

# WOMEN AND THE SPIRIT OF THE NEW DEAL

October 5-6, 2018  
University of California, Berkeley



The Living New Deal  
Frances Perkins Center  
National New Deal Preservation Association

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## Hosts

The Living New Deal  
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National New Deal Preservation Association

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*On the cover: "Music and Painting" is one of two Byzantine-style mosaic murals installed on the UC Berkeley campus in 1936. Commissioned by the Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration, the 18-by-10-foot mural by Florence Swift, flanks the double entrance on the eastern facade of the university's former Art Gallery.  
Photo: Susan Ives*

*Program: Susan Ives Communications/Glyph Publishing Arts*

**A**s a presidential candidate, Franklin Roosevelt pledged “a new deal” to the American people. Upon entering office in 1933, he made that New Deal a reality by putting millions of people back to work. They created libraries, courthouses, post offices, schools, airports, bridges, roads, parks, and works of art—laying the foundation for the nation’s future prosperity. New Deal programs brought greater security to workers, the poor, the sick, and the elderly. “Women and the Spirit of the New Deal” fills a significant gap in the story of the New Deal—the role of women in guiding the nation’s economic recovery, social welfare, and cultural life during the crisis of the Great Depression.

Our coming together at this time is especially relevant. Pivotal elections are just weeks away. More women than ever are running for office, taking power, leading change. We look forward to inspiring discussion about the role of women in politics and activism today, and how, together, we can ignite the spirit of the New Deal to meet the challenges of our time.



*Frances Perkins and Eleanor Roosevelt  
Courtesy, Kheel Center, Cornell University  
Photographer: Unknown*

*“It gave them a sense of solidarity.*

*Something that probably is not written in the books, but is true, is that the friendships that were formed among women who were in that suffrage movement have been the most lasting and enduring friendships—solid, substantial, loyal—that I have ever seen anywhere. The women learned to like each other in that suffrage movement. In other words, they were comrades in the common cause. They played fair with each other, supported each other. They had to trust each other. It was like people in the underground—they had to trust each other. They did trust each other. The friendships that were made, even by people who only saw a little of each other, were very, very substantial and have endured.”*

Frances Perkins  
Oral History 1951-1955  
Columbia University

# PROGRAM SCHEDULE



**Friday, October 5**  
**Maude Fife Room, Wheeler Hall, Room 315**

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8:30 – 9:30am	Registration and Refreshments
9:30 – 9:45am	Welcome Dr. Richard Walker, Director, The Living New Deal Susan Ives, Women and the Spirit of the New Deal, Coordinator
9:45 – 10:15am	<i>“In the Spirit of Eleanor Roosevelt”</i> Dr. John Roosevelt Boettiger, Grandson of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt
10:15 – 10:30am	Q&A
10:30 – 11am	<i>“Leadership the Eleanor Roosevelt Way”</i> Robin Gerber
11:00 – 11:15am	Q&A
11:15 – 11:30am	Break
11:30 – 12pm	<i>“Frances Perkins, the Woman Behind the New Deal”</i> Kirstin Downey
12:00 – 12:15pm	Q&A
12:30 – 2:00pm	Lunch

- 2:15 – 3:45pm      Panel: “*Women of the New Deal*”  
Moderator: Elizabeth Partridge  
Ashley Dennis  
*Mary McLeod Bethune and the  
National Youth Administration*  
Dr. Stephanie Anne Johnson  
*The Harlem Renaissance and the New Deal,  
Artists Augusta Savage and Gwendolyn Bennett*  
Brigid O’Farrell  
*Eleanor Roosevelt and the American Worker*  
Susan Quinn  
*The California Connection: Hallie Flanagan and  
the Federal Theater Project; Eleanor Roosevelt  
and Lorena Hickok*
- 3:45 – 4pm          Q&A—Adjourn

