, the women have been the ones who have promoted the arts. It is something that we can and must do at every single level. I can't speak for other countries, but in America it's the first thing the leaders cut out; if the budget gets tight, the arts go. The drug addicts in Washington, DC are not hungry for food. They are spiritually bereft, and the only way we can feed the spirit is through the arts. That is the chief way. It has always been a part of our religion, etc. So, Vicki, not only for Black people, but for all people, we really must do everything we can to promote the arts.

Alma Adams (USA)

I want to thank my sister from Oklahoma for her comments, because basically I had something to say about that. I am Alma Adams from Greensboro, North Carolina, in the United States. I am an artist, I am an educator, and I am also a local politician in my city. I have been an advocate for the arts for many years. I am proud to say that in our city, we have devoted a large part of our budget to an area that we call parks and recreation, where our arts feed into. I have a concern, as an African American, as an artist, and as an educator: I have been working for the past two years to establish a local art gallery in our city to

promote the works of African American artists. I had a particular question, as I looked at the brochure from the National Museum of Women in the Arts, which I have not visited...but the next time I am in Washington, DC I will certainly come. I looked at some of the women you mention here, and in the whole context of African American expression, I saw Alma Thomas. I wondered if you had any other works by African American women artists as a part of your collection, and what the possibility might be for at least having some dialogue with you because I have been an executrix for the estate of Eva Hamlin Miller, whom you may not know, but who was an outstanding African American artist, and we are having concerns about her collection and what we might do with that. So, what other artists do you have, and what might be the interest of the museum in increasing [the inclusion of African American women artists]?

Wilhelmina Holladay (USA)

We do have quite a few Black artists represented, but I'd like to tell you another thing we are very actively doing. We just finished a show called "Through Sisters' Eyes." Lois Jones, a wonderful Black artist in America in the 1930s, discovered that all the children's books she was reading to her children had blonde, blue-eyed [children in the] illustrations. So she created some wonderful children's books with Black children in the illustrations, and since then, African American women artists have continued that tradition. So we had a large exhibition with all the children's books in cases, plus the originals on the wall. We invited the inner city children, with a former elementary school teacher, who is a volunteer, to a viewing of the originals. Then, the children would sit down on the floor and were read a story. Of course, they loved it. [First Lady Barbara] Bush actually came and read to a group also. It was so well-received because the children were told that if they would come in on the weekend with their parents, all of the books would be available for their parents or another adult to read to them. I went in on a Saturday, and there were six Black families in the library reading to their children. So it was successful, and now it is

travelling to New Jersey, where it will be in two museums there. And many people have approached us. Wherever anybody can raise the money to have it come -- it's all put together, so it doesn't cost an enormous amount -- we'll be sending it around the country. So not only do we have Black women artists represented, but we're trying very hard to promote their work and to utilize it to help their children.

Mary Lou Cook (USA)

I am Mary Lou Cook from Santa Fe, [New Mexico]. I would like to share with you for one minute having taught creativity around the country for years and years and years, and having lived it. The thing that we need to realize is that every human being is born creative. Not everyone uses his or her creativity, because after a few years in school, it is usually drummed out of us. We are convinced we shouldn't sing, we shouldn't do this, because we aren't creative. Every person has creativity. What we need to do is to listen to our heart and find what it is that we are supposed to do. We are not a whole human being if we are not using our creativity. When we do, then starts self-esteem, then starts the pleasures of using the things that we have inside of us.

Mona Helmy (Egypt)

I think what you say is very true, especially for women. Patriarchy uses a trick to my mind. It does not deny creativity for women; rather, it shifts the place and meaning of creativity. So they say that women can be creative, but they can only create children. [They say] men create ideas and art and things like that. So we are creative, but we are limited, and we are not supposed to create super things. I think this we have to realize this.

Mary Freehill (Ireland)

I am Mary Freehill. I am a politician, and I chair the Cultural Committee of Dublin. I was

particularly concerned at the comments that Garry Hynes made about the very few women dramatists that are emerging in this city, this city that is really the cradle of 20th century writers and dramatists. That is a job we must face. As a politician, I must take that very seriously, and I hear what you said. Given that we have our report on the arts that we are looking at, I think it is very timely, and that we should add this to the agenda. Some of the speakers early on talked about the economic issues and the various problems for women to emerge in the field. I think it is ideal that we pick up the point that you have made, and that we women who are involved in this area come together in Dublin and look at ways of how we can support women dramatists, whether it is through bursaries or other sorts of support. It certainly deserves to be looked at. I will be in contact with you, and I hope that any other women in this city who are also concerned that perhaps we can examine that in the coming year.

Garry Hynes (Ireland)

I would like to respond to that, to say that anything we can do in that area would be very important. I would like to say one further thing, however. I sometimes wonder if perhaps women are getting into the [position] whereby they are interpreting and reinterpreting existing works. In that sense, they are beginning the process of creating a world where women then can write.

Somehow, it seems to me from time to time that we are going through some necessary way of changing the place, changing the space women occupy in the world. I don't know if that's the case, but that's how I give myself a certain sense of optimism.

Marilyn Safir (Israel)

I would like to continue the point of [Vicki Miles LaGrange] from Oklahoma, and respond a bit to what Wilhelmina [Holladay] said. I think that we saw very good examples on the panel that art is subversive, and I thank God

that it's subversive because all of you are going around and changing the world. That is a very good example why the money was cut from Spike Lee and why there was the response to the rap singer, and why you are exiled -- we can go on and on. I think that we have to be supportive of women artists, and as long as art is subversive and challenging the major cultural view of the world, we're all in danger of being cut off. I think we have to be very sure, and I'm happy to see that women politicians are concerned and coming out to support female artists.

Chung Hyun Kyung (Korea)

My name is Chung Hyun Kyung, I am a feminist theologian from Korea. I am glad you exist, because I always tell my students that the people who are closest to God are artists, not priests. So, thank you for your creativity, and thank you for being here. I come here with a special request. After all these years of our struggle in the student movement and feminist movement, talking about justice and political change all the time, I really discovered that the thing which really can change people from the gut, from the deepest part of the soul, is beauty. Genuine beauty touches us, and we are changed. I am saying this because I am going to make a special request for all of you. In 1998, it will be 500 years [since] Vasco de Gama arrived in Asia and Africa and exploited our continent. What we decided to do was make a street theater called Jubilee Theater. It is a group of people from Asia, Africa, Latin America, a group of artists who are organized to make a political statement for Jubilee: we are not going to pay foreign debt any longer. What we are going to do is make a political drama in front of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the White House, and wherever else possible in the world. We will mobilize this movement. I am telling you, wherever you hear about the Jubilee movement, three or four years from now, buy the ticket. Spread the word, connect with your own media women, write about it, and support them. Organize your people so that this idea is not just visionary, but something we have to do to survive.

Diana Meehan (USA)

Moderator

We have to end now. We will close with a line. The beginning piece [I read was written] by Nawal El-Saadawi, Mona's mother. When we were at the session of the International Planning Committee of the Forum in Vermont, it happened that Nawal told us a story about her imprisonment for her writings. She was brutally treated in prison, and she was brutally treated in the press in country. She said, "But when I came out, one person of all had not lost faith with me. One person reached out and embraced me. That is what made me strong." That person was her daughter, Mona Helmy, who is with us today.

The last writer I quoted was Belle Hooks. She wrote, "Although my focus is on the Black female, our struggle for liberation has significance only if it takes place within a feminist movement that has, as its fundamental goal, the liberation of all people." Amen.

CALL TO ACTION

Sunday, July 12

Introduction

[The discussions at the 1992 Global Forum of Women have revealed not only rich fields of information and analysis, and alternative approaches to nation-building developed by women, but also the convergence of their thought in challenging existing paradigms in global governance, whether in politics, economics, or environmental protection. These capabilities, especially since they encompass global and international networks and discourse, need to be consolidated and expressed.

The 1995 United Nations World Conference on Women, to be held in Beijing, China, offers an opportunity for the expression of that convergence and that alternative paradigm. Therefore, we appeal to the United Nations, especially its women-oriented specialized agencies, to initiate a wide-ranging consultative process which will build and draw on these capabilities in working towards Beijing.]

Redefining Political Leadership

Sisters from all around the world, we came here to share, to learn our experiences and visions for a better future and for better leadership. It is time for us to go home and to take action. It is also my pleasure to read, on behalf of the Political Leadership panel, the action recommendations.

The 1992 Global Forum of Women strongly recommends that by the year 2000 there should be a minimum of 40 percent or a maximum of 60 percent of either sex in all public policy making groups, national or international. We therefore make the following action recommendations to achieve political parity.

A. National Structures

1. At a time of increasing discontent with political structures globally, it is recommended that political parties actively develop and implement a system for integrating women at all levels of elective and appointed office by: progressive affirmative action with established goals within a specific time frame; allocating resources to train women to run for public office in order to create a pool of candidates; and establishing reforms aiming at gender parity in party memberships and leadership.
2. Consistent with local national practices, women should consider the development of other appropriate political mechanisms for achieving parity in politics, such as creating women's parties, alliances, or national electoral committees.

B. International Structures

All transnational policymaking groups such as the United Nations, the World Bank, World Court, or International Monetary Fund must be gender balanced.

C. Political Mobilization

Women's organizations and leaders worldwide MUST launch a campaign to activate the women's vote at the local and national level. This includes educating women to vote on issues that affect their daily lives; mobilizing women to vote for women candidates who represent their views; and holding all candidates accountable, once elected, for addressing women's issues.

Restructuring Work & Family

The 1992 Global Forum of Women draws attention to the fact that most work done by women is undervalued, and either underpaid or

not paid at all. The Forum believes that there is an urgent need to bestow recognition and hence dignity on the work done by women, and to remunerate it adequately. The Forum further believes that it is necessary to restructure the relationship between family responsibilities and the workplace so that these two worlds are more easily reconciled in the lives of all workers.

As we know, the International Labour Organization (ILO) is a tripartate body, representing labour, employers, and government. ILO is the mother of all protective laws related to work and social security. However, ILO today is reaching only the formal sector. A very large majority (80 to 90 percent) of the labour force of the world, especially in developing countries, is in the unorganized, informal, self-employed sector. These sectors are primarily composed of women, whose representation is totally absent in ILO today. It is "high time" that ILO have fair representation of the labour force in the unorganized, informal, self-employed sector (especially women). *Therefore, we appeal to the ILO to restructure its organization and policies so as to have fair representation of the current labour force in the world.*

In addition, the Global Forum of Women calls for the following reforms:

1. National governments should be encouraged to support the measurement of unpaid work in the home.
2. The International Labour Organization (ILO) must produce a new definition of "work" which includes a woman's unwaged work.
3. The ILO must develop a Convention to provide a forum for home-based workers.
4. Governments must be pressured to develop policies for paid maternity leave policies to ensure that women in the work force do not have to suffer economic discrimination because they have chosen to remain home for the early period of a child's life; and

child care should be expanded to meet the needs of both parents and children.

5. Governments should create social security credits, or comparable compensation, for time spent away from work on family responsibilities.
6. Incentives must be developed for employers and trade unions to facilitate parental leave arrangements being utilized by men.
7. Governments should be asked to establish mechanisms for monitoring the economic impact on women of all government programs and policies.

