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CENTER FOR THE AMERICAN WOMAN AND POLITICS

WOMEN STATE LEGISLATORS

*Report from a Conference
June 17-20, 1982*

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY
RUTGERS

EAGLETON INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

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Center for the American Woman and Politics
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey
New Brunswick, New Jersey 08901

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Foreword	1
PARTICIPANTS' PERSPECTIVES: LEGISLATORS' VIEWS OF THE CONFERENCE	
Rep. Harriet Keyserling	6
Sen. Jacque Steiner	10
Women Legislators' Wish List	13
JOURNALISTS' PERSPECTIVES	
David Broder.	14
Ellen Goodman	15
Geri Joseph	16
Neal Peirce	17
Patricia Rice	18
Eileen Shanahan	21
MAJOR CONFERENCE ADDRESSES	
Hon. Martha Griffiths	24
Hon. Norma Paulus	33
Hon. Eleanor Holmes Norton	47
A SCHOLAR'S PERSPECTIVE: AN ESSAY BY CAROL MUELLER	57
CONFERENCE AGENDA AND PARTICIPANTS	
Agenda.	97
Participant List.	100

FOREWORD

Since 1972, the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) has been privileged to study and to work with women state legislators. Because CAWP is a unit of the Eagleton Institute of Politics, which had sponsored programs for legislators for a number of years before our Center came into existence, this was a logical and obvious direction in which to turn our attention. And yet it also proved to be a particularly felicitous choice, a prime vantage point from which to observe and assess the progress of women in American public life. At the same time, we have been able to step down from our posts as observers and actually work with state legislators as they sought mechanisms for increasing their numbers, improving their visibility, and enhancing their effectiveness. The 1982 Conference for Women State Legislators was for us a natural and essential next step in fulfilling our dual mission.

As students of women's participation in electoral politics, we have watched the numbers of women officeholders growing steadily over more than a decade. In 1972 only 344 women held state legislative seats; by early 1983 there were 991 women in the legislatures. In 1972, 21 states had no women in their Senates. By 1983 that was true in only three states. In fact, in 1983 women held more than 10% of state legislative seats in 33 states and more than 20% of the seats in 8 of those states. Not only are there more women, but they are diverse--a mixture of ages, parties, races, occupations, and political persuasions. Some of the women legislators are even beginning to make their way into leadership positions; 2.5% of the top leadership posts in 1983 were held by women.

Still, the progress can only be seen as slow and partial. When a group which constitutes more than half of the nation's population holds only 13% of state legislative seats, it is clear that much remains to be done. When only one woman in the country serves as Speaker in a state House, it is clear that women have not yet claimed their share of leadership roles. When we note that the state legislators are a microcosm of what is happening with women in politics at all levels, it is even clearer that we must find ways to support and encourage women's movement into all kinds of public leadership roles if women's voices are to be heard in the governance of the states and the nation.

It is for these reasons that we at CAWP have taken particular pleasure in being able to function not just as observers of women in politics but as catalysts, helping to identify and meet the needs of women seeking or serving in public leadership roles. Beginning with the 1972 Conference for Women State Legislators, we have been committed to providing educational programs and occasions for networking among elected women. We have worked closely with the organizations that have sprung up to serve and support women officeholders. We have cooperated with academic institutions in creating internship programs to assist these organizations as well as individual women in government. Our 1982 Conference for Women State Legislators was a natural outgrowth of this ongoing interest in service to women in public leadership.

CAWP's 1972 conference marked the first time elected women had been brought together to discuss the experience of being women in politics. Much of that conference necessarily focused on finding out just who the women were-- their backgrounds, their educations, their occupations, their personal and public stories. The women needed to learn about one another, to find bonds and to establish common ground.

Ten years later in 1982, a gathering of women state legislators could proceed from shared understandings and move much more quickly into substantive concerns. The women were ready to work together, and much of their attention at the conference could be directed toward ways of doing so. As they discussed mechanisms for cooperation and policy areas in which there was a need for that cooperation, we were learning from them--about the ways legislators want and need to come together, about what might be included on a women's legislative agenda for the next decade.

In this report, we bring together several perspectives on the 1982 conference. These include legislators' impressions, press coverage, texts of major conference addresses, and a scholar's essay on a central issue addressed at the conference--women organizing in state legislatures.

No written words can convey the excitement, the solidarity, the atmosphere of spirited interaction and mutual respect engendered by the conference. Still, we hope that these perspectives will give the reader a sense of the significance of the occasion for these women who have dedicated themselves to public service, women who want and need the support of other women for their important tasks in the days ahead.

The 1982 Conference for Women State Legislators was made possible by the generous support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Carnegie funding has been instrumental in the work of the Center for the American Woman and Politics, beginning with our 1972 Conference for Women State Legislators and continuing through the 1983 Forum for Women State Legislators. As always, we are deeply grateful to Carnegie, and particularly to our loyal friend Sara L. Engelhardt,

secretary to the Corporation, for their confidence and their ongoing assistance.

Avon Products, Inc. and Philip Morris USA/Phillip Morris, Inc. each provided support for a reception and a dinner at the conference. Their contributions helped significantly in making the conference enjoyable as well as productive for all of the participants. Container Corporation of America and J.C. Penney, Inc. also provided general support for the conference. We thank all of these corporations for their backing.

The staff of the Center for the American Woman and Politics worked hard to make the conference a success, and it is to all of their credit that participants were universally enthusiastic about the conference experience. In particular, Deborah L. Walsh, the conference coordinator, deserves special recognition for her cheerful, conscientious, and unflagging attention to every detail of the conference, for her sensitivity and sensibility, and for her dedication to this major undertaking.

Finally, thanks are due to all of those who gave their time and energy to making the conference happen--to the advisory committee members whose suggestions and guidance, especially in the early stages of planning, were invaluable; to the speakers and panelists and facilitators who gave generously of their time and knowledge; and finally, to the legislators, whose interest and commitment made us want to work with and for them. The difference that women legislators are making and will make in public leadership and in public policies has much to do with the willingness of all of these people to share and work together. We salute their important contributions to our collective future.

PARTICIPANTS' PERSPECTIVES

Legislators' Views of the Conference

I've been inspired by dynamic women who are willing to share their insights for other women to succeed. Through their openness, I have new avenues to help the citizens of my state.

JEANNE FAATZ
Colorado State Representative

No longer are we merely legislators who happen to be women. We are women who have a great deal to offer as legislators and we are now willing to cope with this distinction.

BETTY EASLEY
Florida State Senator

We are determined women. Women pushing for power. Women who have realized themselves beyond the ten-years-ago concern over what to wear in the House or Senate. Women who have learned to broker, to network, to reinforce. And to lose, strong in the knowledge that there will be another chance at another time.

SUE MULLINS
Iowa State Representative

REPRESENTATIVE HARRIET KEYSERLING

South Carolina

When Ruth Mandel asked me to write a little piece on my impressions of the Falmouth conference, I was pleased. I write a column for my local newspaper and enjoy the challenge of saying a lot in a few words, aiming for a lean and tight construction with few adjectives and a cool, dispassionate approach. As I sit here today at my typewriter, I realize that I'll have to change my style. (Just one of the many changes the conference wrought in me.) For I can only begin to describe my impressions with a long string of passionate adjectives--challenging, inspiring, instructive, exhilarating, impressive, wonderful.

Looking back, I can see that the programming was a work of art. It laid out what needed to be done, told us how to do it and fired us up to get going. First we were challenged by former Congresswoman Martha Griffiths, a pathfinder for elected women. She commanded us to work and speak out for all the women who put us in office, for they are depending on us and we owe it to them. The imminent death of the E.R.A. for which she had worked so hard hung over us throughout the weekend, adding weight to every need we discussed.

Then we were inspired by Norma Paulus who, after attending the first Women Legislators' Conference in 1972, had gone back to Oregon and pulled the women of her legislature together to accomplish wondrous things. Further inspiration came from her personal success in climbing the political ladder from legislator to Secretary of State. What a role model!

Next came instruction. Leaders of caucuses in several states let us know that yes, women's legislative caucuses can and do make a difference. Having already been convinced by Griffiths and Paulus that I had to assume more responsibility, I listened carefully to the variety of approaches in different states, sifting out what might work in South Carolina. I vowed to try, even though before Falmouth I would have told you there was just no way we could ever have a caucus in South Carolina, where the women rarely discuss issues and never get together.

The exhilaration came from those tough, articulate, spirited, humourful, canny (there I go with the adjectives again) young women who told us how they achieved leadership roles. They understood, sought and gained power. As I watched them, I realized I would have to make some changes in my standard speech about women in state legislatures. No longer could I say that "I am your typical woman legislator"--middle-aged housewife, League of Women Voters, better in committees than at the podium, not really understanding power, not quite comfortable with men--BUT independent, uncompromising, incorruptible and so on and so forth.

For here was a new generation of women legislators, cast in another mold, with different strengths and (perhaps) weaknesses. They do not seem to be hampered by our hangups. But perhaps as they seek and achieve power, there may be wear and tear on our strengths (such as independence and related characteristics). What will endure--for all of us--is a sense of commitment, a working harder, a staying power on the issues we know depend on us. If I were to choose one word to describe the sense of the Falmouth conference, commitment would be that word. The achievement of the conference, I believe, was channeling this commitment and pointing it toward specific challenges.

What were the challenges laid before us and woven into the fabric of every session? First, to be responsible for women's issues--for if we aren't, who will be? The scope of women's issues was then greatly expanded as it was established, by experts and group discussions, that all public policy affects women. Again, it is up to us to see that this impact is considered when new issues and policies are developed.

And finally, for the climax, Eleanor Holmes Norton, in a masterful speech, added more weight to that mantle of responsibility first placed on our shoulders by Martha Griffiths. She gave us the responsibility of providing leadership for everyone. The center of gravity is changing in the country, she said. Over the past twenty years, traditional values have changed in family, work and morality. The roles of women have changed dramatically. There is distrust and malaise in the country and the people will be looking for leadership from those they trust (women), those in government closer to home (state legislatures).

As we watched these responsibilities expand before our eyes, it was obvious that we women legislators must band together in some form of caucus, must recruit more women to strengthen our forces, and must build coalitions and networks with like-minded people.

Tulis McCall, actress and mime, capped the climax and gave us perspective by taking us back in history to hear the words of Margaret Sanger, Sojourner Truth and Alice Paul, making us remember the setting in which they had struggled with such valor.

As the conference wound down, each state delegation caucused, then reported on what issues they intended to tackle when they got home. It was obvious the conference was a smashing success. These were not just words and

promises--these were pledges in blood. Their lists of projects pointed up that the very meaning of "feminism" had been so stretched and expanded that all of us there, traditional woman or feminist activist, Republican or Democrat, young or old, fit comfortably within these new dimensions of feminism which evolved in Falmouth.

SENATOR JACQUE STEINER

Arizona

When an Arizona Senator meets with women legislators from 18 states on Cape Cod, the experience is sure to be memorable. It was for me. First, let me share some reflections on the conference and, secondly, my response as an individual.

Most impressive was the intelligence, strength, diversity and determination of the women, both the staff and the legislators. From speakers to panelists and organizers, the participants were well prepared, at ease on their feet, and articulate. Norma Paulus, Secretary of State, from Oregon, observed that key differences between women in 1972 and 1982 are that today women are more aggressive, feminist, and that "women are operating as a fist." It seemed to be true.

The program brought me new insights into ways to increase the number of women running for office, the potential value of women's legislative groups, and strategies necessary to achieve leadership. I simply was not that aware of the widespread use of both informal and formal women's caucuses for sharing information, planning strategy, providing support, and serving as a focal point for networking with other women's groups.

The 1972 report said that women were more issue-oriented than power-oriented. Achieving leadership and effectively using power were clearly on the agenda at the 1982 conference. No single formula emerged in relation to leadership and power, but it was apparent from listening to legislators who are

in leadership positions or who hold powerful committee chairmanships that planning, conscious effort, and superior ability were involved. The visibility that comes with being an elected woman spotlights the importance of being knowledgeable and consistently effective. With the number of women elected to state legislatures increasing from 344 or 4 percent of all legislators in 1972 to 908 or 12 percent in 1982, changes in both numbers and attitudes should increase the possibility of more women moving into leadership.

The discussion of public policies and their impact on women provided a useful exchange of information. Familiar legislation was mentioned, such as that addressing domestic violence, extended day care, prison programs, and day care tax credit. More information and advance preparation would have been valuable regarding realistic approaches to such issues as equal pay and retirement and insurance policies as they affect women.

The panel on "The Legislature as an Institution" was of particular interest to me. If women are serious about increasing their effectiveness and moving into leadership positions, more insight is needed into the unique role of the legislature in our system of government. All legislators need additional information on the interrelationships between the legislative, judicial and executive branches of government.

Let me share some of my thoughts on my response as an individual to the event. The reader should understand that I am a middle-aged woman, six years into my legislative experience, and from a state that did not pass the Equal Rights Amendment. The constant and emotional reference to E.R.A. permeated the entire conference. Those who enthusiastically supported the passage of the amendment, many of whom have been instrumental in its passage in their own states or who had entered politics as a result of their work in the women's

movement, were standing arm in arm, still fighting for its passage. The fact that the conference was held a few days prior to the deadline for passage contributed to the revival meeting tenor.

As women legislators, perhaps we should differentiate between strategies appropriate for the women's movement and those that are effective in the legislature. By focusing too exclusively on women's rights issues, we may be creating a trap for ourselves and inadvertently limiting our potential. I fear that single issue politics, whatever the cause, has a danger of isolating and limiting. Election to public office allows us into the mainstream of decision making. It seems possible to address the broader issues that affect our states while still recognizing women as a particularly vulnerable population and responding with appropriate action.

I left the conference with greater appreciation of the value of being identified as a woman legislator and less inclined to reject the concept of women's legislative caucuses as a means of exchanging information and as a source of strength. Although it is still my belief that women should achieve recognition through competence, not through their gender, there was a ring of truth to the response from another legislator that "it is indicative of the powerlessness of women that they do not wish to be identified as women."

Tulis McCall's moving dramatic performance, "Women I Have Known," brought to life some courageous, influential women. Images of other outstanding women remain in my memory through the Conference for Women State Legislators.

WOMEN LEGISLATORS' WISH LIST

At the concluding session of the conference, the legislators caucused with colleagues from their own states and compiled two kinds of "wish lists" -- realistic wishes they thought they could turn into reality in the near future, and dreams they wanted to make come true some day soon. Among their wishes:

Realistic Wishes

Ratifying of ERA
 Conducting studies and taking action on pay equity
 Passing legislation in support of nurse specialists and nurse-midwives
 Implementing equal pension and insurance rights for women and men
 Organizing women into a powerful force in the legislature
 Mandating state implementation of alternative work options such as flex-time, part-time work, job sharing
 Improving mechanisms for guaranteeing child support payments
 Strengthening associations of elected women and using them to recruit and support women candidates
 Channeling more state business to women-owned and minority-owned businesses
 Eliminating sexist language from the statutes
 Identifying issues that are not traditionally seen as women's issues and looking at how women are differently affected by policies in these areas
 Creating new opportunities for rural women to enter non-traditional fields of work and study
 Reforming divorce law
 Creating more, more equitable and better child care programs
 Developing support systems for the elderly

Dreams

Filling top legislative leadership posts with feminist women
 Electing women to 53% of legislative seats
 Involving more women in elective office at all levels
 Securing for women equal pay for equal work
 Restoring public confidence in the capability and integrity of the legislature
 Changing the male-dominated institutions

JOURNALISTS' PERSPECTIVES

David S. Broder

More Power to Them

The conference on Cape Cod brought together 62 women state legislators from 20 states. Most of them were strangers when they gathered on Thursday evening. But by Saturday, when they posed on the steps for the "class portrait," bonds had been formed that crossed party and state lines.

As they were milling about, following the photographer's commands, someone began to sing the civil rights anthem, "We Shall Overcome." Others joined, and the chorus swelled.

Ruth Mandel, the director of the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute, who ran the conference and described the scene to me, said, "I was close to tears—and I wasn't alone."

That conference is symbolic of a fundamental fact of American politics: the growing power and growing solidarity of women.

It is not news, but it probably needs reemphasis at this moment. June 30 marks the official death of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, the cause that has consumed most of the energy of women activists (on both sides of the issue) for the past decade. Its demise is being treated by some as a sign that the "up-pity females" who have been in the forefront of that battle have been given their comeuppance, and now things can go back to normal.

There could not be a more mistaken notion. Women have been strengthened by this battle, and their power is bound to increase.

Kathy Wilson, the head of the National Women's Political Caucus, a participant at the Cape Cod conference, put the change in very simple terms: "Ten years ago," she said, "a group like that would have talked about how to dress for legislative sessions. This year, they were talking about how to get to be speaker."

Talking to a variety of women leaders, it is clear that the lesson they have learned from the ERA fight is that there is no substitute for power. "More and more women," Wilson said, "understand that real power is elective power, and elective power depends on grass-roots organization."

The number of women holding public office has grown significantly in the decade that ERA has been in the legislatures. In the legis-

latures, their numbers jumped from 362 to 901.

As Kathy Stanwick, Mandel's deputy, put it, "The ERA drive gave a political education to a whole group of women who wouldn't have been active otherwise. It raised their consciousness and gave them political skills they have begun to apply to other issues as well."

Unless I am totally misreading the signs, defeat has also steeled their determination. The NWPC will hold a press conference on Tuesday to announce a drive to defeat the 13 male legislators it blames for stopping ERA three states short of the 38 required for ratification.

Most of those involved in the ratification battle will concede, at least privately, that their own tactical errors contributed to the loss. The big-

gest mistake, they say, was spending too many years lobbying legislators—"saying please," as one woman put it—and waiting too long to start defeating the opponents.

But now, the women's movement has built a political machine. The National Organization for Women had 300 organizers, drawing salaries or expenses, at work in four target states, North Carolina, Florida, Illinois and Oklahoma, in the closing months of the ratification drive.

That is a far larger field force than either national political party supports, and NOW, with its direct-mail campaign, was easily able to raise the money to finance it.

The mobilization came too late for ERA, but it is certain to carry over into the fall campaigns,

where, once again, record numbers of women will be running for governor, senator, U.S. representative, the state legislatures and local offices.

NOW claims to have raised \$75,000 in three days for the woman opponent of one of the Florida state senators who voted against ratification. That kind of performance spells clout.

It did not, in the case of ERA, spell victory. But if there has ever been a movement whose long-term influence is not measured by the headlines of the day, it is the women's movement. It is stronger, better led, more amply financed, better organized, more determined and more united than it has ever been.

And if that does not translate to power, then history is a false guide.

Ellen Goodman

They've Come a Long Way

CAPE COD, Mass.—Ten years ago, when they began trying to organize the first conference for women state legislators, nobody knew how many they were, who they were or where they were.

The 50 who were finally collected for a weekend in the Poconos in 1972 had never met each other or even heard of each other. There were few feminists in that group; their legislatures had virtually no women's caucuses—or consciousness.

Eugenia Chapman of Illinois, a veteran "only woman" in the state house of representatives, where they began speeches "Eugenia and Gentlemen . . .", went to that conference. So did Norma Paulus of Oregon, who read an article one day about The Queen Bee Syndrome, and went to a mirror to confront herself—"that was me!" And so did Minnette Doderer of Iowa, who can be heard on the transcripts of that meeting saying, "I was never discriminated against."