### **Friday Evening – Women’s Faculty Club**

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- 5:30 – 6:30pm      Reception honoring Dr. Robert Reich,  
Frances Perkins Center Awardee for 2018  
Dr. Christopher Breiseth, Board member,  
National New Deal Preservation Association  
Tomlin Perkins Coggeshall, founder of  
the Frances Perkins Center and grandson of  
Frances Perkins
- 6:30 – 8pm          Presentation 2018 Intelligence and  
Courage Award  
Sarah Peskin, Chair of the Board,  
Frances Perkins Center  
Dr. Sandra Smith, Professor and  
Chair of the Board,  
UC Berkeley Department of Sociology  
Remarks by Dr. Robert Reich

**Saturday, October 6, Maude Fife Room,  
Wheeler Hall, Room 315**

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- 8:30 – 9am Registration and Refreshments
- 9:00 – 9:30am *“Toward a New New Deal...  
and the Women Shall Lead”*  
Dr. Eileen Boris, Professor of Feminist Studies,  
UC Santa Barbara
- 9:30 – 9:45am Q&A
- 9:45 – 11:15am Panel: *“Women and the Spirit of the  
New Deal Today”*  
Moderator: Dr. Rachel Brahinsky, Assistant  
Professor, University of San Francisco  
Susannah Delano  
Executive Director, Close the Gap CA  
Dr. Angela Marino  
Associate Professor, Theater, Dance &  
Performance, Latin/o American Studies,  
UC Berkeley  
Hon. Gayle McLaughlin  
Former Mayor of Richmond; Co-founder  
Richmond Progressive Alliance  
Susan Sachen  
Campaign & Field Director  
California Labor Federation  
Dyanna Taylor—Filmmaker, PBS Documentary  
*Dorothea Lange, Grab a Hunk of Lightning,*  
Granddaughter of Dorothea Lange.
- 11:15 – 11:45am Q&A
- 12:30pm Buses depart from Berkeley Faculty Club  
to Tilden Park

- 1 – 3:15pm      Lunch, hosted by the East Bay Regional  
Park District  
*“Berkeley and the New Deal”*  
Harvey Smith, president of the National New  
Deal Preservation Association  
  
*“CCC Legacy in the East Bay Parks”*  
Dave Zuckerman, Regional Interpretive and  
Recreation Services Manager for the East Bay  
Regional Park District
- 3:30pm            Buses depart for Berkeley Rose Garden
- 4:00 – 4:15pm    Welcome  
City of Berkeley Mayor Jesse Arreguin  
and City Council member Susan Wengraf
- 4:30 – 5pm        Rose Garden Walk  
*“History of the Berkeley Rose Garden”*  
Dr. Gray Brechin, founder and Project Scholar,  
The Living New Deal  
  
*Kathryn A. Flynn Preservation Awards*  
Kathy Flynn, founder, and Harvey Smith,  
president of the National New Deal  
Preservation Association
- 5:30 – 6:30pm    Reception
- 6:30pm            Buses return to Berkeley Faculty Club

**Sunday, October 7**  
**New Deal Walking Tour of Berkeley,**  
**Meet at Berkeley Faculty Club**

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- 10am – noon      Harvey Smith, president,  
National New Deal Preservation Association

## INTELLIGENCE AND COURAGE AWARD



Each year the Frances Perkins Center honors those whose work in the areas of social justice and economic security exemplifies the spirit of Frances Perkins. The name of this award comes from a speech Perkins gave in 1929 in which she pledged: “I promise to use what brains I have to meet problems with intelligence and courage.”

Dr. Robert Reich served in the administrations of Presidents Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter, and Bill Clinton and on President-elect Barack Obama’s economic transition team. He was U.S. Secretary of Labor from 1993 to 1997, during which he implemented the Family and Medical Leave Act, and successfully lobbied to increase the minimum wage, pass the School-to-Work Jobs Act, and help workers who lost their jobs get training to find comparably paid work.