Reclaiming Religious Freedom

1. As women of faith, we affirm the value and validity of religious belief and spirituality in women's lives. We call on women to claim their equal place within religious tradition and institutions, and to take the lead in working for women's rights in both church and state.
2. We call for an increase in women's opportunities and access to religious education, particularly at the higher levels of study. Opportunities for women to serve as leaders as well as students should be expanded.
3. Eliminate patriarchally rooted barriers to women's full participation in public life. We call on civil society to enact gender-neutral, non-discriminatory, justice-based laws in all areas, including family law.
4. Eliminate patriarchally rooted barriers to women's full participation within religious life. We call on religious bodies to open ordained and informal ministries to women as well as men.
5. We affirm the capacity of women as moral agents, capable of taking complex decisions in all aspects of their lives, including sexuality and reproduction. We call on

religious bodies to refrain from seeking laws that would constrain their freedom.

6. We affirm the sacredness of our bodies and seek the elimination of practices such as genital mutilation, justified on religious grounds, which violate this.
7. We affirm diversity in the women's movement and call on our sisters to respect, affirm, and assist those of us who have chosen religious and spiritual paths.

Rethinking Food as a Macroeconomic Issue

1. The 1992 Global Forum of Women strongly recommends that by the year 2000, food security should become a human right, not only for people in developing countries, but for all whose health status and/or social productive performance have deteriorated because their intake of food is either too low in quantity, or the wrong kind, or both.
2. Because growth today is the only barometer of human activities, and because food tends to be, in certain regions, classified as a women's issue, food security is therefore rarely approached as a macroeconomic issue. The Global Forum of Women recommends a rethinking of the international economic system in relation to food, using various strategies experienced by women all over the world, in a way that gives food security a central position.
3. Because food is linked with the environment and culture of each individual community, the Global Forum of Women recommends that all national strategies on food security be based on local surveys that highlight local needs and preferences, instead of relying solely on the "doom and gloom" figures of international institutions and the media.
4. To achieve these goals, the methodology needs to be based on the interrelation between the various sectors that lead to

food security. How humankind manages the three components of the biosphere has a direct impact on respect for human welfare: Is land well distributed? Are oceans and all the waters carefully exploited? How is the gas envelope of the atmosphere protected? These have a direct relation to the availability of resources, and constitute the starting point of the crusade for the fulfillment of human needs, including the human right for food. The management of the interrelationship of these various sectors is key to food security for women, men, and children throughout the world.

Media & the Changing Image of Women

1. We recommend developing a global network of organizations that monitors how women are covered in the press.
2. We recommend setting up a structure to distribute the network's findings to the press and to women.
3. We recommend encouraging women around the world to speak out about unfair coverage of women or lack of coverage regarding women.
4. We recommend supporting and encouraging symposia around the world that bring women in the media together to discuss common concerns with special emphasis on improving the coverage about and by women.
5. We recommend supporting and encouraging women's participation in male-dominated media meetings around the world. We recommend that male-dominated media meetings include women as speakers and attendees at levels that more closely represent the proportion of women in the population.
6. We recommend supporting and encouraging international exchange programs that allow

media women, especially those in less developed or war-torn countries, the chance to learn or utilize others' resources.

7. We recommend that the role of women in the media remain a component of all future women's global fora.]
8. The 1992 Global Forum of Women acknowledges the suggestion presented by the Spanish delegation that a follow-on summit be organized in Barcelona, Spain, to continue to address pressing issues facing women worldwide.

Valuing Women's Health

In order to improve the status of women, we must ensure that women have access to appropriate services and information, and that medical research focus on medical conditions impacting worldwide -- beginning with heart disease, cancer and AIDS. What changes in policy, research, and program design will facilitate greater access to and more adequate health care for women? The panel members reached the following conclusions and put forward these recommendations.

1. We insist on all women having the right to information in order to empower us to make important health choices during our lifetimes. This is especially urgent during this time when the AIDS epidemic is gaining on women. Education must be integrated into primary health care, family planning, and safe motherhood initiatives.
2. We demand the right to choose what we feel is best for our own personal well-being.
3. We must keep harmful practices and policies toward women in the spotlight to put pressure on those who impose these practices to desist. Specifically, these include:
 - putting an end to traditional cultural practices that harm women when they

are young girls, such as genital mutilation;

- challenging policies and laws that disallow access to legal and safe abortion, contraceptive and family planning services, and overall health care for women.
4. We must underscore that violence against women is not the right of men. It is yet another way in which women are made to feel devalued so that they can know their place.
 5. We urge public agencies such as the United Nations and the World Health Organization to support women at the community/grassroots level to enable them to address their own health issues and priorities, rather than have decisions imposed on women by men who never sought their input.
 6. As an additional resolution from Irish colleagues, we vowed to include this as part of the women's health forum: Women's choices on family planning and abortion should not be restricted by any government policies or laws, and such choices should be recognized as universal political and human rights.

New Visions of Economic Leadership

Feminist leadership in economics requires new economics. Solutions to economic problems also have to come from women's own experiences. We recommend four actions: to name, to resist, to reconstruct, and to rebuild.

1. Experience reveals the inadequacies of the conceptual economic framework. Traditional economics do not include and prioritize the social, environmental, and cultural aspects of life. This means that decisions on how we provide for material needs values only monetary transactions. We call on activists, academics, researchers, and policymakers to construct a holistic economic theory and practice in which

immeasurable social, cultural, and environmental aspects are given equal value.

2. We recognize that the labour and cooperative movements are the main vehicles for their members to build up their economic and political strength. However, by and large, these movements have failed to reach the majority of the underprivileged, including women. We therefore recommend the revamping and reform of these movements to call on women to enter these movements in greater numbers for their work to be recognized, protected, and enhanced.
3. Women's economic issues cut across many sectors. We note the heightened consciousness of the environment and consumer movements vis-à-vis the role of women in global survival. We therefore recommend that the labor, cooperative, environment, and consumers movements close their ranks and unite in addressing common economic issues of strategic importance to women. Leadership among these movements must be decentralized and autonomous, drawing strength from a participatory base.
4. While we should encourage women entering positions of leadership at the political level, where women are usually most visible, we should emphasize more the strengthening of leadership at the grassroots level. We therefore recommend that opportunities be created to enable leaders to emerge at all levels.
5. The globalization of the economy and the accumulation of wealth in the hands of fewer and fewer people is leading to wars, violence, plunder of the earth, starvation, massive movements of refugees, and the destruction of human values. We, as women, believe that it is our responsibility to lead the resistance against transnational corporations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank. We will name the corporations and their owners, to build collective resistance to structural

adjustment policies in the Third World through education, organization, and mobilization. We call on the women's movement to unite with other people's movements to demand a moratorium on Third World debt. We call on our sisters in the industrialized countries to consider how their work and lifestyle may be changed in order to resist the power of multinational corporations.

Betty Friedan (USA)

Moderator

I would like to say a few words about the Global Forum of Women and what it can lead to. This spark that began in Iceland two years ago, and looked like it might die and then revived in Dublin a year ago, has culminated in this marvelous meeting. [As someone who] helped to organize this Global Forum of Women, and as someone who had something to do with the vision of the modern women's movement, I have to tell you my pride in your strength. Your strength and your new models of leadership that you are doing in all of your countries. I cannot believe the excellence and the spirit that is manifest here. It is so wonderful.

[I would like to thank] our sisters in Ireland [for] their hospitality, their passion. [I would also cite] the extremely hard work of the staff, Margret Fine-Davis, Monica Barnes, and Irene Natividad in bringing this about. [I am also thankful for] the help of all the people who funded this. Some of them are here: Diana Meehan and Donna Pepe and Anne Summers, who were either getting funds or found funds for us. This effort is quite incredible and I think it's going to be a long time before we really realize ourselves the implications of it all.

This is an endless process; it probably never will be finished. It's an evolution that is taking place. Maybe I'm a little ahead of my time again, thinking that we have a paradigm shift in leadership. We -- women as well as men -- are imperfect human beings. We are moving, though. You can see it here. We may make mistakes, we may trash our mothers, or each

other for two minutes, but we resolve it and we move on. We have started something wonderful going here.

Now, according to our paradigm shift of leadership, we leave behind no formal structure. The Global Forum of Women exists in this moment, and it also exists in this wonderful list of each other. I challenge you, any one of you, in any country: if you want a Global Forum of Women, then you've got the list. You initiate it, you organize it, you raise the funds for it, and seek help from us or invite us. My book will be done; I'll come. There is not going to be a secretariat anymore, after about a month. But you will have all of our addresses: Irene's in Washington, mine in New York. Everybody wants to do this now, so everybody should do it. But we have nothing to patent or put into a bureaucracy because there isn't going to be one. This is *sayonara*, temporary, *au revoir*, whatever. It is an exhilarating moment.

Monica Barnes, TD (Ireland)

Co-Chair, Irish Secretariat

1992 Global Forum of Women

Thank you for being with us down through the years. You have been an inspiration to us for so long. I won't take up the time of the Irish presentation, because it is coming from other Irish women. The fervor and energy that Betty [Friedan] described of Irish women, is going to be acknowledged in the presentation headed up by Kathleen Maher and Cathleen O'Neill.

[I would like to take] 30 seconds to acknowledge positive supports for other women in other countries. You've heard Betty Bigombe be mentioned. She is a member of the International Planning Committee, and played a tremendous part in the Montreal Summit, which Danielle Debbas, who is here, organized. Under President Yoweri Museveni, the traditional political system has been opened up to major participation for women. The new constitution is being written with grassroots participation of women, as well as women lawyers and parliamentarians. Already, the current government guarantees major participation by

women to the extent that one permanent seat in government councils must be held for a woman, and the men may compete for the other eight seats with women. Currently, the Minister of Agriculture is a woman, and has been since 1986. Betty Bigombe herself is Minister of State in charge of pacification and reconstruction. She earned that right, because, as all the others know, she literally and physically negotiated that kind of peace. We are very proud to have her as a role model. The first Minister for reconstruction was Gertrude Djouba, a guerrilla fighter. She is now in the Office of the Prime Minister. I know that the Irish women's group will rejoice and celebrate, with all the rest of the women universally, that this kind of positive action is happening in Uganda, and may it be replicated and multiplied in all our other countries as well. We are glad to be able to acknowledge it here today.

Statement by Community-Based Women's Collective:

Kathleen Maher (Ireland)

I suppose you question why we're [standing here on the floor with you and] not taking the platform. One of the things I'm concerned about is the hierarchal structures, so I really think it's important to be part of this whole group here today. So I begin.

Hello Sisters, it's lovely to finally get the chance to speak with you; to share our experience and vision with you all. In fact, to share our shared vision of shared leadership with you. Our opening song this morning is one way of sharing with you one of the ways we raise controversial topics when working with community based women's projects. Instead of writing dry, boring reports about classism, inequality, and paid or unpaid community work, we use creative, active education that is instantly accessible to our audience.

This song was written to expose the "class" ceiling that many community based women reach. After years of pre-training and re-

training in order to become paid community workers in their own areas, the projects that [the community-based women] have made viable do not employ them because they have no papers. The song records their search for "papers" and "affirmation".

Song

Cathleen O'Neill (Ireland)

[I would like to present a] small bit of background now about community based projects. There is a lot of inequality and discrimination in Ireland. More than one third of the Irish population lives in poverty, or below the poverty line, which is £48 per week total income, roughly 90 dollars to meet all needs. The people worst affected are women and children.

Community projects deal with the social and personal problems which that kind of inequality produces. They form information centers, drug centers, health groups, and adult education groups. As well as providing information, they also provide local role models of leadership and empowerment. We do that in much the same way as mentioned by President Robinson when she spoke of shared leadership and the "quiet, radical, continuing dialogue between the individual woman and the collective women."