As observers remember it, the women were almost all inexperienced. They were reformers fresh out of the local school board or League of Women Voters. They were above things like patronage, even above "politics." They had trouble with words like power. They even had trouble talking about themselves as "women."

Jeanne Kirkpatrick, still an academic then, doing research for a book on women and politics, was heard to mumble in repeated wonderment, "These women are so pure!"

Last weekend, women state legislators met again. The Eagleton Institute's Center for the American Woman and Politics sponsored its second conference on the foggy shore of Cape Cod. This time, three women selected by their peers in each of 15 state legislatures shared strategies and talked politics.

The statistical landmarks of a decade were easy to list. In 1972, there were only 344 women in all the state legislatures. Today there are 908 women holding 12 percent of the seats. They range from Mississippi and Alabama with all-male Senates and two women in each House, to New Hampshire, where 29 percent of the seats are filled by women.

There were also some personal landmarks among the handful of second-timers. Paulus, former Queen Bee, now Oregon's secretary of state, told the group: "We've all traveled the same road, encountered the same roadblocks and detours." Doderer, who had never been "discriminated against," exhorted others in her workshops: "Hey, the only thing we got going for us is that we're women." Chapman, of "Eugenia and Gentlemen," sat next to me counting up her 32 colleagues.

To be sure, the women who met this weekend were not quite so pure. Pure, after all, had really meant aloof, reticent, even self-effacing. Pure had been on a pedestal, instead of in the battle.

Ruth Mandel, of the Eagleton Institute, organized both conferences. She says the women legislators a decade ago "were much more removed. They were a tiny, tiny minority of women. Now we have a much larger mix of the population. They include a larger element of very pragmatic, ambitious, sophisticated political people who know how to work within that system."

These women seemed much more at ease with themselves, their roles and each other. If the women in 1972 felt uncomfortable with power, these women want more of it. If the women in 1972 thought that being identified as "women," or identifying with women, made them more vulnerable, the women in 1982 are just as likely as not to see this as part of their strength and their responsibility.

Not one of them deals exclusively with women's issues and yet all of them acknowledged this "second" constituency. In just this short amount of time, they have been responsible for a disproportionate amount of the legislation to help women, from rewriting strip-search laws to revising credit laws.

They have disagreed as Democrats and Republicans. They have taken opposite stands, sometimes on abortion, other times on reapportionment.

As Mandel observed, "The first thing I noticed at the conference was the diversity of opinion." Yet by the end of the conference she was most impressed by "their sense that over the next years they must be for each other and women."

They have covered a lot of political ground, a lot of rough emotional terrain in 10 years. At least for one weekend on foggy Cape-land, women who make laws across this country shared a sense of their own community.

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Women legislators have come a long way in 10 years

By Geri Joseph

"Don't look back. Something may be gaining on you," said the late Satchel Paige. On the other hand, looking back can be an eye-opener, a positively enlightening experience.

Ten years ago, 50 women state legislators — regarded as among the most able of 344 women state legislators then in office — gathered in the Poconos to examine the good and bad of their public life. The conference was sponsored by the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute.

A few days ago, on a misty, rainy weekend at Cape Cod, the center brought together another group of women legislators. This time the women numbered about 70 of the best and brightest from among 908 women legislators nationwide. Only a few had attended the 1972 conference.

For this observer of both meetings, the contrast between then and now was startling. *Vive la difference!*

The growth in numbers, almost tri-

pled in the decade, is one obvious change; but there are others that are more dramatic and encouraging to those who want to see more women in public office and making the most of it.

Ten years ago many of the women were sensitive, even self-conscious, that they had invaded a male preserve. They worried that their behavior must be above reproach and counter to stereotype. They vowed not to talk too much, turn on the tears or be caught not knowing the facts. Many were reluctant to be identified as "women" legislators. "Just legislator, please," they said.

But whatever their title, being female was not so easily put aside. It showed in their virtuous refusal to be wined and dined by lobbyists. It showed, too, in observations that no woman would dare doze during a boring speech or appear tipsy on the house or senate floor (prerogatives apparently available to male colleagues).

Even their political campaigns stressed that they were devoted wives, mothers and daughters ... who also happened to be running for public office. And not by word or

deed did they want to be seen as seeking power. Issues were their lofty reason for being in politics.

Well, 10 years have hurried by — years in which the women's movement has altered both personal and public aspects of American life, 10 years in which greatly increased numbers of women have sought advanced educations and moved into professions or business. During these years, new roles for women have won majority acceptance, the rate of the Equal Rights Amendment notwithstanding.

The women legislators who attended the Cape Cod meeting reflected all those changes. They were somewhat younger than their 1972 counterparts. Gone was the self-consciousness. In its place was a maturity, a self-confidence. "They are very professional, and they have learned to use the political system. Some of them have real power, and they like it and use it," remarked Alan Rosen-thal, director of the Eagleton Institute.

That willingness to seek powerful legislative positions is one of the most marked changes. Among the posts the women hold are: speaker

pro tempore of the Oregon House, chair of the Oklahoma House Appropriations Committee, chair of the Colorado House Transportation and Energy Committee and majority floor leader of the Maine House.

Their concern with issues is no less than that of their 1972 colleagues, but power does not scare them. On the contrary, they view power as a tool to pass legislation. Nor do they worry that they will be identified exclusively with "women's issues," as many in the earlier group did. "Everything is a woman's issue," remarked one participant. "Foreign policy, taxation, education, transportation. You name it and it affects women."

They do not, however, ignore obvious women's concerns: the disproportionate number of women in poverty; the problems of displaced homemakers and the need for decent, affordable child care. And both Democratic and Republican women are determined to keep up the fight for the ERA.

It would be premature to predict that women, having at last discovered the path to public office, also have found the path worth taking

and will use it to influence public affairs. Their numbers still are comparatively small — only 12.1 percent of all state legislators, for instance. In 24 states, there are no women in leadership positions in either the house or the senate. And some women worry that young women, taking for granted the newly opened doors, will neglect the continuing struggle to overcome obstacles.

Eleanor Holmes Norton, the first woman to head the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, put the charge best in a moving speech to the group. "Nothing is the way it was 10 years ago," she said. "Not the family, not sexual roles or life styles. The central change in our society in these years has been in the role of women. Because that is true, women must provide leadership that is both reassuring and challenging."

Geri Joseph, a former Minneapolis Tribune staff member, served as U.S. ambassador to the Netherlands from 1978 to 1981.

Women Gaining Power

By NEAL R. PEIRCE
Syndicated Columnist

FALMOUTH, Mass. — "It all boils down that we're interested in power." With those blunt words Iowa State Rep. Minnette Doderer (D) summed up the feelings of a cross-section of America's 908 women state legislators, gathered on Cape Cod last weekend (June 17-20) on the 10th anniversary of the historic first meeting of the country's women state senators and representatives held in the Poconos.

The timing this year was extraordinary — just as the Equal Rights Amendment gasped its last dying breath. But if ERA's demise saddened them, these practical politicians were leaving the tears to others. They were showing steely determination to grasp power: legislative chairmanships, slots on key tax and appropriation committees, leadership posts.

The potential cannot be sneered at. In sheer numbers, women state legislators have almost tripled their numbers — from 4.5 percent to 12.2 percent of all legislators — in the past decade. By contrast, Congress has 21 women members, just one more than 20 years ago and only 3.9 percent of combined Senate and House membership. In a decade of federal budget crises and New Federalism program turnbacks to the states, woman legislators may be strategically positioned to reshape government's role in such areas as child and health care, environmental protection and affirmative action.

NEW FEDERALISM might indeed snuff more vital decision-making power to women than they could hope for under a highly centralized federal system, said Ida Schmertz, a vice president of American Express who was director of the 1972 conference. That gathering, like this year's, was sponsored by the Center for the American Woman and Politics of Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute of Politics.

Women now hold over 8 percent of formal "leadership" positions in state legislatures. Some, like Oklahoma's Rep. Cieta Deatherage (D), are chairmen of appropriations and budget committees. By contrast, Congresswoman (and now Senate candidate) Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey lamented recently: "I don't know of any woman in a position of power in this House."

NO ONE SUGGESTS that the special problems of women politicians have evaporated. But the sisters in the legislatures have come a long way since their first national gathering.



PEIRCE

In '72, they were delighted to have won office, but weren't yet bidding for substantive power. Scarcely any of the women from different states knew each other. Many agonized over the "children's issue" — voter questions about how they could run for office and not neglect their children. They worried about being rejected by their male colleagues. They discussed how they should approach legislative leaders — not how to take those leadership posts for themselves.

The contrast at Cape Cod was startling. Women legislators' "search for identity" has fallen away, said Maryland Rep. Connie Morella (R). Most legislators came to Cape Cod already acquainted through various women's political and legislative networks. They are becoming a coolly confident bunch and in several states have organized their own caucuses. The "children's issue" has all but disappeared.

The failure of ERA seems to underscore the urgency with which the women legislators approach feminist issues. And the variety is mind-boggling. Just a sampling of those I heard the 54 delegates discuss were: state "equal pay for equal work" laws applicable to private as well as public employers; and job counseling and placement services for "displaced homemakers" — widows or divorced women who might otherwise be forced onto public assistance.

Women legislators split — though doubtless to the more "liberal" side than male politicians — on such issues as abortion and birth control clinics. But liberal or conservative, most agree on such proposals as strict limits on demeaning police search and strip practices; stringent criminal punishment for rape; rehabilitation programs so male sex offenders will be less likely to strike again.

BEYOND FEMINIST issues, women legislators are likely to divide along partisan and ideological lines much like male politicians. There's one exception to that rule that could be important in the '80s: in human services. With their instinctual concern for families, education, health and children, women of all ideological stripes are likely to have concern for finding human-service solutions, even if they may differ on whether public or private approaches are the most appropriate.

During this year's Iowa legislative session, Rep. Sue Mullins and four other House Republican women intervened with the Republican House speaker to gain reinstatement of an "unemployed parent" state welfare program for two-parent families hit hard by layoffs. Few male Republican legislators in Iowa would ever have taken that initiative; it took women in their midst to do so. It may be a scenario we will see a lot more of in the '80s, as the growing numbers of women in our legislatures move to save New Federalism and conservative budgeting from some potentially disastrous human effects.

The Political Coming Of Age Of

Women Legislators

By Patricia Rice
Of the Post-Dispatch Staff

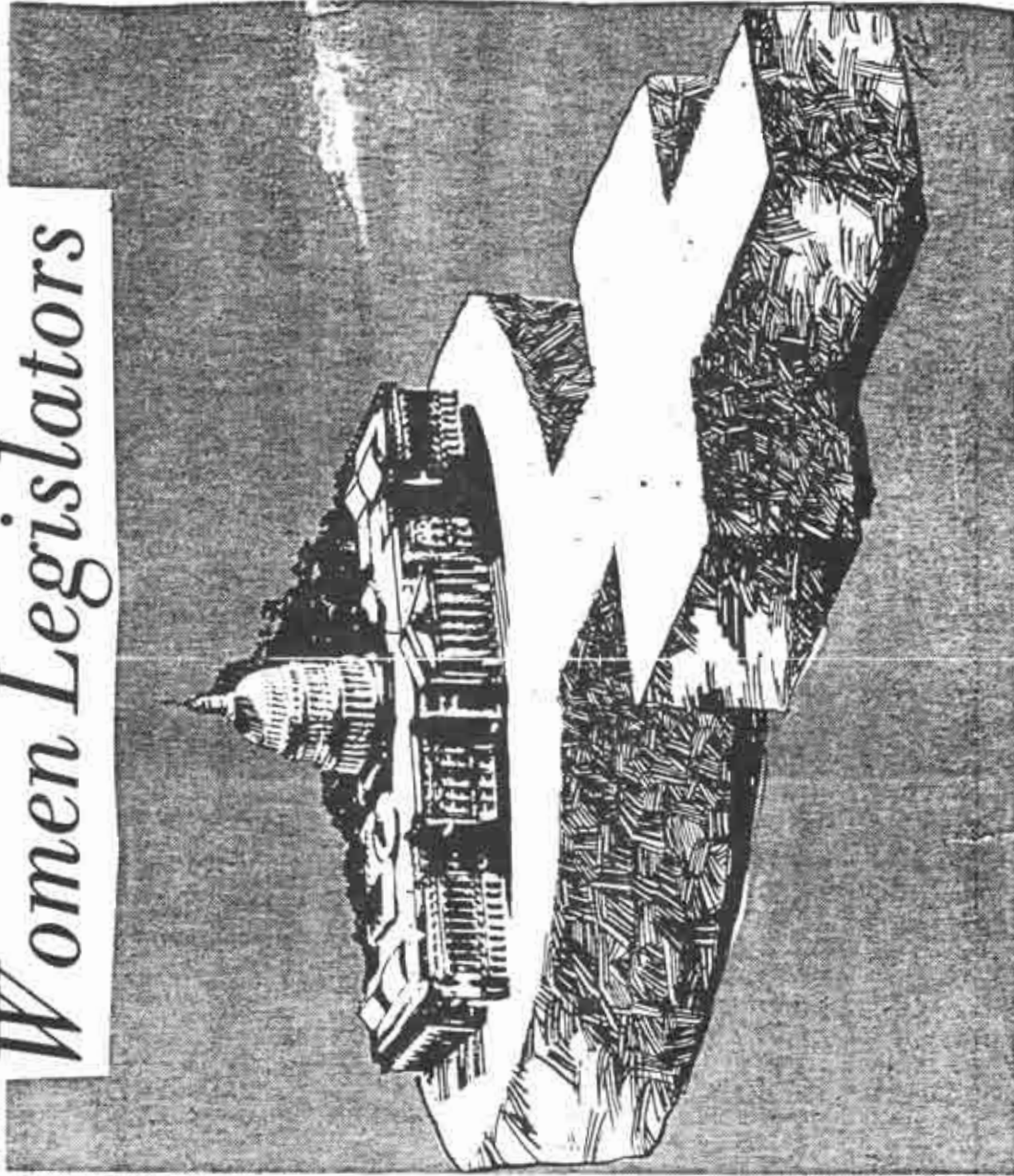
FALMOUTH, Mass.
THE typical American woman serving in a state legislature is a much more canny politician than she was a decade ago. While still strongly interested in what have been considered typical women's concerns such as health, education, juvenile justice, recreation and parks, she may serve on — or even head — legislative committees on ways and means, transportation or atomic energy.

Ten years ago in May, 50 women gathered in Pennsylvania's Pocono Mountains for the nation's first meeting of female state legislators. They compared notes about what it was like being a woman serving in a legislature and found bipartisan unity in the number of issues held in common.

For most, it was the first time they had met formally with other women elected officials. But there was instant camaraderie among those who had served in the same battle, and the meeting was charged with excitement.

Last month, the second national Conference of Women State Legislators was called. Sixty women, selected by other women in their legislatures, met in this town on the Cape Cod Coast. There was the warmth of new friendships, but less euphoria, and a more worldly range of topics was discussed. In many ways, these elected officials reflected the changes that American women have brought about in the last decade.

The number of women in legislatures has nearly tripled in the last 10 years. Women hold 12.1 percent of all seats in the state legislatures — 908 female legislators out of a total of 7,482. Every state has at least one woman in its lower house, and all states but Alabama, Louisiana, Michigan and Mississippi have women in their senates. Missouri is slightly under the average, with 11.2 percent of its legislators being women. Illinois is slightly above average, with 13.6



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July 11, 1982

State legislatures have always been a proving ground for national office. In 1972, that was particularly true for women. Among the 344 women in state legislatures then were Sandra Day O'Connor of Arizona, Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey and Carol Bellamy of New York, now president of the New York City Council.

Mrs. Fenwick, now in the U.S. House and a Republican candidate for the Senate, shone with wit and incisive comments at the first conference. (The character of Lacey Davenport in the *Doonesbury* comic strip is supposedly based on her.)

One of the political experts invited to observe the 1972 conference was a rather stern professor from Georgetown University who later wrote a book based on interviews with the women attending. She was Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, now U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

Like the first conference, the second was organized by the Center for the American Woman in Politics of the (Florence) Eagleton Institute at Rutgers University and was funded by the Carnegie Foundation. Six of the 50 participants at the first conference returned, as did several of the discussion leaders, including this writer. Many things had changed dramatically, others little.

Rep. Eugenia Chapman, a Democrat from the Chicago suburb of Arlington Heights, was at both meetings. She went to the 1972 meeting with a background of seven years as a legislator and with pride that she had sponsored 81 bills to delete sexist language from Illinois law.

"Giddy Dyer and I had had a feeling of isolation in Springfield, and the first conference introduced us to others like ourselves," she said.

A decade ago, she and Rep. Dyer enthusiastically talked about special problems she could not share with male legislators: the worry of being seen far from home and husband dining with male legislators in state capitals; the way to handle the exclusion of women from much of the politicking done over poker games or in barroom sessions.

She and others talked about how they dealt with sexist appointments and remarks. She arrived at the 1972 meeting stunned because she had sponsored the Equal Rights Amendment in Illinois and it had not been ratified.

Last month, she arrived here as a seasoned politician who understands where the power lies. She has headed the Illinois House Appropriations Committee as well as its Human Resources Committee and is the Democratic minority whip.

It seemed that the constant is that after 10 years of effort, she still is heartsick that her state did not ratify

ERA.

At the 1972 meeting, many of the women had an air of Goody Two Shoes. They tended to be over 40 — older than the freshmen men who were elected with them. Like mothers looking at boys at play, they thought they were a bit above it all. Most were white, middle-class and well-educated and were voted into the statehouse as issue-oriented rather than party regulars.

They were proud to be above wheeling and dealing. Few were party regulars. They were reform candidates or issue-oriented darkhorses who had polished their lobbying skills working on League of Women Voters issues or a bond issue or, like Rep. Chapman, serving on a school board.

Many felt they did not want to get involved with party politics. Some said that they abhorred trading favors to get votes for the issues they were working on.

"Ten years ago, we were the most pious, most righteous group," said Sen. Minnette Doderer, a Democrat from Iowa. "Ten years have proven that we are also fallible. Those qualities have been co-opted by the New Right."

"Many of us were shy, and many had gotten up the ladder following their husbands," said Oregon Secretary of State Norma Paulus, a Republican who participated in the first conference as a state representative. This year, she was a speaker.

Ten years ago, many of the women were afraid — greatly afraid — of being seen by their constituencies as feminists. Others lifted their eyebrows at women who "used their femininity" and handed out recipe cards with campaign literature on the reverse side. That, too, has changed.

Rep. Cletha Deatherage, an Oklahoma Democrat, is among a new breed of woman legislators. She was one of several at the June meeting who fit the description of "lawyer under 40 with strong ties to the Women's Political Caucus." She is chairman of the Oklahoma House Appropriations and Budget Committee. For the last five years, she has been named one of her state's top 10 legislators. She is one of 11 women in Oklahoma's 101-seat house.

She is comfortable being called a feminist. She was a founding member of the Women's Political Caucus in her state and served as its lobbyist for six years. She is an apple-cheeked, pretty, blond-haired woman who acknowledges that she might well take advantage of that occasionally. But she hates sexist jokes.

"The Oklahoma Legislature is like stepping into the Old West. If I called them on every sexist remark, I'd have my dukes up all day," she said.

She asked for the leadership positions she has won. Her husband and young male colleagues urged her to.

She might have fallen into the trap too many women officials do, she said. They work hard and presume they will be rewarded.

"Women have to be asked to dance, asked to marry," she said. "Nice girls don't ask for things, we were taught."

