50/50 By 2000

The Woman's Guide to Political Power



National Association for Female Executives

Printed on recycled paper.

Copyright © 1993, 1995 by The EarthWorks Group, Inc. All rights reserved.

No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission, except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles or reviews.

Cover Design by Andy Sohn "50/50 by 2000" logo by Elan Studio

Second Edition, 1995 Printed in the United States of America.

For information, please contact:

EarthWorks Press 1400 Shattuck Avenue, Box 25 Berkeley, CA 94709 (510) 841-5866

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Catherine Dee and The EarthWorks Group would like to thank everyone who worked to make this book possible, including these individuals and organizations:

- George Tunick
- Michele Wolk
- Bridget Keating
- Joanne Symons
- Wendy Reid Crisp
- Elan Studio
- NAFE staff
- John Javna
- Lenna Lebovich
- Iohn Dollison
- George Dean
- Fiona Gow
- Becky Steckler
- Steve Bliss
- Brooke Hodess
- Nancy Skinner
- Sharilyn Hovind
- Andy Sohn
- Jack Mingo
- Sven Newman
- Joanne Miller
- Emma Lauriston
- Paul Giusti
- K Kaufmann
- Harriett Woods, Jody Newman, National Women's Political Caucus
- Gloria Steinem
- Susan Faludi
- Julianna Womble

- Allie Corbin Hixson
- Liana Sayer, Business and Professional Women/USA
- Jane O'Reilly, Lorraine
 Dusky, Anne Mollegen

 Smith, the Getting It Gazette
- Jane Katz, Jody Rohlena, New Woman
- Cindy Swanson, General Federation of Women's Clubs
- Nadia Moritz, Janet Coffman, Young Women's Project
- Judy Arnold
- Libby Mullin
- Wendy Siporen, Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues
- Susie Gilligan, Peg Yorkin, Kathy Spillar, Jyotsna
 Sreenivasin, Fund for the Feminist Majority
- Alyson Reed, League of Women Voters
- Adriane Barone, Diana Darling, Women's Action Coalition
- Kathy Kleeman, Ruth Mandel, Center for the American Woman and Politics

- Helen Grieco, Robin Abb, Beth Corbin, NOW
- Pat Reuss, NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund
- Nancy Evans, Susan Claymon, Breast Cancer Action
- Chris DeVries, American Nurses Association
- Sharon Griffith, National Woman's Party
- Candice Anderson, Child Care Action Campaign
- Betty Murphy
- Susan Sarandon
- Lisa Sementilli-Dann,
 Center for Policy Alternatives
- Carolyn Head, Frances Cook, American Association of University Women
- Marion Banzhaf, New Jersey Women and AIDS Network
- Leslie Wolfe, Irene Snow, Center for Women Policy Studies
- Joanne Howes
- Veena Cabreros-Sud, Laura Flanders, FAIR
- Linda Garcia, 9 to 5, National Association of Working Women
- Black Women's Health Project
- Ginger Eways, Lynn
 Thompson-Haas, National
 Coalition Against Sexual
 Assault
- Boston Women's Health Book Collective

- Phyllis Kriegel
- Ellen Galinsky, Laurie Kane, Families and Work Institute
- Women's Bureau, U.S.
 Department of Labor
- Kelly Jenkins, National Committee on Pay Equity
- Betsy Hildebrandt
- National Women's Law Center
- Pat Groot, National Network for Victims of Sexual Assault
- Margaret Mann, Older Women's League
- Anne Kasper, Campaign for Women's Health
- Lynn Beauregard, Society for the Advancement of Women's Health Research
- Janet Nudelman, Family Violence Prevention Fund
- Marjorie Smith, Naila Bolus, Women's Action for New Directions
- Catalyst
- Ms. magazine
- National Council for Research on Women
- Children's Defense Fund
- Women's Legal Defense Fund
- Melinda Gish, Institute for Women's Policy Research
- Bob Fertik, Political Woman
- Sarah Dee
- Fran Drake
- Brian McGinnis
- A. Blinken
- Melissa Schwarz

CONTENTS

Introduction	.8
BACKGROUND	
Women in Politics: The Pivotal Year1	10
Women in Politics: Where We Are Now	
Women in Politics: How We Got Here	
Women in Politics: A Quiz	
We Need More Women in Government	
How This Book Can Help2	22
WOMEN'S ISSUES	
Pay Equity	14
The "Glass Ceiling"	
Breast Cancer	
Child Care	
Sexual Harassment	
Health Care	
Child Support	
Domestic Violence	
Education	
Family Leave	
AIDS	
Rape5	
Medical Research	
The Equal Rights Amendment	54
WHAT YOU CAN DO: PERSONAL ACTION	
Contact Your Congressional Representatives	58

INTRODUCTION

t isn't always apparent, but there's a direct connection between women's involvement in politics and opportunities for women in business.

