

## D) NARRATIVE

### 1) The Nature of the Request

This is an application for a production grant for a one-hour documentary on the life and work of Maggie Kuhn (1905-1995), founder of the Gray Panthers and lifelong activist. The Gray Panthers were founded in 1970 and are credited with revolutionizing the ways in which aging is viewed in America.

Following what Ralph Nader describes as "the most significant forced retirement in history," Kuhn left a career with the Social Action Office of the Presbyterian Church to fight against ageism and mandatory retirement. In an era replete with "movements," the media quickly latched onto Kuhn as the spokesperson against age discrimination. As leader of the Gray Panthers, Kuhn used her high visibility in the media to combat stereotypes about the elderly. She went on to champion universal health care, nursing home reform, shared housing, and consumer protection.

The film, *Maggie Growls*, will use Kuhn's life as a lens through which to examine the issues, as well as the forces that shaped a movement and its leader. The documentary will reveal the intertwined histories of social reform and aging in America. Long before Kuhn addressed the evils of ageism, she had been involved in the major progressive movements of her century. Her longevity allowed her to be an active participant in all of them: "During my lifetime there's been the labor movement, the civil rights movement, the women's movement and the peace movement, and I've been part of all of them." Kuhn's forced retirement in 1970 coincided with the heyday of liberation movements. A group such as the Gray Panthers provided a fledgling liberation movement for older Americans, and tapped a spontaneous vein of energy. Fifty years of experience in grassroots organizing combined with a forceful and captivating persona made Kuhn a natural leader for this movement.

The documentary is intended for national PBS broadcast. It will be shot on Beta SP and mastered on Digital Beta, an ideal format for television broadcast and educational distribution.

We are seeking \$175,000 for production and post-production. With \$27,500 from the Pennsylvania Humanities Council, The Philadelphia Foundation, and the Leeway Foundation, and a NEH planning grant for \$30,000, we have completed pre-production. We have consulted extensively with our humanities scholars on the historical, political, cultural and social issues examined in the documentary. We have located and researched archival and biographical

material, identified significant persons to interview, conducted many interviews, and developed a detailed script and production plan.

The total project budget for production and post-production is \$325,000. We have a commitment from the Evelyn and Walter Haas Jr. Fund for a small but as yet unspecified amount of finishing funds. An application is pending to the Women in Film Foundation and applications are in development for the Independent Television Service and foundations that are associated with Grantmakers in Aging.

## **2) Introduction to the Subject**

### **Who is Maggie Kuhn?**

In 1970, an unexpected event launched Maggie Kuhn into a struggle that would consume the rest of her life and leave America forever changed. Maggie Kuhn had just turned 65. She was commuting from Philadelphia to New York, working in the central office of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) as editor of their social justice journal. She was told abruptly one day that her services were no longer needed. Thinking that she might have been allowed to continue working on an *ad hoc* basis as some of her male predecessors had done, Kuhn was stunned and dismayed. Her colleagues threw her a farewell party and gave her a sewing machine, hinting that she might want to take up a hobby. She never unpacked the sewing machine.

Outraged at being forced to retire “midstream,” Kuhn turned her anger into an opportunity. Her response was characteristic of a life devoted to activism. She convened a group of friends and colleagues who were all facing retirement. Out of this group the Gray Panthers was born, and the period of Kuhn’s life for which she is best known began.

Kuhn’s lifelong involvement in social issues moved away from religious-based institutions that nurtured so many women activists—in her case the YWCA and the Presbyterian Church—and toward the liberation movements that were sweeping the country in the early seventies. “This was the age of liberation and we struggled—for liberation in terms of racial justice, for the long struggle against sexism, and now we turned our attention to the struggle against age discrimination,” recalled Kuhn in a 1990 interview.

At their second meeting, the Gray Panthers declared themselves an intergenerational group, and passed a resolution against the Vietnam War. They faced a dual challenge: how to participate actively with young people in the struggle against the Vietnam War and how to resist forced retirement at 65. From that confluence of political commitment and aging emerged an imaginative, passionate movement, which challenged equally the artificial division between

young and age—ageism—and the traditional targets of liberal movements—racism, sexism, and militarism.

By 1972, only two short years after retirement, Kuhn was making appearances all over the country as the emblematic spokesperson for productivity—and rights—in old age. She carried her message to venues ranging from nursing homes to the *Tonight Show*, and all the way to the White House.

Why is Maggie Kuhn an important documentary subject? Maggie Kuhn is the single best figure to show the transformation of an aging American society in the twentieth century and its meaning for all Americans.

### **Humanities themes in *Maggie Grows***

At the heart of *Maggie Grows* lies a demographic, political and social revolution that has reshaped American life and values. This is a history best explored through a biography grounded in history, politics, and cultural studies, and a biography of Maggie Kuhn offers a lens into the wider world that shaped her values and experiences. At the same time it shows how she in turn shaped the world around her, by confronting the critical sites of power: the media, the medical system, the labor market and the cultural arena.

The chronology of Kuhn's life will provide a timeline with which to examine other important themes of the twentieth century. The filmmakers will be guided throughout by scholars who have worked in the areas relevant to a thorough examination of Kuhn's life and work: a gerontologist; a sociologist with a concentration in aging; a professor of communications who has done ground breaking work in age bias and the media; three historians, whose combined expertise will flesh out the history of aging, women, and social change in the twentieth century; and a theologian. Our advisers are **Robert Butler, M.D.**, Director, International Longevity Center, Professor of Geriatric and Adult Development, Mount Sinai School of Medicine, New York, NY; **Carroll L. Estes, Ph.D.**, Director of the Center On Aging, University of California, San Francisco; **George Gerbner, Ph.D.**, Dean Emeritus of University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications, and Bell Atlantic Professor of Telecommunications at Temple University, Philadelphia; **Janet Golden, Ph.D.**, Associate Professor and Director of the Graduate Program in History, Rutgers University-Camden; **Carole Haber, Ph.D.**, Chair of History Department and Women's Studies, University of Delaware; **Susan Hartmann, Ph.D.**, Professor of History/Women's Studies, Ohio State University; **Dieter Hessel, Ph.D.**, Director, Program on Ecology, Justice and Faith, Princeton, N.J.

But for *Maggie Grows* to fully explore Kuhn's life, it must first build a framework for the emergence of the Gray Panthers through an historical overview of being old in America. Our

project adviser historian Carole Haber writes of the five important areas of social history that will be addressed in *Maggie Growls*:

### **Attitudes towards the elderly**

Although throughout American history, popular attitudes toward the elderly have been ambiguous at best, prescriptive ideals in the colonial era supported the ideal of respect for old age. Based on biblical command, children were warned to respect their elders; ministers reproached those who did not duly honor the elderly. Such admonitions were often supported by economic realities. Controlling important land and, in many cases political power, the old were able to insure they received the young's respect.

