

NY Women's Agenda + Law Ctr

Women Count - 3 women in it
for Women in the Professions

Labels

Plan in the workplace - people really struggling today

Not just women's work needs to be valued, but
also women's visions

Choices - we have to respect women's choice
Reality also is tough even then &
women in jobs with not seen.
Want to be doing

→ Women Count

They are the experts

The Toronto Star, November 12, 1994

action and it isn't pretty.

Whether you are a porn fan or not, you can't deny that Canadians have gone censorship-crazy. It has replaced hockey as our national sport.

Hollywood movies, Mighty Morphin Power Rangers, Eli Langer's paintings, Andrea Dworkin's books, underground comics, mainstream magazines, CD Roms, special-interest news groups and murder trials. You name it, we censor it.

But more fundamental to these women than the belief in freedom of expression is a rejection of the punitive theories about "good" and "bad" sex espoused by anti-pornography feminists. Most women at this reading believe, and I include myself among them, that women's sexual freedom will come not by eradicating all representation of sex that we don't like, but by expressing our sexuality as freely as we can.

But Carol's fantasy isn't about sexual expression. It is about political retaliation.

The only sexual element is the method of Carol's retaliation. It is, in the purest sense of the phrase, sexual harassment.

The fact that in Carol's fantasy, Campbell enjoyed the sex is small consolation. If it were me, I would rather be shown struggling in the face of this violation.

It would be a violation, I think, if anyone, publicly and in great detail, "imagined" having sex with you without your consent, regardless of the person's gender and regardless of whether your consent was part of their fantasy. It would feel like a public, if imagined, rape.

Feminists are no strangers to this particular technique. We are always being personally attacked by our opponents - as shrill and as ugly - and you'd be hard pressed to find an outspoken feminist in this country who hasn't received sexually threatening phone calls and mail.

Writers and callers sometimes threaten to rape these feminists. Other times, they just graphically describe their fantasies of having sex with them. Both are ways of using a woman's sexuality to shut her up.

Now, a woman who disagrees with Butler is retaliating by sexually degrading Kim Campbell - to shut her up.

A year ago, The Nation ran a review of anti-porn theorist Catharine MacKinnon's book, Only Words, which makes the absurd argument that looking at pictures of rape is tantamount to being raped.

("Pornography . . . is used as sex. It, therefore, is sex Unwelcome sex talk is an unwelcome sex act. To say it, is to do it, and to do it, is to say it.")

To counter this argument, the reviewer told a fictitious but detailed story about MacKinnon being raped. He then posed the question of whether she had in fact been raped by this exercise in "fantasy" or whether there was a difference between his rape and a real rape.

' 1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 The Kirkus Service, Inc.
Kirkus Reviews

December 1, 1994

SECTION: NON-FICTION

LENGTH: 368 words

ISBN NUMBER: 0-684-19749-9

AUTHOR: Strossen, Nadine

TITLE: DEFENDING PORNOGRAPHY: Free Speech, Sex, and the Fight for Women's Rights

PUBLISHER: Scribner (320 pp.) \$ 20.00 Jan. 1995

REVIEW:

The definitive feminist critique of MacKinnon/Dworkin anti-pornography laws, by ACLU president and legal scholar Strossen (Law/New York Univ.).

Since the late 1970s, feminist discourse has been dominated by the anti-pornography voices of law professor Catharine MacKinnon, writer Andrea Dworkin, and their followers, whom the author dubs "MacDworkinites." MacDworkinites hold that pornography should be suppressed because it causes (and is itself a form of) violence against women. These feminists have forged what Strossen calls "frighteningly effective alliances" with religious fundamentalists staunchly opposed to women's rights. This alliance has won victories on many fronts: in Canada, where obscenity laws have been interpreted as embodying MacDworkinite standards for pornography (e.g., whether the work of art "dehumanizes" women); on campuses, where draconian speech codes cover "sexually suggestive looks." Dworkin and MacKinnon are great communicators, but Strossen proves their match. Her response to them is tough, clear, and pithy. She offers a host of reasons why MacDworkinite measures actually imperil civil liberties: The laws are a "hopelessly vague" curtailment of free speech; they will be enforced unevenly by traditionalist governments against disfavored groups such as feminists, gays, and lesbians; they perpetuate the stereotype of women as victims requiring protection from the patriarchy; they distract us from concrete discriminatory conduct. Strossen also explores the MacDworkinite ambivalence toward sex in general: On the one hand, both MacKinnon and Dworkin portray sexual conduct as inherently degrading to women -- as rape; on the other hand, both express themselves in hot-and-heavy language that the author gleefully quotes. Sometimes Strossen's attacks seem personal and petty, as when she chides MacKinnon for avoiding debate and mocks Dworkin for having two of her own books seized at the Canadian border under anti-pornography statutes. But her counter-argument is firmly rooted in both the First Amendment and the real world.

