Shirley Chisholm: Unbought, Unbossed, and Unforgotten
In This Issue

The Anti-Defamation League is pleased to offer a lesson plan that pays tribute to the life and accomplishments of Shirley Chisholm, who passed away at the age of 80 on January 1, 2005. In November 1968, just seven months after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Shirley Chisholm became the first black woman elected to Congress, bringing new hope and renewed strength in the struggle for civil rights. Four days after Dr. King was assassinated, Michigan Congressman John Conyers introduced legislation for a commemorative holiday. After the bill became stalled, Representative Shirley Chisholm joined forces with Conyers and resubmitted the measure each subsequent legislative session until the bill was finally passed in 1983.

This Curriculum Connections offers high school students an opportunity to learn about Shirley Chisholm, a civil rights leader and the first African American woman elected to Congress. Students will learn more about her life and accomplishments, explore some of the civil rights and other social issues the country faced in the 1960s and 1970s, examine Chisholm's dedication to women's rights issues and gain insight into her personality and passions by reading and analyzing quotes.

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## Correlation of Lessons to Common Core Standards

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<th>Content Area/Standard</th>
<th>Reading</th>
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<tr>
<td>R.1:</td>
<td>Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make</td>
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<td>logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing</td>
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<td>or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.</td>
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<td>R.2:</td>
<td>Determine central ideas or themes of a text and analyze their</td>
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<td>development; summarize the key supporting details and ideas.</td>
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<td>R.3:</td>
<td>Analyze how and why individuals, events, or ideas develop and interact</td>
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<td>over the course of a text.</td>
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| Writing                | W.1: Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive    |
|                       | topics or texts using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient       |
|                       | evidence.                                                              |
| W.4:                   | Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development,           |
|                       | organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and         |
|                       | audience.                                                              |
| W.7:                   | Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on     |
|                       | focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under    |
|                       | investigation.                                                        |

| Speaking and Listening | SL.1: Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations |
|                        | and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others’ ideas     |
|                       | and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.                     |
| SL.4:                 | Present information, findings, and supporting evidence such that       |
|                       | listeners can follow the line of reasoning and the organization, development, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience. |

| Language               | L.4: Determine or clarify the meaning of unknown and multiple-meaning   |
|                        | words and phrases by using context clues, analyzing meaningful word     |
|                        | parts, and consulting general and specialized reference materials, as   |
|                        | appropriate.                                                          |
| L.5:                   | Demonstrate understanding of figurative language, word relationships,  |
|                        | and nuances in word meanings.                                          |
| L.6:                   | Acquire and use accurately a range of general academic and domain-      |
|                        | specific words and phrases sufficient for reading, writing, speaking,  |
|                        | and listening at the college and career readiness level; demonstrate  |
|                        | independence in gathering vocabulary knowledge when encountering an   |
|                        | unknown term important to comprehension or expression.                 |
High School Lesson

Shirley Chisholm: Unbought, Unbossed, and Unforgotten

Rationale
The purpose of this lesson is to pay tribute to Shirley Chisholm, an important Civil Rights leader and the first black woman elected to Congress. During this lesson, students will learn about Chisholm’s life and career, and explore her thoughts on some of the issues of her time. Students will then examine a speech that Chisholm delivered on the Equal Rights Amendment and conduct research on the Women’s Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Objectives
- Students will learn about the life and accomplishments of an important civil rights leader.
- Students will explore some of the social issues that the U.S. grappled with during the 1960s and 1970s.
- Students will increase their awareness of issues of prejudice and discrimination, and deepen their thinking about responses to bigotry.
- Students will learn about the Equal Rights Amendment and the Women’s Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Age Range
Grades 9–12

Time
45–90 minutes or 2 class periods (if only 1 period is available, skip step 4 in the Procedures section below)

Requirements
Handouts and Resources:
- A Brief Biography of Shirley Chisholm (1924-2005) (one for each student)
- Shirley Chisholm Quotations (one for each small group)
- Equal Rights for Women (one for each student)

Other Material:
- chart paper, markers

Advanced Preparation
- Reproduce handouts as directed above.
- Make copies of the Shirley Chisholm Quotations, one for each small group (see procedure #4).