By the late nineteenth century, however, social prescriptions no longer endorsed these ideals. In middle class culture, disease and decline were often interpreted as signs of weakness. For many Protestant sects, the old came to represent appropriate targets of benevolence, rather than repositories of knowledge or skill. Such attitudes were further supported by the developing medical model of old age. Based on the notion that changes in the cells and tissues of the old were the signs of disease, the entire life stage came to be medically characterized as a debilitating and incurable illness. To be senile was seen simultaneously as both the normal and pathological state of the elderly.

### **The effect of industrialization on the elderly**

Based originally on the work of anthropologist Leo Simmons, scholars had long assumed that industrialization robbed the old of their power and importance. No longer the repositories of wisdom or the patriarchs of extended families, the elderly appeared to be of little use in modern society. Apart from the agricultural society that insured their power, their declining participation in the labor force and their tendency to live apart from their families were taken as clear signs of their increasing impoverishment and obsolescence. Scholars were not the only ones to accept this conception of the role of the elderly in modern society. Pension advocates and welfare reformers portrayed the old in similar terms: the rising proportion of aging inmates in the almshouse and the increasing numbers of unemployed elders seemed a clear sign that assistance was necessary.

Recently, however, several historians have questioned this conception. The old in pre-industrial times, they argue, were neither as powerful nor as respected as scholars have assumed. Few patriarchs ruled over extended families nor did aged leaders dictate with unquestioned authority. Moreover, scholars question whether the recent trend to retirement and separate households may be the result of increasing wealth and personal choice rather than society-wide disdain. Only in recent times, and as a result of industrialization, have the old

begun to attain goals of independence and autonomy that many generations have shared. The economic realities of aging, some scholars contend, often conflict with widespread social beliefs. Obviously, although there continues to be debate about the impact of industrialization on the old, historians have shown that its effects are far more complex and variable than initially assumed.

### **Society's responsibility for the aged**

The aged have long seemed proper targets for society's benevolence. In the nineteenth century, as welfare reformers began to argue that charity "pauperized" the poor, they denied support to a wide range of "able-bodied" persons. Yet the old were never excluded from aid; they continued to merit society's support. Grouped along with the children, the insane, and the infirm, the elderly seemed natural members of the "worthy and deserving poor." Whether in the almshouse, or in "out-door" relief, they seemed deserving candidates of assistance. The philosophy of welfare reformers, in fact, seemingly proved the increasing weakness of impoverishment of the old. As authorities removed other groups from the almshouse, either to seek employment on their own or to specialized institutions such as orphanages, the old became the chief residents of the almshouse. Their rising numbers were taken as a sign of their naturally debilitated and impoverished condition. By the early twentieth century, in fact, age alone had come to be seen as a sign of need and impoverishment. In 1904, all Civil War veterans who had reached the age of seventy were assumed to be disabled and worthy of pensions. No longer were they required to submit to physical exams or testimonies; they were categorized as infirm and needy simply because they were old.

This philosophy was central to the advocates for Social Security. Pointing to the rising percentage of inmates in the almshouse who were elderly, or to the increasing number of veterans receiving pensions, welfare reformers argued that, in the modern world, most aged persons were enfeebled and poor. Only pensions could rescue them from the fate of the almshouse and impoverishment. The sense of responsibility that had once given aid in the form of the poorhouse was now embodied in a Social Security system.

### **The concept of retirement**

Although the concept of retirement itself was not new, before the late nineteenth century, few aging workers possessed the financial resources to allow them to withdraw voluntarily from the work force. The great majority continued to labor until weakness or death ended their labor; extreme disability often required them to rely on family benevolence. In the late nineteenth century, the first mandatory retirement plans placed age restrictions on working and supported the retirement of the old, loyal employees with a pension plan. By 1925 about

370 companies adopted such programs that required workers to leave the work force upon attained advanced age.

Until Social Security, however, the proportion receiving such support was limited to very large companies. Most aged workers dreaded the day when they could no longer labor. Moreover, in the face of the Great Depression, these companies were often unable to support their financial commitments. With the establishment of Social Security, however, the concept of retirement became established as a normal part of the work cycle. Supported by government guaranteed resources and an ever-growing number of private plans, the majority of workers came to expect—and in some cases, were forced—to retire when they reached their sixty-fifth birthday. By the time Kuhn was forcibly retired, she had little recourse.

### **The social gospel movement**

In the late nineteenth century, under the leadership of clergymen such as Washington Gladden and Walter Rauschenbusch, the Social Gospel Movement questioned the impact of uncontrolled capitalism on the working class. From their pulpits, liberal ministers called upon congregations to work for numerous reforms that would improve the lives of those who struggled to earn a decent wage. These ideas were formally expressed in “a social creed of the churches,” adopted in 1908 by the Federal Council of the Church of Christ in America. The document endorsed the rights of workers for a living wage, the abolition of child labor, improved working conditions for women, and a day of rest. Following the ideals of the Social Gospel Movement, later generations of activists continued to bring Christian ideals and the power of the church to devise solutions of a myriad of social problems. Among these were Kuhn and her colleagues at the YWCA and the Presbyterian Church.

### **Women in the workplace**

Throughout this century, large numbers of women filled the ranks of organizations directed at social reform. Even in the nineteenth century, when married women were expected to remain at home, women found church work to be an accepted form of their labor. Venturing outside the domestic circle, they first became “friendly visitors,” endeavoring to teach, and in many cases, to speak for the poor. From this position, they gained the authority to work on a variety of social issues. Whether as professionalized social workers, educational reformers, or municipal advocates, women became the backbone and voice of social reform. With Kuhn’s first volunteer job at the YWCA in Cleveland in 1926, she entered into this tradition and followed its trajectory through the twentieth century.

By the 1960s, when Kuhn was about to be retired, the number of women workers had expanded rapidly. In 1960, only 35.7% of females over the age of 16 were in the labor force; by

1999, the number has risen to 60%. As a result of their presence, family issues, such as maternity or family leave—once seemingly divorced from the work place—have gained national attention.

### **Appeal to a broad public audience**

*Maggie Growls* is intended for national public television broadcast and educational distribution. It offers a broad audience the opportunity to meet a compelling character whose life touched on many of the issues that confront us today.

Senior citizens and women do not get equal treatment on television. We know this intuitively, but now studies of program content by George Gerbner, Ph.D., adviser to this project and Dean Emeritus of the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania, document the extent of this discrimination. The percentage of Americans who are old—over 65—is at 13% and growing. Yet Gerbner's research shows that only about 2 percent of the characters in prime-time television come from that age group. Gerbner also describes the "double whammy" that renders older women virtually invisible to television viewers: although women represent 60% of older population, they comprise only 30% of older characters seen in prime-time television.