"I was one of two people responsible for electing the speaker," she said of the man who makes committee appointments. On election, he asked what appointment she wanted. "I told him I wanted to be vice chairman of appropriations," she said. "He gagged, but he knew he owed me a lot."

Some of the younger men in the legislature — whose campaigns she had run — reminded the speaker that if she

were a man, she'd get the job. She won the appointment and in a couple of years moved up to chairman.

Maine's House majority leader, Elizabeth Mitchell, a Democrat, thinks that the kind of leadership necessary in a statehouse must change under the concept of the New Federalism.

"Information is important," she said. "That is better suited to women, who tend to have more facts than they ever need. You have to select your battles carefully. My style is to be quiet, but then show you are tough when it matters."

A thread running through many discussion groups at the four-day conference was that all issues are women's issues. While a few issues, like removing the state tax on women's sanitary products, may affect only women, the legislators repeatedly noted that women are the majority of population, the great majority of the poor and elderly. Nuclear war and sites of nuclear plants are as much women's issues as men's issues.

While many have learned figuratively to play poker with the men in statehouses, nevertheless "old girl's" networks have been formed. In six states, including Illinois, the women legislators have formed women's caucuses. Much as in a political party caucus, black caucus or labor caucus, members review bills of mutual interest, sometimes jointly sponsor them and frequently support bills as a block. In other states, there are informal but regular luncheon meetings of women, with no promise of bloc support. All have learned to use the parliamentary tricks of the "old boys," such as yielding privilege to each other.

Two Missourians, Reps. Marion Cairns, a Webster Groves Republican, and Sue Shear, a Clayton Democrat,

attended the conference. While Missouri women legislators do not have a formal caucus, some of the women meet informally and support other women on many issues. Rep. Judith Stepheny, the Vermont House Democratic leader, thinks that such informal links are more effective. As a party leader, it might be more difficult for her to work within a bipartisan caucus.

Others like Rep. Marilyn Ryan, a California Republican, see pitfalls in formal caucuses because some New Right women have been voted into office. Democrats and Republicans can form workable caucus, but progressive and conservative members cannot, many participants said.

In Illinois, ERA and abortion are never topics in the women's caucus. But these forums can be effective in background information. Rep. Susan Schur, a Democrat from Massachusetts, believes that she can often find more support and information available through her women's caucus than through her own party caucus.

One issue that many women see as uniting them is that of equal pay for comparable work. It is a burning issue but was not on the conference agenda. Ruth Luzzati of Kansas and Rep. Margie Hendrikson of Oregon organized a meeting during the only free time allowed at the conference.

By the end of the conference, all manner of sample bills on that issue and many others had been exchanged, and there were promises of following through with more information.

"This is one of the most exciting reunions I've ever attended," said Rep. Pauline H. Menes, a Maryland Democrat. "How women have grown."

ERA Revival Is Pledged

FALMOUTH, Mass.

MANY lamentations for the Equal Rights Amendment were heard during the 3½-day Conference of Women State Legislators.

Many of the women legislators had sponsored bills in their states for ERA ratification. Several of the women from states that did not ratify the ERA had spent much of the last 10 years working for it. They included Rep. Sue Shear of Missouri, Rep. Eugenia Chapman of Illinois and Sen. Jean Ford of Nevada.

A woman from a Southern state said that after ERA's defeat this year, her husband promised he'd have her tombstone engraved with "Equality at

Last."

Few women wanted to wait that long.

Florida legislators scrambled in the last hours before the deadline to call home and help a pro-ERA candidate build a war chest to defeat one of the major ERA opponents in this year's election to the Florida House. They helped her raise \$75,000 in three days. The woman said she would pull out if the man would change his vote. He didn't. Now he is one of 13 men in state legislatures targeted for defeat by women's groups because of efforts to prevent ratification of ERA.

Patricia Rice

Women legislators:

Eileen Shanahan, senior assistant managing editor of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, covered the 1972 Conference of Women State Legislators. In June Shanahan attended the 1982 conference of the same group. In this two part-series, Shanahan compares the two conferences and discusses the increasing power wielded by women state legislators.

(First of two parts)

By EILEEN SHANAHAN

FALMOUTH, Mass. — Ten years ago, they argued about whether women in their position could go out at night and have a drink with "the boys."

They talked about how they should dress.

They discussed how much to bring their families into their public appearances.

They disagreed vigorously over a fundamental question of tactics — whether or not they should take the lead themselves on women's issues or get some man to front for them.

They were women members of state legislatures — 50 of them from 28 states — and they met at a resort hotel in Pennsylvania's Pocono Mountains to discuss, in the words of the conference sponsors, "the terms, conditions and limits of women's participation in state legislatures."

This year, a similar group of 67 women from 22 states met at a resort hotel on Cape Cod and the word "limits" never came up.

Neither did the question of having a drink with the boys, or what to wear, or putting pictures of your family on your campaign literatures.

There were still a few participants, Sen. Diane Watson, D-Calif., for example, who felt it was preferable to have a man introduce women's rights legislation. Watson says she looks for "the most conservative co-sponsor I can get." But her argument did not arouse any ferocious rebuttal.

"THEY ARE MORE confident now than they were 10 years ago," said Ruth B. Mandel, director of Rutgers University's Center for the American Woman and Politics, the sponsor of both conferences. "I guess that some of them go out drinking with the boys and some don't. But each has found her own style that she's comfortable with — a style that works for her. There's no need to debate it any-

more."

The two conferences, 10 years apart, were both designed to enable women state legislators to improve their effectiveness by learning from each other. In both cases, legislators considered to be outstanding, rather than merely typical, were chosen to participate.

Seven of those at the 1972 meeting were also at this year's — six who are still members of their state legislatures plus Norma Paulus, who is now Oregon's secretary of state. A 1972 participant who wasn't there this time was Millicent Fenwick of New Jersey, now a member of the U.S. House of Representatives and the Republican party's candidate for U.S. Senate.

TEN YEARS AGO, the Equal Rights Amendment was in the early stages of what most of its supporters believed would be a difficult — but ultimately successful — drive for ratification. This year's conference was held as the clock ran out on the ERA.

Despite that severe setback (all but two or three of the women at this year's meeting were strong backers of the ERA, which was also the case in 1972), the women discussed future strategies and agendas with seeming confidence.

Few seemed to doubt that the next 10 years would see at least as much growth as the previous 10 in the sheer number of women holding political office.

In 1972, women filled only 4.5 percent of the seats in state legislatures across the nation. In only five states — Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama and Tennessee — is their percentage now that low or lower.

Nationwide, there are 908 women serving in state legislatures, 12.1 percent of the total, and in seven states, including Oregon, their proportion is more than 20 percent.

Perhaps the biggest change in 10 years, however, is in the power the women have in their legislatures and the sophistication with which they are using it.

THE OFFICIAL report of the 1972 conference noted that "it was frequently brought out that women 'can go just so far and no farther' in the legislative power structure." Today, women hold at least one of the leadership positions in 26 of the 50 state legislatures and two or more such positions in 12 states, including Oregon.

Dressing down, growing up in decade of statehouse politics

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ARM TWISTING — Secretary of State Norma Paulus was instrumental in urging the first national Conference of Women State Legislators 10 years ago when she was a member of the Oregon Legislature. "rip into the 'dark ages.'"

ROSS HAMILTON/Greens Journal

In 1972, it was also noted that "few women chair important committees." Today, women like Rep. Cieta Deatherage, D-Okla., have real power positions. She is chairwoman of the appropriations and budget committees, having gotten there by helping to elect a number of legislators who, in turn, helped elect the speaker.

who "gulped" when Deatherage asked for important committee assignments but gave them to her. In the last session of the Oregon Legislature, women chaired five committees, all in the House. Jane Cease chaired Transportation; Gretchen Kafoury, Human Resources; Joyce Cohen, Housing and

Urban Development; Caroline Magruder, Agriculture and Natural Resources; and Mae Y'lh, Trade and Economic Development. In 1972, many of the women legislators reported that they didn't even ask for key committee spots. One woman who did

the weekly meetings of the legislative leaders had never, in fact, gone because she'd never been asked. Today's women legislators made it clear that they don't wait to be asked.

Next: Goals for the '80s

Comparable worth tops women's agenda

(Last of two parts)

By EILEEN SHANAHAN

FALMOUTH, Mass. — State Representative Minette Doderer, D-Iowa, thinks she knows what issue will replace the Equal Rights Amendment as the central political goal of feminists for the foreseeable future.

It is the goal of "equal pay for work of comparable worth" — a more far-reaching concept than the familiar "equal pay for equal work" that is already required under federal law, though it is not always vigorously enforced.

Equal pay for equal work means that men and women must get the same pay when they are doing the identical job, give or take some traditional differentials that are permitted for differences in seniority, for working a night shift, and so on.

Work of comparable worth, on the other hand, deals with such matters as how much education and training are required in order to be able to do a job, how difficult the work is, and how pleasant or unpleasant the surroundings are.

Setting up rules and formulas for determining just what constitutes work of "comparable worth" plainly will be a difficult and controversial task.

But women from nine of the 22 states represented at a conference of women members of state legislatures put the "comparable worth" issue at the top of their agenda.

Many of the other objectives for the 1980s set by the women legislators were also economic in nature.

Among those with the most widespread support were:

- Enactment of legislation that would give women who were divorced after a lengthy marriage some rights to their husbands' pensions
- Laws that would give middle-class women help in collecting child-support payments from runaway fathers, similar to those now on the books for welfare families.
- Financial support out of public funds for shelters for victims of family violence, perhaps by assigning some of the money collected from marriage-license fees for this purpose, as Oregon does.

The conference, sponsored by the Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University, was held just as the clock was running out on ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The women legislators, almost all of whom supported the amendment, expressed some sadness and anger at its defeat but mainly turned their attention and energies to what they saw as the task ahead — adoption of laws to end hardships and discrimination experienced by women, item-by-item and state-by-state, now that there is to be no national policy forbidding sex discrimination.

Connecticut has passed a law requiring a study of the "comparable worth" issue but has not yet committed itself, by law, to implementing the findings of the study.

In addition to Minnesota and Connecticut, the states whose representatives at the conference identified "comparable worth" as a top goal for the future were: California, Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, Massachusetts, Oregon and Washington.

But all of those who discussed the issue were fearful that the fight for equal pay for work of comparable worth would be a difficult one.

The reason: It will be expensive; to bring the pay of women up to what men are paid for jobs of comparable worth. No one is even considering the possibility of reducing the pay of men as the means of achieving equality.

In all states, the first effort to be made will be equalizing the pay of state employees. The expense will thus be borne by the taxpayers.

Among the new laws that have been adopted in many states — but not all — and thus were agenda items for the states where they have not yet been put on the statute books, were these:

- Outlawing "strip searches" of women who have been arrested for minor offenses, such as traffic violations.
- Making the sale of sex — prostitution — no greater a crime than the purchase of sex.
- Outlawing testimony about the victim's previous sexual history in rape trials and requiring all police officers to have training in the considerate handling of rape victims.
- Defining rape by a spouse as rape, instead of permitting marriage as an absolute defense against a charge of rape.
- Forbidding school systems to expel pregnant, unmarried girls.
- Providing equal educational opportunities and training for women and men prisoners.

Some long-familiar objectives of feminists and social activists in general were also still on the agenda; for example, tax credits for employers who provide day-care on their premises.

But it was the newer issue of equal pay for work of comparable worth that got the most discussion.

Only Minnesota, of the 22 states represented at the conference, has such a law on the books now. Its implementation is still in the study stage.

The advocates of the "comparable worth" standard believe that there is no doubt that jobs that have traditionally been held mainly by men are better paid than those that traditionally have been held mainly by women.

Nonetheless, if there are governors who back the goal and legislative leaders who support it and union leaders who agree that it is desirable — as the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees does — the women think they could get "comparable worth" legislation enacted, except for one problem.

That is the opposition they anticipate from private industry, whose leaders will fear — correctly — that once the concept of equal pay for work of comparable worth has been adopted for state employees, their companies will be next. This concern is particularly strong among the women legislators who believe that business interests were responsible for the death of the ERA.

But Iowa's Minette Doderer spoke for many of her fellow legislators when she said: "We have to battle for 'comparable worth' not just because it's fair but because we can buy our way to legal equality once we have real economic equality."

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MAJOR CONFERENCE ADDRESSES

HON. MARTHA GRIFFITHS

I'm happy to be here because this is the world that I love. I envy each of your wonderful positions. You are sitting in seats from which you can change the world, from which you can put into effect that sense of justice which has prevailed throughout your life. And so, for that, I envy you.

I realize that many of us who are women really don't realize how strong your seats are. Nor do we realize (or maybe I should say we do realize) how much we owe to others. Those of us within political life, more than any other group in all of America, know that no person made it alone. We owe many people whose names we will never recall, who will never ask us for anything. We wouldn't sit in our seats unless those people had voted for us. Therefore, I think that not only do we, as women, owe a singular responsibility to our constituencies, which include both men and women, which include all types of industry, farming, and other economic interests, but also we owe a special duty to women because women have never had a voice. Never.

I would like to ask one question of those of you who are lawyers or who would like to say that, well of course, the Constitution of the U.S. really covers women. Why, then, when the Fifteenth Amendment said that every citizen, regardless of race, or creed, or previous condition of servitude could vote, why did you have to have the Nineteenth Amendment which said that every woman could vote? No matter what the opponents of ERA have ever said, the Consti-

tution of the United States has never, never protected women on any issue that was ever brought before it until the 1964 Civil Rights Amendment was passed. And the problem which every woman faces today who sits in a position of power is that if the ERA fails on June 30th, what will the Supreme Court do? Will they go back to yesterday, or will they continue to move forward?

Now I would like to mention some of the decisions which, in my opinion, have been the really worst decisions of the Supreme Court. In all of history, the Supreme Court has never, on any other subject, been as bad as on women. Shortly after the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were passed, the state of West Virginia passed a statute that black men could not sit on juries. They did not say "black men", they said "Negroes" could not sit on juries. A Negro man questioned this statute and the case went all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Court, in an 1874 decision, said, "Why, this is why you've got the Fourteenth Amendment. Of course black men can sit on juries." And then they said that had the complainant been a woman, their decision would have been different. This case was never brought before the Court again until the 1950's, when a jury of men convicted a woman in Florida of murdering her husband. On that occasion, the Supreme Court, speaking through Justice Sutherland, said, "Why, we decided this case in 1874. Of course you don't have to have a woman on a jury. Women can be protected from sitting on juries." They didn't even mention the rights of the defendant. In every other criminal case that was ever brought before the Supreme Court, they discussed the rights of the defendant. Why should women be "protected" in their child-bearing years in St. Petersburg, Florida? I have been told that you can recognize when you're getting there by the smell of the formaldehyde. So it is ridiculous to discuss such questions.

Another of the worst cases that ever came before the Court was when the state of Michigan, after World War II, passed a statute saying that a woman could not be a bartender unless her husband or her father owned the bar. The first case before the Court was a widow who had tended bar while her husband lived. When he died, the Liquor Commission closed the bar until she employed a male bartender. She sued. The information before the court from the police department proved that a bar run by a woman was a more orderly bar and had fewer police calls than a bar run by a man. Yet the Supreme Court of the United States said that it was within the police powers of the state of Michigan to determine who could run a bar. Ask yourself: Would they have said that if the case had been between two black men? Why of course not; they couldn't. We have the Fourteenth Amendment to protect them. They couldn't possibly have said it.

But finally, in my judgment the worst case in all our lifetime to come before the Supreme Court was when a husband in Arizona was involved in an accident in a car alone. Judgement for damages was rendered against him. The wife wasn't even in the car at the time of the accident. Since the husband and wife couldn't pay the judgment, the police picked up his license and hers. The couple went to the Supreme Court of Arizona and it affirmed the decision. They then went through bankruptcy. They went back to the Supreme Court of Arizona which said that bankruptcy doesn't make any difference. The couples' licenses still could be taken until they paid their judgment. They went to the Supreme Court of the United States, and in that decision, an amicus brief had been filed by some young women lawyers in Arizona pointing out that the wife's license couldn't be taken. How could she be responsible? The Supreme Court ignored the amicus brief completely although the Court gave them back

their licenses because they had been through bankruptcy. So the question remained: If the couple had gotten a divorce, and the man had gone through bankruptcy, would he have gotten his license back? And would the woman have remained to pay the debt? This is a total reversal not only of the common law for hundreds of years, but also of all American laws. How could the Court make her responsible? It was against the public policy of the country. The only way that she wouldn't have been responsible was if she had had the five children without marrying him. Then they couldn't have taken her license.

This country, both the United States as a nation and in every state in this union, is filled with such laws. You are women; you represent all of your constituencies, but you owe a special debt to women. They are voiceless; they believe that some of this stuff is ordained by God. It has been set up by a bunch of legislators. I urge you, as you do your own work, to check it out, and I'd like to give you some examples.

I was on the Ways and Means Committee and I looked the thing over carefully. I have spent my life in situations where I was dealing with very intelligent men in positions of great power. And I have watched them. And really it has been very interesting. Not all of them are exceedingly bright-- under any circumstances. One day we were discussing the Social Security law. I'd already looked at the tax law, and Wilbur Mills owned the tax law. You couldn't possibly offer an amendment to the tax law. So I looked at the Social Security law, and I was idly turning through the pages describing how payments are made. And all at once, I realized that if a man paid on the then \$4,800 base, he and his wife, who didn't pay anything, drew more than a man and wife, each of whom had paid in on \$2,400. In each case, the same amount had been paid, but the man where the wife had paid in nothing drew more than the couple

who had paid in \$2,400 each. So I questioned it. I asked Wilbur: "Do you realize that you're paying these people more than people who have paid in \$2,400 each? Look at how this thing works out. If the man dies, the woman whose husband paid in \$4,800 gets more money than the woman who together with her husband paid in \$2,400 each. But look what happens to the men if the wives both die. The man who paid in \$4,800 gets a whale of a lot more than the one who paid in \$2,400."

Well, you know, we've got to have some kind of figures, and it's all analysis and this and that. So I began to look very carefully at the mail I received. And I wrote home about the inequities of Social Security, and all at once I was receiving letters from all over the U.S. that showed me one inequity after another in Social Security. I began to try to correct them. And I am happy to say I did correct some of them.

But once I had begun, then I began to look at the inequities in other laws. I found, among other things, that if a woman employed by the State Department was sent abroad, and she had a child, that child was not entitled to go to the dependents' school in Switzerland without paying; she had to pay \$1,000 per year to send the child there. But if a man was sent abroad, his child went free to the dependents' school in Switzerland.

A young, red-headed woman came in years ago to see me--a beautiful woman, who was an officer in the Marines--and she said, "When I go to Parris Island and take my husband, there are quarters there, but we don't stay there and I have to pay for everything. If a male officer goes, there are quarters there for him if he takes his wife. He gets a quarters' allowance which is increased because he has his wife."

I looked at my own pension. If I dropped dead on the floor of Congress,

my husband would get back what I had paid in; but if Wilbur dropped dead, Polly, his wife, would get 55% of his pension. So I began really objecting, and finally, as divorce became more and more popular, the men on that committee discovered that in fact, if one of them had a wife named Mary who was named as his beneficiary, and he divorced her and married Thelma, his secretary, Thelma wasn't going to draw anything. Only Mary could have drawn. Well, of course, the men felt that was very unfair; so they corrected the law and they included my husband because they knew they were never going to get in their second wives unless I got in my first husband.