He popularized the term “corporate welfare” —arguing that the nation could get the money it needed to retrain people and move them from welfare to work by cutting “aid for dependent corporations.”

As a child, a bone disorder that results in short stature made him a target for bullies. He sought out the protection of older boys, one of whom was Michael Schwerner, who, in 1964, was among three men murdered by the Ku Klux Klan in Mississippi for registering African-American voters. Reich cites this event as an inspiration to “fight the bullies, to protect the powerless, to make sure that the people without a voice have a voice.”

Reich has been that voice—as a teacher, author, and commentator on radio and television, in documentaries, and on social media—educating the public about the implications of the nation’s widening inequalities of income, wealth, and political power. After the 2017 inauguration he began producing the “Resistance Report,” short videos posted to social media sites like Facebook and YouTube.

Dr. Reich has published 18 books, including *The Work of Nations*, *Reason*, *Saving Capitalism*, *Supercapitalism*, *Aftershock: The Next Economy and America’s Future*, and *Beyond Outrage*. In his new book, *The Common Good*, he argues that America’s national identity did not derive from race, ethnicity, Christianity, or other nativist ideas, but from the ideals of equality, political rights, and equal opportunity.

He serves on numerous nonprofit Boards, including the Advisory Boards of the Living New Deal and the Frances Perkins Center.

It is in recognition of these tireless efforts and his courage in speaking truth to power—and to the rest of us—that Dr. Robert Reich is awarded the Intelligence and Courage Award for 2018.



## KATHRYN A. FLYNN PRESERVATION AWARDS



The National New Deal Preservation Association annually recognizes outstanding efforts in education and activism for the identification, documentation, and preservation of the New Deal legacy, including performing arts, literature, structures, and environmental and social programs. The Kathryn A. Flynn Preservation Award also recognizes surviving New Dealers whose work helped lift America out of the Great Depression. This year's honorees will be celebrated at the Berkeley Rose Garden. Built by the Works Progress Administration and dedicated in 1937, this beloved city park is part of the vast, living legacy of the New Deal.

### **The 2018 Awardees**

#### **The Diego Rivera Mural Project**

The Diego Rivera Mural Project, founded by Will Maynez and the late Julia Bergman, has pursued the return of the 1939 Pan America Unity mural to public prominence. Thanks to their efforts, the 22 x 74-foot artwork will undergo restoration for a special exhibition at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art in 2020.

#### **The Potomac Association**

Through the efforts of the nonprofit Potomac Association, the USS Potomac—FDR's "Floating White House"—berthed in Oakland, is open to the public. More than a quarter million people have visited and sailed aboard the Potomac. It took more than 12 years to restore the 165-foot-long vessel. It is the only fully operational former U.S. Presidential yacht still in existence.

#### **Coit Tower Protection Initiative**

San Francisco's landmark Coit Tower and its 27 New Deal murals were in a state of neglect when Jon Golinger mounted a citywide campaign to preserve them. Despite strong opposition from the Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco voters approved Measure B, directing the City to restore the tower and its historic murals, which are relicts of the first Public Works of Art Project.

#### **Bay Area Conservation Corps**

Founded in 1933, the Civilian Conservation Corps was the New Deal's first employment program. Four local Corps still carry on the spirit of the original CCC, training and employing youth to restore the natural and built environment and help their communities. The 2018 Kathryn A. Flynn Award recognizes four local Corps: the San Francisco Conservation Corps, Conservation Corps North Bay, Civicorps, and the San Jose Conservation Corps and Charter School.

## PRESENTERS



**Dr. John Roosevelt Boettiger** was formerly a professor of psychology at Hampshire College in Amherst, Massachusetts, of which he was founding faculty member. He is a grandson of U.S. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Eleanor Roosevelt. As a student at Amherst College he lived and traveled with his grandmother and joined her in her work on behalf of the United Nations. He is author of *A Love in Shadow—The Story of Anna Roosevelt and John Boettiger* (WW Norton, 1978). He lives in Mill Valley, CA.