Moreover, entertainment programs distort the realities of older people. In a forum at New York's Newseum, Robert Pristutta, associate research director of the American Association of Retired Persons, observed, "In dramatic fictional programming, usually an unsuccessful or ambivalent resolution is associated with older people. Older characters don't come across as effective in problem solving, in dealing with issues, as do younger characters. And this is especially true with older women."

*Maggie Growls* will be of dual interest to viewers seeking positive images of aging as well as creative ways of looking at the chronic problems of the aged. Baby boomers, who have just educated themselves about aging in order to care for their parents, now find themselves on the cusp of dealing with those concerns in their own lives. Viewers of *Maggie Growls* will learn of a tireless advocate who railed against the stereotypes associated with the aged, who proclaimed "Speak your mind even if your voice shakes," and whose slogan "Youth and Age in Action" warns against the perils of pitting one demographic group against another.

### **3) Description of the project**

The life and work of Maggie Kuhn have yet to be critically and comprehensively explored in a documentary. Existing films on Kuhn include her interviews and speeches, but do

not place her life and work in historical context. We have reached a critical moment for this task, as many of Kuhn's friends and colleagues are advanced in age. Exploring Kuhn's story now allows us to look at her life as a whole, calling on recollections of many of those who knew her well.

In making *Maggie Growls*, the filmmakers face the challenge of depicting not only an extraordinary life, but an extraordinary period of change for older Americans. Because of the Gray Panthers and other activists, what it means to be old in America has changed radically. In the 70s, Kuhn became an overnight standard bearer for this sea-change. Using her position as a media icon for old age, she challenged the media to both change the way old people are depicted, and to increase their visibility. She recognized the skyrocketing and largely unregulated growth of the nursing home industry and organized nursing home reform. She challenged the historic neutering of old people by speaking publicly about sex. She demanded that nursing home residents be treated as consumers and accorded self-determination. She championed universal health care as part of her battle against the notion that pitted old against young in the allocation of scarce government resources.

Of course *Maggie Growls* will not be complete if it only depicts Kuhn's political struggles. The audience will learn of her personal struggles as well: an early rejection of marriage in favor of education and career; the death of her parents; her relationship with her mentally ill brother, Sam, of whom she eventually became sole guardian; and her physical frailty and battle with breast cancer. Kuhn's tender and romantic side will be revealed, as she writes and speaks fondly of love affairs and friendships. Kuhn's personal insistence on talking publicly about sex forever changed the vocabulary available to older people. In Kuhn's autobiography, *No Stone Unturned*, she speaks of having a two-year affair with a man 50 years younger than herself, and frankly discloses a long relationship with a married colleague.

*Maggie Growls* will examine the conflicts and failures Kuhn encountered as she rose to become a recognized spokesperson for older Americans. Inevitably, Kuhn's forceful style and ideas met with resistance. Her defiant "Panther growl" and dramatic slogan "Do something outrageous every day" did not embody the politics of all her contemporaries.

Kuhn's differences with, among others, the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), will be explored. Kuhn's philosophy stressed the intertwined fabric of society, and she feared that single issue groups like the AARP would promote older Americans at the expense of other disenfranchised groups. By broadening the senior agenda to include items that benefit all, such as public housing and universal health insurance, the Gray Panthers distinguished themselves from the AARP, which focused on items solely benefiting their constituency, such as Social Security and health care benefits for the elderly. At the same time that Nader's Raiders funded the Gray Panthers to begin their research on nursing home reform, historian Carole

Haber tells us, "The AARP shied away from the subject of nursing home residents in favor of a portrayal of its constituency as vital and independent retirees."

### **The Early Years**

Maggie Kuhn jokes in her autobiography that "my birth was my first political act." She was referring to her mother's decision to leave Memphis, Tennessee where her husband had recently been transferred as an office manager for Dun and Bradstreet. Deeming Memphis too racist to have as a birthplace for her child, Minnie Kooman Kuhn returned to her family home in Buffalo, New York to give birth to Margaret Elizabeth Kuhn on August 31, 1905. In 1908, the Kuhn family was enlarged by the birth of Samuel, a sickly infant who would have a troubled childhood and be diagnosed schizophrenic as an adult.

Kuhn spent her late childhood and young adulthood in Cleveland, Ohio, where her father had been transferred to handle Dun and Bradstreet's growing business in the booming industrial city. Now a prominent businessman, Kuhn's father joined a church where he would mingle with the other "shakers" in the community. He became active in Old Stone Presbyterian Church and involved in many civic issues—especially the pollution which was reaching dangerous levels in the air and water from the uncontrolled growth of industry in the city.

Kuhn absorbed a sense of civic responsibility at a young age, and as a student at Western Reserve's College for Women, immersed herself in the study of sociology. As the first member of her family to go to college, Kuhn cherished her education. She was influenced by Professor Richard Gehlke, who took his female students tromping through jails, slums and sweatshops. Kuhn's theology professor, Reverend Howell Merriman Hayden, introduced her for the first time to a non-literal interpretation of the Bible which stressed the value of worldly action. Kuhn distinguished herself from her classmates, writing, "We were part of Cleveland's Society, not in the top level. But I was exploring the slums and learning how those young women lived such wretched lives. . . and [they] were riding to the hounds."

### **The Working Years: A New Role For Women**

Blending her religious faith with a newfound commitment to the disenfranchised, Kuhn took her first job at the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in Cleveland, and set out to organize the young working class women who congregated there. She was quickly surrounded by a whole new breed of women.

Like many women coming into the workforce in 1926, work was seen as an alternative to marriage, just as marriage was an escape from work. Kuhn's suitors in high school and college had always been treated extremely coolly by her beloved father, and only once, in her

autobiography, does Kuhn recall getting serious. After a threatened elopement which Kuhn backed out of at the last minute, she chose work.

Kuhn entered the paid labor force at a time when increasing numbers of women were serving in the helping professions, attempting to apply scientific thought to pressing issues of family, civic and economic need. Nearly two thirds of all social workers were women, yet turnover was high as many left the workforce after marriage and others were pushed out of the labor force when the Great Depression began in 1929. Despite the economic hardships of the 1930s, the decade saw an overall increase in women's employment. In 1920, women were 24.3 percent of all workers, by 1930 this had increased to 25.1 percent. And the numbers would continue to rise due to vast mobilization for World War II.