An important book that will rally free-speech feminists and civil libertarians of all stripes. (Author tour)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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Copyright 1994 Gannett Company, Inc.
GANNETT NEWS SERVICE

November 2, 1994, Wednesday

LENGTH: 296 words

HEADLINE: EXCERPT FROM 'TALK DIRTY'

BYLINE: Gannett News Service

BODY:

Excerpt from "Talk Dirty To Me," by Sallie Tisdale.

"Any amateur psychologist could have a field day explaining why I prefer low-brow, hard-core porn to feminine erotica. I've spent enough time trying to explain things to myself: why I prefer this to that. I don't want anyone else to try. Pornography has to be politically incorrect. If it's not outside acceptable conventions of family and culture, it's not porn.

"Feminists against pornography (as distinct from other antipornography camps) hold the opposite view - that our entire culture is pornographic. To them, pornography IS convention, and all our sexual constructions are obscene; sexual materials are necessarily oppressive, limited by the constraints of the culture. Under this construct, I'm a damaged woman, a heretic. Catharine MacKinnon calls women like me 'Uncle Toms'; according to Andrea Dworkin and John Stoltenberg, anticensorship feminists are no better than pimps.

"There is so much wrong with traditional pornography. It just plain disgusts me sometimes, with its juvenile assumptions, boring repetition, lack of depth. But as much as what is wrong with porn, I see what is right: In porn, sex is separated magically from reproduction, marriage, and the heterosexual couple, all of which most feminists would agree have been oppressive to women.

"In porn, people have many and many different kinds of orgasms, and intercourse is only a part of sex, sometimes a small part. That alone, sex which doesn't focus on intercourse, is a very important image.

"Sex in porn is had by people of varying ages and appearances. Porn treats taboos openly and often humorously, emphasizes foreplay and a broad view of what is erotic. "If you don't think this is true, you haven't seen much porn."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 4, 1994

anti-MacKinnon

Women in law -

76TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 The Houston Chronicle Publishing Company
The Houston Chronicle

November 6, 1994, Sunday, 2 STAR Edition

SECTION: BUSINESS; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 2582 words

HEADLINE: In the door but not in charge;
More women are working as doctors and lawyers than ever before, but most
top-level jobs are still eluding them

BYLINE: DEBRA BEACHY; Staff

BODY:

JUDGE CAROLYN CLAUSE GARCIA enters the courtroom, and all are
bid to rise.

Presiding over Texas' 151st District Court in Harris County,
Garcia is among the few female lawyers who have ascended to
the top ranks of the legal profession. A Houston street is
even named after her.

But Garcia doesn't forget that women are still fighting for
equality in the legal workplace.

More women are working as lawyers and physicians in the
United States than ever before. Nearly half of those studying
to become lawyers and doctors are women.

But their power and influence are far less than the numbers
indicate.

An often-cited explanation is that discrimination is still
thriving in these male-dominated professions.

But some women in these professions say it is they who must
unite to change things.

"Women have yet to break the glass ceiling in law firms,"
Garcia said. "Opportunities and numbers are not there equally.

Men naturally mentor each other, but women haven't had that
experience. "

Garcia said she saw this first hand when she started a
mentoring group in 1991 for female law students at the South
Texas College of Law. She did it after she found out women
were being discouraged from networking with and supporting
other women at law schools.

"I started it because I got mad at the law schools," Garcia
said.

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"They were teaching women law students that they shouldn't include on their resumes that they were members of women law groups; that they wouldn't be hired; that they would be scrutinized as being wide-eyed and liberal.

"I was concerned and upset that feminism would be portrayed as having such a negative impact," she said.