Now, personally, I recommend that all of you who sit in these positions look at the laws of your state. And one of the places where those laws are the very worst today is in questions of divorce. Take the case of California. Remember California is a community property state, so you split the stuff right down the middle, but I have news for you. The average couple married 20 years today has accumulated \$20,000 in assets and that is all. So the wife walks out with \$10,000 and the husband walks out with \$10,000. And at the end of a ten-year survey conducted by Stanford they have discovered what every divorced woman must know--that in the first year after divorce, the wife and children are getting about 73% of what they did have and the husband is 42% over what he did have. The husband has grown richer and the wife and children poorer. Legislators, women legislators, should pay special attention to this problem. It is a problem throughout the U.S. The truth is that in most marriages today, even if you're married 49 years like I am, the chances of survival of the marriage are about 1 in 3. So you have to look at what is happening to these divorced women and children.

Now I ran a survey on all income maintenance programs and I had the

General Accounting Office helping me. And finally, I said, "We're going to check on the wealthy families. Let us look for the affluent men who are divorced and are under court order to support their children, and let's see what's happening." I had had several young men go into the poor areas and check every cent that went into the poor homes, and now I sent them into six places in the U.S. to examine wealthy families. They did not believe that there were wealthy men who refused to support their children. They came back chastened, really chastened. I remember, distinctly, one judge in Pennsylvania who handed down the decision for a poor man who actually supported his children; he paid the amount every month. That amount was twice the amount that that same judge handed down for a very well-to-do man who rarely ever paid. Now I personally think that this area of law--the American home, The American family--is one of the provinces of women legislators. And you owe a special duty to check on these things.

Now I would like to tell you some of the ways in which power is and can be used. In my judgment, there was probably only one woman in Washington during my time as a congresswoman who really understood the uses of power. She was Julia Hanson of Washington, and I would like to describe to you an incident. She had been put on the Appropriations Committee, and after she had been there a couple of years, Mike Kirwan of Ohio had insisted that they make her Chairman of the Interior Committee. At that time, Mahon of Texas was the chairman of the full Committee. So Julia came in with her first appropriations bill, and she told Mahon that they had the bill written. And Mahon said, "Well now, Julia, how much is it?" So she told him. "Oh," he said, "Julia, that is too much. You've got to cut at least a million and a half dollars out of there." Julia said, "Okay, Mr. Chairman, whatever you

say." So she called the sub-committee back together again that afternoon and the next morning she came back and she said, "Mr. Chairman, we have completed the work of the Interior Committee on Appropriations." And Mahon said, "Well, wonderful Julia. Did you cut out that million and a half?" "Oh," she said, "We did better. We cut out two and a half million." "Why," he said, "That's marvelous. Where did you take it out, Julia?" She said, "Right out of your district, Mr. Chairman." She was never asked again to do anything. She won.

But too many women do not understand that kind of power. I love what the Chief Justice said to Sandra Day O'Connor. "You're one of nine. You are here to do as you see better." So are you; all of you, to do as you see fit. And because of the difficulty in which the ERA finds itself, I hope you'll see fit to work for it. The ERA is only an effort to write women into the Constitution of the U.S., and I would like to point out once again that if we really were in the Fourteenth Amendment, the ERA would not be necessary. But I would also like to say to you that Marshall had no problem making corporations into people when this country was 50 years old. And 150 years later we aren't people. That's all you're really asking for. And what those who have opposed the ERA are really seeking is another 100 years of waiting time. Don't give it to them. You are the only women in the country who can keep them from having another 100 years, which is what it would take to correct every single one of these laws individually. You know and I know we have sat there for years. You know that terrible pressure that comes against the legislature. Don't let it stop you. Correct the laws. We are all human beings. We deserve to be treated as human beings.

I really came here tonight because I love to talk once again with women

who sit in the position in which I sat when I was young and to realize once again that there are people who understand fully that they owe a great debt to other women and that they are ready, willing, and able to repay it.

Martha W. Griffiths is currently Lieutenant Governor of Michigan. She served from 1955 to 1975 as Democratic Congresswoman from Michigan's Seventeenth District. She was instrumental in the passage of welfare, health, and civil rights legislation, and she is perhaps best remembered by women for her sponsorship and shepherding of the Equal Rights Amendment through the House of Representatives in 1972. She was a member of two powerful committees -- Ways and Means and the Joint Economic Committee, where she chaired the Subcommittee on Fiscal Policy. She began her political career in the Michigan House of Representatives, and was then appointed to a local judgeship, where she served until her election to Congress. A graduate of the University of Missouri and the University of Michigan Law School, she was practicing law and serving on the boards of the Burroughs, Chrysler, Greyhound, National Detroit, and K-Mart Corporations and Consumers Power Company before her election to statewide office.

HON. NORMA PAULUS

I've been asked to talk to you about the last 10 years in politics. I think I can best do that by recounting the events in my own political life and the events of the women's movement in my state of Oregon because, except for a few different twists and turns, I think we have all travelled the same road, encountered the same road blocks and the same detours, and reached the same destination.

But before I do that, I have a confession to make. I have not always been a feminist. I started my political career twelve years ago in 1970, and at that time I was a lawyer, married to a lawyer. We had two small children, and looking back on it, I can remember many young women coming to me saying, "How have you managed to combine a successful legal career and keep your family together? You seem to be very happy and close-knit as a family." Looking back on it, I remember putting those women down. I was very condescending to them, and I remember being asked repeatedly what I thought of the feminine mystique, and I would say, "Oh what is that?" And when it was explained to me that that was Betty Freidan's new book, I usually replied that I didn't have time to read frivolous things.

In 1970, after helping men become elected to the Oregon legislature, I decided that I wanted to have something to say myself about the state's policies and the direction the state was going. So, I filed for public office, and then I knew all about the feminine mystique, and all about discrimination, because it hit me right square in the face.

I think the first major turning point for me was (and I make a habit of telling professional women's groups this story) that the day I filed for the

House of Representatives coincided with the beginning of spring vacation. My husband and I were taking our two children on a ferry trip to Vancouver Victoria, British Columbia. And as we were waiting for the ferry boat I stopped at a news stand and bought a copy of the Atlantic Monthly, which I was in the habit of reading. That particular issue was all about the women's movement, which was largely concentrated on the eastern seaboard. And in that magazine I read an article by Catherine Drinker Bowen, the famous biographer. She said the biggest albatross around the women's movement's neck is the woman who has made it in the so-called "male-dominated" professions, because she doesn't want to destroy her own uniqueness, her own newsworthiness. She does not want other women to do what she does. And I went into the public restroom and looked in the mirror and said, "Boy is she talking to me! I don't want other women to be married to a handsome lawyer and practicing law and running for the legislature because I enjoy my single status in that regard." I remember it was a great turning point in my life.

I was elected, I served my first term, and then in the summer of 1971, I received a letter from an outfit called the Eagleton Institute of Politics, which was connected in some way with Rutgers University. And in that letter, they said that by a mystical formula, known only by the press in my state, I had been named the outstanding freshman. Would I join legislators from the 50 other states to spend a week closeted in Florida in August so that we could discuss legislative reform and legislative policies? The letter also said that my spouse could accompany me. So we went. And for the first three days, of course, everyone assumed that my husband was the legislator, because there were no other women legislators there. On the third day, it occurred to me that everyone thought that my husband was the legislator because one of the

gentlemen from New Jersey said "I find it strange that your husband is drinking martinis in the bar and playing golf all the time and has sent you here to take notes." Well, at the end of that week, I began asking questions about why I was the only woman there. And I found out not only was I the only woman there that year, but they had never invited a woman before, and it had been going on for years and years. I inquired about the funding for those little gatherings and was told, and I believe this is true, that a woman, Florence Eagleton, had put up the money for those things. And it suggested that the money be used to further women in politics. I told the older gentleman who was the director that I wondered what the heirs of Florence Eagleton might think if they learned that I was the only woman there. I like to think that had some impact.

At any rate, as a result of my being at that conference, a few months later I was asked to be the western representative for the planning council for the first women's conference in the Poconos. And I flew back East, back here, not really knowing what to expect. But I do remember the evening of that planning session very distinctly because it was the first time in my life that I had ever sat down to dinner with a group of women, with no men present, and came away feeling that it had been the most exciting, stimulating conversation that I had ever held in my life. They were beautiful and articulate and committed to feminism, and I could feel myself becoming a part of them.

Now, at this same time, there was a turning point in Oregon. I was an elected representative. I went to everything that I was invited to. If four chicken pluckers were having a convention in Albany, I went to it. So one day I received an invitation to come down to the local department store on a Saturday morning and go into the tearoom for something called the Women's

Political Caucus. I had never heard of it before. I went down there, walked into the room, thought, "Boy this is really a ragtag outfit." But the woman who was leading them had a profound effect on me. Her name was Gretchen Kafoury. She was just defeated by another woman in our primary, and she just assumed that because I was a woman in the legislature, I was committed to her feminist philosophy. It didn't occur to her that I would be reticent at all. And very soon I was caught up in her leadership, and she was much younger than I am, and at that time more militant, more raging. She was really our answer to Bella Abzug. She was marvelous. But that was the beginning of the Women's Political Caucus in Oregon.

We came to the Poconos--a Democratic woman from Oregon and myself--and there were distinct differences, as I recollect, between that conference and this conference. We were shy; we were not as aggressive as we are now. Most of the women there would not identify themselves as feminists. Most of the women who attended had climbed up the political ladder, not because of their own drive and ambition, but because they followed their husbands up that ladder, and I don't think that is true of the conference today.

Anyway, Nancy Fadeley and I went back to Oregon and decided that we were going to make a list of all of the concerns that affected women. And at the same time, we sensed a collective spirit growing among other women's groups in Oregon. The Women for Agriculture came to us. They normally are a very conservative group, but they came to us because they said that the inheritance laws were discriminating against them, and something had to be changed. The Business and Professional Women started to emerge as a political unit. Zonta, BPW, Women in Communications, labor women, Republican women, Democratic women--they all started coming and we formed this kind of loose coalition of women.

And I remember that very distinctly because at that time I went to the Memorial Coliseum in Portland to speak to a group, and that night when I went home I saw myself on television saying we now have this group formed, this coalition of loose women. And I went rambling right on, not realizing what I said, so I remember that period of our growth very, very well.

At any rate, in 1972, right before our 1973 session, this group, this loose coalition of women, began communicating, not really realizing that they were forming a network. The women in the legislature began to do the same thing. There were twelve of us, Democrats and Republicans--two in the Senate and the rest of us in the House. Our ages ranged from 35 to 72. The 72-year-old, Gracie, was a devout Catholic. She had been in the legislature longer than anyone. At the beginning of that session, Betty Roberts, who is now in the Supreme Court, and I got together with Nancy Fadeley, the other woman who had attended this conference. We made a list of all of the concerns this diverse group of women had brought to us. We decided the party margin was so slim in both houses that if we asked the women in the legislature to form a women's caucus and hold together on the women's issues, neither party would be able to do without us on the crucial votes. We would then have clout for the women's issues inside the legislature. So Betty made a list of concerns and parceled them out to the women depending on their committee assignments and their different expertise on the issues.

And we did announce that we had formed a women's caucus and we were laughed at. But we kept our sense of humor and introduced all the bills with our names--just the women's names--and put them in the legislative hopper. Then we went to the speaker, who in fact was a feminist, a very liberal Democrat. We said, "We have a problem. All the women in Oregon now are

clamoring for reform on laws that deal with sex discrimination. And we know that if we can get our bills out to a full debate on the floor of the House and the Senate, they will pass because public pressure is building. But we must have them referred to a sympathetic committee." He listened to us very carefully and said, "Well, I'll do something about that." And the next day, for the first time in the history of the Oregon legislature, there was a committee made up of nine people with the majority of them women. He appointed five women to the same committee and made the woman who accompanied me here chairperson of that committee. Then he assigned all the women's bills to that committee.

We knew that all we had to do was have the five of us there at one time, and we started squirting the bills out one right after the other. We chose as our first effort, of course, the Equal Rights Amendment. And I am told by the old timers who witnessed it that it was the most stirring debate in the history of those halls. The ERA passed by an overwhelming margin. We rushed back down to our committee room, flexing our muscles, and thought, "Oh, what next?" And in that year we changed the laws that dealt with credit, public accommodations, admission into colleges, employment, insurance--all of those things.

Then at the end of the session, when we knew that we were really strong and operating as a fist, as one of the women said last night, we decided that we were going to change the law regarding prostitution. Most of us wanted to decriminalize--not only decriminalize, but just simply remove prostitution from the criminal statutes. We felt that it made no sense to make prostitution a crime. But we rethought our position on that because we knew the political climate would not allow us to do that. So we did the next best

thing. We drafted a bill which said simply "If it is going to be against the law in Oregon to sell sex, it's going to be against the law to buy it." We knew if we could get it out to the floor, of course it would pass: What male legislator was going to vote against it? By this time we had learned a very fundamental lesson--both those of us inside the legislature and those outside the legislature: we had to be supportive of each other. We had demonstrated that if we were supportive of each other, we could do anything.

The second lesson that we learned was to be able to laugh at ourselves. And that came with the prostitution bill. Up until this time we were really quite intense, without much humor. The woman whose name was listed as the chief sponsor of the prostitution bill had the last name of Katz. When we met to decide how we were going to handle this bill, after we shot it out of committee, we decided that Vera Katz should carry it since she was the chief sponsor. She came to us and said, "How do you think I should handle it?" We all told her to stand up, not to look to the right, not to look to the left, but just to say, "Mr. Speaker." Say exactly what the law was and how this bill would change it and sit down. Well, it was a night session, and a lot of the legislators had been to the local watering hole when our bill came up. Vera was called on. She stood up. "Mr. Speaker." She explained what the law was. She explained what the change was. She sat down. The man behind her, whose business was a radio announcer and had this big booming voice, stood up and said, "Mr. Speaker, would the carrier of the bill yield to a question?" And she stood up, not looking right or left, and said, "Yes, Mr. Speaker, I will." And he said, "Are we to henceforth refer to this bill as the Katz House Bill?" And of course there was all kinds of laughter and derogatory comments, and Vera stared straight ahead and said, "I don't care

what you call it, as long as you vote for it." And everyone laughed and it gave us a good feeling with our male colleagues, and we then went on to pass some final details about the credit bill. So we ended that '73 session with a marvelous record.

In 1975 the same women came back to the legislature and we took out our laundry list once again. That year we concentrated on crimes of violence. We changed the law that dealt with public accommodations and went into the inheritance tax law. We started looking at all sorts of obscure statutes that discriminated on the basis of sex and changed all of those. And then at the end of the session, just for good measure, we repealed a statute which prohibited women from wrestling in Oregon. So you can see that we had a lot of fun.

In 1975 the parties had shifted. When I went into the legislature my party was in power. By the time I had served six years there--and I think by an impartial analysis was regarded as a very effective legislator--I looked at the situation very coldly and thought, "There is no way I am ever going to be Speaker of the House. There is no way I am ever going to be President of the Senate. So what shall I do now?" And I thought, "Well now I'll run for the next office, the highest office that is available," and that was the Secretary of State's position.

When I announced that I was going to run, the Women's Political Caucus, which was largely made up of Democrats, sent a delegation to me and said, "If you run for this office, we want you to know that we are committed to you, and we will support you regardless of what man of either party or woman of either party runs against you." And I knew with their support, I would win. I went into every saw mill in the state of Oregon, every manufacturing plant.

I was in 145 parades--three in one day, 800 miles apart. And everywhere I went women--young women, old women, fat women, skinny women, working women, professional women, and homemakers--would come up to me and say, "I think it's wonderful that you are doing this and I will help you."

The women's movement was at its zenith the year that I was elected, and I know that that's what got me elected. 1977 was a big year for all of us, because that was the year that we all went to Houston. I found that so exciting and so exhilarating that the first thing I did when I got home was to dictate a codicil to my will which still is in existence. And it reads simply, "After payment of all my debts, please reserve enough to engrave a tombstone which reads, "Here lies Norma Paulus, devoted wife, loving mother, who went to Houston in '77."

When I became Secretary of State, there were more and more women running for offices--for the legislature, county commissioner, city commissioner, even the court system. And in 1977 more women came to the legislature. They were still tightly knit as a group and they dealt with battered wives, displaced homemakers, spouse rape, all kinds of bills. But in that year, there was a young conservative Democrat who was captured by the Eagle Forum. And when he was running, he had promised them that he would introduce a bill to rescind the Equal Rights Amendment, and he did so. There was much consternation when we picked up this bill, which would attempt to rescind our ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. And we were overreacting to it until finally the woman, Mrs. Fadeley, who attended the first conference with me said, "Don't worry, leave it to me." And she went to the Speaker and asked him to send that bill to her committee, which he did. She took it into committee, changed the word "rescind" to "reaffirm", sent it back to the House,

and it passed with flying colors. I think we are the only legislature in the United States to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment not once, but twice.

In the last two sessions, we have elected more women to the legislature. We now have, because of our networking influence, more women appointed to boards and commissions than any other time in our history. The present governor is committed to making that at least 50%. Because we learned to be supportive of each other, we were able to get one of our women appointed to a federal judgeship. We have gotten a woman appointed, for the first time in the history of the state of Oregon, to the Supreme Court. First we got her appointed to the Court of Appeals and then to the Supreme Court. She is so powerful that no man has dared to run against her. She is up for election, and she has a free ride in November. The present governor is appointing, as a matter of policy, women to the District Court bench so that they can start their way up the judicial ladder. The governor of the state now has as his chief executive a woman. He has appointed a woman to head the Department of Commerce and other important positions. The capitol city of Salem just elected a woman as its mayor for the first time in history.

That mayoral election proved another thing: we have come a long way in 10 years, because the woman ran against another woman. In the last 3 or 4 years we have been seeing more and more of that in our state--women competing against each other for political positions. I remember 10 years ago at this conference someone pointed out to me that we will have made great strides when that occurs. We have done that in Oregon; that's the good news.

The bad news is that while we have more women in the legislature now, we have some who are non-feminists and will not support women's causes. They are more conservative than the men that they replaced. We also do not have

commitment among the women in the legislature to really work on women's issues. We discussed the reason for that last night. Barbara Roberts says that one of the reasons is that at the time we had such solidarity in '73 and '75, and to a large degree in '77, and made such sweeping changes, there was a focal point--something to hold us together, to bring us together--and that's certainly true. But there is another reason--the younger women coming up don't understand that things haven't always been this way.

When I speak at high schools, I find it unnerving to talk to seniors--girls in high school--they think that women have always been featured on the sports pages for their athletic endeavors. And I remember the exact day that occurred in my hometown. It was 1975. There are women in the press who are very young who are working up to anchor women on the nightly news and assume it has always been that way. They don't know that what has gone on has gone on in a relatively short time--at least in our state. And they are not willing to pay their dues to the women's movement because they see no reason for it.

The other bit of bad news is that it is still as hard as ever for women candidates to raise money. And, if you have not already done so, I would like to make a couple of suggestions to you. Go back to your states and push for two bills, if you don't already have them. The first one is a bill to limit campaign spending. We had a campaign spending limitation bill in our state. It was thrown out as being unconstitutional. Now one of the women who is travelling with me is a member of the Oregon House of Representatives; her husband is in the Senate. He has come up with the most innovative way to have a constitutional limit on spending, and I hope that it is successful. But work on campaign spending limitation bills, because that will help us. It will also help us if you work to have very strict campaign contribution and

expenditure reporting. We have found that such reporting has a dampening effect in our state on building campaign chests from particular special interest groups, and that helps women.