President Robinson also said that we are the beneficiaries of a strong women's movement. The previous generation fought long and hard for the changes we now take for granted. For example, the removal of the marriage bar for women working in the civil service. But while they were fighting to remove the marriage bar, community based women were trying to remove the class bar, with less success. Unlike [those in] the previous women's movement who were only fighting the system, we found ourselves fighting both the system and other women. We are still.

Maria Thompson (Ireland)

Hello Sisters. My name is Maria Thompson. I live in Ballymun. I am a voluntary worker in a

family resource center in Ballymun. I am a community mother in a program set up to help give support and guidelines to first-time mothers. I am presently engaged in networking with other women's groups. I have a vision for Ballymun: to be part of, and help set up, a counseling service affordable to all.

Lorraine McMahon (Ireland)

Hello Sisters. My name is Lorraine McMahon, and I live in Ballymun. I am also a voluntary community worker in Ballymun, working with organizations such as the women's center. In the past, through shared leadership, I have helped improve the lives of many women in Ballymun through self-development and assertiveness classes, enabling them to rebuild their self-esteem and reclaim their own personal power. I was involved in setting up an organization in Ballymun called BEAT, Ballymun Education for Adult Development. At present, I am committed to making BEAT a people's center, a center coordinated by the people of Ballymun themselves, for themselves. My vision for future leadership is that women, with their gifts of vision, determination, and a new kind of leadership will work together -- regardless of class, color, or religion -- to encourage, enable, and empower one another for the greater good of all and not just the individual.

Lily McGuirk (Ireland)

Hello Sisters. My name is Lily McGuirk, and I live in the Glasnevin area, but spend all my time in Ballymun. For the past 18 years, I have been involved in an all-Irish speaking school in the area of Ballymun, which is thriving. At present, I have just finished a course [which] I hope [will allow me to] open my own preschool. I was instrumental in setting up the women's cooperative launderette in the Ballymun shopping center, which is also thriving. My vision, as I say, is to start running my own school and to keep the Irish language and culture alive for all the women in Ballymun.

Laura Hickey (Ireland)

Hello Sisters. My name is Laura Hickey and I am a local community activist in Kilbarrick and I am also a member of Klear. I was a member of the Kilbarrick direct action group in my own community, responsible for getting access to our local train station, clinics, dole offices, particularly for women and children with difficulty maneuvering the structures. Our vision is to re-landscape and redesign the local structures. I am also interested in women's health, particularly with my local sisters. Our vision has provided access to information and training in alternative health therapies. Also, we have provided a drop-in information service with advice, information, and ear, a chat, a cup of tea, and sometimes just a space to be in. My vision is simple: to have access, to have information, to have resources, to have support, to have a voice. My main consideration is to be able to share my experience with all my sisters and support and network in a real fashion, moving forward beside my sisters, with an equal platform, enjoying shared leadership.

Inez McCormack (Ireland)

Hello Sisters. My name is Inez McCormack. I am a trade union organizer. I come from the North of Ireland. I have been involved in efforts to build a network of women's groups across communities within Northern Ireland and from all corners of this island. This is why I have been asked to join this group today. I work for the people who clean and care for the communities, who do the dirty jobs, and who have no value placed on them by this society. They and I have spent most of a lifetime working to force a value on themselves and therefore for society to value them. That comes from the lessons I've learned from feminism. It comes from the methods of organization that you see here today. It comes from people learning to speak for themselves; and through speaking for themselves, forcing changes in power relationships. Those methods are effective, they are efficient. What we do may have been in the vision of feminism, translated into practical resistance. That resistance has

taken place in struggles in the streets and the courts, and in the communities. But it's based on seeing women and men as a whole, not separated at work and at home. In the place where I live, I am regarded as a powerful individual woman and a leader, but I know that I'm only a dangerous woman when that power and space I've taken is redefined as capacity and confidence in all women.

Moirá Dorgan (Ireland)

My name is Moirá Dorgan. I have been a community activist in Cork for the past 15 years, most of which was in a non-paid capacity. When you work with marginals, you are marginalized. I would like to speak about the work of the Cork Women's Action Group, of whom I am a voluntary member. I think our greatest achievement in the past of leadership is that we have survived; we have survived in a city where most groups and community organizations are controlled by one agency or another, either church or state. Over the past 10 years, we have supported and worked for education, adult literacy programs, and campaigning on welfare rights. We have raised consciousness among hundreds of women so that now increasing numbers of women, individually and in groups, are beginning to speak for themselves.

Our present leadership projects are in the community, where small, ordinary, extraordinary women overcome the family pressures of low income, [living] life in a community that is starved of resources, often dealing with domestic violence and abuse. Yet these women go on to organize a tree planting campaign, for instance, in a local community that's a concrete jungle. There's a story to that. That campaign originated when President Mary Robinson visited the center and one woman talked about a tree she had guarded for five years with a brush outside her door that needed to be kept alive. These women have set up a support network for women going through the awful experience of moving out of domestic violence situations, having to go through the courts and barring orders, which is a totally male-controlled institution. These women have initiated a study

on what happens to poor and working class women after we have done all the assertiveness and personal development courses.

In conjunction with this, a women's drama group, for which we have a lot of support from our Dublin-based sisters, so that we can present these findings. We want to do this in a way which makes working class women more visible, which breaks the culture of silence around women's issues and explores ways by which we can move from the personal, self-promotional ethos of assertiveness training and personal development into the sphere of collective action and solidarity for basic social and economic change. Our vision for the future is best given by Mary, my colleague. This vision arose out of a media studies course which we were recently doing in the community. Women were asked, for International Women's Day, if they had a magic wand, what would their vision be for women. And these are the visions of one woman in that group.

Mary O'Connell (Ireland)

I am Mary O'Connell, and I am a member of the Cork Women's Action Group. This is my first time speaking in public. [Women wished] that no one will make decisions about us or for us, without asking us what we think we want. That we will have enough money to cover all our needs, with money still in our purses on Wednesday, the day we get our weekly state benefits. That we will feel and say, "I am Ann, Mary, Joan, Kate -- a person in my own right, not just daughter of, wife of, mother of, but a person with rights demanding respect, especially [from] my own family; do not take me for granted." That we will be able to walk the streets of Cork or any other city in safety, but most of all, safe in our own homes, which is the most dangerous place for many women and girls. The rise in incest, rape, and domestic violence in Cork and Ireland needs more than just magic to change it.

We wish for ourselves good health, caring doctors, good hospitals, no waiting lists, and the same service for all, not just for those with

money. Our wish and vision for ourselves and other poor and marginalized women around the world is that no child should die of hunger, and that the world resources be shared so that every woman and her family has enough food, clothing, accommodations, health care, and education to live with dignity. To do this, women at every level need to take on leadership roles to change the priorities in how the world's decisions are reached, and how the resources of the world are divided.

Kathleen Maher (Ireland)

My name is Kathleen Maher. Just like the women here, I am a community activist in the Ballymun area, where I've lived for 23 years. Ballymun is a high-rise area where there are a lot of social problems. I have been active, campaigning on many issues in Ireland which affect women, children, and families, including men. I began my first campaign when I was 12. But what I really want to say is that with all the groups I've been involved with, too large to mention them all, one of the most important groups for me would be the Women's Education and Training Initiative (WETI), which I became a member of as a result of the inequality I felt as a woman working in the community in an unpaid capacity. One of the things I found within that group was that I could share my experience with these women who were feeling the same anxiety and frustration and stress that I was feeling. It was one way that we tried to do what we're doing here today, and I've learned from it. We were able, within that group, to express our discontent, our unhappiness about what we saw as class issues using drama as a tool. Sometimes when you want to say something to someone, people get very defensive and they don't really want to listen. But when you use drama, it involves the audience as well as yourself. It's not just people talking to or at people; it's about participation, both from the audience and from ourselves. But WETI is really only a fairly new group, 18 months old, and we have managed to produce two very successful dramas that have helped women in other communities around Ireland, in Edinburgh and in Denmark, to see the similarities that we

experience here in Ireland in working class communities. We produced two videos of these dramas; they are quite active and quite educational.

It is unfortunate that someday you can't come out and see our communities and see exactly what kind of action we're talking about. It's all very fine just to stand here and tell you, but if you are ever in Ireland in the future -- those of you who are not from Ireland -- you should make it your business to come and visit our communities, and not the selective places that you'll be taken around to. Our communities are often the most forgotten communities, and yet that's where the most work gets done. All I'm saying is that as a member of WETI, I think I've achieved an awful lot. I would like to thank you for your tolerance in listening to what we had to present to you today.

Cathleen O'Neill (Ireland)

I am sure the organizers and delegates are wondering right now why the hell do you bother organizing conferences when people gripe, when things go wrong, or when it's not the vision you had at the beginning. I would just like to say that conferences are invaluable, and you can take things away with you and bring them with you for the rest of your life. I would like to share two small details of conferences that have helped us in our work.

In February of this year, we had a woman over from South Africa to talk to us about life as an activist in her community. Her name was Matsilio. She talked about many of the things we've raised here today: rotating power, rotating the jobs, rotating the skills. But one thing she told us about that stayed in my memory is that we all have a duty to tell our sisters what we're doing. If, for any reason -- either confidence, money, ability or disability -- she is not able to join the group, if for any reason she is not able to inform herself or is not informing herself, or if she is handling her own social issues, you must go and visit her and have a cup of coffee and tell her what is happening in your world, in your group, what the politics are, what you're trying

to address. That way, she said, you bring your world to her.

The fact that we're here today talking about class, and I hope educating you about some of the issues of classism, is responsible to my attendant, Audre Lord, who had a conference in Boston in October 1990. I was the only Irish woman at the conference. At the conference, 1,000 feminists from all over the world gathered to tell their story, to have a speak out, to have eye-to-eye sessions, and to be really, really honest about where they were and what they were doing, and how they were achieving it. In the end, it was very painful, like walking on an open wound, for much of the time: we were encouraged to take time out to take care of ourselves. But at the end, it turned into a healing process. Audre Lord stood up at the end of the conference and say, "To each woman present, you must go home to your communities and try to change one thing." So if you could all do that today, in terms of women who don't have the equality, the privilege, or the access that you have; if you could go home to your communities and change one thing, this has been a marvelous conference. I came back to Ireland and decided that the one thing I would definitely put on the agenda, along with my sisters, was class in Ireland. It is responsible for much of the poverty, inequality, and discrimination that is going on. I decided that I would put it on the agenda before the year 2000; we succeeded in doing it in 18 months. It is possible, if you're single-minded, to change one thing in your area.

We have a communal piece to share. I was aware of Irene [Natividad] thanking people this morning. For the community-based women, there are invisible people who have been helping us all week, people who have made our access possible. Monica Barnes helped us in a very open way, and we are grateful for her support and for her integrity. We are also grateful to [President] Mary Robinson, who listened to our call on Tuesday when we told her how dismayed we were. We are grateful for her inclusion and her speech on [Thursday]. We are particularly grateful, and I want everybody here to applaud, the work done by Bernie Dwyer, who made

everything possible for us. I would like to thank [those who gave us] quiet and invisible support. You know who you are.

This has been stolen from one of Audre Lord's poems, "I am Your Sister:"

Who am I?

I am your sister

How am I?

I am battered, damaged from my work at the community level. Years of being a volunteer, running the project, opening up, closing up, finding the funding, providing a ready ear and timely advice, a bed when someone is made homeless, a hospital when they are battered. How is it that I am good enough to do my work at the community level, but yet not good enough to do the same job when funding becomes available? The years have taken their toll.

I am your sister. Are you mine?