"And I was shocked. I had just become a judge. I had been invited to speak at the university. I knew there were at least 400 or 500 women attending the law school, and I asked why there was such a low level of participation in the women's legal forum, and I was told women were afraid to join because professors and people in the administrative office were telling them not to join women's groups. "Despite advances, some say women don't have the clout in the legal profession that their numbers would suggest.

"It's nowhere near the representation one would have expected to see, given the number of women who have gone through law school and done very well, measured by clerkships," said Martha Fay Africa, a principal in the San Francisco-based headhunting firm of Major Wilson & Africa and a member of the American Bar Association's Commission on Women.

"Glass ceilings are certainly a part of it, but the horrible reality is law firms are a business designed by men, and many have such rigorous time requirements that no one in their right mind could expect to juggle a family and a career as a woman. "

Female lawyers also can be handicapped, Africa said, because "men, to the extent they listen to women at all, tend to think of women as less powerful as a result of their different style. "

Others said they were skeptical about this generalization.

Craig Jackson, an assistant professor of law at Texas Southern University, said he saw no sex-based difference in lawyers' styles.

Whether they communicate differently or not, women are becoming doctors and lawyers in skyrocketing numbers, and these professions almost certainly will have to make adjustments.

Women made up 24 percent of all lawyers in 1990, up from 5 percent in 1970, according to the American Bar Association.

Last year, close to half of all law school graduates were women, compared with 8 percent in 1973.

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Despite the fivefold increase in the number of women who work as lawyers during the last 20 years, women's presence at the top of the profession - as judges, as partners in private law firms - remains small. According to the American Bar Association, only 18 percent of female lawyers are partners in law firms, compared with 45 percent of male lawyers.

The number of female physicians also has risen dramatically.

Not since the turn of the century, when women's medical colleges prospered, have so many women become doctors. In 1900, there were 7,000 female physicians. Nationwide, 5.6 percent of physicians were women, but the percentage was much higher in some cities, such as Boston, where they represented 18.2 percent of the doctors.

Today, 19 percent of all doctors are women, according to the American Medical Association. And about 40 percent of medical school students are women.

Some female physicians say the big influx of female doctors in the 1980s has made the medical profession more concerned with women's health issues, cut down on the number of hysterectomies performed, and focused more attention on preventative health care.

They cite developments such as the Women's Health Initiative, the first large study of women's health problems in the United States. Funded by the National Institutes of Health, the 14-year study will enroll 163,000 women across the nation, including 3,600 Houston women, and cost about \$ 662 million.

But despite their advances, female physicians still earn about 62 percent of what male physicians do, according to a recent study by the American Medical Association. The study said women tend to go into lower-paying specialties such as internal medicine.

The study also showed female doctors are twice as likely to be employees as male doctors. Female physicians also average fewer patient visits, but may spend more time with patients, which would lower the number of patients seen, the study said.

And some studies indicate that female lawyers and physicians have different styles of communication than their male counterparts.

And both female lawyers and women doctors say they have to fight against stereotypes in their male-dominated professions.

Katherine Bontke, a Houston physician and former chairwoman of the brain injury program for the Texas Institute for Rehabilitation and Research, confronted what she saw as a

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difference in male and female styles of doctoring early on.

While working as a resident at a veterans hospital, she personally fed some of her patients after they complained that they weren't being fed.

Her male physician faculty supervisor admonished her for "mollycoddling" patients, and gave her a poor grade. The implication was that nurses feed patients, not doctors.

But Bontke said she saw the rise in the numbers of women in the profession influence the care of patients while studying at Baylor College of Medicine in the mid-1980s. Female medical students organized special training for their colleagues to do pelvic exams of female patients because they felt there was a need to treat females in a more-respectful way, Bontke said.

Bontke said she also believes female doctors have a different style of communicating.

"I think that across the board, looking at the two groups, female physicians are just taking more time to talk to patients, but that's not true for everybody," Bontke said. Camile Langham, a Houston sports medicine doctor, said she believes female physicians tend to be more nurturing and more in touch with all aspects of the patient, not just the physical problems.

Recent studies suggest female physicians talk more to their patients than male doctors. A study by a Johns Hopkins University professor showed female physicians talk an average of three minutes more to their patients than male physicians.

It also found that male physicians averaged two minutes more with male patients than with female patients, while female doctors averaged one minute more with female patients than with male patients.