Also, if you have not done so, ask your state to adopt a version of our tax credit law. We give tax credits against our state income tax for political contributions, and that helps women candidates. It helps the average person on the street to put a nickel on the horse and whoever has a nickel on the horse is going to yell louder. It's good for politics because it brings more people into it, but it is very good for women.

Start going to the organized women's groups. I helped the Business and Professional Women in our state who are traditionally not very aggressive, not very militant. I helped them form their first political action committee so that they could collect money and expend money for women candidates. Work with those traditional women's groups. It takes a combination of the younger, more militant voices, combined with the respectability of those traditional women's groups to make it work. That is the key to our success in Oregon.

I think it is possible to raise money if you have the laws changed. But then, of course, I just found out last night that one woman here spent \$150,000 in her race for a seat as an assemblywoman in California. That's an extraordinary amount of money for someone who comes from a state with a small population like mine. In six years of serving in the Oregon House I think I spent a total of \$9,500. But, of course, running a statewide race, it takes a quarter of a million dollars, at least.

Lastly, I would like to make a statement about the Equal Rights Amendment. I agree totally with Martha's analysis of the situation last night, and I am so glad we arrived here in time to hear her speak. But I do think that one of

the reasons that we have not been successful and that it will take a miracle to bring it about by June 30 is because, from the beginning of the women's movement which started in the late '60's and early '70's here in the eastern seaboard, we alienated and intimidated the homemaker, and that was our most serious mistake. And when we start the battle over again, one of the first things we should do is to reassure them and let them know that the Equal Rights Amendment will do more for them than it will do for women like you and me. We must bring them into the fold in order to finally have our way with the Equal Rights Amendment.

I do not believe that it is men who are keeping the Equal Rights Amendment from passing. I believe it is the women of this country because if the women of this country, and particularly those that are still in that traditional role, were clamoring like we are, then we would be united. But we must find ways to reassure them and bring them into our efforts.

I thank you very much for listening. It's an absolute joy to be here. I am looking forward to the rest of the conference and I would like to give you an invitation. In Oregon we used to say, "Please come visit, but don't stay." Our economy is so bad that we are changing our tactics. Please come to Oregon. We would love to have you move there. If you have a business, we would love to have it. You'll find us much easier to deal with in that regard and you won't find us nearly as arrogant as we have been in the last decade.

I have forgotten to tell you a very important part of our move for success in Oregon with women's bills and also the Equal Rights Amendment. When I told you that in 1977 there was a move afoot to rescind our ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and it came from that group called the Eagle

Forum, we received word that they were flying Phyllis Schlafly in to speak on the issue. We sent her a telegram which said, "If you set foot in our borders, we are going to set your hair afire." Now, I don't know if she ever got the message, but I do know that she has never been within the borders of the State of Oregon.

Norma Paulus, Oregon's elected Secretary of State since 1976, entered public life in 1970 when she was elected to the first of her three terms in the state's House of Representatives. She is now in her second term as Secretary of State, having received more votes than any other candidate in the 1980 general election. She is a Republican. As Secretary of State, she has streamlined, reorganized and modernized the office. As chief elections officer she has actively pushed for reform, including consolidating the number of election days and inspiring a state-wide effort to get out the vote. As State Auditor, she has demanded strict accountability from state agencies. As a State Land Board Member she is seeking to generate maximum revenues from public lands and waterways for the Common School Fund. Paulus was born in Nebraska and moved to Oregon with her family at the age of five. Financial hardship prevented her from attending college, but after working as a legal secretary, she was accepted into Willamette Law School, where she graduated and passed the State Bar exam in 1962. She practiced as an appellate lawyer until her election as Secretary of State. Paulus serves on the Willamette University Board of Trustees and the board of directors of the Benedictine Foundation of Oregon. She attended CAWP's 1972 Conference for Women State Legislators.

HON. ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON *

I must say to you first what a special pleasure and privilege it is for me to be here with you--to be among women who have learned to live with the boys, and fight with the boys, and cooperate with the boys, without becoming one of the boys. Indeed, the Center for the American Woman and Politics and Ruth Mandel and her able staff must surely know that this event will probably, as history is rendered, be among those events that is recorded. If the Center continues to have these conferences every 10 years, perhaps we can be sure that every 10 years something good will happen to women in state legislatures--like tripling and quadrupling their numbers.

During the past 15 years, every woman in this room has been a participant in a historic change of worldwide proportions. Whether feminist or not, women in public life are deeply implicated in the extraordinary change in the status of women that in our time has been sweeping the world from New York to Nairobi. Even more than other women's rights advocates and activities, public women, because they operate on a public stage, have been acting out the new status of women with irreversible impact. To be sure, public women are not all public officials. But public officials loom especially large among them, because women who serve in elected capacities bear the unique stamp of the people. For public officials, if not for other public women, a vote of confidence has been rendered from the people through the democratic process.

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Public officials, but not always other public women, represent men and women in equal measure; yet public officials more than other public women will bear a disproportionate burden of the leadership necessary to get our country through a period of unprecedented change in American life.

I want to speak to you this evening about the very special role I believe that you as state legislators, in particular, can play in helping the nation accommodate to this change. I believe you are in a commanding position to offer leadership on many of the most difficult issues of this decade for two reasons. First, your pivotal elective role, as state legislators at a time when power is gravitating toward the states, places you close enough to the people to offer them leadership on issues that range from rearrangements within the family to rearrangements in many of the practices and institutions in society itself. Second, I believe this may well be the decade of the emergence of the woman in politics, making you ideal people to take up many of the new issues of our time.

Much of what I shall be saying about your special role derives from my working hypothesis that the 1980's will see the flowering of women in politics. To be sure, we applaud loudly the increase in elected women at every level, and especially in pivotal state legislative roles that often have the greatest influence on the daily lives of our people. But we have not yet seen anything approaching significant numbers of women at any level of political life. The 1970's marked not the rise of the woman politician, but the rise of the influence of women as a political force. In the 1970's we saw politicians of every stripe recognize that, diverse as they are, women constitute a discrete constituency. Politicians became responsive to this constituency by embracing many female concerns from the appointment of women to important posts, now

including the U. S. Supreme Court, to the support of the Equal Rights Amendment, a measure that is failing because of the veto of a minority, not for lack of definitive majority support.

But the deference elected leaders increasingly pay to women as a constituency has not yet been matched by the emergence of women in significant numbers who hold elective office and elective power. That, I believe, could well happen in this decade. And if it does, it is likely to break loose in the offices closest to the people. Those of us who look for the emergence of women in politics must watch the state legislatures, for these are the places where solid political careers of exceptional influence may be built. And, of course, these are the places that are the breeding grounds for other state, local and national offices.

Much as I believe this period is especially ripe for the ascendancy of women in politics, I must also say I see nothing inevitable about it. The rise of women in politics will occur, I believe, not because we are women, and not because we are woefully underrepresented, but because women can bring the missing leadership not now being provided on important issues. The leadership vacuum in this country on virtually every important issue from the survival of the earth to the health of the family has become especially serious. With the old order and the old values in decline, and with no clear sense of what is to replace them, the American people are without the essential guidance they enjoyed in prior periods. In twentieth century America, moral, social and economic leadership has most often come from government officials who could bring government to bear to tackle the people's problems--the healing of economic problems, the legalization of workers' rights to organize and bargain, the necessity to bar racism, the moral

underpinning for war, or as in Vietnam, the immorality of war. The list is very long. Yet, today, government itself is maligned as a part of the problem. It will be necessary for new leadership to restore and enhance the credibility of government so that it may provide the leadership to address the new and unprecedented problems of modern America.

This challenge presents an extraordinary opportunity. Women in elective office, especially those who are close enough to the people to see and feel their searching, are critically placed. Elected women are less apt to be tied to the policies and the vision of the past and thus are freer to grasp the challenges of the future. These challenges are more difficult than before. A generation ago our problems were difficult but they were clear. Today our challenges are diffused and cloudy.

Twenty years ago racism was intact but it brought forth extraordinary leadership. The Vietnam conflict was in its infancy, but it too was to be rescued by leadership, both moral and political. In the 1960's, Americans were genuinely surprised to learn that almost a quarter of their number, including in 1960 the majority of all black Americans, were poor, and they looked for and got leadership from government to resolve the dilemma of widespread poverty in an affluent society. And, of course in the 1960's, sexism was ubiquitous and virtually unchallenged until women pressed women's rights in the closing years of the decade. There they were laid out--racism, poverty, war, sexism--ripe for fresh leadership and new ideas. No generation of political and government leaders before or since has come to consciousness on the crest of more fertile challenges.

What needed to be done seemed clear in the last generation. The 1980's

present no such illusion of clear choices. The glorious causes have receded. Shades of grey have replaced the solid blacks and whites of the 1960's and 1970's. A new administration insists that the answers to society's problems lie outside of government. New solutions elude discovery. Yet, without the great call to arms, without the glory of righteous warfare on injustice, without the easy choices between apparent good and seeming evil, you must pursue problems it was easier to attack before than it will be to solve now. For it cannot be denied that this country and its people are in a great transition phase in their history. We lack the coherent view of the world we have had in earlier periods when, with our unequalled economic and military strength, we ruled the world. Values in our own country and conditions in the world have changed more quickly and more markedly than ever before. The post-World War II world has been blown away by the brisk winds of consummate change. Nothing is the way it was, not the family or any of its members; not work or authority; not marriage or morality; and not America or her place in the world. We are a nation on a difficult search for new ideas, new values and new leadership to replace the old order that was swept away in the 60's and the 70's.

Can the leadership of women help the nation get its moorings? Why women any more than anyone else?

To be sure, leadership during this period will come from many quarters. But women may be in an especially good position to lead because change in women's status has elicited change in areas far removed from women themselves. Thus women have had to come to grips with and have learned to cope with change in an especially compelling way.

The fact is that the rapid change in women's roles has made life more complicated for women themselves and for everyone they touch--which is, after all, everybody. Whatever else the sexual hierarchy meant, it afforded a simpler way to order a society. Assigned roles, reflexive postures, inflexible expectations, sex-limited goals--all served to make life more predictable, to repress desires at odds with the established order and to enforce stability. What has changed all of this is not the directions taken by men, whose lives have changed too little, or even the new roles inserted into childhood and adolescence, which have changed much more. The central change in our society during the past 20 years has been in women, and through them, in the way society relates to men, women and children.

Such wholesale change inevitably has large and unsettling consequences even when it originates with smaller and less pervasive groups. Black change over the past 20 years has had an effect on America all out of proportion with the black presence in the population. This may be because the racial ingredient in American life and history has so often exposed profound and universal themes such as equality and justice. If the experience of barely 10 percent of the population can radiate such large effects, change in women's roles cannot help but magnify the alterations in American life underway today.

Twenty years ago we could say with Simone de Beauvoir, "The free woman is just being born." Today she has become a force. In the process, the wonderful coherence of our initial drive against sexism and toward an egalitarian society has scattered as we have cracked open the most stony impediments to equality. What remains is an untidy assortment of what used to be, what is becoming and what has just been formed.

Nothing we have done has been as successful as the spread of the support for the change women have brought among the people as a whole. It took blacks nearly 50 years from the founding of the Niagara movement and the NAACP to the 1954 Supreme Court decision in the Brown case to pierce the iron veil of racism. And when it happened, it was not the act of the people but of the most aloof of our democratic institutions, the Supreme Court. In contrast, the ridiculed feminist vanguard of the late 1960's had been embraced by the American people by the mid-1970's. Whether avowedly feminist or not, the American people have voted in the way that counts--with wholesale alterations in lifestyle and attitude emanating from and designed to accommodate change in women's roles. This can be seen in deep changes in family life, in the work force, in who gets educated and trained for what, in the roles of children and their relationship to their parents and, of course, in the roles of men. These changes are both unsettled and unsettling. But considering the major departure from ancient tradition they represent, they have taken place with a most remarkable acceptance by the American people.

Moreover, an extraordinary consensus, embracing continuing change in women's status, continues to build. A remarkable 85 percent of family members believe that even when women have families they should have the same opportunities to work and develop careers as men. The support for women's freedom, for ERA, for equal job and education opportunities, for choice and for all the changes necessary to assure women's equality has continued to grow. As late as 1970, only a minority even of women registered approval of efforts to strengthen the status of women. Just a few years later, more than two-thirds of women and just as many men favored such efforts.

This rapidly developing consensus has been especially impressive because it has remained steadfast during a period of increasingly shrill outcry on women's issues from organized reactionaries who yearn for simpler times.

Yet, the contradictions of this success have proved frustrating, a result that may well call forth new and different leadership. The consensus for women's freedom has had no effect upon the widening wage gap. The majority for women's equality has not produced a coherent and caring system of child care for families and for the women who society has encouraged to work. The equal rights majority has failed in the attempt to gain the constitutional majority the ERA requires.

The mixed results confuse and confound. The nation is buoyed by its success in accommodating deep change and bedeviled by its failure to produce satisfactory solutions. The fact is that women have set in motion events and ideas that swirl throughout the society with breathtaking speed, penetrating corners and havens organized feminists have never been and shall never see. Before their ideas and demands were avant-garde; today these same ideas have assumed forms vaporous enough to reach the deep interiors of the most protected parts of the society. Small towns and hidden suburbs do not always articulate feminist notions. But the wives work and the daughters have expanded views of their possibilities. Family responsibilities are being dramatically altered, and the men and the boys have accepted the tradewinds of change. There is no safe harbor for the old view of woman and womanhood or, for that matter, for the old view of many of the most basic institutions of this society.

But the passing of the traditional woman, of the traditional family and of many other mainstays of our society places a special burden on this

generation of leadership. No change of the magnitude underway is accomplished painlessly. Ralph Ellison is right that we must pay for change. Some women, men and children will be caught in the transition; some will emerge less than whole. Most will look around for guidance. They will look first to those they trust, to those close to them, to those who enjoy the people's confidence. They will often look first to the women in this room. The rise of the woman in American politics may well be tied to whatever special sensitivity and leadership women, and especially women public officials, have to offer as Americans pass through the unsettling transition that characterizes our time.

At this great transition moment of change on so many fundamental matters, women public officials, I think, should see themselves as endowed with a special mission--a mission for their generation. The generation of Americans that lived in the last quarter of the 18th century defined the character of our great governing institutions. The generation that shaped the 1930's redefined the relationship between the individual and the state to include shared responsibility to relieve human suffering. My generation of black students from the 1960's, I believe it fair to say, redefined what it means to be black in America, and because of the omnipresence and centrality of race in the American experience, partially redefined what it means to be American as well. I believe that women elected to represent the people today can be the vanguard of the new leadership needed for this period in American life. This new leadership must help replace what in the last generation fell because of inequality and injustice and sheer inadequacy. This leadership must help America build new and diverse and durable life styles, individual roles and institutional responses.

If this seems a large order to put on the plates of women state legislators, I can only urge you not to underestimate yourselves. Simply look around you at the leadership your male counterparts at every level of government are providing. In moments of doubt and days of searching remember who you are, what your marvelous potential is, and what you and perhaps only you can do to make us all feel once again that we are a nation of women and men determined, vital, energetic, modern, liberated and caring.

Eleanor Holmes Norton was the first woman to chair the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, holding that position from 1977 to 1981. She was responsible for administration of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the Equal Pay Act, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, and Section 501 of the Rehabilitation Act covering handicapped individuals. She is a foremost authority on domestic issues including affirmative action, comparable worth, employer-employee relations, and the concerns of women and minorities. Educated at Antioch College, Yale Graduate School, and Yale Law School, Ms. Norton is currently professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center in Washington. She has also been chairperson of the New York City Commission on Human Rights. She has co-authored a book, Sex Discrimination and the Law: Causes and Remedies, and is now writing a book about the development and impact of anti-discrimination and affirmative action remedies in an effort to clarify public understanding.

A SCHOLAR'S PERSPECTIVE

An Essay by Carol Mueller

Center for Research on Women

Wellesley College

INTRODUCTION

Physicists and mathematicians speak of a "critical point" at which a dramatic transformation occurs in the character or properties of a physical entity corresponding to changes in temperature or magnitude. Similarly, sociologists refer to the "emergent" properties of groups and organizations when they grow beyond a critical size. By 1982 and the Tenth Anniversary Conference for Women State Legislators on Cape Cod, the presence of women had reached a critical stage in the majority of state legislatures. The number of women in state legislatures had tripled since the advent of the contemporary women's movement in 1970. By 1982, women made up ten percent or more of state lawmakers in sixty percent of the states. In fourteen percent of the states, they comprised more than twenty percent. Women were now visible collectively. No longer could they be identified as isolated tokens or as occasional aberrations in the natural male order.

Twenty years ago, Frieda Gehlen observed that the eleven women of the 88th Congress "...seem to deliberately shun the idea of being considered a bloc."* By 1982 there had been a dramatic change in the way that women in Congress and the state legislatures felt about their identification with other women officials. Increasingly, they recognized that the experience of officeholding is different for women and men. From the recognition of

*Gehlen, Frieda L. "Women in Congress." Transaction, Vol. 6 (October 1969), pp. 36-40.

differences in experience has developed the widespread sense of membership in a minority accompanied by varying perceptions of exclusion or "not being taken seriously." Where this collective sense of group membership has emerged, women no longer shun the idea of joining together as women legislators for social and/or political reasons.

There are now enough women in state legislatures to raise a new set of questions regarding the collective mobilization and utilization of power and influence by women officeholders. These questions go beyond the issues of the early seventies, when the focus was primarily on overcoming traditional stereotypes about the role of women in politics. Old issues related to discriminatory treatment by colleagues and party officials surfaced rarely at the conference. The questions addressed by the 1982 conference focused instead on a central issue for the eighties: how will the new critical mass of women legislators maximize their collective and individual effectiveness?

The questions raised are no easier to answer than those of the early seventies. Among the new questions are: How can women organize within legislatures without alienating their male allies and colleagues? How can organizations of women legislators develop in states where there are competing loyalties to strong parties? What forms of organizing will help women who are in office to develop and to maintain a sense of mutual responsibility, to pass legislation that is responsive to women's needs, and to achieve positions of legislative leadership?

This essay describes the diverse organizational strategies that have evolved to meet the needs of women legislators in a variety of state political environments. It also includes the author's personal evaluation of the advantages and disadvantages of these strategies.

Data for the report are drawn primarily from the transcripts of workshops, panels and speeches at the 1982 Cape Cod Conference. Also useful were the observations of two veteran male legislators attending the Conference. In addition, the report reflects the author's personal observations and conversations with conference participants. Although direct quotations are used frequently in the report to let conference participants speak in their own words, individual names have been omitted because of the sensitive and personal nature of the discussions.

ORGANIZING IN DIVERSE STATE CONTEXTS

As women legislators have joined together, three issues have been crucial in influencing the form that collective efforts have taken in any given state. The first issue is the perception that women have of how their male colleagues will react to an organized bloc of women in the legislature. The question here is how vulnerable women feel and whether vulnerability leads to a strong collective effort or to a more individualistic response. A second issue concerns the strength of partisanship in the legislature. The question is how collective identification with women legislators and women's issues can coexist with competing party loyalties. This issue, in turn, raises the question of what women's issues are and whether they transcend party lines. Finally, in some states, deep divisions among women legislators have developed due to previous battles over issues like the ERA and abortion. The question here is whether strategies exist which will overcome these deep divisions. As these three issues are worked out, a characteristic collective solution tends to emerge in each state.