**Dr. Eileen Boris** is Hull Professor and chair of the Department of Feminist Studies at UC Santa Barbara where she directs the Center for Research on Women and Social Justice. She has written on women and work; the feminization of poverty; the wages of care; and welfare reform. Her books include *Intimate Labors: Cultures, Technologies, and the Politics of Care* (Stanford University Press, 2010) and *Caring for America: Home Health Workers in the Shadow of the Welfare State* (Oxford University Press, 2011). She is an alumna of Brown University. She lives in Santa Barbara, CA.



**Dr. Rachel Brahinsky** is an urban geographer and an assistant professor at the University of San Francisco where she directs the Graduate Program in Urban & Public Affairs. Her scholarship focuses on race and justice in cities, particularly in California. She is the co-author of *A People's Guide to the San Francisco Bay Area* (forthcoming 2019), and is working on a book that investigates the historical geography of race and property in the Bay Area. In 2012-13 she was a postdoctoral fellow with the Living New Deal. She has a B.A. from Hampshire College and a Ph.D. from UC Berkeley. She lives in Oakland, CA.



**Dr. Gray Brechin**, a historical geographer, is a visiting scholar in the UC Berkeley Department of Geography. He is founder and project scholar of the Living New Deal. He is the author of *Imperial San Francisco, Urban Power, Earthly Ruin, and Farewell Promised Land, Waking Up from the California Dream* (both University of California, 1999). He received a B.A. in history and geography, an M.A. in art history, and a Ph.D. in geography from UC Berkeley. He lives in Berkeley and Inverness, CA.



**Dr. Christopher Breiseth** serves on the board of the National New Deal Preservation Association. He formerly chaired the board of the Frances Perkins Center and was president and CEO of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute at Hyde Park. As a graduate student in 1960 he invited Frances Perkins to live at the Telluride House at Cornell University, where she lived until her death in 1965. Chris wrote “The Frances Perkins I Knew.” He lives in Ticonderoga, NY.



**Tomlin Perkins Coggeshall** is the only child of Susanna Wilson Coggeshall, who is the only child of Frances Perkins, Labor Secretary during the New Deal. He remembers his grandmother as a loving and good-humored person who stoked his curiosity at every opportunity. As he has come to know his grandmother’s accomplishments, he is awed by her abilities, strength, and convictions. He is helping to build the nonprofit Frances Perkins Center to preserve her legacy and carry on her work. He holds a B.S. from the University of Maine. He lives with his husband, Christopher Rice, at the Perkins homestead in Newcastle, ME.



**Susannah Delano** is executive director of *Close the Gap CA*, a campaign to achieve gender parity in the California State Legislature by recruiting progressive women to run in targeted districts. Susannah previously worked for Planned Parenthood and SEIU. She earned a B.A. in Women’s Studies and Politics from Occidental College in 2001. She is based in Oakland, CA.



**Ashley Dennis** is a doctoral student in the Department of African-American Studies at Northwestern University. Her research includes Black women’s history, the history of education in the U.S., and 20th century urban history. She is most interested in the ways in which Black women educators in northern cities promoted Black history for children as part of a larger struggle for justice. She lives in Evanston, IL.



**Kirstin Downey** is author of the award-winning book, *The Woman Behind the New Deal: The Life and Legacy of Frances Perkins—Social Security, Unemployment Insurance, and the Minimum Wage*. She is a frequent contributor to *The Washington Post*, where she was a staff writer from 1988 to 2008 and shared the Pulitzer Prize for the Post’s coverage of the Virginia Tech shootings. She lives in Honolulu, HI.



**Kathy Flynn** grew up in Texas amidst the Dust Bowl. A former Deputy Secretary of State for New Mexico, she founded the National New Deal Preservation Association in 1999 in order to document and preserve the New Deal’s legacy. She is author of *Treasures on New Mexico Trails: New Deal Art and Public Artists in New Mexico* (Sunstone Press, 1994). She lives in Santa Fe.