Still, other female doctors, such as Houston obstetrician-gynecologist Lynn Hoffman, are wary about generalizing about communications style based on sex.

That's also the perception of Michael Speer, an associate professor of pediatrics at Baylor College of Medicine.

"It depends on the personality," Speer said. "I have women colleagues just as forthright as I feel I am, and I have women colleagues who try to bend over backwards to be nice to families. But I have men colleagues who also try to bend over backwards to be nice. I think it tends to do more with social mores, your background, how you grew up. I think everyone is a little different. I wouldn't style it as women vs. men."

But others see it differently. Garcia said female lawyers have brought a different style of communication to the courtroom.

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"I've been on the bench three years now. As a judge, I think women are extremely well-prepared," Garcia said. "They think through their communications often better than men. Women tend to still be the primary caretaker of children, and maybe that is why they remember to talk in a clear and simple way. They tend to use demonstrative aids in a more facile way. Men sometimes presume you know what they're talking about, though not all male lawyers. In general, women who have appeared before me have communicated better to juries, and the juries have commented on that."

Africa, the executive from the headhunting firm, was the chairwoman of an American Bar Association study of the glass ceiling in the legal profession. She says she believes men and women do communicate differently, and "under a stressful situation, communication becomes the issue."

"Many women lawyers are very good at maintaining a client relationship, while the male lawyer may pop from transaction to transaction," she said. "The woman is looking at the long-term relationship with the client."

The downside of being perceived as having a different style of communication is a double standard for female physicians and lawyers, some say.

"Someone demanding a patient be cared for can be thought of as bitchy at times, rather than as a good doctor who wanted the best for the patient," she said.

Female lawyers say this double standard dogs them as well.

Houston lawyer Linda Addison, a partner in Fulbright and Jaworski, the largest Texas law firm, said female lawyers still have a tougher time than men in the courtroom because of the double standard.

"Believe it or not, men have more latitude to be more emotional in the courtroom than women do, because people have certain preconceived notions of women that the successful women trial lawyers I know go out of their way not to do," she said. "I know successful male trial lawyers who brag about the way they convince a jury is by crying. I don't know women that would do that. I have seen men not be penalized by being angry or unpleasant to witnesses, and have greater latitude to be angry or unpleasant to witnesses than women do, because there is a stereotype that women can be bitchy. So women lawyers have to be concerned about not doing anything that will confirm the preconceived notion or stereotype that they are bitchy or catty or mean."

Jan Fox, a Houston lawyer who often speaks on the different styles of communication of men and women, said female lawyers finally are becoming accepted because "people are beginning to recognize, we have juries that are half women."

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"When you present a case, it is important to know you are going to be heard by both men and women, and most of us assume everybody is speaking in the same language we are. But that's not true," Fox said.

Despite the advancement of women in both professions, they are still underrepresented at the top.

In 1993, female doctors made up 23.7 percent of medical school faculty, but only 10 percent were full professors.

"It's still a good old boys' club," said Langham. "It's tough for women to get into orthopedics, cardiovascular or neurosurgery."

But women such as Addison say they have seen great progress.

Eighteen years ago when she started, Addison said, secretaries at law firms didn't want to work for female lawyers.

Kathy Englehardt, an official of the American Bar Association, said there is no question that women are not advancing as fast as their male counterparts.

"What we found is that women are enjoying pretty much equal access out of law school. It's several years down the road when disparities start to kick in," she said.

Female lawyers and physicians, like women in other professions, also have to juggle their dual role as professionals and mothers, said Lillian Chan, a family doctor and professor of medicine.

"I have to take my kids to school at 8 a.m., but a lot of hospital meetings started by male physicians begin at 7 a.m. in the morning," Chan said. "Luckily, my school lets me drop the kids off at 7 a.m.

"And they schedule evening meetings too, when I have to run home and make sure the kids are all fed and bathed and put to bed.

"If you have a male physician, the wife is often staying home, but if the wife is the physician, the man is not staying home taking care of the kids," she said.

"I have two children, an 8-year-old and an 11-year-old, and they need mom to be around. No matter what, most of the responsibilities still fall on the woman's shoulder, like planning a birthday party.

"I have a good husband, but I have to give him a list; if I don't give him a list, things don't get done."

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Speers sees no barriers to female doctors, and points to many female physicians who are heading up medical organizations, including the Texas Medical Association.