Vulnerability and Perceptions of Male Colleagues

Ten years ago, women legislators related primarily as individuals to overwhelmingly male legislatures. They negotiated these relationships with whatever social skills and personal competence they brought to public life. If it was considered problematic to be a woman in an overwhelmingly male environment, it was a personal issue to be handled privately. Now that the number of women has reached a critical stage in the majority of legislatures, relationships with the male majority are no longer treated as a personal or a private matter. Whether women choose to work through formal caucuses, informal networks or personally constructed coalitions is strongly influenced by their relationships with male colleagues. The success of these collective efforts, in turn, has its own impact on relationships with male allies and the male legislative leadership.

Under these circumstances, the choice of collective strategies revolves around the issue of group visibility. Do women legislators feel they can publicly and collectively support women's issues and openly coordinate their efforts as a network or caucus without inviting negative sanctions? When a participant from Arizona was asked whether her male colleagues would be threatened by a female caucus, she laughed and replied, "No, their egos are much too secure." Nevertheless, in several states, women have not organized formally because of their apprehensions about the response from their male colleagues. There is widespread uneasiness about "waving a red flag" or "ruffling too many feathers" by becoming too visible as a bloc of women legislators. This feeling was expressed by several delegates from California who felt that their group should remain informal. One California delegate explained this preference as a logical consequence of their limited

numbers--two senators (out of forty) and ten representatives (out of eighty). She felt California women legislators might be ready for a more visible role when their numbers got larger. At the time of the conference, their collective solution emphasized a low profile with informal, evening get-togethers away from the capitol and an issue-by-issue approach to legislation based on ad hoc coalitions.

Apprehensions about male sanctions constrain collective identification and organization in some situations; yet, in states where confrontations over gender issues have come out into the open, women have experienced a greater sense of solidarity. One delegate described such a situation in Minnesota:

The one issue in our legislature on which you really see the women pitted against the men is the issue of divorce. We had a bill this session which dealt with permanent maintenance awards. We had a court decision that said you couldn't give permanent maintenance no matter what the woman's health or financial condition. So, we had a bill to reverse that and it was the only time in my six years in the legislature in which I had seen such unanimity and strong feeling among women. Things like battered women and child abuse; those are things that a lot of men will support because it's public sentiment there, but on that bill we saw such viciousness by men who had previously on other issues been our friends. I think it was a very galvanizing experience...

A similar episode occurred over spousal rape in the California Assembly. The first year it came up, "...the men were going on and on. The next year when it came up it passed." While working on landmark legislation on strip-searching in Illinois, members of the Conference of Women Legislators (COWL) found that their male colleagues would not co-sponsor the bill, but eventually they did vote for it.

Such confrontations seem to occur on issues where public sentiment has not previously crystallized, and male legislators find themselves responding

personally without the guidance of constituent preferences, party, ideology or coalition loyalties. Most of these incidents are temporary conflicts which appear to be tempered with time and with the redefinition of issues along traditional political lines. In the past, incidents such as these were important factors leading to the creation of caucuses in states such as Oregon and Maryland.

Although the small number and proportion of women seems largely responsible for the sense of vulnerability in California, there is also a reticence about creating a visible, collective presence among women in some southern and southwestern states where either the number or proportion of women is larger. In these states, it is the political or cultural climate which seems to make women apprehensive about challenging their male colleagues. Collective strategies are similarly low-profile in these states.

This apprehension contrasts sharply with women's feelings in states where they have collectively established their credibility as a political force among male colleagues. In those states, women legislators felt that they enjoyed more respect collectively as women. The question of respect seemed related to their willingness to become collectively associated with controversy--one of the most visible ways of attempting to exercise influence. The complexity of the strands relating respect, credibility, animosity and controversy was indicated in the observations of one male legislator:

They are credible and I think people accept it...they have been very successful because they knew what they wanted and they knew they couldn't get all they wanted.. [They] worked it out so they got as much as they could and improved their situation.

Yet this ideal combination of coordinated pressure, partial victories and growing credibility is not the whole picture. This observer also acknow-

ledged that:

...taking a position on controversial issues doesn't necessarily mean that you are going to arouse animosity but I can tell you when the other side doesn't agree with you, then--people have done this in the [legislature] -- various groups will impugn a lot of the women legislators. They impugn their motives and start going into personalities.

Willingness to withstand such animosity as well as controversy were linked with winning credibility and collegial acceptance. These comments were similar to advice offered by another male legislative leader: "If you have a political force, don't be afraid to use it and don't be too concerned that you may offend a few people in so doing."

Competing Loyalties of Party

Partisanship is the second major factor influencing the form of organizing in a state. It is the critical factor that inhibits the development of formal caucuses in states like Minnesota and Maine where party loyalties are very strong. In largely Democratic states like Massachusetts and Maryland which had the first caucuses, partisanship was not an issue. A founder of the Maryland caucus said, "We didn't realize we should have any difficulties. The question of parties never came up." In caucus states with strong parties, however, strict bipartisanship has been the rule. In Illinois, there are always two co-convenors of COWL, one from each major party. An Illinois delegate noted, "Bipartisanship is the glue that holds us together." A delegate from North Carolina also pointed out that it is the unity of bipartisanship which increases their leverage with the legislative leadership.

While bipartisanship unifies women in many states and proves an effective lobbying tool in others, in some states it hasn't worked. A Minnesota delegate felt that they were "more broken down by parties" than most of the

states represented at the Conference and a Maine delegate found the talk of bipartisanship "euphoric." She felt:

You could say most issues are women's issues or you could say most issues affect the pocketbook. AFDC-- you could say it's a women's issue but the split [in Maine] was broken down by party lines.

She concluded, "We're not a caucus oriented state. We're a partisan state, and we love our political parties."

Despite widespread bipartisanship among women in coalitions and caucuses, there was an undercurrent of feeling at the Conference suggesting that the issues of the eighties would increasingly be economic issues. As described so graphically by the delegate from Maine, these are the issues that most severely strain bipartisanship.

Battle Scars Over Issue Differences

Although women legislators in most states seem to draw strength from collective identification, this is not always the case. The third factor that strongly influences the form of organizational strategy is the history of political differences between women legislators over specific issues. In a few states such as Colorado, Florida and Nevada, the wounds from ERA battles or differences in beliefs are too deep to overcome in even informal gatherings. A Florida legislator remembered that the only occasions for which all of the women legislators in her state would come together were those held by the wives of lobbyists. If a group of women legislators called a meeting, most others would not come. In the Florida legislature, it has proven impossible to discuss issues of domestic violence or child abuse with some women legislators. Their own beliefs as well as those of their fundamentalist constituents lead them to consider the discussion of these issues

an illegitimate government intrusion into private, domestic life.

Although strong differences such as these can prevent organizing in some states, in other states strategies have evolved for dealing with controversial issues. Usually this is handled by following a consensus rule. Caucuses support only legislation for which wide support has developed among women in the legislature. In the early stages of a caucus, this may mean unanimity. A Maryland delegate explained:

Originally, when we first started, we didn't take a position on any issue unless it was a unanimous position. We knew that to begin with we had to develop a feeling of cohesiveness among the women themselves so we were very careful and worked on very few issues the first few years.

Now, the Maryland caucus requires that only two-thirds of caucus members support a position on an issue. In most states, unanimity is not necessary or possible.

The price of following a consensus rule is that some issues cannot be considered. In Illinois, COWL "...was formed on the basis of trying to come together on some issues knowing that we were very separate on the ERA and abortion." In Massachusetts, where a state ERA as well as the federal amendment had passed by the mid-seventies, abortion-related issues are not considered. Yet in some states the battles (particularly over the ERA) have been too bitter for joint efforts. A Missouri legislator noted that in her state:

Many have not learned yet the secret that the men have-- and that is, there are some issues that we can get together on and there are some that we can't, and we shouldn't be labeling each other.

She felt there are still issues you can get together on no matter how bitterly you fought over another issue.

While issue consensus was widely regarded as the most effective response to controversial questions, there were a few delegates who disagreed. Legislators from non-caucus states pointed out that they were not compromised by the consensus rule and were free to build coalitions on controversial issues. Another criticism came from a male legislative leader. He felt that the women's caucus in his state had failed in its responsibility because of an emphasis on consensus. "When human social services are curtailed, it's really the women and children who get hurt." Yet, he maintained, "...the women's caucus has left it to the black caucus and the urban caucus." Clearly, women in some states have chosen not to organize because of their differences over economic issues like these, while in other states organized efforts proceed on other issues. The male leader argued, however, that taking positions on controversial issues was the key to gaining positions of legislative leadership. Avoiding controversy, he maintained, reduced women's chances of becoming leaders.

As alternative responses were proposed to these and other questions at the Conference, the great diversity of political environments within the states was reemphasized. It also became clear that an organizational structure that made sense in one state might be unfeasible or even counterproductive in another. It became apparent that, while there was almost universal commitment to the most effective and responsible use of the power increasingly available to women legislators, a variety of organizational solutions tailored to specific state needs was essential.

TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS

Although some women in most states still choose to "go it alone," many women legislators have joined together for moral support, relaxation, personal development, exchange of information, and the pursuit of common political goals. A wide variety of organizational forms have emerged to meet these diverse needs in the context of widely differing state conditions. These range from the informal networks based frequently on social get-togethers to formal, staffed caucuses. In a majority of states represented at the Conference, formal and informal organizations exist side by side and reinforce each other. In other states, there are strong reservations about bringing informal ties out into the open. In a few states, the divisions between women legislators have been too great to overcome by any type of collective identification as women.

Informal Social Networks

Informal groupings drawn together by social occasions are still the most prevalent form of organizing and are not incompatible with a more formal, politically focused organization. The frequency of these social occasions ranges from the semi-annual "socials" in Minnesota to monthly dinner meetings in California, bi-weekly breakfasts in Missouri and weekly luncheons in Connecticut, Illinois and Iowa. These occasions not only provide opportunities to relax and to hear an informative speaker, but--if held frequently enough--also foster a sense of collective responsibility among women legislators. The bonds that develop from such occasions can help to overcome the differences that might otherwise divide women on the basis of party, geography or seniority.

The informal ties between women that are established through social occasions meet a variety of needs. The most general of these is the need for social support. As an Iowa legislator explained, "Very rarely do we march out and collect votes as a group, but we try to be supportive of each other." Even in caucus states, the support function remains of paramount importance. One of the founders of Women Legislators of Maryland described the importance of their caucus as a support group:

I relate very well to the other women in the Maryland General Assembly and I think it's very much due to the fact that we have a caucus which brings us together, helps us deal with each other as freinds and as cohorts and as competitors, because on many, many issues on the floor, we are competitors. Its only when we're dealing with women's issues that we are almost unanimously dedicated to the result we are trying to obtain.

Similar comments were made by delegates from Illinois and Massachusetts.

In a more specific way, social support can provide junior members with an opportunity to find compatible mentors. An experienced legislator from Connecticut observed:

We have a lot of new, young women representatives who came in just two years ago. And I know that when I was a freshman, I needed some help. Fortunately, _____ had been there, who is a colleague of mine, and _____ has always been very good in lending a hand. But, there are not enough women like her and I wanted to be able to be helpful to these young women coming in, in any way that I could.

Social support is also important when an individual woman experiences a personal or political crisis. A legislator from Oregon indicated the importance of supporting a member of their House who had just had a baby:

...she brought the baby with her and brought a person to care for the baby. The baby was in her office and stayed with her all day; she was still nursing the child. It caused a good deal of controversy in our state, in particular in the capitol press. And so the women of the caucus

of the House met--there are 19 of us--and we made her female child the 20th member of our caucus and presented her with a gift and did this whole thing to show our support. And even our most conservative women in the House...were very supportive of her having her child with her.

In Iowa and Massachusetts, women legislators have gone beyond the regularly scheduled social occasions or caucus meetings to hold weekend retreats. These are not only opportunities to get to know each other better on an individual basis, but also a chance to focus on concerns that are broader than particular pieces of legislation or committee appointments. One Massachusetts legislator described their retreat as a time of "real soul searching." In Iowa, the experience was even more intensive. As one participant described it:

We went off to one member's home last summer for a three day retreat. We hired ourselves a consultant and sat around and talked about the kind of power we think we exercise. We tried to give each other some feedback about ways we thought another person could be more effective, give each other support. So personal development, development as a legislator is something that we tried to focus on.

Other delegates had been to seminars run by the Women's Political Caucus for more specific goals such as learning campaign skills. There was a general feeling, however, that women could be more open with each other under special circumstances away from the statehouse with only other women legislators present.

The common denominator in all of the social occasions that bring women lawmakers together as women is still one of gaining some collective strength through a group identity. A legislator from Maine told of how some women in their legislature get together occasionally in "ambience oriented" gatherings just to make the point that "...it's no longer an old boys' club. The women are not interested in choosing the license plate color."

Because the defining characteristic of a social network is its informality, criteria for membership are often poorly defined. If the network does not clearly indicate that all women are welcome, some women may feel needlessly excluded. One legislator from a midwestern state considered herself a traditional homemaker. She felt excluded from the informal network of women in her legislature because of her position on abortion. "They just don't want you to come because you have got to agree with them on those issues or else you're not a part of it." She felt that she had "come a long way" in her understanding of women's issues since she had become involved in politics and could learn a lot more.

Despite the feeling of exclusion by a few women and the occasional deep divisions that remain in some legislatures, in many states the social reasons for getting together blend into the political as information is exchanged on the status of pending bills, of committee assignments and of shifting alliances and coalitions. In several states these informal networks have already developed a more explicitly political function by taking group positions on selected bills, developing group strategies and working out a division of labor in managing bills on the floor.

Organizing Politically

A wide range of organizational strategies have evolved for collective action on legislation affecting women. They essentially fall into two types--ad hoc coalitions and formal caucuses. There were widely differing opinions among participants on the relative advantages and disadvantages of the two types of organization. Although some differences were voiced within state delegations, a consensus on preferred organizational strategies usually

prevailed within each state. Thus, the differences between the states in this respect seemed to be due more to the state characteristics described above-- perceptions of male colleagues, party loyalties and the history of previous political battles--than to individual preferences.

Maryland and Massachusetts have long had formal caucuses with staff, office space and intern programs which permit routine review of all legislation and a state-wide focal point for women's issues. Both Kansas and Oregon have had formal caucuses which have recently become less active and more informal. Illinois has now had a formal caucus for four years and newer caucuses or "quasi-caucuses" have emerged more recently in Connecticut, Georgia, Iowa, North Carolina and Vermont.

Despite the increasing popularity of the formal caucus, participants from California, Colorado, Florida, Maine and Minnesota argued that more legislation for women could be passed in their states without formal ties between women legislators. Some legislators from Maine and Minnesota also saw little need for formal or informal organization among women legislators as a prerequisite for passing legislation. They felt they could get stronger support from their male colleagues by taking up issues on an ad hoc basis and forming coalitions one issue at a time. An unspoken assumption in these states seems to be that there are overwhelming political liabilities when women's concerns are visibly identified as "women's issues." Thus, ad hoc coalitions are the preferred organizational strategy in states where women feel politically vulnerable.

AD HOC COALITIONS

Formal caucuses did not exist in almost half of the states represented at the Conference. Yet the absence of a caucus did not necessarily mean that there was no organized force within the legislature working on women's issues. A participant from Maine, for instance, reflected on not having a caucus:

I look at the kinds of legislation that we've passed in Maine. We have a bill for domestic violence; we have a bill for displaced homemakers, and I think we were second after California; we have an equal credit law. But I'm saying that just about anything that you could mention in the women's area, the family area, we have very progressive legislation in Maine.

There was similar feeling in Florida, Minnesota and California. One of Florida's legislators emphasized how much they had accomplished without a caucus:

In spite of the fact that it's a fundamentalist, Deep South, paternalistic, non-ratified state, we have passed rape reform, displaced homemakers, spouse abuse centers. We just funded additional money for spouse abuse centers, put another surcharge on marriage licenses to fund them and on and on and on.

Although no blueprint exists for passing legislation for women--with or without a caucus--coalitions are even more important in the absence of a formal organization of women. A California legislator emphasized, "Coalition building is where it's at for us. Coalition building is working better for us than a caucus would."

Building coalitions involves mobilizing of allies by individual women or by an informal group of women who decide to support or defeat a piece of legislation or course of action. In contrast to the caucus approach, individuals usually decide independently to sponsor a bill and develop support for it. A California legislator described how they work in the absence of a caucus:

What happens...is that if there is a piece of legislation, i.e. rape, we then go around and say to each female, would you [support me] if I introduce a bill...and then the two of us will go around to our respective colleagues and say, "Would you like to come....We would like to have a bloc of [supporters] that would give strength to this bill when it's introduced."

In this way, she argued, no one is taken for granted and you know whose support you have. She also felt that she should approach her female colleagues on the merits of each bill without introducing it as a women's issue. "She has to come to that conclusion herself." A Florida representative described a similar process that included male colleagues as well. In removing the state sales tax on women's hygiene products, she was able to get 85 House votes out of 120 without a debate. Her male colleagues were ready to co-sponsor rather than have the issue brought to the floor. Final Senate passage depended on attaching her bill to another tax-exemption bill for the state's largest oil transport company. She concluded, "We have to first be politicians and understand the political system and maybe we can get more done that way."

In some states, coalition building between women and their supporters on issues of concern to women has been a regular way of conducting business for many years. In other states, it has begun to happen only recently. An Arizona legislator described a recent coalition including most of the women in her legislature on a bill she co-sponsored to put a surcharge on marriage licenses for the support of battered families and abused children. The women were successful despite considerable resistance from the sponsor's own party. It was the first action that had elicited such widespread support from women legislators.

Ad hoc coalitions frequently exist in a complex network of policy-oriented organizations both inside and outside government. Usually, this

network is based on a stable support network of women's organizations outside the legislature. In Maine, a Women's Lobby has a paid, professional lobbyist who "carries the ball" on women's issues. Men are included as associate members of the Lobby. In California and Minnesota, there are strong state Commissions on the Status of Women. The commission in Minnesota provides staff support for men and women in the legislature who are part of a women's issues group. There is additional support in California from the Elected Women's Association, which includes women from every level of government throughout the state.

Coalition building is not restricted to states without legislative women's organizations. It is also a major strategy in states with formal caucuses or informal groups. Participants said that they found it was much easier to shepherd a bill through the legislature if a division of labor was decided on at the weekly luncheon meeting. In some states, a bipartisan network among women can overcome strong partisan resistance when combined with male support from one party. In Iowa, Republican women went to the Speaker and told him that Republicans should support funding of the AFDC-UP program because their party should not endorse the breakup of the family by forcing husbands to leave their wives and children. Once the leadership discovered there was a coalition of Democratic and Republican women combined with Democratic men, "They moved rapidly to get to the head of the pack." Women may also fall back on a coalition strategy in states where a caucus is losing its dynamism. This sometimes takes a formal turn when issue groups are formed around women's concerns. After considerable success throughout the seventies, the Oregon caucus has moved in this direction.

The major advantage of the coalition-building strategy is its flexibility in diverse situations where a more formal network or caucus would be politically undesirable (or unattainable even if desirable). Complete reliance on individual women to take the initiative for each piece of legislation has advantages and disadvantages, however. Because it is not necessary to maintain organizational unity, an individual can take on a controversial issue or a strongly partisan issue which might divide a caucus. On the other hand, the burden of developing arguments, following a bill through committee, lining up sponsors and building support also falls on the individual woman and her allies. When credits are built up for passing an important bill, however, it is more likely that they will go to an individual or a few women. This approach may provide more opportunities for developing a reputation for leadership. It does not seem to be a strategy that can develop credibility for women collectively.