Betty Friedan (USA)

Moderator

As a final act of the Global Forum of Women, the International Planning Committee at midnight last night proposed that we support the following sentiment: The Global Forum of Women supports free choice on abortion and family planning for the women of Ireland, and opposes all government actions, policies, laws, or constitutional provisions that impede or preclude such choice on the part of the woman herself. Will you register your support by applause?

Questions & Answers:

Participant-Observer (Ireland)

I would like to say something briefly. I have been witness, for three days, to a wonderful conference. I would have liked so much that we

could have learned a lesson from our Irish sisters on the first night, and made this a participatory conference of all the people here, thinking of ways to widen it further, out to the people who can't be here. What I feel worried about is the process. It's not that I disagree with the wonderful things that you have done for me. I think there is one very key thing that you should add to our global act of demands. [I agree with the] lady from Cork: women should not be subject to decisions being made about them or for them without consultation or their consent. Without that, the rest is meaningless. You have acted benevolently for us, but we have not participated in these decisions. I am pleased with what you have presented, but what if I were not? No one has consulted me on my views. I feel disempowered, rather than empowered, by a process of watching a consultation. I really feel that we've missed out on what so many people here have had to offer. You have to reconsider the structure. I say this with great warmth and admiration for all of you, for what you have achieved as individuals, and for the conference itself. It is very important that the process be reflective of democracy, of the possibility of all women to speak. Otherwise, we're not creating a new paradigm, we're creating a feminist animal farm. Please, Sisters, let's be equal.

Monica Barnes, TD (Ireland)

We take on board what you have said. Betty Friedan was absolutely right. This was a forum exploring examples of leadership. It's a trial run. We've learned a lot from it; let's try and restructure it. This is what it's fundamentally about. We will not be able to give the open access to democracy -- as the last speaker absolutely is right in pointing out -- until we have independence and funding of our own to do it. We are constantly dependent on government funding, on grant funding. I say this on behalf of Irene Natividad, [who was working in] Washington and I say it on behalf of Ireland. What I am challenging you with now is: If you want your own structured sessions in the way you want it, it is costly, it is time-consuming. We must remember all our sisters in developing

countries and subsidize them because they do not have the resources to do it themselves. That means money. So I am challenging you to go home and start collecting. Then you can have the forum you want.

I want to thank everybody concerned with this. First, I particularly want to thank the Washington office who did both the fundraising and the sponsorship. They found it a hard, long struggle. This is one of the things we have to look at: women's access to money is still very difficult. Secondly, I want to thank the staff under Margret Fine-Davis who worked for weeks and weeks, on a voluntary [basis], who tried to be adaptable as the needs and priorities grew.

All women, at all levels, in all communities work hard. That's not taking away at all from what our women in their communities have said. They were right to remind us of the special pressures they have. That is something we will and must always take into consideration.

Finally, I wanted to say that we thank all of you. The contribution may have been restricted, our voices may not have been heard the way we wanted. But we need to think about structures. Above everything else, we did get a sense of dynamism, of energy, of wisdom, of strength, of survival...of incredible women. They only reflect the communities they come from. I think, and I say, "Women, be proud. Trust one another."

Mary [O'Connell], may I particularly compliment you, because it was your first time speaking in public. You spoke so wonderfully. That is what it is about. It is about inclusion; not just turning the pyramid upside down, but making it a circle. That is what the imagery and symbolism of the Global Forum is: a circle. As you notice, it is spinning, it is flexible, and it is moving. That is part of what we take with us as well. It is adapting. It takes a lot on board as it goes around, just as we have taken a lot on board during this Forum.

We will work on what has come out of this Forum and we will carry it through at all levels. Betty [Friedan] is right that it should go to the

United Nations. But it should also go to our own governments, to our own national and international levels as well. Above all, it should go to our own women who were not able to be here. I would like us all to go back, as Cathleen O'Neill has said, and tell our sisters. That is one of the things I ask you to do. This is one further step we build on. Above everything else, go safely, go well, and go in sisterhood.



recycled paper

18 IRISH PRESS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1992



■ ATTENDING... Vigdis Finnbogadóttir.

WOMEN OF THE WORLD GATHERING IN IRELAND

Kate Shanahan looks at a forthcoming women's summit.

ON THURSDAY July 9th next, President Mary Robinson will formally open New visions of Leadership: The Global Forum of Women in Dublin. This summit will be the first ever to bring together female political and community leaders in order to discuss the particular contribution women can make to political and social change.

Among the participants will be a large number of women parliamentarians. They include:

- Vigdis Finnbogadóttir, President of Iceland;
- Benazir Bhutto, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan;
- Khaleda Zia, the Prime Minister of Bangladesh;
- Eda Kriseova, adviser to President Václav Havel of Czechoslovakia;
- Elizabeth Reha, the Finnish Minister of Defence;
- Betty Bigombe Minister of State, Uganda; and
- Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo, former Prime Minister of Portugal.

Feminist writers including Alice Walker, Betty Friedan and Susan Faludi, film-maker Mira Nair (Salmon Bombay and Mississippi Masala) and actress Olympia Dukakis will also be contributing to the discussions focussing in their case on Women and the Arts.

THE IDEA FOR the Global summit arose at the last Montreal Women's Conference and

its basic premise is that given the various problems now facing the world women may be able to offer an alternative vision of leadership.

The women parliamentarians, community leaders, and artists from all over the world have been specifically invited because they themselves are either 'breakthrough models' for

other women or they have been involved in coming up with novel solutions to seemingly unsolvable problems.

Ela Shatt, for example, is the General secretary of the Indian Self-employed Women's Associations. She was responsible for bringing together women who had worked for slave-wages as piece-workers and giving

them the means to reorganise into co-operatives.

Betty Bigombe was instrumental in arranging the peace negotiations among Uganda's various warring tribes and also set up the first women's bank in Uganda. This bank enables women who have few resources to borrow money and it is broadly based on the same principles as Ireland's credit unions.

THE DECISION to hold the Global summit in Ireland, according to Irene Natividad, the Summit Director, "was based on the fact that Ireland had elected a woman President. I think that President Robinson is a great woman leader and a great woman head of State and the aim of the summit is to spotlight leadership among women."

"The summit itself will focus on strategies for leadership, it will allow women to exchange ideas and it will show in a public way that women are resource for ideas who have not been targeted in the past."

A former advisor to President Corason Aquino of the Philippines, Ms Natividad now chairs the US National Commission for Working women.

During the 1980's she headed the US National Women's political caucus and was the first Asian American ever to head a national political organisation. Though the senate hearings in the Anita

Hill/Clarence Thomas case seemed to point to a certain anti-feminist backlash, the net result of the Thomas case has, according to Natividad, been an extremely positive one.

"The case of Anita Hill and the way she was treated during the Senate hearings has brought women together. Women were able to see for the

first time that we were not in the Senate and that in fact it was an all-white male institution. So the knock-on effect is that we have women political candidates running in larger numbers than ever before, and they are all winnable candidates."

In the past week a number of women candidates have been elected to



■ ATTENDING... Benazir Bhutto.



■ Irene Natividad... 'Sexual harassment was the one issue that all women could identify with.'



Margaret Fine-Davis. . . "We are facilitating the conference in Ireland as opposed to organising the conference ourselves."

California legislature as women's vote mobilised and them in the wake of Hill/Thomas affair. As Natividad sees it, sexual harassment was the issue that all women could identify with. They may not have been able to put a name to it, but they knew what Anita Hill was talking about. "Their attitude was that a Yale Law graduate couldn't make an accusation stick, then what chance did an ordinary woman. Most victims are more like the women in the Kennedy myth case, they have a sequestered past and low self-esteem. . ."

THE MIXTURE of community and political leaders at the Global Summit comes as a direct result of the discussions at the Montreal women's summit in 1990. "We went out of our way," Natividad reiterates, "to find women-only projects on developing nations."

Nonetheless some Irish women activists have expressed a certain unease at both the predominance of women who've been successful in male institutions as well as the high cost of attending the summit.

The conference fee has been set at £180 per delegate. On the first point Irene Natividad is adamant that "women should stop making apologies for being leaders. Let's look at women who've made a breakthrough and see how they've done it. Most women's conferences have focussed in on common concerns among women. What we're focussing on is common solutions."

"Many of the women attending the summit themselves feel isolated as women. We need to strengthen the networks among women to cross the boundary between the political and the non-political."

"Let's celebrate our leadership, because no-one else is doing it."

DR MARGARET Fine-Davis of Trinity College Dublin is one of the two Irish co-ordinators of the summit, the other being Monica Barnes TD. Explaining the £180 delegate fee, Dr Fine-Davis pointed out that "the fee was set by the organising committee in the United States. They had to come up with \$600,000 in order to finance the speaker's airfares, the translation services, the venue and the administration."

"We are facilitating the conference in Ireland as opposed to organising the conference ourselves. The forum wants to be as inclusive of women as possible and we are involved in a fund-raising campaign for women in the community to attend. To that end we would

welcome applications from Irish women's groups for bursaries for delegates."

The Irish secretariat for the conference is being run from the Centre for Women's Studies at Trinity College Dublin, and has operated without any funding for the past ten months.

An application has been made to the Department of An Taoiseach and so far the secretariat has received verbal approval for partial funding.

"There will be pre and post summit meetings and we are planning to have a conference after the summit to discuss its implications for Irish women. There will also be a number of cultural and arts events run in conjunction with the summit."

■ The Irish secretariat for the summit is being run from the Centre for Women's Studies at Trinity College Dublin. For further information Telephone Dublin 7021975.

Not so wonderful Copenhagen

AFICIONADOS OF the weekly sifting of the provincial press on *Today At Five* know these precious gems as 'found-ones' — luminous tales of imbibers found on licensed premises in the wee hours and the imaginative excuses they offer the forces of law and order.

Last Friday, John Cunningham monitored a beauty: three customers, in the company of the pub's proprietor, discovered swilling pints well past closing time. Nothing remarkable there, you say. Agreed. It was the explanation rendered which elevated this case to the level of the all-time greats.

Before revealing same, let us note that the defendants had a world of options open to them.

They could have explained, for example, that one of their number had been taken ill and the other three were attempting to revive him by passing tumblers of whiskey and stout under his nose.

Or they could have sworn that by a remarkable coincidence their watches had all stopped simultaneously, leaving them genuinely ignorant of the lateness of the hour.

They could even have told of how a mysterious customer, who'd left the pub at closing time, had produced a magic wand, waved it in their general

Radio Slot

Liam Mackey

direction, muttered some dark, impenetrable mumbo-jumbo, and left them literally frozen to the spot until the timely arrival of the police miraculously liberated them from the effects of this potent and diabolical spell.

But no, the lads had to opt instead for something so lurid, fantastic, and mind-boggling, so grotesque, unprecedented, bizarre and unbelievable, that it could never be countenanced by any halfway sane person: they claimed they'd been discussing Maastricht.

Instant result? A £125 fine for the owner and fines of £25 each for the customers.

MIND YOU, had the incident occurred after last Tuesday, that excuse would have sounded plausible for the first time since Maastricht became an issue rather than a place.

Whatever one's views on the matter, we can all be agreed that the Danes' decision to throw a spanner in the Euro works has finally made Maastricht a subject for popular debate.

In broadcasting parlance, they have made a boring story 'sexy'. Immediate evidence of this came late on Tuesday when a taxi-driver informed me that the Danes had voted no.

He announced the news as if it was a shock sports result, something like: USA 3, Ireland 1. Denmark 1, Rest Of Europe 0, as it were.

Of course, precisely what it is that the Danes voted no to remains unclear to a great many, as the following day's *Liveline* underlined, with one caller after another complaining about the absence of light being shed on Maastricht. One woman said she couldn't even get a copy of the Treaty from Government publications.