### **Between the Wars**

The Young Women's Christian Association of 1926 was an organization that took its role as an advocate for working class women seriously. The organization had taken a cutting-edge stand for equal work for equal pay in 1920, as well as an eight-hour workday. Surrounded by a "new breed" of progressive women, largely from the upper classes of Cleveland society, Kuhn quickly earned a reputation as a quick learner and hard worker. Her tasks involved organizing activities, mostly social, for the young women who congregated at the YWCA. Her mentor, Grace Mayette, was a socialist, and Kuhn joined the Young Socialist League and began to talk about women's exclusion from the labor movement.

When in 1930 Kuhn's family moved to the Germantown area of Philadelphia, Kuhn went along, transferring to a position at the Germantown YWCA.

In 1941, as the United States prepared for war, Kuhn was invited to join the New York City office of the YWCA. The organization was one of six agencies joining together to form the United Services Organization, or USO. The USO, as the self-appointed "guardians of civil morale," charged itself with maintaining the morale not only of the troops and their spouses, many of whom were away from home for the first time, but with the morale of the young women leaving home to fill war-time job vacancies. It is commonplace to say that women's liberation had much of its genesis in the social upheaval that took place during World War II, and the same can be said for Kuhn's personal liberation. She took this opportunity to leave home for the first time, to rent an apartment in New York, and traveled to program sites all over the country. Kuhn remembers all of the women in the New York office as "unmarried and hardworking." Great clouds of cigarette smoke hung over their spirited meetings, and a favorite office saying was "To get along in a man's world you have to look like a schoolgirl, dress like a lady, think like a man, and work like a horse."

After the war, Kuhn returned to Philadelphia to work in the Social Education and Action Office of the Presbyterian Church. Pleased by the church's controversial decision to embrace social action, Kuhn also became a deacon at the First Presbyterian Church on Walnut Street. Kuhn's job was to create programs that would encourage the growing post-war membership to become more active in civic affairs through their churches. Throughout her tenure with the Presbyterian Church, Kuhn pushed the church to take positions on social issues, such as health care reform, on which they often demurred.

During these years, from 1950 to 1970, Kuhn's life was marked by increasing professional success and staggering family responsibilities. By 1951, with both parents dead, Kuhn assumed full responsibility for her sometimes institutionalized brother. When the church relocated her to the national office in New York City, Kuhn insisted on commuting so she could care for Sam. After her parents' death, Kuhn was also free to pursue love, and was emotionally sustained by, among other romances, a 15-year relationship with a married male colleague.

### **The Gray Panther Years**

In 1970, at the age of 65, Maggie Kuhn was forced to retire from her job in the national social action office of the Presbyterian Church. Kuhn responded by convening a meeting of six older professionals who would face the same dilemma, and claimed "we didn't feel old." The second meeting drew over 100 people, and the group that would become the Gray Panthers was born. Determined to stay in the forefront of current issues, the group named opposition to the war in Vietnam as their first issue.

Prior to the late 60s, there were no national organizations addressing the critical issues facing the elderly: forced retirement, nursing home reform, negative media portrayal of the elderly, undertreatment by the medical profession, bank discrimination, and consumer fraud aimed at old people.

The twentieth century history of old age has been characterized by three major trends. First and foremost was the demographic revolution that saw vast changes in the life cycle. In 1890 the mean age of death for men was 66 and for women 71; by 1950 it was 77 for men and 81 for women. In the second half of the twentieth century changes in longevity have been less dramatic than the shifts in the percentage of the population classified as old (over 65) and as what some have called the old-old (over 80). In 1950 # (to come) Americans were over 65; in the year 2000 they will number # according to recent estimates.

Economic and social changes also reshaped old age in the twentieth century. While historians today argue that urbanization and industrialization probably resulted in less of a loss of power for the old than was previously thought, it is still one of many factors that led to the eventual entitlement programs and mandatory retirement. The creation of the Social Security

program in 1935 was as much a response to the needs of family members unable to assume the costs of caring for elderly parents as it was an effort to remove those over 65 from the labor force in order to make room for young workers struggling to gain a foothold during the Great Depression.

Finally, the perception of the elderly changed over the course of the twentieth century as experts in the medical and social welfare professions attempted to assist the elderly by explaining their special needs and securing social benefits for them. This new conception of aging had the ironic effect of increasing the social isolation of the old, lowering expectations of their abilities, and removing them from the mainstream of social, political, economic, and cultural life. From the New Deal of the 1930s through the 1970s, older Americans were compassionately stereotyped by the media as poor, frail, and above all, dependent. And it was these perceptions of those over 65 that Kuhn set out to fight.

Kuhn's work with the Presbyterian Church positioned her to see both the unmet needs of the elderly and the issues, including media stereotyping, that still needed to be tackled. The explosion of advocacy groups in the 1970s offered her models for organization and action. One of these groups, Ralph Nader's Retired Professional Action Group, was organizing retired citizens to look at consumer issues that directly affected them. When Nader saw Kuhn in action, he turned his staff, membership, and funding over to this tiny, white-haired phenomenon. A member of the press suggested renaming the group the Gray Panthers, referring to the radical Black Panthers, and in 1971 the Gray Panthers were formed.

The growing population of older—voting—Americans had not gone unnoticed in Washington, and special interest groups emerged. (Description here of special interest groups, especially AARP) The Gray Panthers was more progressive than the mainstream AARP, and when the Second White House Conference on Aging was convened in 1971, Kuhn was on the outside, uninvited. Her group was protesting the lack of inclusion of older people of color, claiming that, "due to unequal health care, many of them would not live to benefit from the programs being discussed." Kuhn's "Black House Conference" drew much press attention, and some needed publicity for the fledgling group.

The next year, when Kuhn spoke with the press at a conference in Denver, something clicked. "The press asked a few questions and I began to talk—and talk and talk. About retirement, about senior citizens, about nursing homes, about sex at 75, about gray-haired activists picketing for justice, about young people who felt powerless." The story was picked up by the wire services, and for the rest of Kuhn's life, her phone never stopped ringing.

Publicly vowing to "do something outrageous every day," Kuhn could be counted on to be irreverent. Among the numerous television appearances that resulted was an interview on the *Tonight Show*, where Kuhn first complimented Johnny Carson on his gray hair: "I'm so glad

you don't dye it!" and then proceeded to berate him for his portrayal of Aunt Blabby, a pitiful representation of a ditzzy old lady. Invited to the White House to watch the signing of a pension bill she had supported, Kuhn corrected President Gerald Ford for addressing her as "young lady," reminding him that it was not a complement.

Meanwhile, Gray Panther chapters sprang up all over the country, and some in Europe. Kuhn was joined in her tiny Philadelphia office by Elma Holder and Linda Horn, who proceeded to write a manual for nursing home reform. In 1974, Mary Adelaide Mendelson published *Tender Loving Greed* about corruption and abuse in nursing homes, and the National Citizen's Coalition for Nursing Home Reform was founded and run by Elma Holder out of the National Gray Panthers headquarters. (Pressure from this group contributed to the passage in 1987 of the Nursing Home Reform Act).