Techniques and Skills
analyzing primary documents/speeches, collecting and analyzing data, connecting past to present, cooperative group work, critical thinking, forming opinions, historical understanding, large and small group discussion, reading skills, research skills, social action, writing skills

Key Words
Bigotry
Catalyst
Civil Rights Movement
Discrimination
Equal Opportunity
Equal Rights Amendment
Inequality
Inequity
Legislation
Marginalized
Maverick
Minority
Oppression
Prejudice
Racism
Sexism
Status quo
Segregationist
Stereotype
Title IX
Women's Rights Movement
Procedures

1. **Place the following sentence on the board:**

   “This champion of civil rights from Brooklyn, New York was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1968, just seven months after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.”

   Ask students if they can identify the historical figure based on the above clue. If they cannot, provide them with the clues below one at a time until they either name the person or give up.

   **NOTE:** If you are relatively certain your students do not know who Shirley Chisholm is, select only a few of the clues, telling them who she is and some other facts about her using the facts below.

   - This member of Congress battled for fifteen years to pass legislation establishing a national holiday to honor Dr. King.
   - This politician was a vocal advocate for children and education, and fought for the rights of women, Native Americans and the poor.
   - This leader spoke out strongly against the Vietnam War during the Nixon administration.
   - She was the first woman to campaign for the Democratic nomination for President.
   - She shocked the country when she paid a hospital visit to rival candidate George C. Wallace—the segregationist from Alabama—after he was wounded in an assassination attempt in 1972.
   - She was the first black woman elected to Congress.

2. **Reveal to students that the historical figure is Shirley Chisholm. Ask if they have heard of her and, if so, to share what they know about her life and accomplishments. Let students know that Shirley Chisholm died at the age of 80 on New Year’s Day 2005, and that they will be learning more about her life in honor of Martin Luther King, Jr. Day (or Black History Month, Women’s History Month, or just because she was an important civil right leader!)

3. **Distribute copies of A Brief Biography of Shirley Chisholm (1924–2005) to students. This handout can be read aloud as a class, independently, or for homework the prior evening. Questions follow the reading that can be used for discussion and/or given as a written assignment.**

4. **Divide the class into small groups of 3–4 students. Provide each group with one or two quotes from the handout, Shirley Chisholm Quotations. Post some of the following questions on the board and instruct students to discuss them after reading the quote.**

   - Discuss your first reaction or “gut” response to the quote.
   - What issues are reflected in the quote that the country was grappling with during Chisholm’s time?
   - What was Chisholm’s particular stance or take on the issue?
   - Do you agree or disagree with her thoughts? What is your opinion on the subject?
   - Is this topic or issue still relevant today? How?

5. **Reconvene as a class and ask for volunteers to share their quote and some of the key ideas that came up in their discussions.**

6. **Post the following quote on the board (which is not on the quotations handout previously distributed):**

   “Of my two ‘handicaps’ being female put more obstacles in my path than being black.”

   Explain that when Chisholm was elected to office, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 had already been passed. “Prejudice on the basis of race,” Chisholm said, was “under systematic attack.” Point out that discrimination against women, on the other hand, was still enshrined in U.S. law. Ask students to provide examples of such discrimination.

7. **Tell students that, motivated by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the achievements of the Black Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s, Chisholm and many feminist leaders of her time pursued a Women’s Rights agenda that won important gains for women throughout the 1970s and after. Distribute the handout, Equal Rights for Women, which is the transcript of a speech Shirley Chisholm delivered to the House of Representatives in 1969 introducing the Equal Rights Amendment. Ask for student volunteers to come to the front of the class and to collaboratively render a dramatic reading of the speech. Questions follow the speech that can be used for in-class discussion or for homework.**
8. *(Optional)* If time allows, follow up the discussion about Shirley Chisholm and the Equal Rights Amendment with additional lessons and/or individual research on the Women's Rights Movement. Some suggested topics and resources are listed below.