When women have power, for example, issues like pay equity and sexual harassment are taken seriously. Invisible barriers like the "glass ceiling" can be dismantled—enabling women to enter all levels of corporate management. Family leave and affordable child care become priorities—giving mothers who work outside the home a better chance to establish themselves professionally.

That's why NAFE supports capable women candidates and encourages our members to vote for and support them.

In 1992, we launched our nonpartisan "Seat at the Table" campaign, which assists our 250,000 members in choosing candidates and matching their professional skills to campaign work.

In 1993, NAFE held a national town meeting that linked more than 80 cities by satellite and was hosted by ABC News Senior Correspondent Carole Simpson.

Now NAFE is working toward "50/50 by 2000"—50% women at all levels of government, as well as equal representation for women in leadership roles in all facets of society.

One way NAFE can help to attain this goal, and help to maintain the momentum started in 1992, is to make information about women's issues available. That's why we've teamed up with The EarthWorks Group to provide you with 50/50 by 2000: The Woman's Guide to Political Power. This unique book presents a concise, readable summary of 14 issues that can affect you personally and professionally; it supplies concrete ideas for action; and it provides lists of resources you can turn to for more information.

You have in your hands a valuable guide. We think you'll find it tremendously useful and inspiring. Be informed and get involved in whatever ways you choose—whether you simply want to know the issues...or you plan to run for office someday.

Together, we can accomplish 50/50 by 2000!

—Wendy Reid Crisp, National Director, National Association for Female Executives

Work with Your Local Government	72		
Start a Newsletter for Friends & Coworkers	74		
Start a "Phone Tree"	76		
Write a Letter to the Editor	78		
Monitor the Media	31		
WHAT YOU CAN DO: POLITICAL ACTION			
Vote in Local Elections	35		
Find Out if Your Representatives Are "Pro-Women"8	36		
Create Candidate "Report Cards" on Women's Issues8	38		
Register Women to Vote9	0		
Work for a Woman Candidate9	13		
Run for Office9)5		
WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS			
Membership Organizations			
Nonmembership Organizations115			
Join the National Association for Female Executives120			



When a woman succeeds, a company succeeds.

BACKGROUND



WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE PIVOTAL YEAR

The 1992 election was a landmark for women's issues.

A TURNING POINT

"1992 will go down in history as the year women literally 'changed the face' of American politics. Voters sent four new women to the U.S. Senate—tripling the number of women who serve there. The number of women who serve in the U.S. House went from 28 to 47—a 68% increase."

-National Women's Political Caucus

A POWERFUL VOTING BLOC

"1992 was the year when feminist effort to represent women's lives in the electoral system—an issue-driven movement built by millions of women over 20 years—made a quantum leap forward. Women turned out to vote in larger and more self-respecting numbers than ever before."

—Gloria Steinem in Ms. magazine

"Exit polls show that women elected the president [in 1992]."

—The Feminist Majority

A POLITICAL FORCE

"Women have come of age as a powerful political force. Women candidates won...and women became serious financial players in the 1992 elections."

-EMILY's List

WOMEN IN POLITICS: WHERE WE ARE NOW

According to most experts, women are on the verge of making major breakthroughs in all areas of politics.

AS VOTERS...

"54 percent of all registered voters are women."

-National Women's Political Caucus

"Women are the majority of the electorate. Majority, as in power. When men divide their votes evenly, women's votes decide. When women and men vote in exactly opposite ways—our side wins."

-Ann F. Lewis, Ms. magazine

AS POLITICAL LEADERS...

"The critical mass of available, viable female candidates is large and growing....There will be a large pool of professional women to draw on for public office."

-George Dean, founder, 50/50 by 2000

"The 103rd Congress [1994] has broken all previous records for legislation enacted of importance to women and families."

-Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues

"In the wake of the 1994 elections, women will hold a record number of seats in the U.S. Senate (8) and a record number of statewide elective executive offices (85). The number of women in the U.S. House of Representatives will hold steady at 47, but the number of women governors will drop from 4 to 1 and the number of women in state legislatures will decrease slightly (to 1,533)."

—The Center for the American Woman in Politics



"If trends in the bellwether state of Florida are a predictor of women's involvement in politics nationally, many more women will be making policy at the state and local levels. Florida has more women—many of them older—sitting on local policy boards than any other state."

—David Lampe, National Civic League

AS POLICYMAKERS...

"Women are playing a more important role in the Clinton administration than in any previous administration. There are more women in the cabinet than ever before.... And Attorney General Janet Reno is the first woman to break into the inner circle of top cabinet positions."

-Bob Fertik, Political Woman newsletter

AS VIABLE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES...

"The future first woman president of the United States is today, we would argue, a highly competent locally or regionally respected politician who is little known at the national level. She is toiling in a state legislature, holding the office of state treasurer or lieutenant governor or big-city mayor."

 Patricia Aburdene and John Naisbitt, authors of Megatrends for Women

"A woman will be elected president, probably in my lifetime."

—President Bill Clinton



WOMEN IN POLITICS: HOW WE GOT HERE

Progress has been slow but steady over the last 80 years. Here are a few highlights:

1917: The first woman is elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1913, Montana had granted women the right to vote. Three years later Jeanette Rankin, who'd spearheaded the suffrage movement there, won her race for the House. She ran for the Senate two years later, but was defeated—not because she was a woman, but because of a Congressional vote: A dedicated pacifist, she had opposed America's entry into World War I.

1920: The 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution is ratified, giving women the right to vote.

- Congress establishes a Women's Bureau in the Labor Department.
- The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) is reorganized as the League of Women Voters.
- Status report: After the November elections, there is one woman in the U.S. Congress—Alice Robertson (R-Oklahoma). In 1921, she becomes the first woman to preside over the U.S. House of Representatives (for one minor bill).

1922: A woman serves in the U.S. Senate for the first time. When Senator Thomas Watson died, Georgia's governor appointed 87-year-old Rebecca Felton to fill the seat...until a special election could be held 7 days later. It was a purely political move: Congress wasn't in session, and Felton had no duties. But she convinced Senator-elect Walter George to let her serve one day in Washington before he officially took office. She made national headlines when she was sworn in on November 21.

1923: The ERA is introduced to Congress for the first time. The National Women's party was formed in 1917 to campaign for



the 19th Amendment. In 1923, the head of the group, Alice Paul, drafted the Equal Rights Amendment and succeeded in getting it introduced into Congress.

- 1924: A woman is elected governor for the first time. In 1917, "Farmer Jim" Ferguson, governor of Texas, had been impeached and booted out of office. Seven years later his wife, M. A. "Ma" Ferguson, ran as Farmer Jim's surrogate. She won, and was elected again in 1932.
- The first women delegates attend the Republican (118 delegates) and Democratic (182 delegates) national conventions.
- 1932: Hattie Wyatt Caraway (D-Arkansas) becomes the first woman elected to the U.S. Senate. When Senator Thaddeus Caraway died in 1931, the governor of Arkansas appointed Caraway's wife, Hattie, to the seat...after making her promise she wouldn't seek reelection. She changed her mind, ran for the office on her own, and won two full terms.
- 1933: Frances Perkins becomes the first woman cabinet member. When FDR was governor of New York, Perkins—a reformer committed to improving working conditions—had been his state industrial commissioner. When Roosevelt became president, he appointed her Secretary of Labor. Perkins's legacy includes social security, unemployment insurance, minimum wage, and much more.
- 1949: Margaret Chase Smith (R-Maine) becomes the first woman to serve in both houses of Congress. When Clyde Smith died in 1940, his wife, Margaret, won a special election to take his place. She won three full terms on her own, then ran successfully for the Senate in 1948. This made her only the second woman elected to a full term in the Senate....and the first elected to the Senate without following her husband. She served four terms.
- 1950: Status report—After the November elections, there are 9 women in the U.S. House and 1 in the Senate.
- **1955:** Status report—After mid-term elections, a record 18 women serve in the U.S. Congress (16 in the House, 2 in the Senate).