The pro-Treaty forces, already shaken by the Danish verdict, will have found little to reassure them on *Liveline*. The overall impression was of conscientious voters who feel they've been given the mushroom treatment — kept in the dark and fed bullshit — and who aren't likely to be convinced by ringing statements to the effect that the very future of Europe is now in their hands.

What does that mean? That we all fly to the polling booths in Spitfires and Hurricanes?

SPEAKING of things airborne, if I was Colonel Ghaddafi right now, I'd be keeping a watchful eye on the skies. George Bush is in big trouble and somebody's going to have to pay a heavy price to bail him out.

From the Earth Summit in Rio, there are signs that George is already washing his hands of the rest of the planet.

His attitude to the Earth seems to be: "Nice place for a holiday but there's no place like home."

Especially not when you're at 33% in the polls down from an all-time high of 90% in the immediate aftermath of the Gulf War, and there's an election just five months away.

Those sorts of numbers tend to concentrate a President's mind on his own backyard, but if it helps to have a quick overseas foray to bop some natty international scapegoat on the head, well, so be it.

Dublin chosen as venue for women's summit

By Mary Cummins,
Women's Affairs
Correspondent

AFTER the earth in Rio, Brazil, it will be women in Dublin. From Thursday, July 9th, to Sunday, July 12th, if you are a woman and more particularly, if you are an achiever or want to be one, then Dublin is the place to be, at the Women's Summit which takes place in Trinity College.

The summit is entitled "New Visions of Leadership: Global Forum on Women", and is organised with the help of Monica Barnes, chairwoman of the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Women's Rights, and Margaret Fine-Davis, acting director of the Centre for Women's Studies in Trinity College. Its director is Irene Natividad, former president of the National Women's Caucus in the US.

While many of the 400 participants are among the foremost women politicians and artists in the world, a large number of grassroots leaders, particularly from Africa and Latin America — some closely connected with

global issues like AIDS — will also be there.

Some of the Irish speakers include Mary Holland, the journalist; Gary Hynes of the Abbey Theatre; and Patricia O'Donovan of the ICTU.

A huge portion of the success of the summit will be due to its director, Irene Natividad, an Asian-American who lives in Washington, who is best known as the former president of the powerful National Women's Political Caucus in the US — she was the first Asian and non-white woman to hold the job — and is currently chairwoman of the National Commission for Working Women.

In Dublin last week, to liaise with Monica Barnes and Margaret Fine-Davis, who are the Irish co-ordinators, she said of her involvement in women's issues: "As a person of colour you cannot but be sensitive to discrimination, whether it is race or colour or sex. You can see it, feel it. It is there".

Dublin was picked for the summit, she says, because of its location, but primarily because of the President, Mrs Robinson,

who will be a co-patron of the summit along with President Finnbogadóttir of Iceland.

"Mary Robinson symbolises the kind of transformational leadership that we feel typifies women and leadership. It is the enabling kind of leadership rather than dictatorial," Ms Natividad says.

The opening will take place at the Abbey and the action will mainly be based at Jurys Hotel, but will include a State reception at Dublin Castle, a reception at Aras an Uachtaráin and a few lunches. The agenda will range from leadership to religion, restructuring work and family, the media and women, the arts and women, and women's health.

The summit will be widely covered by RTE television as well as by US and other foreign networks. Participation costs £130 or \$300 for everything, including a place to stay. Bookings and further information can be got from the Centre for Women's Studies in Trinity College - Telephone, Dublin 7021475 - which is a direct line.

THE SUNDAY TRIBUNE

31 MAY 1992



TONY GAVIN

Women's choice: Irene Natividad's world women's summit was attracted to Dublin by the Robinson presidency and the abortion controversy

Dublin draws leading women

By Maeve Sheehan

OVER the last 12 months Irene Natividad, a leading US women's movement activist has combed the globe in search of the world's most extraordinary female social and political leaders. Her mission? To persuade them to come to Dublin in July for 1992 Global Summit of Women, a major women's conference.

Her success was such that from 9 to 12 July, 200 of these extraordinary women and a handful of men, will convene in the city to showcase women's leadership in a variety of areas, from government to business

and the arts to prove it can be done.

There's Ugandan Minister of State, Betty Bigombe, who brought the women of warring tribes together to bring peace; Muhammad Yunus (one of a handful of men) from Bangladesh, who set up a bank to give loans to co-operatives of women to enable them set up their own work projects; Maria Teresa Chadwick, Chile, who masterminded the organisation of the country's women voters into a political block to force women's issues to the forefront of the last presidential election campaign.

Why such a wealth of female achievement could be brought together in Ireland is due in part to the

current abortion controversy and President Mary Robinson.

"We needed a place with a woman as head of state," says Irene, summit director. "We wanted to choose a place where our presence would...help energise moves for women's rights in a particular country. And after the brouhaha over the 14-year-old rape victim, Ireland has become more attuned to the needs of women."

Irene Natividad was born in the Philippines but moved to America when she was 18, where she took a degree in literature and established herself as one of the leading lights in the women's movement. She cur-

rently chairs the National Commission for Working Women, is executive director of the Philippine American Foundation. She also heads Natividad Associates — a firm which trains and advises women running for public office.

This year's Global Summit of Women is co-chaired by Monica Barnes TD and Margaret Fine Davis of the Centre for Womens' Studies, Trinity College, Dublin. At £180 for three days it's not cheap but registration fees go towards the \$500,000 costs of staging the conference. Irene has already raised most of the money from private and public sources.

FEATURES

'Strong women'

by GUSSIE FAUNTLEROY
for The New Mexican

On the last day of the recent Global Forum for Women in Dublin, Ireland, a group of poor Irish women stormed the conference hall, outraged that they had not been invited.

They demanded to speak, recalled Santa Fean Mary Lou Cook, who was at the July conference.

It was the final hour of the conference, when workshop and committee reports were to be read, summarizing the three-day forum, which focused on women's responsibility for making positive changes in the world.

The forum leader broke precedence and agreed to let the Irish women speak. What they had to say — and the way they insisted on saying it — became one of the most memorable and riveting events of the conference, Cook said in a recent interview at her Santa Fe home.

"This group of women, whose average salary was \$90 a month and who live in the projects in Dublin, was saying, 'Don't you ever have a meeting like this without inviting us.'"

"They were absolutely right. They have very little education, but they've banded together and gotten their spirits up. To me, that was our action agenda. Their message was, 'Stop talking about it; just do it.'"

The Irish women spoke for about three minutes each, explaining what they, with their limited resources, are doing to help themselves and their communities. When they finished, Cook said, the 500 women attending the conference from 53 nations around the world stood up, cheering and hugging the renegades. The reports were never read.

Cook, who at 74 is a well-known activist and one of Santa Fe's Living Treasures, said she heard about the Dublin forum after attending the World Women's Congress in Miami last November. That conference, of 1,500 women from 93 countries, was aimed at putting women's issues on the agenda for the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro.

The organizing committee for the Dublin conference raised money to pay the expenses for women to attend from Third World countries. North American and most European women paid their own way, Cook said.

However, some dictatorial governments wouldn't allow women to leave their countries to attend, she said.

The women who did attend included national leaders such as Irish President Mary Robinson and Vigdis Finnbogottir, who just won her fourth term as president of Iceland. Members of parliaments, writers, organizers and activists of all kinds also attended.

"These are strong women, but most of them are very soft-spoken," Cook said. "They have an inner strength, a great gentleness and thoughtfulness,



Steve Northrup/The New Mexican

Mary Lou Cook: "Women must get into politics, but we must change the style."

Voices heard at the Ireland gathering

Although she has been involved in women's issues for many years, Santa Fean Mary Lou Cook said the Global Forum for Women in Dublin, Ireland, opened her eyes to new and age-old injustices to women and children around the world.

Injustices Cook said the "controlled media" does not cover. Following are a few of the issues she recalled.

■ Jinqin Cal, who survived the purge of Tiananmen Square, told the conference that female babies still are murdered in her native China

because their parents wanted male babies. She also said many women are born with a limp because their feet were bound when they were infants. Children to fit the Chinese male's idea of attractively tiny feet on women.

■ Kazimiera Prunskiene, one of the heroes of Lithuanian independence from the former Soviet Union, described how the end of Communism has created a Roman Catholic-dominated patriarchy that forces women out of the workplaces in her country.

■ Chemil Che-Mponda said that in 25 African countries, clitoral mutilation still is practiced on female babies. The women who have their daughters maimed in this way do so out of ignorance, carrying on an ancient tradition begun by men who wanted to keep their wives from straying by taking the pleasure out of sex. Che-Mponda is working to change this by going from village to village in her native Ethiopia, educating women, one by one, Cook said.

GUSSIE FAUNTLEROY

but they're very determined.

"Something I heard over and over from women of different continents was: 'The new paradigm of leadership has to get away from the pyramid of hierarchy, with few leaders on top, and move toward the circle of democracy, where everyone has responsibility.'"

Cook said the women also set the record straight early on about men: "I love men," proclaimed Iceland's Finnbogottir.

"So many people think that the women's movement is against men," Cook said. "I find it important to start out by saying we need men, we need

men's help and understanding if we're going to turn things around and save the planet for all of us."

Conference speakers agreed that women around the world need to move into positions of power in politics, economics, banking and the media. They also added a warning, Cook said.

"Women must get into politics, but we must change the style. If we continue the same kind of politics that have been carried on, nothing will change."

The main change women can bring to positions of power is a spirit of

cooperation rather than competition, she said.

While much of what she heard confirmed her belief that women are second class citizens, particularly in Third World countries, Cook said she left the forum feeling "all kinds of hope."

"Just about everybody I met was full of hope — that's the human spirit. Now I know there are so many strong women out there, with men supporting them. These are the kind of women who inspire the rest of us. We don't give up. Women don't give up."

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The Global Forum of Women: Feminism lives on

Lillian Gonzalez-Pardo, MD



I was one of 420 women who converged on Dublin, Ireland from 53 countries and 5 continents for the Global Forum of Women. This global

conference addressed the new vision of leadership for women in politics, economics, religion, and health. The foremost feminist in contemporary times, Betty Friedan, inspired us all and challenged the world to adopt the new "paradigm shift to a transformational leadership." This type of leadership, Friedan went on, "is responsive to change and sensitive to people's needs, free from the dominance and cynicism of greed." As Judy Roessner, author of the *Harvard Business Review* article, "Ways Women Lead," said, the "command and control" type of male leadership in business is changing to the feminine model of "consensus and compromise." This concept was echoed by Devaki Jain from India, who spoke of moving from "individual leadership to collective leadership."

One of the most historic and exhilarating moments of the conference was the opening ceremony that featured two women heads of state: President Mary Robinson of Ireland and President Vigdis Finnbogadóttir of Iceland. They described their own paths to leadership in political arenas dominated by men—not easy, but to them well worth the risks of personal and public exposure. Robinson cautioned the audience on the dangers and responsibilities that go with achieving eminence. Finnbogadóttir likewise, said, "If one woman was criticized, it reflected on all women." The Irish people are rightfully proud of their first woman president. Though traditionally a "ceremonial" position, Robinson has enhanced the image of

all women and has gained the respect not only of her own Parliament, but also of the world.

"Valuing Women's Health: Safety and Choices" was the panel on which I represented AMWA. I focused my presentation on our experience as a women's medical organization, on changing policy, research, and programs to facilitate greater access to and more adequate health care for women. There were three major points I made: organizational, political/legislative, and educational.