In some states, there was a clear preference for the flexibility of ad hoc coalitions. In states where women are still strongly divided by many social and religious differences, such as Florida, building coalitions with like-minded male allies is the major strategy. In strongly partisan states like Maine and Minnesota, legislative success seems more likely when coalitions are based on party ties.

Despite the effectiveness of these ad hoc coalitions, a legislator from Kansas still felt that something was missing:

We very much need a caucus, but we feel that we have a good thing going and don't want to take a chance on disrupting it. I guess it's a more feminine diplomacy.

This feeling was also expressed by delegates from North Carolina who had just decided to become a formal caucus immediately prior to the Conference. One

North Carolina delegate said, "We decided that we did need to come out into the open because we had met sort of behind closed doors before." Ultimately, however, there was no definitive answer to the question posed by a Maine delegate, "Is it a sign of maturity that you don't have a caucus? Or does it cross the spectrum?"

THE FORMAL CAUCUSES

The caucuses are distinguished from ad hoc coalitions by their overt political goals and their formal structures. They represent a highly visible symbol of women's collective influence in state government. They also serve as pressure groups of elected public officials working within the legislatures on behalf of women's issues. Less formally, they try to increase the influence of women officials within the legislatures. The degree of formality varies from state to state.

The major question which faces formal caucuses is how to establish a united group when women differ in party affiliations and, sometimes, in their positions on issues of concern to women. Once such a group is formed, there are other questions: how to handle controversial issues; how to maximize the efforts of the caucus; how to obtain resources that will permit the caucus to function effectively. The credibility of a caucus as well as its legislative success will be influenced by all of these decisions. Credibility and success, in turn, will be major factors influencing relationships with male colleagues and the legislative leadership. The delegates from caucus states readily acknowledged that solving these problems to maintain a caucus involves some costs. Other delegates thought that the costs were too high.

Origins

The origins of the caucuses reflect clearly the importance of a critical mass of women in state legislatures. In 1975, for instance, the proportion of women in the Maryland House of Delegates went from under 6% to more than 10%. This provided the impetus and the resources for forming the Women Legislators of Maryland. The precipitant in Illinois was similar. One of the co-convenors of the Conference of Women Legislators (COWL) described the reasons for its creation in the previous legislative session:

Until that time, we felt we were small enough in numbers that we could get together on an informal basis just by going around the House and Senate floors and saying, "Come over to my apartment tonight and let's talk about this." But we now have twenty-eight women in the House and four in the Senate and so when the numbers get that large, we felt the need for something more formalized. We try to meet once a week while we're in session and go on from there later.

The importance of a critical mass was underscored by delegates from states that still have a small number of women. Several delegates from California felt that numbers were decisive. One delegate observed that when she was elected, "There were five women in our House and one Senator. Before that there had only been three. Now we are up to ten and I can see that it is easier for us to get together on a social basis." There is no magic number, however, that indicates a critical point for caucus formation. Massachusetts (with the oldest formal caucus) still had only fourteen women in both houses at the time of the Conference and had had only half that many when its caucus formed in 1973.

In other states, a caucus was formed when significant numbers combined with a crisis regarding a particular issue. In Missouri, it was a rape law:

...it was an outgrowth of just a spontaneous get-together and all of us feeling so strongly that the rape bill they were passing was not right...it was literally left in our hands.

Similarly, in North Carolina, six years of effort to revise the old common law statute on tenancy by the entirety had been held up by the chairman of the Appropriations Committee who would not allow it to come up for a vote. Knowing they had the votes on the committee and the floor, the first official (and successful) act of the new caucus was a resolution to the committee chairman supporting the bill and calling on him to let it come up.

In Missouri with twenty women and North Carolina with nineteen, critical masses of women were galvanized by these particular challenges. Thus, threat or frustration were added to the strength of numbers. The rape issue in Missouri also helped to overcome years of division and bitterness over the ERA among women in the legislature. In Maryland, numbers also combined with a strong desire to have a collective impact on revising the state's rape laws and in bringing Maryland laws into compliance with its new Equal Rights Amendment.

Membership

In states with formal caucuses, membership was open to all women legislators, regardless of party or philosophy. In Maryland, for instance:

Membership is automatic; if you're a woman and you're elected to the legislature, you're a member of the caucus. We never even ask anybody. They're just in. A few don't participate but nobody has denied us. There is no outright opposition....We have both Democrats and Republicans; both conservatives and liberals.

In most other states, however, membership is optional and some choose not to join. In Massachusetts, three out of five women Senators chose not to join

in the last session. In Illinois, "We have always had a few women who did not join us--four at present." In other states, like Kansas and Oregon, it is only in the last few years that an increasing number of women being elected "were not with us." Most caucuses do not give up easily on potential members, however, and consciously try to be inclusive. In Illinois, "there is a constant struggle" to find a broader set of issues that will overcome differences on the ERA.

While membership in the caucuses is universally open and a few women in most states choose not to join, the degree of active participation varies widely. In states such as Illinois, Maryland and Massachusetts, there was no sense that a few women were carrying a disproportionate responsibility for the caucus. This seemed more the case in Connecticut, Oregon and Vermont but for very different reasons. As a Vermont delegate put it, some New England "citizen" legislatures just "take people in off the streets." In these states, legislatures are larger, the number of women is greater (36 in Connecticut; 35 in Vermont) and, for some women, the level of commitment is not very great. Thus, a small proportion of the women legislators play an active, and sometimes burdensome, role. A different situation characterizes Oregon, where there are about half as many women (19), but the competition for getting and keeping a seat is more acute. Ten years of electing highly dedicated women combined with strong organizations of women inside and outside the legislature have placed women in responsible positions of leadership. In this case, caucus participation has been reduced by the demands on time and energy of fulfilling the obligations of leadership.

Resources

Although committed women are the major resource needed for an effective caucus, their efforts can be extended through the availability of a staffed office, mailing and phone privileges and interns. These resources have been mobilized through a variety of channels.

The Maryland caucus began with a small grant from the Ms. Foundation and then moved to charging each woman \$100 a year from her interim expense fund. At a propitious moment, the caucus moved a desk and file cabinet into an alcove in the hall and asked the Speaker for a phone. "We were off and running," said one Maryland delegate. They also have an active program of student interns who compete for the opportunity to work with the Maryland women's caucus. In recent years, they have moved toward more independent fundraising by holding an annual reception for other legislators, lobbyists and supporters. The first year the reception raised a few hundred dollars. This last year it brought in \$8,000; it has become a major legislative event.

In Massachusetts, the caucus also has an office and a paid staff including an executive director and secretary. Funds come from the Speaker. Despite these resources, one Massachusetts delegate felt that the members of their caucus were spread too thin and could make a much greater contribution if they had more staff time available to them. There is also the feeling that the positions taken by the Caucus are limited by an obligation to the Speaker. It was felt that more independent funding would free the Caucus from the legislative leadership.

In other states, a range of techniques are used for raising money, with various associated constraints. In Illinois, COWL holds a legislative talent show and dinner to raise funds. The money is then donated to efforts

supported by COWL, such as a home for unwed mothers. The funding mechanism for the Elected Women of Washington is the Washington State Commission for the Humanities. Because this type of funding is restricted to educational activities, one of the caucus' activities has been to develop a video tape on the contributions of elected women. The tape is made available to the public through local libraries. The Caucus cannot earn money from any of the activities funded by the Commission.

In most states, it is women's volunteer efforts and personal resources that keep a caucus running. In states like Massachusetts, a paid staff and office come at the price of a sense of obligation to the legislative leadership. In Washington, funding for the Caucus is restricted to educational activities. The most successful funding seems to tap a variety of sources, as in Maryland where an "office" and phone are supplied by the Speaker but staff and interns are funded through the independent efforts of caucus members.

Reaching Consensus

In response to the diversity of women's beliefs and other political commitments, most caucuses have developed a consensus rule for supporting positions on issues. The process of arriving at consensus differs from state to state. In some states, there is a simple discussion of pending bills; in other states, the process is more elaborate. An Illinois delegate described their process:

We don't in any way attempt to say that if this becomes a Conference bill that every member of the Conference is pledged to support it. But unless we have a fairly large majority of the people in agreement, we would not even undertake it. What we have done on the issue of teenage pregnancy and, this year on the issue of women in the state correctional system, is this: After holding a

series of hearings--both public kinds of hearings and hearings with various administrative agency people involved in the area-- [we] decide that here are two or three areas related to this problem that we think we could agree on within the caucus membership and have some possibility of getting passed with fairly unanimous kind of support....That's not unlike what we do with our various commissions on an ongoing basis. The Commission on Mental Health will come in with proposals, the Commission on Motor Vehicle Laws will come in with proposals, and so what it does is to give a feeling of broader support and a little more impetus for getting it passed.

An intensive process like this for selecting caucus issues is also a way of locating supportive constituents, isolating trouble spots, and building support for the issue once it gets to the floor.

As a greater variety of women are elected to state legislatures, some legislators felt that it might become unrealistic to follow a consensus rule. A Kansas delegate pointed out that when conservative women had recently been elected:

We have allowed them to set our agendas to the extent that we have not gone out and continued to behave as a women's caucus....If we couldn't get them to be with us, in other words, [we felt that] we in some sense failed.

In addition to the consensus rule, Illinois and Massachusetts have found that their legislative efforts are more successful if their caucuses focus on a few, selected issues. In Illinois, a major issue was strip searching; in Massachusetts it was rape "staircasing," provision of multiple degrees of sentencing for offenses of varying severity.

Issue Selection

Participants described the problems they have run into by not using a rigorous process for selecting issues to support. One legislator acknowledged that their caucus had a problem in saying no to members who wanted

support on a bill. A male colleague pointed out that this resulted in Caucus support of 100 bills out of 3100 in the last legislative session in his state. He maintained that "...you just can't have 100 bills; the governor hopes to get through seven, and he's lucky if he gets two...."

An Illinois legislator summarized the arguments for limiting the number of issue positions taken by a caucus:

I think one of the things we all have to realize is that there is a limited amount of time and energy, and part of the credibility of any women's group or any individual woman depends on the kind of effort they can put behind their decisions.... I think some of the women who have participated in the Illinois caucus came in with the idea that any bill they wanted to sponsor should automatically receive the support of the Conference. And they were very disgusted with us when they found, in fact, we didn't take a position on their bills and would frequently even have the nerve to get up and speak against their bill on the House floor.... I think the question becomes, if your caucus simply is becoming a rubber stamp for any issue that any woman member wants to present, it does lose its credibility.... Be a little choosy and your credibility will increase.

This point was underscored by a delegate from Vermont: "When we talked about narrowing our focus on issues, the number of issues we could take on, it was because of credibility." The Vermont caucus didn't feel that they could come in again and again and say, "Here we are again. Women, women, women on everything that they generally assume women are interested in."

Coordinating Caucus Efforts

Once issues are selected that have gained caucus support, three major strategies are used jointly for bringing the resources of the caucus to bear on pending legislation. These time-honored strategies of covering the major committees, handling bills on the floor and building a base of support in the community are greatly facilitated by a collective approach.

Covering the major committees works most effectively when there are enough women to cover them in numerical depth. In Vermont, this works particularly well in the House, where there are thirty-five women out of 150 members. A Vermont legislator felt, "There has been relatively little difficulty getting through the House major pieces of women's legislation." She attributed this to the fact that most committees in the House have several women and the Caucus works to make sure that when a bill is before a particular committee:

All of the women are aware of exactly what the legislation entails...what the hidden factors are. As a result, with the women fully informed on issues that we have a particular concern about or particular interest in, we are able to work with other members of our committee to just lead them in that direction....

Despite greater difficulty in the Senate, where there were only four women out of thirty, the Vermont legislator reported that they had been successful in passing legislation on violence, on sexual assault, on funding for women's shelters, on credit, on discrimination in housing and employment--with very little debate. In 1982, the Vermont caucus was working on a program for sexual offenders.

In addition to effective committee work, agreement was universal that there was no substitute for "working the floor" or "doing your homework." This point was underscored by a legislator from Illinois. After describing the extensive hearings that COWL conducts before approving an issue, she observed:

It doesn't mean that you can do away with that basic thing of going around and getting additional sponsors and working the House floor. You still have to do that....

In a state with a less formal caucus, like Iowa, the same "homework" is perhaps necessary, but resources are stretched thin in order to be effective.

A participant from Iowa described their approach:

We're not formal, but we do get together. It is extremely time consuming to walk a bill everywhere and we can't count on all of us. There are about eight of us in the House [out of sixteen women] that will hang in and show up every Tuesday [for weekly luncheon meetings] and so we can use that time for whomever is floor managing a bill or serving on a committee or sub-committee to say there is a problem with a bill, these are the areas that you need to watch. There might be this amendment coming up. We divide the House by quadrants and we will each take a quadrant and kind of work our quadrant so we'll know where our votes are and where our problems are.

Also, in Maryland, a delegate noted, "We rally support, lobby, count our votes." But there is always the one that got away. A Maryland bill to notify spouses of pension arrangements passed the House but was defeated in the Senate. Said a Maryland legislator, "We took the Senate for granted after winning in the House.... We hadn't done our homework."

Building political support is not restricted to committee work or working the floor. Maryland delegates were emphatic about going out into the community:

We have a network of women whom we invite to our fundraiser, who are on our mailing list and whose phone numbers we have, and when there is a tough issue that we are not certain we can get the votes for, we go out into the community and say, "You tell your legislator that you want this bill passed." And that has been very significant on some very hard issues in Maryland.... So, we work within the legislature on a one to one basis. But we get the lines and the letters coming from the community people who we now know are out there as well as the other women's organizations--the Women's Political Caucus, our own Maryland elected women's organizations, the League of Women Voters. Any group that has taken a position or we think is sympathetic with what we're trying to do.

Maryland delegates also noted a potential source of support that might be ignored. "The wives of the male legislators get involved because they feel

very strongly about the issue...." The wives, it was suggested, can be "the ultimate weapon."

Sustaining A Caucus

Resolving the questions of numbers, partisanship and controversy is not sufficient, however, for sustaining a caucus--even if it has been very successful. In Kansas, Democratic women had no trouble joining with Republican women in 1976 when women from both parties numbered only eight. Yet now that there are eighteen women in the legislature, said one Kansas legislator:

We're seeing the women that are getting elected primarily who are not at all interested in being identified with other women, and it has been very difficult to hold that caucus together. The initial group of us that go back a number of years meets, but it's more of a cultural meeting than anything else.

In Oregon, decline in the dynamism of the caucus was attributed to success as much as numbers. By 1982, there were nineteen women in both houses making up twenty-two percent of the sixty-member legislature. Women there have been very successful in winning top leadership positions. Attending the conference, for instance, were Norma Paulus, a former three-term representative who is presently in her second term as secretary of state; Mary Burrows, the ranking Republican woman and vice-chair of the House Revenue Committee; and Barbara Roberts, favored to be the next majority leader. In the majority party, all of the women who were not freshmen were committee chairs and there was a woman speaker pro-tem.

Nevertheless, one Oregon Representative felt that success had come at a high price:

One of the frustrations I've had this term was that I had hoped, because of the early history of this tight-knit women's caucus, that the tradition would carry on. What happened, though, is that we have become diluted as our

numbers have increased and responsibilities have increased. Many of the women felt they could not put the time and priority on women's issues. Other women have felt threatened and did not want to be labeled as women's advocates.

Instead of operating as a formal caucus, the Oregon women now meet socially. To some extent this is an attempt to regain the momentum of the mid-seventies. To develop women's issues in the legislature, however, a Women's Issues Forum has been started for all interested legislators. Most of its members are still women legislators who work closely with the Women's Rights Coalition, a lobbying group.

There are still no guaranteed solutions, however, and attendance at Oregon's Forum meetings dropped over the last session in the face of competing priorities. Ultimately, the legislator cited above felt that the Oregon child support system was lost for lack of a united front: "I think that had we had a good network and discussion group going that maybe we could have averted that problem...." Despite this loss, Oregon women had a number of legislative successes. They were able to strengthen family violence laws, institute a marriage tax to fund shelter homes, revise the sexual penetration bill, allow changes on birth certificates in cases of transsexual surgery, recognize homemaker contributions in long term marriages, and get insurance coverage for divorced and widowed women. Although the Oregon legislative caucus may not be as dynamic or as cohesive as it was before, this loss appears to be partially offset by the dynamism of other groups. Outside the legislature there is a women's rights lobby and a strong Women's Political Caucus. Within the legislature, a social network of women legislators and an issues group of women and their male allies seems to function effectively on many issues.

EVALUATING COLLECTIVE SUCCESS

No universally acceptable criteria emerged for evaluating whether an organizational strategy has been successful. Nevertheless, two alternative ways of viewing success emerged in the discussions. The first is an assessment of the amount and type of legislation that a caucus or coalition has been instrumental in passing. The second is sometimes called the "credibility" issue. It focuses on whether the women have become a "presence" which is recognized by the legislative leadership, male colleagues, lobbyists and outside organizations as a source of power and influence in state government. Although the two types of success frequently occur together, sometimes they do not. It also seems unlikely that ad hoc coalitions can gain collective "credibility" given their fluid organizational structure.

The contrast between the two types of success was posed most dramatically during one of the roundtable discussions by the comments of a male legislator. He noted at first, "I've never been that conscious of our women's legislative caucus..." and "I've never looked upon the women's caucus as an important political force in our state." Because he was unaware of the work of the caucus, however, he had interviewed some of its members before coming to the Conference. He reported,

What I found was that our caucus has been really quite successful and in a rather low-key, bipartisan manner has really gotten a very strong program that was initiated by the caucus enacted into law. Actually, in the last two years they have really had an important impact on women in [our state].

He then went on to itemize the caucus' legislative achievements: an objective job evaluation study of all classifications of state employees; medical support for handicapped adoptees; tax credits for industries to set up day care

operations; additional funding for abused spouse centers as well as new centers; mandated rape crisis training for police officers; a red shield bill; and collective bargaining for part-time state employees. He also indicated that he knew of no major legislation supported by the caucus which had been defeated. Despite these achievements, he felt the caucus had failed by not becoming a visible political force. This, he felt, was essential for women to win positions of legislative leadership because, "That's where the action is."

The women legislators present were more impressed by the accomplishments of the caucus. A representative from Oregon suggested, "I just want to say... if your women's caucus got 'comparable worth,' they did something very significant." A legislator from Florida commented, "It seems to me that they operated very well without the Majority Leader." Nevertheless, these comments focused attention on the way that decisions which resolve one set of questions may create another set of issues. A low-key, bipartisan style may be successful in holding women together as a united force and in leading to success in passing legislation but may fail in giving them public recognition as a force to be taken into account.

"Success" is even more difficult to identify in non-caucus states where women sometimes run into conflicts with their male colleagues over who gets to define legislative solutions and who gets to take the credit. A California assemblywoman maintained, "Most of those issues that have to do with women are pre-empted by men." Sometimes these are legislative proposals that the women in the legislature can't support. One representative described a situation in the previous session where male members were pushing for licensing of lay midwives with a high school education or equivalency. The women legislators couldn't support the bill for a number of reasons, most notably because they

preferred nurse midwifery. They confronted the bill's male author and had it dropped. In another case, a California representative reported that the Business and Professional Women had gone to a male member during the last session and asked him to carry a state ERA. Meeting informally with other women's organizations in the state, the women in the Assembly decided they wanted to wait for a decision on the federal ERA. Unified on the issue, they went to the Speaker and got him to have the bill dropped. She felt that examples such as these indicate how difficult it is for women in the California Assembly to define women's issues because the men want to take the credit.