1961: The first President's Commission on the Status of Women is established by JFK. The 26-member group (15 women, 11 men, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt) documented salary discrimination against women for the first time. It also advocated child care, paid maternity leave, and equal pay for comparable work. Until 1977, it was a major influence on Congress.

1963: Congress passes the Equal Pay Act. Eighteen years after it was initially introduced, the "first federal law forbidding sex discrimination by private business" was finally passed. However, as part of the compromise that got it to the House floor for a vote, it didn't cover administrative or professional jobs.

1964: Congress passes the Civil Rights Act with Title VII against sex discrimination in employment practices. It was initially offered as a joke by Virginia Rep. Howard Smith to undermine the rest of the Civil Rights Act. But Rep. Martha Griffiths (D-Michigan) forced Congress to take it seriously.

• Senator Margaret Chase Smith (R-Maine) becomes the first woman to run for a major party presidential nomination.

1966: The National Organization for Women (NOW) is founded. It was the first mass-membership group of the modern women's movement.

1971: The National Women's Political Caucus is founded by Betty Friedan, Rep. Bella Abzug (D-New York), Gloria Steinem, Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-New York), and others. Their goal: Equal representation for women at all levels of government.

1972: The U.S. Senate approves the ERA and sends it to the states for two-thirds majority ratification.

• Rep. Shirley Chisholm (the first African American woman in Congress) announces her candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination, making her the first African American woman to run for president on a major party ticket.

1973: The first electoral vote is cast for a woman. Theodora Nathan, Libertarian Party VP candidate, got it.



1974: Rep. Ella Grasso (D-Connecticut) becomes the first woman governor elected without succeeding her husband. A former Connecticut state legislator and the secretary of state, Grasso was elected to two terms. She resigned in 1981, a few months before dying of cancer.

1980: Status report—After the November elections, women held 19 seats in the U.S. House and 2 in the Senate. The number of women voters equalled the number of men voters for the first time.

1981: Sandra Day O'Conner becomes the first woman justice on the Supreme Court. Although she'd graduated third in her class at Stanford Law School in 1952, she had only been offered a job as a *legal secretary*. By the mid-'70s she'd been an Arizona state senator (R), a state deputy attorney general, and a Superior Court judge. In 1975 she was appointed to the Arizona Court of Appeals and in 1981 President Reagan picked her for the Supreme Court.

1982: The ERA dies. It failed to gain 3 states needed for ratifica-

1984: Presidential candidate Walter F. Mondale chooses Rep. Geraldine A. Ferraro (D-New York) as his running mate, making her the first woman vice presidential candidate for a major political party.

1991: Anita Hill testifies that Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas sexually harassed her. The hearings that followed were credited with jump-starting the women's movement.

1992: "The Year of the Woman." Women make up 54% of registered voters—10 million more than men. A record number of women run for office and are elected. Carol Moseley Braun (D-Illinois) becomes the first African American female senator. Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein (D-California) become the first women senators to represent the same state simultaneously.

1995: A record 8 women serve in the U.S. Senate. A record 85 women hold statewide elective executive offices.



WOMEN IN POLITICS: A QUIZ

A QUIZ				
Do you know how many elected officials are women? Take this quiz by the Center for the American Woman and Politics and find out (answers on next page).				
WOMEN IN CONGRESS In 1995, how many of the 535 voting members of Congress (100 senators, 435 representa- tives) are women?	STATE LEGISLATORS Since 1969, the number of women state legislators has quintupled. What proportion of state legislators in 1995 are women?			
□ 12 □ 19 □ 29 □ 55 □ 63 □ 90	□ 8% □ 18% □ 21% □ 26% □ 50%			
WOMEN OF COLOR The number of women of color who have ever served as voting members of the U.S. Congress: 0 0 2 8 11 19 50 GOVERNORS In 1995, there is only one woman governor, Christine Todd Whitman (New Jersey). Including Whitman, how many women have ever served as governor? 9 13 15 18 24 39	U.S. HOUSE CANDIDATES In 1994, a record number of women won major party nomina- tions for the U.S. Congress. How many women candidates were there for U.S. House seats? 18 27 39 69 112 215 U.S. SENATE CANDIDATES How many women major party candidates were there for U.S. Senate seats in 1994? 1 9 11 1 24 9 48			