**Robin Gerber** is a historian and best-selling author of *Leadership the Eleanor Roosevelt Way: Timeless Strategies from the First Lady of Courage* (Penguin/Portfolio, 2002). She was National Political and Legislative Director for the Carpenters' Union and the Service Employees Union in Washington D.C. and is a member of the Bar. She helped found the James MacGregor Burns Academy of Leadership at the University of Maryland, College Park, where she was a Senior Fellow. She lives in Ojai, CA.



**Susan Ives** is the conference coordinator for "Women and the Spirit of the New Deal." She is a writer, editor, and communications consultant to nonprofit organizations, including the Living New Deal. Her previous work includes vice president for Trust for Public Land and leading the creation of the Massachusetts Environmental Trust. A graduate of the University of Michigan with a master's in Public Administration from Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, she lives in Mill Valley, CA.



**Dr. Stephanie Anne Johnson** is a professor and founding faculty member of the Visual and Public Art Department at California State University, Monterey Bay. She is a mixed-media artist, writer, performer, and a theater lighting designer. Her research is about the connection between the New Deal and the Harlem Renaissance. She holds an MFA from UC Berkeley and a Ph.D. from Union Institute and University. She lives in Berkeley.



**Dr. Angela Marino** is an Associate Professor in the Department of Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies at UC Berkeley. She is author of the book *Performance and Populism in the Bolivarian Revolution of Venezuela* (Northwestern University Press, 2018), and advises an ensemble of Latinx theater on campus and in the community. Angela earned a Ph.D. at NYU. She lives in Oakland.



**Gayle McLaughlin** served as a city council member and 2-term mayor of Richmond, California, where she helped to advance the city's progressive transformation—reducing crime, instating a \$15/hour minimum wage, and challenging the influence of the Chevron Corporation, which operates a refinery in Richmond. She ran as an Independent candidate for Lt. Governor of California in 2018 and is a co-founder of the Richmond Progressive Alliance. She lives in Richmond, CA.



**Brigid O'Farrell** is an independent scholar whose research and writing focus on employment equity, especially for women in nontraditional jobs. She has authored or collaborated on ten books including *She Was One of Us: Eleanor Roosevelt and the American Worker*. She has an EdM in social policy from Harvard University. She lives in Moss Beach, CA.



**Elizabeth Partridge** grew up in a bohemian family of photographers in the San Francisco Bay Area. Her godmother, Dorothea Lange, taught her the power of combining photography and social justice. Elizabeth is the author of many books, including *Dorothea Lange, Grab a Hunk of Lightning* (Chronicle Books, 2013) and *Quizzical Eye: the Photography of Rondal Partridge* (Heyday 2002). She lives in Berkeley.



**Sarah Peskin** is chair of the board of the Francis Perkins Center. As chief of planning for the National Park Service North Atlantic region, she guided the preservation and interpretation of many nationally significant historic places. She spearheaded the successful nomination of the Perkins homestead as a National Historic Landmark. A graduate of Smith College, she holds a master's degree in urban planning from NYU and was a Loeb Fellow at Harvard. She lives in Brookline, MA and Walpole, ME.



**Susan Quinn** began her writing career as a newspaper reporter. She has published five books: an award-winning biography of Marie Curie in 1997 and *Furious Improvisation: How the WPA and a Cast of Thousands Made High Art Out of Desperate Times*, (Walker and Co, 2008), which chronicles the New Deal's Federal Theater Project and its embattled director, Hallie Flanagan. Her most recent book is *Eleanor and Hick: The Love Affair That Shaped A First Lady*, (Penguin Group 2016). She lives in Brookline, MA.