In caucus states, the reverse of this problem occurs when male colleagues do support an issue that comes from the women's caucus or network but feel that they don't get enough credit. A Massachusetts legislator reported, "Men who are supportive of our positions were somewhat resentful of the fact that they were not part of the process." One way of handling this issue has been to open up the women's caucus to male legislators. Massachusetts, for instance, has created a category of associate membership for male colleagues.

Although most participants would probably make legislative success their top priority, there was still widespread agreement that "credibility" was crucial. In several states, a caucus realized for the first time that it had gained credibility when external threats were made. An Illinois legislator said that COWL discovered how important it was when the Republican members were invited to dinner by the Speaker:

He asked us to abandon our organization. In fact, he... regaled us for a number of hours regarding how difficult a bloc such as ours was making his job.

The twenty-two women in attendance took the time to personally tell him how important COWL is. Reluctantly, he has become more supportive of the caucus.

Maryland legislators felt that they, too, had gained credibility now that they frequently have requests from male legislators to talk to the caucus about a bill and have more and more requests from lobbyists to address the caucus. One male legislator felt that the caucus in his state had gained credibility. He acknowledged that he did not always agree with them. "They go too far, but they know when to give in."

In other states, frustration was voiced because of not having credibility. A legislator from Massachusetts noted, for instance, that many members of their caucus had not wanted to go as a united group to the Speaker and request committee assignments and committee chairs. According to this woman, "That's the number one frustration for those of us who aren't really power hungry, but who at least want the women to be taken seriously, individually and collectively." Similarly, a legislator from Iowa said, "I am afraid there is a tendency for the male legislators not to take it (the caucus) seriously; to view it as, well, those are the women talking over there." She wondered if women were taken more seriously in other states.

How to be "taken seriously" has been approached in a variety of ways. In several states, it was felt that credibility would be enhanced if the caucus successfully pursued a legislative agenda in an area other than "women's issues." In Florida, there was one attempt to create a caucus by working together as women on high automobile insurance rates, a serious problem in the state. Their amendment was defeated, however, and they failed to establish a good track record. Since then they haven't met formally. In Vermont and North Carolina, participants also felt they should "...not limit [themselves] to the so-called women's issues." A legislator from North Carolina noted that their caucus had decided:

...to just go out into the ballfield and try to approach those same topics that men were interested in many cases but that we felt we could have some direct impact on, maybe changing them a little bit more so that the impact on women would be more favorable while it still affected the broad citizenry.

The question of credibility was also at the heart of the discussion about limiting the number of issues endorsed by a caucus. As a Vermont legislator argued, "In order to increase the power, we have to narrow the focus and not make ourselves so goody-goody on every issue...." The payoff comes when a caucus can claim, as they did in Vermont, when we do come in with issues and we're together on them, we don't lose too often." When women do lose repeatedly on the issues, it doesn't seem to matter what the subject of the legislation is. Credibility is lost as well.

CONCLUSIONS

The recent increase in the number of women in state legislatures has been dramatic. In the first fifty years after suffrage, the proportion of women in the state legislatures never rose above four percent. Not until the advent of the contemporary women's movement in the early seventies did each successive election bring an increasing number of women into state legislative office. By the time of the 1982 Conference, women represented over twelve percent of all state legislators.

Because the rise of women in state legislative office is historically linked with the development of a broad-based women's movement, there is a new self-consciousness about being a woman in public life which has not existed since the suffrage era. This self-consciousness has transformed the role of state legislator for many women officials. It has increased the identification of women legislators with one another and with other women as a constituency.

It has led many women to see themselves as representatives of a special and, in many ways, disadvantaged constituency. This is reflected in their legislative priorities.

This new consciousness has also made women officials more aware that their careers will probably differ from those of their male colleagues if they seek positions of legislative leadership. Regardless of a woman's legislative priorities, she must also contend with the fact that she is herself a woman. To some extent she will be perceived and evaluated, included or excluded, in terms of prevailing stereotypes about the appropriateness of women generally in positions of power and influence. Her advance into the ranks of legislative leadership and the success of her legislative priorities will be influenced by the collective status of women officials as well as her own efforts. At this point in history, personal careers and legislative agendas are potentially linked as never before by a collective identification as women.

As the number and proportion of women in state legislatures has grown, both the legislative agenda of women's concerns and the status of women as public officials have been increasingly addressed collectively. At the Cape Cod Conference, workshops, talks and private conversations indicated that a variety of collective strategies have evolved for passing legislation of concern to women and for supporting women in positions of legislative or party influence. These collective strategies reflect the number and proportion of women in each legislature, the competing strength of party loyalties and the history of the issues that have divided women in each state. All three of these factors influence the strength of collective identification among women legislators and the likelihood that they will organize formally.

The discussions at the Conference were less decisive about the value of formalizing the collective strategies of women legislators. In states such as California, Maine and Minnesota, small numbers and/or strong party loyalties inhibit caucus formation but have not prevented passage of extensive legislation for women or the rise of women to positions of legislative leadership. Ad hoc coalitions organized around specific issues have permitted individual women to gain public recognition by demonstrating legislative leadership on controversial issues. Yet there is no mechanism in these states for controlling access to the legislative agenda on women's issues and it is questionable whether women at the highest levels of public office serve as a collective symbol of women's power and influence in the state. In contrast, the support of women's legislative caucuses in states such as Massachusetts, Maryland and Illinois is sought by lobbyists as well as male legislators, but it is not clear that they have passed more legislation for women than states that depend on ad hoc coalitions.

The different pattern that success takes in these two types of states might suggest that the presence or absence of a formal caucus is decisive. The multiple successes of women in the Oregon legislature in gaining public credibility, attaining leadership positions, and moving a legislative agenda suggest, however, that the choice of collective strategies is not decisive. The presence in Oregon of a strong network of women's groups as well as supportive male allies has made both types of success possible. Yet even in Oregon, successes have come at a price, and recently-elected women find that their senior women colleagues are overburdened.

The collective strategies of women legislators have resulted largely from a sometimes unconscious adaptive process. The need for collective support from

other women legislators, lobbying groups and constituencies has been adapted to the political contingencies within each state. Assuming that the number of women continues to grow in state legislatures, an increasing number of states will reach the critical state where a more formal collective strategy is feasible. After ten years of experience, however, it is now possible to make this a more conscious strategic choice. The advantages and disadvantages of formalizing an organizational caucus can now be evaluated.

Where the strategy of the formal caucus is chosen, informal, but regularly scheduled social occasions seem to offer the best way of exploring issues and finding the common ground for collective action. Undoubtedly, leadership is important in finding this common ground and making the transition to a more formal organization. Fortunately, leadership does not seem to be in short supply among the new women officeholders.

As women officials continue to search for the most effective means of maximizing their influence within the state legislatures, numbers and collective identification will continue to be critical. Lest the importance of numbers be underestimated, a representative from Oregon told the following story about an incident during the 1981 session of the legislature:

On International Women's Day, our one woman senator invited all the women members of the House over for a little ceremony. We went to the Speaker to tell him that we wanted to be excused to go over to the Senate side.

He said, "No, we are just going to continue with business and you'll just have to miss those votes and there's nothing important coming up."

The representative told him, "Mr. Speaker, I don't think you can do that. I think you are going to have to recess."

The Speaker said, "No, no. We have a heavy calendar."

The representative replied, "When the women in the House leave, you will not have a quorum."

The Speaker finally announced it from the podium, because male members of the House were saying, "Well, why don't we just continue?"

And, finally, the Speaker had to say, "We cannot continue when the women leave the House because we will not have a quorum."

And the rest of the session, that was really recognized. That was the first time men ever knew we could take the quorum away from them.

Lest the value of numbers be overstated, it should also be recognized that the women from the Oregon House all had to walk out together to take the quorum with them.

CONFERENCE AGENDA AND PARTICIPANTS

CONFERENCE AGENDA

Thursday, June 17, 1982

- 6:00 - 7:00 p.m. Reception
- 7:00 - 8:00 p.m. Dinner
- 8:00 - 8:45 p.m. Welcome and Greetings:
Ruth B. Mandel, Director, Center for the American Woman
and Politics
- 8:45 - 9:30 p.m. Speaker: The Honorable Martha Griffiths
Keynote Address

Friday, June 18, 1982

- 7:30 - 8:30 a.m. Breakfast
- 8:30 - 9:15 Speaker: Ida F.S. Schmertz, Director of the 1972 Conference
"The 1972 Conference for Women State Legislators--
Memories and Alumnae"
- 9:15 - 9:45 Speaker: The Honorable Norma Paulus, Secretary of State, Oregon
"1972 to 1982: Ten Years for Women in Politics"
- 10:00 - 11:30 Discussion Groups: Women's Legislative Caucuses
- 11:30 - 12:30 p.m. Plenary Session: Reports from Discussion Groups
Moderator: Senator Jean Ford (NV)
- 12:30 - 1:30 Lunch
- 1:30 - 3:00 Roundtable: Women's Legislative Caucuses--Making A Difference?
Moderator: Delegate Bert Booth (MD)
- Participants: Representative Virginia Frederick (IL)
Representative Margie Hendriksen (OR)
Delegate Joseph Owens (MD)
Senator Richard F. Schneller (CT)

3:00 - 4:30 Panel: Women in Legislative Leadership
 Moderator: William Pound, Director of State Services
 National Conference of State Legislatures

 Panelists: Representative Susan Auld (VT)
 Representative Cleta Deatherage (OK)
 Representative Elizabeth Mitchell (ME)
 Senator Ruth Stockton (CO)

6:00 - 7:00 Reception

7:00 - 8:30 Dinner

8:30 - 10:00 Roundtable: Lobbyists and Legislators
 Moderator: Nancy Becker, President, Nancy Becker Associates

 Participants: Barbara Burgess - John Hancock, Inc.
 Caroline Gritter - Massachusetts NOW
 Harold Hodes - Public Affairs Consultants, Inc.
 Ron Stewart - Smith Kline & French Labs
 Peter Wright - AFSCME, Massachusetts

Saturday, June 19, 1983

7:30 - 8:30 a.m. Breakfast

8:45 - 10:30 Plenary Sessions: Public Policies--Their Impact on Women
 Moderator: Linda Howard, Counsel to the President,
 Hunter College of the City University
 of New York

 Speakers: Transportation Policy
 Anne P. Canby, Former Commissioner,
 New Jersey Department of Transportation

 Employment Policy
 Carl E. Van Horn, Director,
 Center for State Politics and Public Policy,
 Eagleton Institute of Politics

10:30 - Noon Discussion Groups: Public Policies--Their Impact on Women

Noon - 1:30 p.m.	Lunch Speaker:	Congresswoman Marge Roukema "The 1983 Federal Budget--A View From The Congress"
1:45 - 3:00	Panel: Moderator: Panelists:	Recruiting and Electing More Women to the Legislature Kathy Stanwick, Assistant Director, CAWP Senator Polly Baca Barragan (CO), Vice Chair, Democratic National Committee Rosalie Whelan, Executive Director, National Women's Education Fund Carol Whitney, Executive Director, Republican Governors Association Kathy Wilson, Chair, National Women's Political Caucus
3:00 - 6:00	Free Time	
6:00 - 7:00	Reception	
7:00 - 8:30	Dinner Speaker:	Eleanor Holmes Norton "Women and Politics in the '80s"
9:00 - 10:30	Entertainment:	Tulis McCall "Women I Have Known" A one-woman dramatic performance

Sunday, June 20, 1982

9:00 - 10:30 a.m.	Panel: Moderator:	The Legislature as an Institution Alan Rosenthal, Director, Eagleton Institute of Politics
	Panelists:	Senator Fred Anderson, President Colorado State Senate Representative Richard Hodes, Speaker Florida House of Representatives
10:30 - Noon	Meetings of State Delegations (Buffet Brunch)	
Noon - 1:00 p.m.	Plenary Session: Moderator:	An Agenda for the Eighties Ruth B. Mandel

Summary List of Participants

Women State Legislators

Rep. Susan Auld (R-Vermont)	Rep. Harriet Keyserling (D-South Carolina)
Sen. Polly Baca Barragan (D-Colorado)	Rep. Ruth Luzzati (D-Kansas)
Rep. Audrey Beck (D-Connecticut)	Sen. Helen R. Marvin (D-North Carolina)
Sen. Linda Berglin (DFL-Minnesota)	Rep. Peggy Joan Maxie (D-Washington)
Rep. Rosalind Berman (R-Connecticut)	Rep. Debbie McCune (D-Arizona)
Del. Bert Booth (D-Maryland)	Rep. Carrie Meek (D-Florida)
Rep. Ada K. Brown (D-Maine)	Del. Pauline Menes (D-Maryland)
Rep. Leanna Brown (R-New Jersey)	Sen. Jan Meyers (R-Kansas)
Rep. Mary Burrows (R-Oregon)	Rep. Elizabeth Mitchell (D-Maine)
Rep. Marian Cairns (R-Missouri)	Rep. Gwen Moore (D-California)
Rep. Janet Carl (D-Iowa)	Del. Connie Morella (R-Maryland)
Rep. Eugenia Chapman (D-Illinois)	Rep. Annette Morgan (D-Missouri)
Rep. Cleta Deatherage (D-Oklahoma)	Rep. Sue Mullins (R-Iowa)
Rep. Minnette Doderer (D-Iowa)	Sen. Amelia Mustone (D-Connecticut)
Rep. Betty Easley (R-Florida)	Rep. Angela Perun (D-New Jersey)
Rep. Jeanne Faatz (R-Colorado)	Rep. Virginia Poffenberger (R-Iowa)
Sen. Jean Ford (D-Nevada)	Sen. Sharon Pollard (D-Massachusetts)
Rep. Virginia Frederick (R-Illinois)	Sen. Ruthe Ridder (D-Washington)
Rep. Mary Jane Galer (D-Georgia)	Rep. Barbara Roberts (D-Oregon)
Rep. Shirley Galloway (D-Washington)	Rep. Marilyn Ryan (R-California)
Sen. Adeline Geo-Karis (R-Illinois)	Rep. Helen Satterthwaite (D-Illinois)
Rep. Elaine Gordon (D-Florida)	Rep. Susan Schur (D-Massachusetts)
Rep. Barbara Gray (R-Massachusetts)	Rep. Sue Shear (D-Missouri)
Sen. Rachel Gray (D-North Carolina)	Sen. Jacque Steiner (R-Arizona)
Rep. Shirley Williams Hankins (R-Washington)	Rep. Judy Stephany (D-Vermont)
Rep. Juanita Harelson (R-Arizona)	Sen. Ruth Stockton (R-Colorado)
Rep. Elaine Hassler (R-Kansas)	Rep. Arie Taylor (D-Colorado)
Rep. Margie Hendrikson (D-Oregon)	Sen. Barbara Trafton (D-Maine)
Rep. Dorothy Hokr (R-Minnesota)	Sen. Diane Watson (D-California)
Rep. Muriel Holloway (R-Maine)	Rep. Ann Wynia (DFL-Minnesota)
Sen. Barbara Holme (D-Colorado)	

Other Program Participants

Nancy Becker (Nancy Becker Assoc., Inc.)	William Pound (NCSL)
Barbara Burgess (John Hancock, Inc.)	Alan Rosenthal (Eagleton Institute)
Anne P. Canby (New Jersey)	Congresswoman Marge Roukema (New Jersey)
Ranny Cooper (Women's Campaign Fund)	Patricia Rice (<u>St. Louis Post-Dispatch</u>)
Hon. Martha Griffiths (Michigan)	Florence Rubin (League of Women Voters)
Caroline Gritter (Massachusetts N.O.W.)	Ida F.S. Schmertz (American Express Co.)
Harold Hodes (Public Affairs Consultants, Inc.)	Kathy A. Stanwick (CAWP)
Linda Howard (Hunter College)	Ronald Stewart (Smith Kline & French Labs)
Geri Joseph (<u>Minneapolis Tribune</u>)	Carl E. Van Horn (Eagleton Institute)
Ruth B. Mandel (CAWP)	Rosalie Whelan (Nat'l Women's Ed. Fund)
Tulis McCall (Potter's Field Theater Company)	Carol Whitney (Republican Governors Assn.)
Eleanor Holmes Norton (Washington, D.C.)	Kathy Wilson (Nat'l Women's Pol. Caucus)
Hon. Norma Paulus (Oregon)	Peter Wright (AFSCME, Massachusetts)
Nancy Perlman (Ctr. for Women in Gov't)	

Observers and Guests

Shirley Anderson (Princeton Features)	Carol Mueller (Wellesley Center for Research on Women)
Tish Avery (<u>U.S. News and World Report</u>)	Neal Peirce (<u>National Journal</u>)
Jan Carpenter (NCSL)	Allene Roberts (Philip Morris USA)
Mary Ann Dirzis (Avon Corporation)	Julia Scott (Ms. Foundation for Women)
Jeannine Dowling (Philip Morris, Inc.)	Eileen Shanahan (<u>Pittsburgh Post-Gazette</u>)
Sara L. Engelhardt (Carnegie Corporation of New York)	Patricia Sheehan (Johnson and Johnson Family of Companies)
Ellen Goodman (<u>Boston Globe</u>)	Linda Stamato (Rutgers University)
Mary Hartman (Douglass College)	Vivien Stewart (Carnegie Corporation of New York)
Maria Herrera (Philip Morris USA)	
Patricia Higgins (New York)	

Alumnae of 1972 Conference
for Women State Legislators

Sen. Audrey P. Beck (Connecticut)	Rep. Peggy Joan Maxie (Washington)
Rep. Eugenia Chapman (Illinois)	Del. Pauline Menes (Maryland)
Rep. Minnette Doderer (Iowa)	Hon. Norma Paulus (Oregon)
Rep. Marie Howe (Massachusetts)	

Program For Women State Legislators
Advisory Committee

Del. Bert Booth (Maryland)	Dot Ridings (League of Women Voters)
Sen. Jean Ford (Nevada)	Alan Rosenthal (Eagleton Institute)
Rep. Harriet Keyserling (So. Carolina)	Ida F.S. Schmertz (American Express Co.)
Neal Peirce (<u>National Journal</u>)	Kathy Wilson (National Women's Political Caucus)
William Pound (NCSL)	

Center for the American Woman and Politics

Susan J. Carroll	Ruth B. Mandel
Barbara Geiger-Parker	Kathy A. Stanwick
Katherine E. Kleeman	Deborah L. Walsh

The Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP) is a research, education, and public service center. Established in 1971 with a Ford Foundation grant to the Eagleton Institute of Politics, the Center designs and sponsors a variety of programs aimed at developing and disseminating knowledge about women's political participation. CAWP encourages women's full and effective involvement in all areas of public life.

As a unit of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, CAWP programs reflect Eagleton's long-standing interest in political institutions, political practitioners, and public policy in the United States. CAWP is supported by: Rutgers; grants and contributions from foundations, government, corporations, and individuals; consulting fees; and income from the sale of publications.

Inquiries about the Center for the American Woman and Politics should be sent to Ruth B. Mandel, Director.



CENTER FOR THE AMERICAN WOMAN AND POLITICS (CAWP)
Eagleton Institute of Politics
Rutgers-The State University of New Jersey
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
201/932-9384