"It depends on what they wish to accomplish, and many feel they don't want to work the hours the traditional physician works, and that they want to spend more time with their family, but there are only so many hours in a day, and they can't do everything," he said.

Addison said she believes the tremendous influx of female lawyers has made the profession one of the most generous when it comes to giving women maternity leaves.

"Women lawyers have the problem women in all endeavors have: women's prime career building years also tend to be prime child-bearing years."

The difficulty of meshing professional and personal lives has intensified for women as the profession has become far more competitive, law firm consultants say.

As a result, according to a recent study by the American Bar Association, more female than male lawyers are dissatisfied.

The study found 42 percent of female partners were dissatisfied with their careers, compared with 22 percent of male partners.

"I think law as a profession has become so competitive, so bottom-line oriented, that some of the social communicative skills women often want to bring to the profession aren't valued substantially any more," said Deborah Aaron, a Seattle career consultant who quit the legal profession 10 years ago.

Aaron said. "Now, it's 'How many hours did you bill this week?' (and) 'How many clients did you bring in this week?'"

"Nobody is immune from client development, so if you have home and office responsibilities, and in addition have responsibility to bring in new business, you are taxed beyond your ability."

Nonetheless, conflict between career and home haven't stopped many women from advancing in their careers or encouraging other women to forge ahead.

Next weekend, Judge Garcia is planning to speak before Southern Methodist University's School of Law in Dallas.

The title of her speech is: "Women Lawyers, You Belong in the Courtroom."

GRAPHIC: Photo: 1. Caroline Clause Garcia (color); Graph: 2. Women in law school (color) (BAR GRAPH); Photo: 3. Dr. Camile Langham, who specializes in sports

The Houston Chronicle, November 6, 1994

medicine, works with patient Don Hill (color); 1. Carlos Antonio Rios/Chronicle,
2. Houston Chronicle, Source: American Bar Association, 3. Betty
Tichich/Chronicle

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 8, 1994

lm draft #2 11/29/94

LAW

**FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
REMARKS TO THE NEW YORK WOMEN'S AGENDA STAR BREAKFAST
NEW YORK CITY
NOVEMBER 30, 1994**

[Acknowledgements: Elinor Guggenheimer, Mrs. Cuomo, Mrs. Guiliani, Gloria Steinem (chair of the breakfast)]

It is a great privilege for me to be with all of you this morning, and also to be in the company of ~~John Mack-Carter, Coy Ecklund, and Howard Rubenstein~~, who have done so much to support women over the years.

I think it's important not to underestimate their contributions, nor the contributions that all of you have made in furthering the women's agenda here in New York, because ultimately progress depends on a cooperative effort involving women and men working together. Not just making token efforts but really getting involved, giving time and energy and resources, and being willing to stand up for the causes you believe in.

Ellie mentioned a range of issues that NYWA will be working on in the coming year. The fact that women from 53 organizations have come together to make their voices heard on such issues as economic empowerment, child care, elder care, foster care, domestic violence and so many others, speaks to the universality of women's concerns.

have today demonstrated
You are involved because you have a sense of the challenges and struggles we face -- not only as women, but as a society. And you share a vision of how we might meet those challenges to become the kind of society we ought to be.

At a time when the world is undergoing dramatic change, when there is a rise in insecurity and anxiety caused by rapid economic and social transformation, we have to rebuild. We have to rebuild how we see the world, and how we see ourselves. We have to overcome cynicism, discrimination, and hatred.

But we must also work to alleviate the legitimate pain of people -- men and women -- who are struggling to make their way in our society. People who are working hard for seemingly fewer rewards. People who are squeezed from inside and out -- financially, personally, and professionally. People who have lost faith in the concept of the American Dream.

And I think it's useful at times like this to turn to the real experts -- people like you, who are leaders in the

professions and know first-hand the kinds of challenges women face every day in our society.

You know that the path to rebuilding our families, our communities, and our most vital institutions requires us not only to value the work women do, but also their vision. The vision that comes from being the primary caretaker in a family -- whether caring for children, aging parents, or siblings. The vision that comes from working against the odds to succeed in a profession that was once off-limits to women. The vision that comes from having to weigh day-in and day-out the balance between career and family.

One of the most interesting pieces of research I've seen recently was a survey released earlier this month by the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor. In an unprecedented outreach effort, this Administration asked more than 250,000 women to fill out surveys about their lives.