**Susan Sachen** is the Campaign & Field Director at the California Labor Federation. She works with labor councils and unions throughout the state on political and issue campaigns and mobilizing support for workers organizing new unions. Susan grew up in Kansas City, Kansas in a "blue collar" union family. Her dad worked as a teenager on a WPA project in Minnesota and was determined to give his children more opportunities. After graduating she began work as an organizer for the United Farm Workers Union during their grape and lettuce boycotts. She previously organized textile workers, homecare workers, janitors, airline engineers, and public sector workers. She lives in Oakland, CA.



**Harvey Smith** is project advisor to the Living New Deal and president of the National New Deal Preservation Association. He is author of *Berkeley and the New Deal* (Arcadia, 2015) and curator of Bay Area exhibitions including "The American Scene: New Deal Art, 1935-1943" and "Building Bridges, Not Walls—Immigrants, Diversity and Internationalism." He has a B.A. in English and a Master of Public Health from UC Berkeley and has worked as an educator, public health administrator, radio journalist, horse rancher, and union carpenter. He lives in Berkeley.



**Dr. Sandra Susan Smith** is a professor and chair of the Department of Sociology at UC Berkeley. Her research interests include urban poverty, joblessness, race and ethnicity, social networks and social capital, and trust. She is author of *Lone Pursuit: Distrust and Defensive Individualism among the Black Poor* (Russell Sage Foundation, 2007). She attended Columbia for her B.A., and received her M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. She lives in Kensington, CA.



**Dyanna Taylor** is a five-time Emmy-award winner producer and cinematographer. She received a Peabody Award and the Muse Lifetime Achievement Award from New York Women in Film and Television. Her documentary, *Dorothea Lange: Grab a Hunk of Lightning*, which aired on PBS, has special meaning for Taylor. She is Lange's granddaughter and has been deeply influenced by her grandmother's sensibility and esthetic. She lives in Santa Fe.



**Dr. Richard Walker** is professor emeritus at UC Berkeley, where he taught in the Geography Department from 1975 to 2012. Much of his focus has been on California, a major economic, political, and cultural hearth of world capitalism. His books include *The Conquest of Bread* (2004), *The Country in the City* (2007) and *The Atlas of California* (2013). He recently published *Pictures of a Gone City: Tech and the Dark Side of Prosperity in the San Francisco Bay Area* (PM Press, 2018). He is director of the Living New Deal. He splits his time between Berkeley and Burgundy.



**David Zuckermann** is Regional Interpretive and Recreation Services Manager for the East Bay Regional Park District, which oversees 120,000 acres and 73 parks. He is a longtime presenter for the District specializing in early California history, the Depression-era formation of the park system, and the agency's connection to New Deal economic programs. He has a B.A. in Sociology from UC Berkeley.

## **Living New Deal Advisory Board**

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## The Living New Deal

The Living New Deal, founded in 2007 at the University of California, Berkeley, works to document, restore and preserve the New Deal's legacy. The first online national registry of New Deal sites and artworks, our website is a premier source for history and commentary about the New Deal. Through our publications, talks, and tours the Living New Deal is introducing a new generation to the New Deal and the spirit of government that inspired it.

[livingnewdeal.org](http://livingnewdeal.org)



Through education, outreach, and advocacy, the Frances Perkins Center amplifies the exemplary work and career of Frances Perkins—a principal architect of the New Deal. As U.S. Secretary of Labor, Perkins was the first woman to serve as a U.S. cabinet member. She was a key advisor to President Franklin Roosevelt and lifelong advocate for social justice and economic security. Headquartered in Damariscotta, Maine, the Center, founded in 2009, offers an exhibit on Perkins's life and achievements.

[francesperkinscenter.org](http://francesperkinscenter.org)



The National New Deal Preservation Association, founded in Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1999, brings together individuals and organizations interested in the New Deal to encourage and support the nationwide preservation of art and other creations of the New Deal era. Its mission is to identify, preserve, document, and educate about the legacy of the New Deal's visual and performing arts, literature, crafts, structures, and environmental projects.

[newdeallegacy.org](http://newdeallegacy.org)