**Women's Rights issues to investigate further:**

- Equal Opportunity in Employment and Education
- Reproductive and abortion rights
- The right to childcare
- Battered women's shelters

**Accomplishments of the Women's Rights Movement to investigate further:**

- Equal Rights Amendment
- Equal Employment Opportunity Act
- Educational Equity Act
- Title IX
- 1970 “Strike for Equality” (on 50th anniversary of the 1920 suffrage vote)
Additional Resources

On Shirley Chisholm

Books

*Let It Shine: Stories of Black Women Freedom Fighters* by Andrea Pinkney and Stephen Alcorn
This story celebrates the lives of ten bold women, including Shirley Chisholm, who lit the path to freedom for generations. The lives these women led are part of an incredible story about courage in the face of oppression; about the challenges and triumphs of the battle for civil rights; and about speaking out for what you believe in—even when it feels like no one is listening. (*Harcourt, 2000, 120 pages, grades 4–7*)

*Unbought and Unbossed* by Shirley Chisholm and Scott Simpson
Chisholm’s account of her remarkable rise from a young girl in Brooklyn to America’s first African-American Congresswoman. She shares how she took on an entrenched system, gave a public voice to millions and sets the stage for her trailblazing bid to be the first woman and first African-American President of the United States. (*Take Root Media, 2010, 200 pages; grades 9 and up*)

*Shirley Chisholm: Teacher and Congresswoman* by Catherine Scheader
A biography of the first black woman to run for president of the United States. (*Enslow Publishers, Inc., 1990, 128 pages, grades 7–10*)

*Women of the U.S. Congress* by Isobel V. Morin
Describes the lives and political careers of eleven women who have served in the Congress. (*Oliver Press, Inc., 1997, 160 pages, grades 5–7*)

Video

*Chisholm ’72: Unbought and Unbossed* (2005, 77 min, 20th Century Fox)
The first historical documentary on Brooklyn Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm and her campaign to become the Democratic Party’s presidential nominee in 1972. (*See also the trailer and PBS resources on Shirley Chisholm at www.pbs.org/pov/chisholm/*)

On Women’s Rights

Websites

*Living the Legacy: The Women’s Rights Movement 1848–1998*
http://teachinghistory.org/history-content/website-reviews/22803
Learn about the women’s rights movement through the secondary sources offered by this website.

*Women and Social Movements in the United States*
http://womhist.alexanderstreet.com/
This site is a resource for students and scholars of U.S. history and U.S. women’s history.

*Women’s Right*
https://www.aclu.org/womens-rights
This website provides resources on women’s rights and the women’s rights movement.
The Women’s Rights Movement, 1848–1920

The Office of Art & Archives, Office of the Clerk provides historical data and resources on the women’s movement during the 1800s and early 1900s.

Sisters of ’77
http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/sistersof77/movement.html

This PBS website provides historical background information, timelines and resources on the women’s movement and movie, Sisters of ’77, a film of the historic weekend in November 1977 for the first federally funded National Women’s Conference. Combining footage of the conference with interviews—both then and now—with influential women’s leaders such as Barbara Jordan, Bella Abzug, Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, Eleanor Smeal, Ann Richards and Coretta Scott King. Sisters of ’77 is a fascinating look at that pivotal weekend in 1977, an event that not only changed the lives of the women who attended, but the lives of Americans everywhere.

A Brief History of Women’s Rights Movements

This site provides a brief history of prominent figures and notable events of women’s rights movements in America and beyond.
A Brief Biography of Shirley Chisholm (1924–2005)

The eldest of four daughters, Shirley Chisholm was born in 1924 in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. Her father—a factory worker from Guyana—and her mother—a seamstress and domestic worker from Barbados—emigrated to New York during the famines of the 1920s. In 1927, Shirley and her sisters moved to Barbados to live on their grandmother’s farm, where they remained until 1934.

Back in New York, Shirley went on to graduate from Brooklyn College, where she won prizes in debating, and to earn a master’s degree in elementary education from Columbia University. Shirley began her career as a nursery school teacher, moved on to direct several day care centers, and came to be known as an authority on early education and child welfare.