From an organizational standpoint, AMWA can make national issues move to the grass roots level through our regions and branches. The dissemination of information and the spread of our influence is felt in all places. AMWA has also been successful in the development of coalitions and collaborations with other organizations with shared values and goals. Together, we exert more influence on institutions, government agencies, and, especially, the policy makers and decision makers for allocation of funds. This collective leadership facilitates movement in the right direction.

In the political/legislative arena, we have made women's health a political and major public policy issue. The public outcry about the use of government funds for clinical studies that exclude women created media attention, pressured politicians, and led to changes in bills introduced in Congress and in the appropriation of our tax dollars. We have lobbied our legislators to get women's health issues on the table for debate and discussion together with our recommendations, as we represent a strong and wise constituency. Even in the highly controversial and delicate matter of reproductive health care, AMWA has taken a leadership role to promote reproductive choices for women, to protect the freedom of speech of all physicians, to provide full disclosure of all

facts, and to provide equal access to health care information for all women, rich or poor.

Public and professional education about women's health is one of AMWA's top priorities. We have actively participated in smoking cessation programs, osteoporosis prevention programs, breast cancer awareness programs (including mammography screening recommendations, certification of technicians and equipment), programs on AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, cardiovascular disease, and domestic violence. AMWA is committed to the development of an advanced women's health curriculum for physicians to provide improved and integrated health care to women patients.

Other panelists in the health section were nonphysicians representing developing countries such as Uganda, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Rwanda, and Zimbabwe along with women from other countries such as Russia, Spain, and Mexico. The AIDS problem in the African continent is very real, serious, and frightening for men and women. A Ugandan mother told of the death of her husband from AIDS. She formed a support group for families to help others. Her personal account was very courageous and a moving experience for the audience. The representative from Mexico heads a consumer-patient education organization that empowers women in their health decision making. The Rwandan woman shared the poster her organization Huguuruka, which means stand up, developed to change the image of women in their communities.

The health panel was made possible by a generous grant from Johnson and Johnson/Ortho Pharmaceuticals. Public acknowledgement of their commitment is important because women's health is not just a local but

continued on page 139

MESSAGE, *continued*

a global issue, and those who make this dialogue possible must be recognized. Women must give credit to those who deserve it. The Sara Lee Corporation was also a major funder for the conference. In both these companies, women vice-presidents made a major commitment to the fo-

rum because of their great belief that it would forward the women's agenda worldwide. What a major difference to have women at the top!

The new vision for leadership of women in medicine and health care must evolve from the feminist ideals that we strive for—equality of opportunity, of pay, of power, of promotion

and prestige. And to end this column on a political note for this political year: whatever your political party affiliation, vote in November for the candidate who has a commitment to women's rights and whose core values and beliefs you share, and maybe, just maybe, true equality will come to the "other half" of the population.

THE BUFFALO NEWS

THURSDAY, JUNE 11, 1992

WOMANSCOPE

Pay inequity is a vicious cycle

Public support for pay equity appears to be growing just at a time when the salary benchmark, the pool of white male workers, is rapidly disappearing.

A nationwide poll conducted by the National Committee on Pay Equity in December shows that 77 percent of voters would support a pay equity law.

The poll's sample of 1,000 registered voters included men and women in a variety of ethnic, racial, economic and educational groups and from both the major political parties.

Even Republican men, a group that has not been sympathetic in the past, favored a pay equity law by 65 to 27 percent.

Reporting in the committee's newsletter, Executive Director Susan Bianchi-Sand said the poll shows that voters are conscious of pay inequities and believe them to be the result of discrimination against women and people of color.

There also is a perception that pay inequities are "part of the large macroeconomic picture, and are fueling other problems within our economy, including the health insurance crisis, the growing number of working poor, the increase in the numbers of women and children living in poverty and the lack of consumer confidence," she wrote.

Better than half of the respondents said pay equity would benefit men as well as women, because raising women's pay would increase family incomes.

While equal pay for equal work is the law of the land, jobs held by women and minorities often pay less than jobs held mostly by white males that require similar skills and entail the same responsibilities. Pay equity, sometimes called comparable worth, was defined in terms almost anyone could understand when it was discovered in one state system that nurses, predominantly women, were paid less than janitors, predominantly men.

The courts corrected that situation, and the judiciary, together with state legislation and collec-



By PAT SWIFT

tive bargaining in the public sector, has been the conduit for pay equity progression in this country. The Supreme Court has been sympathetic to the concept, but no federal law mandates pay equity in either the public or private sector.

In fact, Canada is the only country that has such a law, and governments and private businesses in that country are moving slowly toward a more equitable pay scale.

The prognosis is dimmer in the United States. A provision to fund technical assistance for pay equity studies was cut out of the 1991 Civil Rights Act. More damaging is the general decline in all wages. Pay scales drop as women and minorities fill jobs previously held by white males, and white males are making up a decreasing number of jobs in the comparable range.

In a comprehensive survey of its readers, Ms. magazine discovered that racism exists among well-educated, affluent feminists but that these women are willing to confront their biases and are committed to principals of equal access and opportunity.

Ms. got more than 4,000 responses to its questionnaire on racism and analyzed more than 1,000 of them to learn that two out of three women admit to some bias.

Noting that its readers tend to be wealthier and better-educated than average, Ms. said the composite image of its survey respondents is a group of "feisty women who confront racial problems head-on." While the majority "admit to having some degree of prej-

udice," they believe that the labor market and political institutions should be more representative of the "new demographics."

Nearly one-third of the respondents said they had benefited from affirmative action. Half of the blacks and Latinas linked affirmative action with their success, and the more affluent the women, the more likely they were to recognize benefits from affirmative action. Eighty percent of the sample favored continuing affirmative action.

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A couple of presidents, a Supreme Court justice, a minister of state, legislators and an American journalist will be among women from around the world participating in the Global Forum of Women next month in Dublin, Ireland.

Forging women's leadership for the 21st century is the purpose of the gathering of world leaders intent on having a say in the "new world order."

Ireland's President Mary Robinson and Vigdis Finnbogadóttir, president of Iceland; Betty Bigombe, Uganda's minister of state; Mariana Yépez, the first woman supreme court justice in Ecuador, and women members of legislatures the world over will be among the forum's participants.

Also on the list of more than 80 speakers are Susan Faludi, author of "Backlash"; Betty Friedan; Rep. Susan Molinari of New York; writer Alice Walker; Cai Jingqing, a leader of the Chinese student protests at Tiananmen Square, and actress Olympia Dukakis. Irene Natividad, chairwoman of the National Commission on Working Women, is forum director. Sessions will be held July 9 to 12.

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Correction: Elizabeth Stone was incorrectly identified as a supervisor with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in last week's item on the YWCA's home repairs workshop. Ms. Stone is responsible for carpentry and maintenance at the corps.



In a summit of a different color, 500 women leaders and activists from nearly 55 countries met in Dublin, Ireland in July.

fight for a voice in the process of addressing "structural adjustments" set by the IMF and World Bank. (India, after 45 years of autonomy from the World Bank, had its domestic economy fall under its net; this is a painful and difficult time.) She also spoke of the increase of local government voices and the fact that some states have required 30 percent representative placement for women. Young women in her own state of Karnataka are involved in these local bodies.

"We bring tension," said Jacquelin Pitanguy of Brazil, who served four years as president of the National Council for Women's Rights, a cabinet post, and who is a senior policy advisor for the International Women's Health Coalition. By being visible and international, "we provide evidence of failures of the past."

Fresh from securing the inclusion of women's concerns in the Earth Summit agenda in Rio, Bella Abzug, pioneer women's legislator in Congress and founder of the National Women's Political Caucus, crystallized the burden. "Existing structures are dehumanizing; women must play greater roles in decision making bodies worldwide. We can not stay outside." Betty Friedan added, as did many of the speakers, the problem was not confined to women: "Men of goodwill are also desperate for new models."

None suggested the task of changing any traditional structures would be easy. In fact, concern about women who accepted their colonized state of mind and who did not feel any personal worth or power was addressed in several different topical meetings. "We must educate women not to eat the poison that they are fed," charged Maud Motanyane, one of South Africa's first black women journalists.

Eda Kriscova, a journalist who was serving as advisor to recently resigned President Havel in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, illustrated part of the problem: "Since the free press appeared, the most common image of women in the Czechoslovakian press was of bare breasts" and not a single publication or broadcast included women addressing major issues impacting their lives.

Ireland is not a country which allows the sale of condoms, divorce, or abortion for any reason. There was no hesitation in taking on fundamentalism, politics and private life, however, within the conference setting. Looking at the complex, male-dominated activities of current religious institutions, specifically within the Jewish, Catholic, Protestant and Islamic traditions, turned out to be one of the most popular parts of the agenda.

Alice Shalvi, a distinguished professor and founding head of the Israel Women's Network, said that the "fault of misogyny lies not in the Jewish tradition itself, but with orthodox 'who do not have empathy with or understanding of those, i.e. women, who are denied participation in significant rituals. And, as the orthodox rabbinate has received official political status, one half of the population is without a voice in its party."

The author of *Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven: Women, Sexuality, and the Catholic Church*, Uta Ranke Heinemann, outlined some of the contradictions and limitations of women within traditional Catholicism and denounced the "Peeping Tom" voyeurism of the Pope and all male priesthood.

A young pastor from South Korea reminded the group the gods of patriarchy were not only taking residence in churches but in multinational boardrooms and military academies. She said we must confront fundamentalism, greed, and arrogance wherever we find it. Francis Kissling, executive director of Catholics for a Free Choice, pointed out that the United Nations which is supposed to be non-discriminatory has given recognition to the Vatican, an all adult male community, as a state. No other religious body sits on the UN. She also pointed out that sexual ethics were determined by medieval celibate monks meeting in retreat, not in community nor in collaboration with one-half of the population it would impact.

MR. Berhane Ras-Worq, president of the Inter African Committee on Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children, explained how she went about teaching women that they would not be going against their faith if they said no to

female genital mutilation, as practiced among Muslims and Christians in Ethiopia. An American Muslim scholar who looked at issues in a more theoretical fashion stated that "history has moved backwards" for Muslim women. Azizah al-Hibri noted that in the time of Mohammed, he accepted women as allies, and had extended his hand giving women political recognition as a group.

In looking for an answer that would allow each woman of each faith to maintain her spiritual commitment, two answers emerged. Some women felt they must articulate a new version of their religion; others felt they must continue to try to achieve the access to the hierarchical structure and make changes within the conventional practices that reflected the historical value and inclusion of women.

Claiming to represent one-half of the human community, the participants in Dublin did reflect a vast groundswell of women's efforts in politics, science, economics, and development. The forum examined the issues and experiences of women in private business and political structures, the paid and unpaid work force, religious fundamentalism and orthodoxy, media and arts, as well as health needs, and macro and microeconomic links often discounted in conventional economic planning.

Perhaps the visions of women taking ever greater roles in government made the former president of Iceland's story of her son and his response to the new President of Iceland not quite as absurd as it normally might have been. President Vigdis Finnbogadóttir was the fourth president of Iceland and the first woman in world history to be elected as constitutional head of state. She was elected in 1980 and re-elected twice. She credits island women, where men are gone to sea a great deal, with being particularly strong, self-reliant and individualistic. When her son saw the gentleman who is now president of Iceland on the television for the first time, he came racing into the kitchen, "Mommy, Mommy, there is a man president."

Correction from "Look What's Happening" in August:
Feminist Writer Menna Hekay (Daughter of Nawal el Saadawi) was misidentified as Eda Kriscova.