Gray Panther Lydia Bragger started Media Watch, and recruited chapter members in New York City to monitor television shows for demeaning portrayals of old people. As a result, the National Council on Aging eventually set up an office in Hollywood to encourage the film industry to increase visibility of older people in a respectful manner.

Many Gray Panther chapters were interested in health care reform. Geriatrics had yet to become an important area in medicine, and *The New York Times* reported that out of 20,000 medical school professors, only 15 specialized in geriatrics. Kuhn led protesters at the meeting of the American Medical Association in Chicago in 1974 in demanding mandatory medical school courses in geriatrics, consumer representation in the AMA, improved home care, and alternatives to nursing homes.

The Gray Panthers spearheaded a movement to develop shared housing for seniors, with Kuhn, who by then lived in a big Germantown house with her brother Sam and rotating roommates, as their "poster child." A network for older people wishing to share their homes with younger people was established, and group homes began to take many forms. With Kuhn's brother now needing almost constant medical and psychological attention, the shared living situation provided a means for Kuhn to make appearances and organize all over the country while her roommates shared the household responsibilities. When in 1975 Sam died, Kuhn was freed to accelerate her schedule. She wrote, "I got on a plane and I never got off." Undaunted by her own medical troubles—two mastectomies and a hysterectomy plus painful arthritis—Kuhn traveled constantly, forging new alliances and strengthening old ones.

By 1981, there were over 90 chapters, and the national office of the Gray Panthers boasted a three-story building in West Philadelphia, a staff of six, a newsletter with a circulation of 60,000 and a budget of \$500,000. By this time powerful lobbying groups had succeeded in gaining increased tax and social security benefits for seniors. As a result, a new negative stereotype dogged old people—that of the "greedy geezer." Kuhn spoke often to the issue,

insisting that the elderly lobby should now turn its attention to the poorest among us—the children. In her autobiography, Kuhn points out that “We have never made a long-term commitment to children comparable to Social Security’s commitment to the old. . . . We must act as the elders of the tribe, looking out for the best interests of the future and preserving the precious compact between the generations.”

### **The Last Years**

By 1990, the Gray Panthers had moved their office to Washington. While other directors were named to head the group, Kuhn remained the icon for the cause. She lived to see many of her causes adopted by other groups, as the Gray Panthers, like so many groups founded in the 70s, diminished in numbers. The downside of having a charisma reshaped tic leader like Kuhn was felt, as the organization floundered without her. Many suggest that Kuhn had failed to lay a foundation for a successor.

In 1985, Kuhn was mugged when walking to attend a neighborhood meeting and her fragile body never recovered. Working increasingly with pen, paper, and telephone, Kuhn began to spend most of her time at home. Kuhn had never drawn a salary from the Gray Panthers, surviving only on speakers fees. Without the loyalty of her friends and former colleagues, she would have faced penury in these last years, and Christina Long remembers, “We had to take up a collection just so she would have groceries.” In 1995, 25 years after her forced retirement, 89-year old Maggie Kuhn died in her home in Philadelphia, surrounded by friends and colleagues.

In 1989, *Ms. Magazine* dubbed Maggie Kuhn one of the “100 Most Important Women of Our Century,” and in 1995 the National Women’s Hall of Fame in Seneca Falls, New York named Maggie Kuhn to their prestigious roster. Her obituary in the *Los Angeles Times* credited her with giving “voice, hope and purpose to the aged.”

### ***Maggie Growls: The Life and Work of Gray Panther Maggie Kuhn—The Documentary***

As much as possible, we plan to let Kuhn tell her own story; fragile in appearance but stubborn in her convictions, she speaks out powerfully against injustice, prejudice, corruption and greed. We will use filmed interviews conducted by Studs Terkel in *Maggie Kuhn—Wrinkled Radical* (1977), Glen Holstein of WHYY (1989), and others (see filmography in APPENDIX →). There is extensive material available through the archives of television networks, showing not only interviews, but Kuhn on the picket line, Kuhn marching in Washington for numerous causes, Kuhn meeting with prominent leaders worldwide, Kuhn chiding Johnny Carson on the *Tonight Show* for his portrayal of Aunt Blabby, the definitive silly old lady. These segments display her distinctive public persona—a savvy mix of humility and bravura.

An important resource for this documentary is Kuhn's autobiography, *No Stone Unturned*, written with Christina Long and Laura Quinn. This book, and a vast trove of letters made available to us by the executor of Kuhn's estate, Sue Leary, will form the narrative thread. Excerpts read by an actress will communicate the zeal Kuhn felt for her causes and the intrinsic connection between her life and her work.

During Kuhn's almost 25 years devoted to issues of aging, a sea-change took place in America. The documentary will use the commercial media—print ads, television programs and commercials and movies—to provide evidence of these changes. Clips of Carroll Burnett and Johnny Carson's acid portraits of doddering ancients attest to the negative stereotyping of the old in the media. Dr. George Gerbner, Dean Emeritus of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications, will assess the media evolution that has taken place in the 30 years since the Panthers started their Media Watch campaign.

Our sound track will feature music that evokes the changing times, from the Janis Joplin song of the '70s, *Me and Bobby McGee* ("Freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose"), to the Roches in the '80s singing *Weeded Out* and *Older Girls*, to the rebellious music of Ani DiFranco in the '90s. Towards the end of the documentary we will use the moving ballad written by Peter Yarrow, of Peter, Paul and Mary, for Kuhn's 90<sup>th</sup> birthday, *We Will Carry On*.

## **History of the project**

We first met Maggie Kuhn when she attended a screening of *Motherless*, our 1993 film about the history of abortion. She was accompanied by a coterie of young women and her presence caused a stir of recognition. We knew she headed the Gray Panthers; we were still to discover the extent of the accomplishments on which her celebrity was based.

Years later, when we were in production on *Landowska*, the biography of the Polish harpsichordist Wanda Landowska, we became enamored of women's biography. Kuhn had died in 1995, but we sought out and read Kuhn's autobiography (written with Chris Long) *No Stone Unturned*. We liked what we read, and realized that this slim volume would provide the backbone for a documentary, while still leaving much room for research. Writer Chris Long and Sue Leary, executor of Kuhn's estate, were both still living in Philadelphia. They had been approached several times after Kuhn's death by filmmaking teams seeking access to the story, but were attracted by the breadth and quality of our work. In 1997, they agreed that Attie & Goldwater Productions was the right group for the project and Sue Leary wrote a letter making *Maggie Grows* the official biographical documentary (see appendix --.)