Shirley got her start in politics as an educational consultant in the day care division of the city’s Bureau of Child Welfare from 1959 to 1964, where she was a staunch advocate for early schooling. During that time she became active with organizations including the Bedford-Stuyvesant Political League and the League of Women Voters. Shirley also challenged the balance of power within Brooklyn’s Democratic Party establishment, and began to establish a reputation for being a maverick who was unafraid to confront inequity and the status quo.

Shirley’s belief that serving people was more important than bowing to politicians won her a seat in the New York State Assembly in 1964 and then the U.S. House of Representatives in 1968, where she was the first black woman elected to Congress. Shirley immediately challenged the seniority system in the House after being placed on the Agriculture Committee, an assignment she considered completely unrelated to her urban district. Though the House Speaker told her to “be a good soldier” and accept the assignment, Shirley confronted the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and was eventually reassigned to the Veterans Affairs Committee, and later to the Education and Labor Committees.

In her first statement as a Congressperson before the U.S. House of Representatives, Shirley made clear her commitment to the needs of children and the disadvantaged, and proclaimed her intent to “vote No on every money bill that comes to the floor of this House that provides any funds for the Department of Defense.”

During her fourteen years in the House, Shirley fought for the rights of women, Native Americans, Haitian refugees, migrant farm workers and the poor. She worked on behalf of Black colleges and took stands on issues including the Vietnam War, compensatory education and minimum wage for domestic workers. Shirley was an early member of the National Organization for Women, a co-founder of the National Women’s Political Caucus, and a founding member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Shortly after the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968, Michigan Congressman John Conyers introduced legislation for a national holiday in King’s honor. When those efforts were stalled in Congress, Shirley joined forces with Conyers to resubmit the measure every legislative session until it passed in 1983.

In 1972, Shirley became the first woman to campaign for the Democratic nomination for President. She shocked the country when she paid a hospital visit to rival candidate George C. Wallace, the Alabama governor who built his political career on segregation, after he had been wounded in an assassination attempt in 1972. “Black people in my community crucified me,” she recalled. “But why shouldn’t I go to visit him?...He said to me, ‘What are your people going to say?’ I said: ‘I know what they’re going to say. But I wouldn’t want what happened to you to happen to anyone.’ He cried and cried and cried.”

Though Shirley did not win a single primary during the 1972 presidential election, she captured over 150 votes on the first ballot and later said her campaign had been a necessary “catalyst for change.” Shirley went on to serve for ten more years in the House and retired in 1982 after seven terms in Congress.

Shirley kept active in politics following her retirement by co-founding the National Political Congress of Black Women and serving as its chairwoman from its founding in 1984 until 1992. Shirley also lectured, taught at Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts, and wrote two books, including her autobiography, Unbought and Unbossed, which was the campaign slogan she used in her first race for Congress.

Asked how she hoped to be remembered, Shirley once commented, “I’d like them to say that Shirley Chisholm had guts. That’s how I’d like to be remembered.”

Questions

1. How did Shirley Chisholm begin her career? What issues was she concerned with at this time that eventually led her to politics?

2. The reading says that Chisholm was “a maverick who was unafraid to challenge inequity and the status quo.” Define each of the underlined terms. Describe in your own words the type of politician Chisholm strived to be and provide examples from the reading to support your response.

3. What do you know about what was going on in the U.S. at the time Chisholm was elected in 1968? What challenges and opportunities do you think she faced as a black woman in the U.S. Congress at that time?

4. Chisholm once said that “Racism is so universal in this country, so widespread and deep seeded, that it is invisible because it is so normal.” What do you think she meant? Give examples of ways that racism was “invisible” and “normal”? Do you think this statement still holds true today?

5. Chisholm also said, “Of my two ‘handicaps’ being female put more obstacles in my path than being black.” What obstacles do you think Chisholm faced as a female politician in the 1960s and 1970s? Why do you think her gender was more of a challenge than her race during that time?

6. What are some of the issues that Chisholm focused on during her years in Congress? Choose one to research, and write a paragraph describing how that issue impacted the country during the 1960s and 1970s.

7. Why do you think it took Chisholm and others 15 years to pass legislation establishing a holiday in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.?