What we heard is that women who are in the workforce -- outside the home -- want the same things all of us want. They want respect. They want equal pay for the work they do. They want the opportunity to balance their work and family responsibilities. And they don't think they are getting enough of those choices now.

When the results of this survey, called *Women Count*, were announced in Washington a few weeks ago, three women spoke about their personal experiences. One woman had joined the workforce late in life and talked about how important work was for her because it provided health insurance for her family. Another woman spoke about how difficult it was to go home at the end of the day and take care of her children's needs, particularly to help with homework, to listen, to be there for them. And the third woman had been in a non-traditional job, raised three daughters as a single mother, and all she really wanted was the chance to compete for promotion and job opportunities she thought she deserved.

As I listened to each of these women I knew that, at one time or another, I had been in every situation they found themselves in -- and I think most of us can say that. I knew the feelings they described. The conflict. The guilt. The excitement. The confusion. The hopes and dreams.

All my life, since I started with part-time jobs or sought part-time jobs [name some of them], I had known how difficult it would be to do what I wanted to do. At every turn, it seemed there was someone who was willing to dispense advice to me -- usually advice discouraging me from taking an uncharted path.

But I think all of us in this room, and all of the women who

stay at home doing an incredible job raising their children full-time, know that there is only one person who really knows what path is appropriate for a woman -- and that is the woman herself, Each of us must make choices that fit the particular circumstances of our individual lives. And those choices must be respected, rather than labeled or categorized or judged by some irrelevant or out-of-date standard.

- So we must support one another. Be mentors. Be active.

4 I think about the choices I've been able to make. I was able to take some time off when my daughter Chelsea was born. For the most part, I've been able to work in jobs that allowed me to go to her school activities and be at home most nights and weekends.

In my office at the White House we've tried to be sensitive to women with small children and other family obligations by enabling our colleagues to work from home when they needed to or arrange their hours in ways that maximize their flexibility. One woman even brought her baby into the office with her, which worked remarkably well because everyone was anxious to help her succeed at a point in her life and career when there were extraordinary demands on her time and energy.

We can also make progress on a larger scale, and the President has begun to do that -- not only by signing the Family and Medical Leave law and working to pass the Earned Income Tax Credit -- but through the appointments he has made.

He has appointed some of the most qualified people ever to sit on the federal bench. And it just so happens that those appointments include more women and people of color to the judiciary than ever before. The same is true for the senior levels of government.

Hopefully, in the jobs they do, those appointees will reflect the choices and experiences -- in short, the vision -- that comes from being a woman in our society. That might mean inspiring a sense of cooperation and community to help resolve conflicts. Or it might mean being demanding and aggressive on issues affecting children and families.

And that is true for all of us, no matter what jobs or roles we do, or what choices we make for ourselves. Whether you are Madeleine Albright, Laura Tyson, the President of the Nurses Association, the head of the PTA, or the neighborhood mom who knocks on doors registering people to vote, your voice and vision as a woman are essential to our progress as a society.

I look around this room and there is so much excitement here. Excitement about the jobs you do, the causes you believe in, the contributions you make in your personal and professional lives.

And I'm reminded of the wonderful words of Madam C. J. Walker, who laid the foundation for the black hair care business in this country. She said: "I got myself a start by giving myself a start"

And I think the same can be true for all of us collectively, if we continue to share our energy, spirit, and vision so that our voices as women are heard, our vision is respected, and our choices remains ours alone to make.

Thank you very much.

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[Acknowledgments:]

It is a great privilege for me to be with all of you this morning, and also to be in the company of and who share my deep commitment to improving the health and health care of women in this country.

Like so many of the issues important to women, we have learned -- from our battles for health care, child care, reproductive rights, equal pay -- that we must be equal partners with men in the leadership positions and in the agenda-setting meetings in order to influence what goes on in the public and private sector.

And we have learned that the struggle for the substance of an issue can't even begin without first a struggle to gain a seat in the discussion.

But women have made significant progress here. Unprecedented numbers of women are in executive boardrooms and cabinet level posts today. And I'm especially pleased by the progress women have made in the legal profession. The total number of women lawyers and judges has grown from 5% in 1970 to 24% in 1990. And while only 8.5% of law school students in 1970 were women, by 1990, 44% of the law school students were women.