A carefully selected advisory board was built, including scholars with expertise in the areas of gerontology, aging and the media, women in politics, history of feminism, history of

aging, and twentieth century social history. We have also developed an extensive network of "informants"—friends and former colleagues of Kuhn's living in Philadelphia and all over the country, as well as experts in the field of aging who could provide a critical perspective. We interviewed by phone and in person over three dozen individuals during this time.

Our first application for funding was to the Pennsylvania Humanities Council, and *Maggie Growls* received the largest grant awarded by that group in 1998. That award was followed by support from the Philadelphia Foundation. With these combined grants, we were able to complete extensive research at the Temple University Urban Archives and the Presbyterian Church national archives, both in Philadelphia, the two locations housing most of Kuhn's writings and ephemera as well as the complete archives of the Gray Panthers.

In 1999 we submitted an application to the NEH for a planning grant. With this funding in hand we have successfully completed interviews with many of the subjects who, along with Kuhn, will tell the story of Kuhn's life. We were able to interview the following subjects in Philadelphia: George Gerbner, Ph.D., Dean Emeritus of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communication; Elma Holder, Director of the National Nursing Home Reform Coalition; Fernando Torres-Gill, Ph.D., Professor of Gerontology at UCLA; Carroll Estes, Ph.D., Director of the Center on Aging at UCSF; and Christina Long, former editor of the Gray Panther newsletter who helped Kuhn write her autobiography. We traveled to conduct interviews with the following valuable subjects: Ralph Nader, Director, Public Citizen, (Washington, D.C.); Ron Wyden, U.S. Senator from Oregon and former Gray Panther (Washington, D.C.); Studs Terkel, author (Chicago); Gretchen Killinger, cousin (Buffalo); Steve McConnell, Director of Public Affairs, Alzheimer's Association (Washington, D.C.); Mary Jane Patterson, retired colleague from the Presbyterian Church Social Action Office (Washington, D.C.); Lydia Bragger, former Gray Panther and head of Media Watch (New York City); Robert Butler, M.D., Director, International Center for Longevity (New York City); Karen Hessel, Kuhn friend (Princeton, New Jersey); and Myrna Lewis, Ph.D., geriatric psychologist (New York City). We also traveled to Montgomery County, Maryland to interview individuals from a current Gray Panther chapter. Several of these interviews have been videotaped and all have been logged; they are used in the body of the script.

We have maintained contact throughout with our advisers via email and phone, and occasional face-to-face meetings. We have been able to meet in Philadelphia with local advisers Janet Golden and George Gerbner; we have had to travel to meet with Susan Hartmann (Columbus, Ohio), Carole Haber (Newark, Delaware), Dieter Hessel (Princeton, New Jersey), and Robert Butler (New York City.) We were able to meet with adviser Carroll Estes while she was in Philadelphia at a professional conference.

In addition to scouring the archives for information and photographs, we have secured, reviewed and logged much of the existing film and television footage of Maggie Kuhn. A complete list of this footage is found in APPENDIX --. This does not include some well-known footage from the *Merv Griffin Show*, *Phil Donahue Show* and several news programs which we are currently pursuing. We have succeeded—with extreme difficulty—in obtaining footage of Kuhn's appearances with Johnny Carson on the *Tonight Show*.

We have contacted and secured agreements for rights to the still photographs from the Philadelphia photographers who photographed Kuhn extensively: Julie Jensen, Neil Benson, and Harvey Finkle. We have also cataloged the vast photographic archive of the Gray Panthers, who have granted us unconditional use, pending agreements from photographers. We have researched the photo and film archives at the Library of Congress, Ohio Historical Society, and National Archives for relevant material to provide a vivid visual historical context.

Using the NEH planning grant, we have worked with writer Patricia McLaughlin to prepare a script that is included in this application. We will be ready to begin principal photography in summer, 2001

#### **4) Audience and Distribution**

The audience for *Maggie Grows* will represent an amazingly broad spectrum of people. One of the tenets of Kuhn's work was her insistence on bringing together different parts of the population—different denominations, races, socioeconomic groups—and, in the work for which she was most famous, different generations. This documentary will strive to speak to all those groups.

While television will reach the widest audience, classroom and institutional use will be of equal importance. This documentary will be of equal value on a college campus or in a senior citizen facility. Educators across the country will agree that to discuss aging in America without discussing Maggie Kuhn would be like studying consumerism without mentioning Ralph Nader. The "meaning" of Kuhn's life and work segue together neatly in a way that can be easily related through the documentary medium—the audience will see a frail wisp of a white-haired lady performing her famous "Panther growl," and refusing to accept the stereotypes that come with age.

##### **Television broadcast**

*Maggie Grows* will be a compelling one-hour broadcast documentary, appropriate for national television broadcast. In the last two years we have succeeded in achieving two national PBS broadcasts during prime-time hours: *Landowska: Uncommon Visionary* (1999) and *Daring to Resist* (2000). Both have received wide critical acclaim. We believe this experience combined

PBS broadcasts during prime-time hours: *Landowska: Uncommon Visionary* (1999) and *Daring to Resist* (2000). Both have received wide critical acclaim. We believe this experience combined with the compelling subject of the documentary positions us well to achieve a national PBS broadcast of *Maggie Growls*. As with our previous documentaries, once we have secured a national air date through PBS in Washington, D.C., we will select the local PBS station best equipped to present and promote the program. WHYY (PBS) in Philadelphia has expressed a serious interest in the program, and we were impressed by the far-reaching publicity and community outreach that the station provided for its broadcast of *Daring to Resist* in September 2000. Upon completion, we will first offer the program to PBS in Washington, D.C. WHYY (PBS) in Philadelphia this year added a programming strand to address issues of interest to the over-50 set. In doing so it joins a growing number of broadcasters who recognize the need to address older Americans and their concerns. *Maggie Growls* will also be appropriate for cable television stations such as Bravo, HBO, Arts and Entertainment and Cinemax.

A wide viewing audience will be attracted through a comprehensive and broad-based publicity campaign. As with our previous documentaries, we will supplement the work of the over-stretched public relations division of the broadcaster. Our approach to publicity will be three-pronged: we will provide press releases and call on our own connections in the media; we will develop a website and relevant links; and we will network through the extensive "aging community" with which *Maggie Growls* has brought us in contact.

#### **Educational/Non-theatrical Distributor**

A respected national distributor will market *Maggie Growls* nationally to senior and religious organizations, community and activist groups, educational institutions, and libraries. The makers of *Maggie Growls* currently have documentaries being distributed by Women Make Movies, Cinema Guild, and VAI International, each of which were selected because of their appropriateness to the subject matter.

A study guide will be a crucial aspect for educational use of the documentary, and will feature a timeline placing Kuhn's life and work in historical context. Any broadcast or screenings will be accompanied by comprehensive distribution of press releases to appropriate media outlets.