The Vision Thing

by Dee Aker

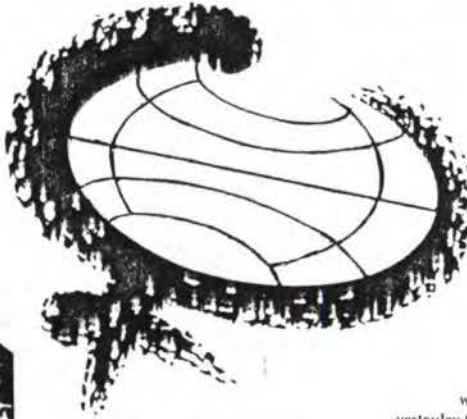


PHOTO BY DEE AKER

"You must blow the whistle on economic violence in order to save your democracies from fascism."

The warning, first delivered by a spirited Betty Friedan, acknowledged elder of feminism, came on the eve of the Global Forum of Women. It was addressed to the working class women's coalitions of Ireland, but was echoed throughout the following four days by women from every continent and social class.

In a summit of a different color, 500 women leaders and activists from nearly 55 countries met in Dublin, Ireland in July. The goal was nothing less than articulating and demonstrating new visions of leadership that can respond to current world crises.

Meanwhile in Munich that week, eight men in dark suits, representing the world's powerful industrial nations, attended the annual G7 "plus Russia" Conference. Most European presses summarized their efforts as making "little progress" and "little commitment" to seriously addressing the growing violence and economic chaos in the wake of the new world order. The women leaders in Dublin had strong opinions about why little good news emerged. First and foremost was the lack of fresh, invigorating, inclusive leadership among traditional politicians.

Citing the rise of poverty and of leaders subservient to a culture of greed, Friedan said, "[when] violence happens, it is a failure of public policy! We must move with greater urgency, find new ways of expressing and using our measures of success including money, ask new questions, set new priorities." She made it quite clear that getting women into politics is not enough; there must be a paradigm shift away from dominance to community.

The popular, respected president of Ireland, Mary Robinson, evoked the values inherent in such a shift in her address to the world delegates, who reflected the iridescent richness of global diversity in their traditional dress at the official conference opening, the next evening at the famed Abbey Theater in Dublin. "This is not just a conference about leadership. . . It is a forum about perceptions of [what] leadership [is]."

"As women lead, they are changing leadership; as they organize, they are changing organizations. As they restate [the roles of governments, laws, arts], they are handing them on in fresh and radicalized form." The President continued, "I have been present where women played a vital role in changing both an event and the perception of it, and I, in turn, changed my view of what leadership was and could be in observing the living examples rather than theoretical concepts."

Acknowledging the developing countries' women's ability to combine individual and community in tackling problems and a recent experience of her own with women from Belfast in Northern Ireland, the President said, "In coming together, individuality is guaranteed. In fact [each has] an enormous relish for the distinct person, the difference of method and the divergence of opinion." She noted in our generation there are women who achieve eminence and visibility (justly), but there is another dimension to women's leadership which is not embodied in an individual. Robinson concluded that when women lead, increasing the community needs are addressed in a fresh and radical way, one least likely to reconfirm old weakness and inconsistencies of past leadership.

"The glory and struggle and self deception of individual leadership is an important part of our Western heritage, but it is also a flawed part. Too often traditional leadership took very little account of that slow, unglamorous but enabling process. . . where confrontive interaction between individual and community went ahead to the singular glory of neither, but to the infinite

benefit of both."

But a summit begun in eloquent words and surroundings soon collided with reality. "I am sad to tell you,

yesterday the only women left in the Lithuania Parliament resigned." The speaker, Kazimiera Danute Prunskiene, is the former prime minister of Lithuania and was a founding member of the Lithuanian Reform Movement. Citing that women have been more vulnerable and sensitive to psychological terrorism of male politics based in a willingness to abuse power to get anything they want, she went on to say women cannot, however, remain out of politics, but must enter in with a more "human motive" based in new structures.

Monica Bares, a member of the Irish Parliament since 1983 and the assistant party whip in the Irish Senate before that, had the visual image for those structures. The old system of leadership, which she sees based in "exclusion" and "love of authority," was not "man friendly, nor woman friendly." Shaped like a pyramid with each higher echelon standing on the backs of those underneath, it is out of touch with those at the community level, those beleaguered ones who are not represented, don't know the jargon and don't have access. The new vision, she said, should be of a circle, like the earth itself, inclusive of all.

Jingling Cat, who served as the spokesperson for the students camped in Tiananmen Square in 1989, picked up the theme and imagery in another way. Against a backdrop of Mao's admonition that "women hold up half the sky," she explained the pain of seeing old women in the countryside crippled by foot binding and declared it was "not easy to be a Chinese liberal woman."

But, she added, "women may be more willing to risk because they have so little to lose." The pro-democracy movement caused her "to realize the potential and the strength of Chinese women in influencing politics" and that "a new woman has emerged, patriotic and passionate."

Devaki Jain, who has been working with grassroots women and development alternatives in India for 30 years, stated the underlying value most clearly: "Feminist politics is decentralized politics."

Illustrating both the concerns and the gender responsiveness of non-establishment groups, Jain spoke of the efforts of women to

A LOOK AT THE GLOBAL FORUM OF WOMEN IN DUBLIN



Sunday, July 26, 1992

New leadership Press for advancement moves to global forum

By Abbie Jones

DUBLIN—In a year of remarkable worldwide political change, women have increased their visibility. In just one example of this, more than 400 women from more than 50 countries participated in the 1992 Global Forum of Women held in Ireland this month to press for political advancement and fair treatment for all women, whether they be weavers in India or employees of large U.S. corporations.

Under the theme, "New Visions of Leadership," representatives from health and labor organizations, the media, corporations and political and advocacy groups devoted three days to panel discussions on issues including the economy, home and work, religion, art, food and the media.

On the fourth and final day, panelists drew up a Call to Action, a set of non-binding recommendations that will be sent to the planning committee of the 1995 United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing. The conference will study how far women have come in achieving equality since 1985, which marked the end of the UN Decade for Women.

The recommendations of the Dublin forum include:

- Women should hold at least 40 percent of the seats on national or international public-policy groups by the year 2000.
- Political parties should develop ways to get women involved in politics and should raise money to allow women to develop campaign skills and strategies.
- Women should demand equal numbers of women and men in policy-making groups such as the United Nations and the World Bank.
- Women should work to promote an end to harmful cultural practices such as genital mutilation and to oppose those who impede access to legal abortion and family planning services.
- Governments should begin measuring the value of informal, unpaid work done in the home and grant benefits accordingly.
- Employers should grant paid family leave.
- Women's groups should monitor how women are covered by the news, advertising and entertainment media.

American feminists such as Bella Abzug and Betty Friedan gathered at the Jurys Hotel and Towers in Dublin with other prominent women, including Vigdis Finnbogadóttir, president of Iceland, and the former prime minister of Lithuania, Kazimiera Prunskiene.

A representative of the new guard of feminism was Jin-qing Cai, a graduate student at Princeton University and former spokeswoman for the students camped at Tiananmen Square in 1989, said that in China one still may see old women who have been crippled from foot-binding and the contrasting image of college-educated women in fashionable suits who speak proficient English.

"Although we, as insiders of the

Continued from page 1

emancipation of Chinese women, recognize the miracles that made the rebirth possible, at the same time we recognize the stupor obstacles that were involved," Cai said. "The whole weight of traditional forces is still against us in a hidden and profound way—traditional economic forces, traditional social and family forces, in particular, the patriarchal-feudal forces. It is not easy to be an active and public-spirited Chinese woman today."

Friedan is calling for a shift away from what she terms authoritarian leadership styles that she says have resulted in environmental damage, violence such as this summer's Los Angeles riots, and a number of setbacks for women including limited abortion rights. New leadership models are needed, she said, to restore the economic stability of developing countries and restore democracy in the former Soviet bloc.

But electing more women is not enough, Friedan said, unless women in power address the needs for health care, jobs and schooling.

In discussions about the media, women said they need to challenge sexist ads that show women or girls in stereotypical roles such as cleaning house or as fashion models in expensive clothes. Daily news coverage was said to have little relevance to women's lives and depend on too many male sources.

Artisans, wholesale food vendors and agricultural laborers in developing countries need laws to protect their wages and rights, said Ela Bhatt, general secretary of the Self-Employed Women's Association in India, a 40,000-member labor union.

In sessions on work and family, Bhatt said her association is working on a campaign to ensure the jobs, benefits and income of "home-based" workers such as weavers and carpenters throughout India.

But Devaki Jain, author and community leader in India, said the women's movement needs leaders who are nurtured in decentralized grass-roots organizations, not just women who adopt the leadership styles of men.

The forum was a follow-up to the 1990 First World Summit: Women and the Many Dimensions of Power, held in Montreal. Like the Montreal session, the Dublin forum was independent and run by women.

Chief organizer was Irene Natividad of Washington, D.C., chair of the National Commission for Working Women, which works to improve the economic status of women in the United States.

Natividad said that during discussions in Montreal, a handful of women agreed to a follow-up forum to continue the networking and strategies. The group chose Ireland in part because of the popularity of its president, Mary Robinson, she said.

Sponsors of the Dublin forum, which had a budget of \$400,000, included large corporations, leadership and development funds, a hotel and an airline.

The forum was not without its problems, however. Some Irish women complained that it was an "elitist" and expensive gathering that failed to address the concerns of middle-class women over reproductive freedoms in Ireland.

The forum leaders issued a statement supporting free choice on abortion and family planning for the women of Ireland, where the subject of abortion has generated intense controversy.

In an address at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, Irish President Robinson urged her audience to foster a "quiet, radical, continuing dialogue" among working-class community groups and individual political leaders.

What will happen with the forum's recommendations isn't clear, though a delegation from Spain said it plans to organize a women's forum for 1994 in Barcelona. ■

See Forum, pg. 9

Los Angeles Times

July 10, 1992

Summit Weighs Women's Role in Changing World

By TAMARA JONES
TIMES STAFF WRITER

DUBLIN, Ireland—About 300 high-profile politicians, artists, activists and corporate leaders from 53 countries kicked off a global summit of women Thursday to discuss their role in the changing world order.

"We know a great deal about how to get things done outside the stale male mind-set," organizer Irene Natividad declared in opening remarks at the historic Abbey Theater.

"We are strong, we are persistent, we are smart," the American feminist said. "There are more of us, and we live longer."

Such wry observations were punctuated by serious calls for assertive steps to change the traditional structure and values of a male-dominated world.

"Women must be very cautious when embarking on a leadership path," warned Iceland's President Vigdis Finnbogadóttir, one of two female heads of state addressing the conference.

"If you do something wrong," she continued, "you will be attacked with the strongest weapon—mockery."

Unlike men, Finnbogadóttir said, mistakes made by women inevitably reflect on their entire gender.

The chief prejudices women must combat, she added, are that "women are not competitive enough or women do not understand economics."

Under the theme "New Visions of Leadership," the four-day conference is expected to include among its guests Betty Friedan, founder of the National Organization for Women; Cai Jinqing, a student leader during the 1989 Tian An Men Square protests in Beijing, and former U.S. Rep. Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.).

But some of the biggest names the forum promised to draw dropped out for "various reasons," said a spokeswoman, Geraldine McInerney. Among the missing were writers Alice Walker and Susan Faludi, former Pakistani leader Benazir Bhutto and actress Olympia Dukakis.

Panel discussions were planned on topics such as the economics of world hunger, religious freedom, women's health and leadership.

Delegates to the conference have championed a variety of feminist causes around the globe—from fighting genital mutilation in tribal Africa to lobbying for housework to be included in Norway's gross national product.