8. Why do you think Chisholm paid a visit to George C. Wallace—an avowed segregationist? What do you think this says about her character?

9. Looking back on her campaign for the Democratic nomination for President, Chisholm said,

“The United States was said not to be ready to elect a Catholic to the Presidency when Al Smith ran in the 1920’s. But Smith’s nomination may have helped pave the way for the successful campaign John F. Kennedy waged in 1960. Who can tell? What I hope most is that now there will be others who will feel themselves as capable of running for high political office as any wealthy, good-looking white male.”

- Do you think that Chisholm helped to pave the way for other women and black people to run for high office?
- Do you think that a candidate from one of these groups could be elected as president in the near future?
Shirley Chisholm Quotations

On Sexism...

“The emotional, sexual, and psychological stereotyping of females begins when the doctor says: It’s a girl.”

“Tremendous amounts of talent are being lost to our society just because that talent wears a skirt.”

“One distressing thing is the way men react to women who assert their equality: their ultimate weapon is to call them unfeminine. They think she is anti-male; they even whisper that she’s probably a lesbian.”

“Prejudice against blacks is becoming unacceptable although it will take years to eliminate it. But it is doomed because, slowly, white America is beginning to admit that it exists. Prejudice against women is still acceptable. There is very little understanding yet of the immorality involved in double pay scales and the classification of most of the better jobs as ‘for men only.’”

On Racism

“Racism is so universal in this country, so widespread and deep seeded, that it is invisible because it is so normal.”

“My God, what do we want? What does any human being want? Take away an accident of pigmentation of a thin layer of our outer skin and there is no difference between me and anyone else. All we want is for that trivial difference to make no difference.”

“We Americans have a chance to become someday a nation in which all racial stocks and classes can exist in their own selfhoods, but meet on a basis of respect and equality and live together, socially, economically, and politically.”

“I am not anti-white, because I understand that white people, like black ones, are victims of a racist society. They are products of their time and place.”

Other...

“I was the first American citizen to be elected to Congress in spite of the double drawbacks of being female and having skin darkened by melanin. When you put it that way, it sounds like a foolish reason for fame. In a just and free society it would be foolish. That I am a national figure because I was the first person in 192 years to be at once a congressman, black and a woman proves, I think, that our society is not yet either just or free.”

“The United States was said not to be ready to elect a Catholic to the Presidency when Al Smith ran in the 1920’s. But Smith’s nomination may have helped pave the way for the successful campaign John F. Kennedy waged in 1960. Who can tell? What I hope most is that now there will be others who will feel themselves as capable of running for high political office as any wealthy, good-looking white male.”

“There is little place in the political scheme of things for an independent, creative personality, for a fighter. Anyone who takes that role must pay a price.”

“In the end anti-black, anti-female, and all forms of discrimination are equivalent to the same thing–anti-humanism.”

“I don’t measure America by its achievement but by its potential.”

“Service is the rent we pay for the privilege of living on this earth.”

“...Rhetoric never won a revolution yet.”

“When morality comes up against profit, it is seldom profit that loses.
Equal Rights for Women

HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM of New York in the House of Representatives, May 21, 1969

Mr. Speaker, when a young woman graduates from college and starts looking for a job, she is likely to have a frustrating and even demeaning experience ahead of her. If she walks into an office for an interview, the first question she will be asked is, "Do you type?"

There is a calculated system of prejudice that lies unspoken behind that question. Why is it acceptable for women to be secretaries, librarians, and teachers, but totally unacceptable for them to be managers, administrators, doctors, lawyers, and Members of Congress.

The unspoken assumption is that women are different. They do not have executive ability, orderly minds, stability, leadership skills, and they are too emotional.

It has been observed before, that society for a long time, discriminated against another minority, the blacks, on the same basis - that they were different and inferior. The happy little homemaker and the contented "old darkey" on the plantation were both produced by prejudice.

As a black person, I am no stranger to race prejudice. But the truth is that in the political world I have been far oftener discriminated against because I am a woman than because I am black.