That means women are going to be able to bring their unique perspectives and experiences to the legal system for the benefit of women as well as for the benefit of society -- from how the laws are interpreted to which cases are heard, from who gets representation to who becomes partner, women, like yourselves, are changing the face and function of the legal system in meaningful ways.

But challenges still remain in the legal profession as they do elsewhere. Women report greater and increasing dissatisfaction with the practice of law. Women of color continue to hit barriers even at the entry level, while all women strike the glass ceiling at the top of the profession.

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But I think all of us in this room, and all of the women who stay at home doing an incredible job raising their children full-time, know that there is only one person who really knows what path is appropriate for a woman -- and that is the woman herself. Each of us must make choices that fit the particular circumstances of our individual lives. And those choices must be respected, rather than labeled or categorized or judged by some irrelevant of out-of-date standard.

So we must support one another. Serve as mentors for younger women. And be activists in our struggle for career opportunities and personal happiness. I know that you are here because you have a sense of the challenges and struggles we face -- not only as women, but as a society. And

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NOVEMBER 30, 1994

[Acknowledgements: Elinor Guggenheimer, Mrs. Cuomo, Mrs. Guiliani, Gloria Steinem (chair of the breakfast)]

It is a great privilege for me to be with all of you this morning, and also to be in the company of John Mack Carter, Coy Ecklund, and Howard Rubenstein, who have done so much to support women over the years.

I think it's important not to underestimate their contributions, nor the contributions that all of you have made in furthering the women's agenda here in New York, because ultimately progress depends on a cooperative effort involving women and men working together. Not just making token efforts but really getting involved, giving time and energy and resources, and being willing to stand up for the causes you believe in.

Ellie mentioned a range of issues that NYWA will be working on in the coming year. The fact that women from 53 organizations have come together to make their voices heard on such issues as economic empowerment, child care, elder care, foster care, domestic violence and so many others, speaks to the universality of women's concerns.

You are involved because you have a sense of the challenges and struggles we face -- not only as women, but as a society. And you share a vision of how we might meet those challenges to become the kind of society we ought to be.

At a time when the world is undergoing dramatic change, when there is a rise in insecurity and anxiety caused by rapid economic and social transformation, we have to rebuild. We have to rebuild how we see the world, and how we see ourselves. We have to overcome cynicism, discrimination, and hatred.

But we must also work to alleviate the legitimate ^{fact} discontent of people -- men and women -- who are struggling to make their way in our society. People who are working hard for seemingly fewer rewards. People who are squeezed from inside and out -- financially, personally, and professionally. People who have lost faith in the concept of the American Dream.

And I think it's useful at times like this to turn to the experts -- experts like you, who are leaders in the professions

*future children -
not
better
than
then*

and know first-hand the kinds of challenges women face every day in our society.

You know that the path to rebuilding our families, our communities, and our most vital institutions requires us not only to value the work women do, but also their vision. The vision that comes from being the primary caretaker in a family -- whether caring for children, aging parents, or siblings. The vision that comes from working against the odds to succeed in a profession that was once off-limits to women. The vision that comes from having to weigh day-in and day-out the balance between career and family.

One of the most interesting pieces of research I've seen recently was a survey released earlier this month by the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor. In an unprecedented outreach effort, this Administration asked more than 250,000 women to fill out surveys about their lives. I'm sure some of you in this room were involved, and I'm grateful for your help.

What we heard is that women who are in the workforce -- outside the home -- want the same things all of us want. They want respect. They want equal pay for the work they do. They want the opportunity to balance their work and family responsibilities. And they don't think they are getting enough of those choices now.

The Clinton Administration is committed to a broad agenda to help women realize their full potential whether they choose to remain at home or go into the workforce. Or whether they are, like many of us, sandwiched in the middle of a difficult balancing act.

The results of the survey were published in a study called *Women Count*. And when it was announced in Washington a few weeks ago, three women spoke about their personal experiences. One woman had joined the workforce late in life and talked about how important work was for her because it provided health insurance for her family. Another woman spoke about how difficult it was to go home at the end of the day and take care of her children's needs, particularly to help with homework, to listen, to be there for them. And the third woman had been in a non-traditional job, raised three daughters as a single mother, and all she really wanted was the chance to compete for promotion and job opportunities she thought she deserved.