Ireland's first female president, Mary Robinson, told the opening session, "This is not just a conference about leadership . . . [but] also a forum about perceptions of leadership."

International Herald Tribune

Irish Women Get a Clarion Call From Liberation Leaders

By James F. Clarity

Special to the Herald Tribune

DUBLIN — Fresh from one more invigorating defeat — this time at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro — Bella Abzug arrived in Dublin as articulate and pugnacious as ever, determined to encourage the women of the world,

and especially of Ireland, who are among the least liberated in Europe.

Ms. Abzug and another giant of the American liberation movement, Betty Friedan, were joining several dozen other women leaders at a conference called the Global Forum of Women, at which the

leaders are sharing their tactics and strategies for gaining and using power.

They picked Ireland largely because of the growing prominence of Mary Robinson, who became the country's first woman president 19 months ago. Mrs. Robinson, who is now constitutionally forbidden to

mix in politics, had achieved a solid record on feminist and human rights issues as a member of the senate and a lawyer.

Her country is in the midst of a national debate on abortion law, which is more restrictive here than that in most Western countries. The parliament just lowered the legal age for buying condoms to 17, but sales in vending machines are still forbidden, and there is no divorce. The birth rate is declining but is still the highest in the 12-member European Community. Only 30 percent of married Irish women have jobs outside the home, the lowest rate in the Community.

"Something drastic has to take place," Ms. Abzug said of the condition of women in the world. She said that at the Rio summit meeting, women and their ideas on environment were largely ignored by male officials and news organizations.

Generally, she acknowledged in an interview, she was disappointed that after 25 years of campaigning in her own country, women held only 6 percent of the seats in Congress, 2 in the Senate and 28 in the House. Even the Irish parliament, with 13 women deputies out of 166, has a higher ratio.

Ms. Friedan told the opening session of the conference on Wednesday, "It's not a matter of women against men, but women are on the cutting edge" of issues

such as the environment and abortion and sexual harassment. Irish women in the audience spoke out, often in anger and pain.

One woman described how women with cancer were dying in agony because doctors refused them painkillers, or chemical treatments of their tumors, in deference to protecting their fetuses. Another told how, in campaigning against the nation's strict anti-abortion law, she had been called "a lesbian murdering bitch."

"We have to penetrate the World Bank," said a woman who said she had worked in Africa and seen an aid project that installed toilets where there was no water. A middle-aged woman said that she had been married to a wealthy man, but that when she left him, taking with her their six children, she was left poor under national laws of property.

"I'm cleaning for middle-class ladies now," she said. Another woman said the image of women as leaders had been hurt by former Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain. "Thatcher was to the poor what Hitler was to the Jews, Catholics and Gypsies," she said.

There was brief discord: a woman said that the conference was in a fancy hotel, Jury's, where Irish working-class women never go, and that many could not afford to pay for the lectures. The organizers said they had provided 100 free places

for such women and child-care facilities.

One of the guest speakers, Frances Kissling, president of Catholics for a Free Choice, told the women to stay in the church even if it is perceived as the enemy of women's rights.

"Do not desert organized religion," she said, "and leave it in the hands of the yahoos." She added, "Jesus Christ did not sit around waiting for a loan from the European Community."

But the most powerful figure of the session was Ms. Abzug, walking a bit stiffly, still wearing a jaunty hat, still talking firmly, slicing the enemy with the detest and conviction of Cyrano.

Irish women politely waited to shake her hand, to chat for a minute, to be photographed with her. She had memorized enough to say "Greetings my sisters, the women of the world."

Ms. Abzug gripped the lectern with one hand, gestured with the other. Calling once again for women to seek power, she said, "We have less than 15 percent of the places in the legislatures of the world."

Of what's wrong with the world, she said: "They let us in, so we had nothing to say about it. Some scientists say the world is burning itself out, so it is short."



TO: FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
THE WHITE HOUSE

ATTN: MS. MELANNE VERVEER
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE FIRST LADY

FR: MS. IRENE NATIVIDAD 
SUMMIT DIRECTOR

DT: SEPTEMBER 30, 1996

1997 GLOBAL SUMMIT OF WOMEN
WOMEN'S ECONOMIC POWER
MIAMI, FLORIDA, U.S.A.
JANUARY 9-12, 1997

On behalf of the International Planning Committee of the **1997 Global Summit of Women**, I would like to invite you to keynote this international gathering of women leaders in Miami from January 9-12, 1997. **This is the first time that the Americas (north and south) are serving as host for the Summit;** the others were held in Taipei, Taiwan ('94); Dublin, Ireland ('92); Montreal, Canada ('90). It is our hope that the location of the Summit will encourage greater participation from women leaders in the Caribbean nations, Central and South America -- many of whom were not present in large numbers at prior Summits.

The theme of the 1997 Summit is **women's economic empowerment**, an issue that I know is important to you. For the first time, the Summit will look at all areas in which women participate in the national and global economy: as workers, entrepreneurs, business leaders and consumers. One of our major objectives is to call attention to women's aggregate economic "power" which needs to be acknowledged and counted in any measure of a country's GDP. The focus is not on need, but on solutions -- model programs and "best practices" -- since the problems were discussed fully at the prior U.N. conferences. Most important, we are trying to bring together sectors which have traditionally not seen each other as possible allies in creating positive change for women in the workplace: women board directors and women's NGO leaders; alternative banks with multilateral banks; women policymakers and business leaders. Our premise is that collaborative partnership is the key to advancing women as major players in the economy.

The Summit expects the participation of at least 500 leaders from 81 countries -- the number who attended Taiwan. UNIFEM has partnered with the Summit in developing and funding the program, as well as the Interamerican Commission on Women. NGO partners include the European Women's Lobby, International Federation of Business and Professional, WEDO, Soroptimist International of the Americas, and Zonta International. I've been having discussions

with multilateral banks, who are very interested in participating and financially supporting the Summit.

Everyone, of course, in the International Planning Committee and the leadership of the partnering organizations all want to know if you're coming, since the Summit is being held in the U.S. All have witnessed your bravura performance in Beijing, and want to see you again in that role. I know that this is near the time of inaugural festivities, but I am hoping that you could squeeze into your busy schedule this critical meeting. **Your keynote speech can be scheduled either Thursday evening during the Opening Ceremonies, or first thing the next morning prior to the morning plenaries,** depending on your availability. The Intercontinental Hotel is the site of the Summit.

For your information, I will be sending under separate cover: the Executive Summary on the 1997 Summit; the members of the International Planning Committee; the Proceedings from the 1992 Summit in Dublin which was co-chaired by Iceland's President Vigdis Finnbogadottir and Ireland's President Mary Robinson; some newsclips from the Dublin conference. Should any additional information be needed, I will be more than happy to respond to such requests.

I do hope you will be able to join us. Thank you in advance for your consideration of this request.

cc: Ms. Kathy Hendrix
Interagency Council on Women



1997 GLOBAL SUMMIT OF WOMEN
WOMEN'S ECONOMIC POWER
MIAMI, FLORIDA, U.S.A.
JANUARY 9-12, 1997

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The **1997 Global Summit of Women** -- scheduled for January 9-12, 1997 in Miami, Florida -- will bring together women leaders from the public/private/nonprofit sectors to posit and exchange practical strategies and solutions to promote women's economic empowerment. The Summit will cover the full range of women's economic participation worldwide: as workers, entrepreneurs, business leaders and consumers. Examined in the aggregate, women's economic contributions are considerable, albeit unacknowledged by governments, businesses or the media. The Summit intends to call attention to women's economic "clout" (real and potential) and to posit recommendations for further expansion of women's economic opportunities nationally and globally.

The Summit provides an international forum unique in its focus on the whole gamut of women's economic participation. It is also unique in its emphasis on a transnational perspective on the issue of women's economic empowerment to identify common elements that form the basis for strategies that can be successfully implemented across borders. Believing that change in economic policies and practices that improve women's status involves multiple players, Summit planners have insisted on an interdisciplinary approach that involve policymakers, business leaders, media representatives and leaders of nongovernmental organizations as speakers and participants. At present, these diverse groups view each other more often as foes rather than allies. It is, therefore, the hope of Summit planners that the involvement of all sectors may open up the possibility of collaboration rather than confrontation, partnerships in place of mutual suspicion, understanding rather than dismissal of each sector's priorities.

The International Planning Committee of the 1997 Global Summit of Women, consisting of 16 distinguished women from thirteen nations, reflect this commitment to diverse perspectives and the range of economic development. Some represent countries where women have made the greatest strides while others come from nations where women are the most challenged. The program developed by this committee at a meeting in Barcelona in July, 1995 recognize these realities and strike a balance between plenary sessions that explore commonalities among barriers and opportunities that women face, while breakout sessions allow regional discussions.

The Summit divides itself along four areas of women's economic participation:

* **Women as business leaders** either as heads of their own companies, senior executives or corporate board directors -- do they make a difference for other women? Do they provide alternative styles of management?

* **Women as workers** in the formal or informal sector: How and why should their contributions be measured? What is the nature of women's "work"? How do the global economy and international trade agreements impact on women workers? How can women influence such agreements?

* **Women as entrepreneurs** in large or small enterprises: Has access to credit increased or does it remain a problem? Can traditional banks be encouraged to open up credit to women or are alternative banks the only answer?

* **Women as consumers:** Why haven't women used their consumer strength to pressure the private sector for increased employment of women, better advertisements directed at them or development of products that meet women's needs? What is the role of media in the depiction of women's economic contributions?

In all of these discussions, "best practices" or model programs will be shared and opportunities underscored for women, as opposed to exploring anew the problems already covered in recent world conferences sponsored by the United Nations. From each program segment, recommendations will be solicited from all presenters and will be shared after the Summit with all participants, multinational corporations, international agencies and nongovernmental organizations. Extensive media outreach is planned in order to convey the Summit discussions beyond Miami and to promote a new perception of women as major economic players.

Given that this international gathering will take place outside the confines of a U.N. meeting, participants are free to form new paradigms of economic leadership and to posit solutions free from individual government's official positions on issues affecting women. The Summit may well provide the impetus for the formation of new networks across sectors, nontraditional strategies for creating a more level economic playing field for women, and increased recognition of women's significant role in the world economy.



1997 GLOBAL SUMMIT OF WOMEN
WOMEN'S ECONOMIC POWER
MIAMI, FLORIDA, U.S.A.
JANUARY 9-12, 1997

INTERNATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE MEMBERS
1997 Global Summit of Women

Ms. Irene Natividad
Director, 1996 Global Summit
of Women; Chair, National
Commission on Working Women,
USA

Excma. Sra. Joaquina Alemany
Vice-President
Instituto Catalan de la Mujer,
Spain

Excma. Sra. Cristina Alberdi
Former Minister of Social
Services, Spain

Ms. Esther Ocloo
President, Nkulenu Industries,
Ltd., Ghana

Senator Tamako Nakanishi
Member, Japanese Diet, Japan

The Honorable Betty Bigombe
Minister of State, Uganda

Ms. Danielle Debbas
Chair, 1990 Global Summit of
Women, Canada

Ms. Maria Elena Chapa
Senator and IWF President,
Mexico

Ms. Joyce Higgins de Ginatta
President, Small Business
Association, Ecuador

Ms. Julita Maristany
President, AIMEG&P Asociados,
Argentina

Ms. Miet Smet
Minister of Equal Opportunity,
Belgium

Ms. Alexandra Otchirova
Member, Duma, Russia

Ms. Solita Monsod
School of Economics
University of the Philippines;
Former Minister of Economic
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Ms. Maria Elvira Salles
Member of Congress, Brazil