Prejudice against blacks is becoming unacceptable although it will take years to eliminate it. But it is doomed because, slowly, white America is beginning to admit that it exists. Prejudice against women is still acceptable. There is very little understanding yet of the immorality involved in double pay scales and the classification of most of the better jobs as "for men only."

More than half of the population of the United States is female. But women occupy only 2 percent of the managerial positions. They have not even reached the level of tokenism yet no women sit on the AFL-CIO council or Supreme Court. There have been only two women who have held Cabinet rank, and at present there are none. Only two women now hold ambassadorial rank in the diplomatic corps. In Congress, we are down to one Senator and 10 Representatives.

Considering that there are about 3 1/2 million more women in the United States than men, this situation is outrageous.

It is true that part of the problem has been that women have not been aggressive in demanding their rights. This was also true of the black population for many years. They submitted to oppression and even cooperated with it. Women have done the same thing. But now there is an awareness of this situation particularly among the younger segment of the population.

As in the field of equal rights for blacks, Spanish-Americans, the Indians, and other groups, laws will not change such deep-seated problems overnight. But they can be used to provide protection for those who are most abused, and to begin the process of evolutionary change by compelling the insensitive majority to reexamine its unconscious attitudes.

It is for this reason that I wish to introduce today a proposal that has been before every Congress for the last 40 years and that sooner or later must become part of the basic law of the land—the equal rights amendment.

Let me note and try to refute two of the commonest arguments that are offered against this amendment. One is that women are already protected under the law and do not need legislation. Existing laws are not adequate to secure equal rights for women. Sufficient proof of this is the concentration of women in lower paying, menial, unrewarding jobs and their incredible scarcity in the upper level jobs. If women are already equal, why is it such an event whenever one happens to be elected to Congress?
It is obvious that discrimination exists. Women do not have the opportunities that men do. And women that do not conform to the system, who try to break with the accepted patterns, are stigmatized as “odd” and “unfeminine.” The fact is that a woman who aspires to be chairman of the board, or a Member of the House, does so for exactly the same reasons as any man. Basically, these are that she thinks she can do the job and she wants to try.

A second argument often heard against the equal rights amendment is that it would eliminate legislation that many States and the Federal Government have enacted giving special protection to women and that it would throw the marriage and divorce laws into chaos.

As for the marriage laws, they are due for a sweeping reform, and an excellent beginning would be to wipe the existing ones off the books. Regarding special protection for working women, I cannot understand why it should be needed. Women need no protection that men do not need. What we need are laws to protect working people, to guarantee them fair pay, safe working conditions, protection against sickness and layoffs, and provision for dignified, comfortable retirement. Men and women need these things equally. That one sex needs protection more than the other is a male supremacist myth as ridiculous and unworthy of respect as the white supremacist myths that society is trying to cure itself of at this time.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - Extensions of Remarks, E4165-6

Questions

1. When Chisholm spoke of sexism, she described a “calculated system of prejudice that lies unspoken.” Do you think this still applies today? What other groups besides women do you think are the targets of unspoken prejudice?

2. Chisholm said that “Prejudice against blacks...is doomed because, slowly, white America is beginning to admit that it exists. Prejudice against women is still acceptable.” Are there forms of prejudice today that are still considered “acceptable”?

3. Do you think the double standard in employment that once existed still persists today? For example, are there still jobs that are considered for women or men only? Research one of the following statistics cited by Chisholm to determine what progress has been made over the last 35 years:
   - “Double pay scales” or salary gaps between men and women
   - Women occupy only 2 percent of the managerial positions
   - No women sit on the AFL-CIO council or Supreme Court
   - There have been only two women who have held Cabinet rank
   - Only two women hold ambassadorial rank in the diplomatic corps
   - In Congress, we are down to one Senator and 10 Representatives

4. In addition to employment discrimination, what other examples of prejudice against women did Chisholm identify?

5. Chisholm said that Blacks and women “submitted to oppression and even cooperated with it.” In what ways have marginalized groups enabled their oppressors? Are they partly to blame for their own oppression?

6. Do you think an Equal Rights Amendment for Women was (and is) needed? Do you think changing the law is an effective way to eliminate prejudice and discrimination?