As I listened to each of these women I knew that, at one time or another, I had been in every situation they found themselves in -- and I think most of us can say that. I knew the feelings they described. The conflict. The guilt. The excitement. The confusion. The hopes and dreams.

All my life, since I started with part-time jobs [name some of them], I had known how difficult it would be to do what I wanted to do. At every turn, it seemed there was someone who was willing to dispense advice to me -- usually advice discouraging me from taking an uncharted path. And usually the person giving it was a man who thought he knew which life choices were appropriate for girls or women to make.

But I think all of us in this room, and all of the women who stay at home doing an incredible job raising their children full-time, know that there is only one person who really knows what path is appropriate -- and that is the woman herself, or the woman in consultation with her family and friends. Each of us must make choices that fit the particular circumstances of our individual lives. And those choices must be respected, rather than labeled or categorized or judged on some irrelevant standard.

I think about the choices I've been able to make. I was able to take some time off when my daughter was born. For the most part, I've been able to work in jobs that allowed me to go to her school activities and to be home most nights and weekends.

We all do a part. In my home, in particular.
~~Even~~ at The White House we've tried to be sensitive to women with small children and other family obligations by enabling them to work from home when they need to or arrange their hours in ways that maximize their flexibility. ~~We even had~~ one woman bring a little baby into the office with her, which worked remarkably well because everyone was anxious to help her succeed at a time when there were extraordinary demands on her time and energy. *our colleagues*

In one sense, these are small steps. But in another sense, they are enormous steps. When you consider, as the *Women Count* survey reported, that 63 percent of mothers with small children give a high priority to getting paid leave to care for relatives . . . that 56 percent of women with children under age five say finding affordable child care is a serious problem . . . then it's no surprise that stress ranks as the number one problem for working women. Because every day, in every job that women do in this society, we struggle with these issues.

In each of our workplaces we can do a great deal to ensure that working conditions enable women to flourish and fulfill their obligations.

We can also make progress on a larger scale, and the President has begun to do that -- not only by signing the Family and Medical Leave law or working for the Earned Income Tax Credit -- but through the appointments he has made.

He has appointed the most qualified people ever to sit on the federal bench. And it just so happens that those appointments

WOMEN IN LAW

A look at the numbers ...

In assessing the status of women in the profession, the Commission continues to collect statistical information that accurately reflects the increasing participation of women in all areas of the legal profession.

The total number of women lawyers and judges has grown dramatically since 1970, according to the U.S. Census:

YEAR	TOTAL LAWYERS/JUDGES	TOTAL WOMEN	% WOMEN
1970	274,253	14,225	5%
1980	455,642	74,037	14%
1990	589,326	190,145	24%

Women currently represent approximately 25% of all ABA members, slightly more than their number in the profession.

The number of women in law school also has increased significantly according to the ABA Section of Legal Education and Admissions to the Bar:

YEAR	TOTAL WOMEN LAW STUDENTS	% WOMEN
1970	6,682	8.5%
1975	26,020	23.4%
1980	40,834	34.1%
1990	54,097	42.5%
1992	56,644	42.6%

The Commission has undertaken an analysis of statistical data on women lawyers. A report, entitled *Women in the Law: A Look at the Numbers*, should be available in late 1994.

SOURCE: American Bar Association
Commission on Women in the Profession
(312) 988-5668

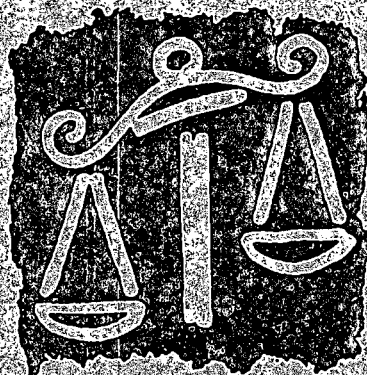
1993-1994 Class
ABA accredited law schools (95% of all law schools)
44% of all law students were female

1990 Census Bureau
190,145 total number women lawyers and judges
24% of all lawyers and judges

In the Justice Department, the attorney general, the deputy attorney general and seven of the 11 assistant attorney generals are women.

OPTIONS AND OBSTACLES

A SURVEY OF THE STUDIES OF THE CAREERS OF WOMEN LAWYERS



American Bar Association
Commission on Women in the Profession

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