#### **Public Venues/Conferences**

*Maggie Growls* will also be screened at national conferences such as the Gerontological Society of America; the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians; Women's Studies/Gerontology Conference on Issues of Older Women at Richard Stockton College of New Jersey; Gerontology Center of Penn State University's annual conference on Social

for numerous events on International Women's Day and other gatherings of scholars recommended by our advisers. Selected scholars and colleagues who collaborated in making *Maggie Growls* will be available to speak at such events.

### **University Curricula**

According to the Association for Gerontology in Higher Education, there are now 500 universities offering more than 1,000 courses in gerontology. *Maggie Growls* will be promoted as an important teaching tool for instructors seeking to establish an overview of issues on aging, as well as the history of those issues.

### **5) Organizational History**

Women Make Movies (WMM) is a New York-based non-profit organization that, for over 25 years, has been dedicated to the production, promotion, and distribution of multicultural independent media by and about women. One of the services that WMM provides is professional and efficient fiscal sponsorship to women making independent films and videos. Filmmakers whose projects are accepted by Women Make Movies for this service maintain complete creative control of the product, and reserve all rights to the completed product.

Women Make Movies' experience and professionalism in acting as a "pass through" eliminates the anxiety sometimes associated with this aspect of filmmaking. The WMM staff offers excellent bookkeepers, and requires strict accountability for all funds spent by sponsored filmmakers. They are also available to do some creative advising on sources for fundraising. WMM acts as a catalyst to independent filmmaking, through fiscal sponsorship of projects, and through the development of venues and active distribution for women's work, with a well subscribed to catalog of over 250 films and videos. Once finished, if we decide that WMM would be the best educational distributor for *Maggie Growls*, we will have the option of that service as well.

Make Movies have served as fiscal sponsors for three of Attie and Goldwater's documentaries: *Daring to Resist* (2000), *I Witness* (1998), and *Landowska: Uncommon Visionary* (1997); they currently distribute *Daring to Resist* and *Skin and Ink* (1989).

### **6) Project Staff**

Barbara Attie and Janet Goldwater have worked together for the last ten years producing documentaries which have been broadcast nationally and internationally and which have won numerous awards at film festivals.

As Philadelphia filmmakers, Attie and Goldwater will be able to devote the necessary time to make in-depth use of resources available only in Philadelphia. The filmmakers have established a truly collaborative relationship with Kuhn's close friends and colleagues still living in the Philadelphia area. Christina Long, the co-author and owner of the rights to Kuhn's biography, *No Stone Unturned*, has agreed to give the filmmakers exclusive access to the information in the biography. Sue Leary, Kuhn's former assistant and executor of her estate, enthusiastically supports this project and has written a letter to that effect (see attached).

Productions co-produced by Attie and Goldwater include *Landowska: Uncommon Visionary*, a biography of the pioneering Polish harpsichordist Wanda Landowska, which was nationally broadcast on PBS in July, 1999, with WNET in New York City as the presenting station. *Landowska* has been broadcast in Japan, Israel and throughout Europe, and was selected to screen at the Louvre Museum in Paris and the Barbican Center in London this year as part of the film festival "Classique en Image." Critical response has been notable:

"This program is a keeper . . . Funny and terrible, erudite and earthy, the situations and the personalities revealed here will inspire the young and credit the generations who lived through Landowska's tumultuous era."

— Elizabeth Zimmer, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

" . . . an affectionate and fascinating look at the woman who changed music history." — Chris Pasles, *Los Angeles Times*

" . . . an extraordinary documentary that has long been overdue . . ."

Watching this film is at once a stimulating and inspiring experience."

— John Ardoin, *The Dallas Morning News*

Other Attie and Goldwater documentaries that have been broadcast on PBS stations throughout the United States include *Skin and Ink: Artists and Collectors* (1990), which examines the tattoo culture; *Motherless: A legacy of loss from illegal abortion* (1993); *In a Time of Headlong Progress* (1994), about efforts to save an endangered species in Brazil; *If It's Not a Piano, What Is It?* (1996), on the versatility of the harpsichord; and *I Witness: Shot Down in Pensacola* (2000), a powerful look at the effect violence at abortion clinics has had on the community of Pensacola, Florida.

### **Barbara Attie, Producer/Director**

Attie's most recent documentary, *Daring to Resist, Three Women Face the Holocaust*, is a portrait of teenage girls fighting genocide, as three Jewish women tell their stories of resisting the forces of Nazi hatred in unexpected ways. *Daring to Resist* was broadcast nationally on PBS in September, 2000 and screened at the Doubletake Documentary Festival and at Lincoln Center in

New York as an official selection of the Human Rights Watch International Film Festival. Reviewers, such as Julie Salomon in *The New York Times* unanimously praised the film: "...through poignant interviews and photographs, the filmmakers — and of course their subjects — evoke a fresh stab of sorrow for the terrible losses, and admiration for those lucky and brave enough to endure."

Attie is producer/director and project director of *Landowska*. She is a 1998 recipient of the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts Fellowship in Media, awarded to only eight artists in Pennsylvania. She received an M.F.A. in film and media studies at Temple University.

### **Janet Goldwater, Producer/Director**

Goldwater produced and directed *I Witness: Shot Down in Pensacola*, which premiered at the 1998 Philadelphia Festival of World Cinema was broadcast on WHYY (PBS) in September 2000 as part of their series "Independent Images." Goldwater's previous documentary, *Motherless: A legacy of loss from illegal abortion*, has been widely broadcast and distributed to colleges and universities. *Motherless* is winner of many awards and has been shown at Women in the Director's Chair, Sinking Creek, and other festivals in the United States and Europe. Goldwater is co-producer of *Landowska*.

Janet Goldwater received an M.F.A. in Photography from Boston University in 1976 and has taught at the Art Institute of Boston, Sweet Briar College, Temple University and Rowan College.

### **Patricia McLaughlin, Writer**

McLaughlin has written the "Style" column in the *Philadelphia Inquirer Magazine* since 1983. The column, syndicated by Universal Press Syndicate since 1988, goes to about 250 newspapers. Before that, she worked for *Vogue* magazine, the *Philadelphia Evening and Sunday Bulletin*, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and Reliance Insurance Company. Her essays and feature stories have been published in *Mirabella*, *The Washington Post*, *The American Scholar*, *The New York Times Magazine*, *The Jewish Exponent's Inside Magazine*, *Philadelphia Magazine*, and *Rolling Stone*. She wrote the article on fashion in the *Collier's Encyclopedia Yearbook* from 1989 through 1998, and has contributed commentaries to the Philadelphia-based PBS radio talk show "Fresh Air." Besides style and culture, she has written about anti-dumping litigation, superconductivity, econometric modeling, contract bonds, and other subjects. McLaughlin graduated from Boston University and finished the coursework (but not the thesis) for a master's degree in communications at the Annenberg School of Communications of the University of Pennsylvania.

### **Kathleen Soulliere, Editor**

Soulliere is a freelance film and video editor, who has worked with Attie and Goldwater for the past ten years. During that time, she edited *Motherless*, *Landowska*, and *In a Time of Headlong Progress*. Soulliere was an editor for Modern Video Productions in Philadelphia, and KCTA TV (PBS) in St. Paul, MN from 1979 to 1983. Selected awards include: Midatlantic Region Emmy Award for the ITVS-funded documentary *An Angel in the Village*; Academy of Television Arts and Sciences Emmy awards for Philadelphia Opera Company broadcasts of *Un Ballo in Maschera* (PBS), and *The Damnation of Faust*; Honorable Mention for *Tympani* (PBS); 1989 award for most watched documentary on public television for *The World of Tomorrow*, a documentary on the 1939 World's Fair; First Prize Tokyo Video Festival for *Nuclear Outpost* (PBS); and a First Place in the American Film Festival for *Matters of Life and Death: Dairy Queens*. Soulliere holds a B.A. in Urban Media from Antioch College and received a Women's Training Grant from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

### **Peter Brownscombe, Director of Photography**

Brownscombe has worked as a freelance cameraperson since 1984; prior to that he worked for seven years as field camera for KTCA TV (PBS) in St. Paul, MN. Freelance clients include: Frontline, NOVA, MacNeil Lehrer Newshour, Great Performances, BBC Panorama, BBC Newsnight, ARD Television (Germany), Deutsch Welan (Germany), and IKON Television (Holland). Selected awards include: Gold Plaque, Chicago International Film Festival; Blue Ribbon, New York Film Festival; Bronze, Houston International Film Festival; CPB award; Charles Stuart Mott Award; and the Dupont Columbia Citation. His most recent documentaries are *Daring to Resist*, *Landowska* and *Arguing the World*.

### **Humanities Scholars**

**Robert Butler, M.D.**, Director, International Longevity Center, Professor of Geriatric and Adult Development, Mount Sinai School of Medicine, New York, NY

Dr. Butler is a Pulitzer Prize-winning author and the former director of the National Institute on Aging. His highly influential books, *Sex After Sixty* and *Why Survive?* are now considered seminal texts in the aging revolution. Dr. Butler will have input at all stages of the production of *Maggie Grows*, as the filmmakers seek accuracy and insight into Dr. Butler's main areas of expertise: access to health care for the elderly, the evolution of geriatric medicine, nursing home reform, and sexuality in the aging population.

**Carroll L. Estes, Ph.D.**, Director of the Center On Aging, University of California,  
San Francisco

Dr. Estes is a Professor of Sociology in the Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences. Dr. Estes' input to this project will be invaluable. She worked with Kuhn on policy development concerning older Americans, and will help the filmmakers shape a meaningful discussion of America's evolving perceptions and policies on aging. Dr. Estes has been a consultant to the aging committee of the Social Security "Notch" Commission and the California Commission on Aging. She was a delegate to the 1981 and 1995 White House Conferences on Aging. Her research and publications investigate the impact of fiscal austerity and social policy on the elderly and the institutions that serve them. Her honors and awards include the American Society on Aging Award, the Donald P. Kent Award of the Gerontological Society of America, and the Beverly Award from the Association for Gerontology in Higher Education.

**George Gerbner, Ph.D.**, Dean Emeritus of University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications, and Bell Atlantic Professor of Telecommunications at Temple University,  
Philadelphia

Dr. Gerbner is Director of the Cultural Indicators research project, which has conducted research on television content and its impact for over thirty years. Recent publications include: *The Global Media Debate: Its Rise, Fall and Renewal*, and *Gender, Race, and Class in the Media: A Critical Text-Reader*. Dr. Gerbner's research provided the data for many of the Kuhn's objections to television programming, and he will help us shape the important section of this documentary which focuses on the Panthers' Media Watch, and the accomplishments of that group.

**Janet Golden, Ph.D.**, Associate Professor and Director of the Graduate Program in History,  
Rutgers University-Camden

An eminent scholar of twentieth century American history, Golden is the co-editor of *Women and Health Series*, published by the Ohio State University Press. Her extensive scholarly publications address the intersection of women, culture, and health. Her book in progress, *Fetal Alcohol Syndrome: A Cultural History*, is funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Dr. Golden will be consulted throughout on issues involving methods of conducting historical research, and will contribute a scholarly perspective as the filmmakers work to create a vivid historical context for the actions of Kuhn and the Gray Panthers.

**Carole Haber, Ph.D.**, Chair of History Department and Women's Studies, University of  
Delaware

Dr. Haber has a combined expertise in the history of aging in America and contemporary aging issues. She has published widely, serves on the editorial boards of *Gerontology*, *Journal of Aging Studies*, and the *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, and is currently on the executive board of the BSS Section of the Gerontological Society of America. Dr. Haber's thoughtful analysis in *Beyond Sixty-Five: The Dilemma of Old Age in America* will benefit the filmmakers.

**Susan Hartmann, Ph.D.**, Professor of History/Women's Studies, Ohio State University  
A former National Endowment for the Humanities Professor of History (1966-1986), Dr. Hartmann specializes in twentieth century women's history, with expertise in women in politics since World War II and in the history of the feminist movement. Her publications include *The Other Feminists: Activists in the Liberal Establishment*, *The Homefront and Beyond: Women in the 1940s*, and *From Margin to Mainstream: American Women's Politics Since 1960*. Her perspective in identifying the climate in which Kuhn became a recognized activist, and the obstacles facing Kuhn and other women in politics will be critical to the filmmakers.

**Dieter Hessel, Ph.D.**, Director, Program on Ecology, Justice and Faith, Princeton, N.J.  
Dr. Hessel first became acquainted with Kuhn when he took a seminary class she taught on urban ministry and social change. He subsequently became her graduate assistant, and eventually her colleague. Dr. Hessel served as the director of social policy for the Presbyterian Church from 1965 until 1990, when he left to found his own center in Princeton, NJ, funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and The Pew Charitable Trusts. Dr. Hessel's primary contribution to the project will be his interpretation of the theological basis of Kuhn's commitment to social change. His input and guidance will be invaluable to us as he relates the hundreds of hours they spent together discussing both the theory and practice of religiously-based activism. Dr. Hessel will be available to advise the filmmakers on sources, and to review all materials relating to this project. Dr. Hessel received a Ph.D. in Christian Social Ethics from San Francisco Theological Seminary in 1966.