lm draft 11/28/94

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.

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. 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 or sought part-time jobs [name some of them, like working in a fish cannery (?) or thinking about joining the National Guard], 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.

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 to be home most nights and weekends.

We all can play a part in helping women make the right choices for their particular situations. 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 need 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.

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 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 bench than ever before. There is no conflict in filling important positions and finding qualified women and qualified minorities if you're willing to work at it. And this President gets up every day thinking that he was elected to represent the entire country and he will continue to do whatever he can to give women opportunities to exercise real power.

[End of speech still to be finished]

NOV-23-1994 17:15 FROM TO 94565709 P.02

Background Information*

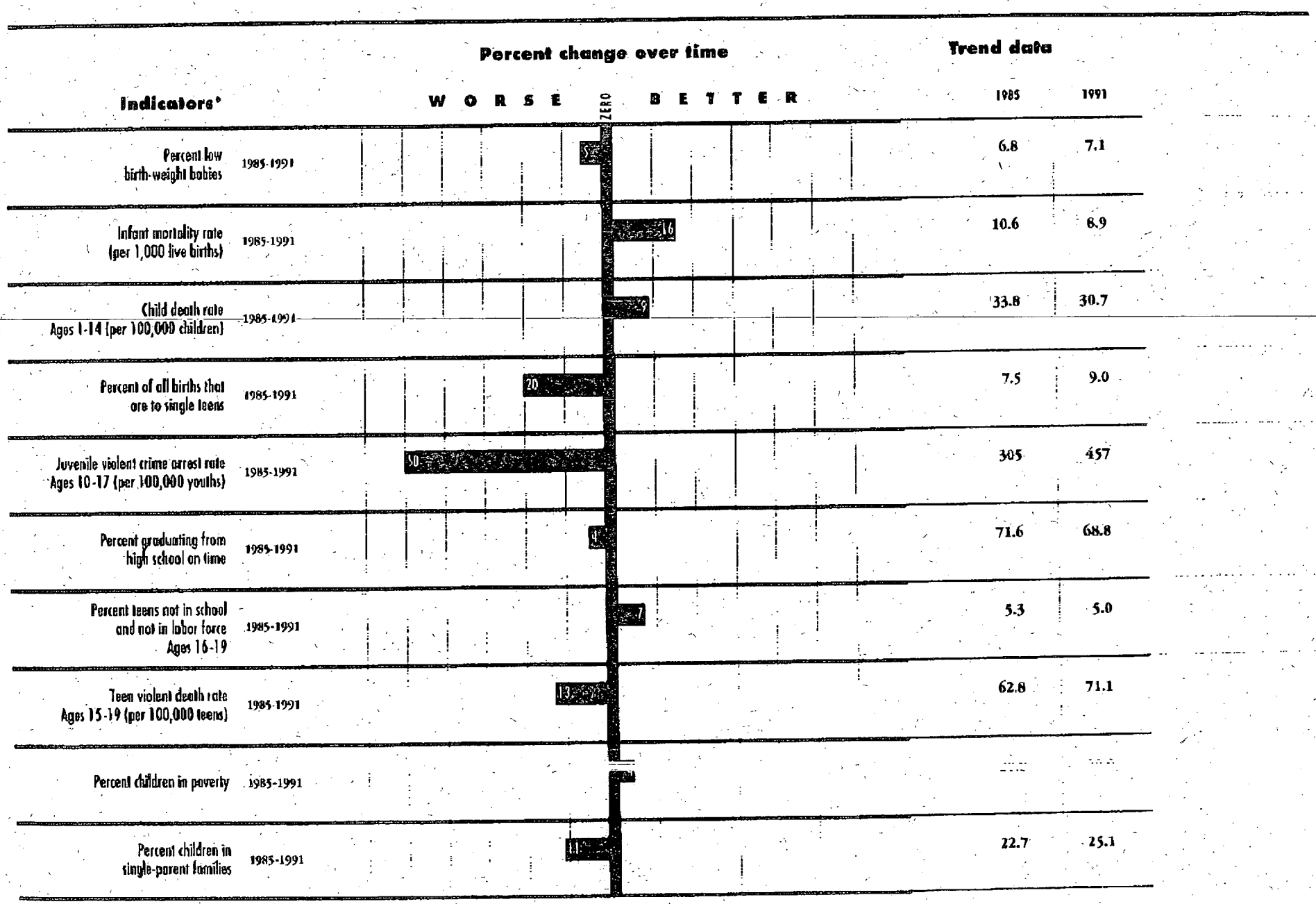
Population under age 18	[63,604,432]	Percent population under age 18	[25.6%]	Median income of families with children in 1991	[$34,175]
Minority population under age 18	[19,678,741]	Percent population under age 18 that is minority	[30.9%]	Percent of mother-headed families receiving child support or alimony in 1991	[31.4%]
Children ages 5-17 who do not speak English at home	[6,322,934]	Percent children ages 5-17 who do not speak English at home	[13.9%]	AFDC and Food Stamp benefits as percent of poverty line in 1993	[64.6%]
				Percent of children without health insurance in 1991	[12.6%]
Women in labor force with youngest child under age 6	[9,095,156]	Percent women with youngest child under age 6 who are in the labor force	[59.7%]	Percent of children living in overcrowded housing	[16.1%]
Women in labor force with youngest child ages 6-17	[12,367,705]	Percent women with youngest child ages 6-17 who are in the labor force	[75.0%]	Percent of children living in houses without complete plumbing or kitchen facilities	[1.2%]
Children under age 6 with both or only parent in the labor force	[12,043,581]	Percent children under age 6 with both or only parent in labor force	[54.9%]		
Children under age 18 with both or only parent in the labor force	[38,864,215]	Percent children under age 18 with both or only parent in the labor force	[61.1%]	Percent of children living in severely distressed neighborhoods	
Children under age 18 who are not living with a parent	[2,727,451]	Percent children under age 18 who are not living with a parent	[4.3%]	United States	6.2%

Statistics are based on 1990 data unless otherwise indicated. See Definitions and Data Sources, page 155.

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United States Profile

USA



*See Definitions and Data Sources, page 155.

■ Solid bars indicate national change.

NOV-23-1994 17:16 FROM TO 94565709 P.05

States in Rank Order by Indicator

Child death rate
Ages 1-14 (per 100,000 children)
1991

Rank	State	Rate	Rank	State	Rate
1	New Hampshire	18.9	27	Wyoming	31.8
2	Massachusetts	19.3	27	Indiana	31.8
3	Vermont	20.7	29	Maryland	32.0
4	Maine	21.5	30	Michigan	32.1
5	Hawaii	22.6	31	South Carolina	32.4
5	North Dakota	22.6	31	Montana	32.4
7	Minnesota	23.0	33	Texas	32.8
8	Washington	23.6	34	Nevada	32.9
9	Connecticut	23.7	35	Kansas	33.5
10	New Jersey	24.6	36	Arizona	33.6
11	Delaware	24.8	36	Illinois	33.6
12	Rhode Island	25.4	38	Oklahoma	34.2
13	Iowa	26.6	39	Tennessee	34.9
14	Ohio	27.2	40	Florida	35.1
15	Pennsylvania	27.7	41	Louisiana	35.3
15	Colorado	27.7	42	Idaho	35.5
17	Virginia	27.8	43	Georgia	35.6
18	Oregon	27.9	44	North Carolina	35.7
19	Nebraska	28.5	45	South Dakota	35.8
20	California	28.9	46	New Mexico	36.9
21	Wisconsin	29.5	47	Kentucky	37.0
22	Utah	29.7	48	Alabama	37.6
23	New York	30.7	49	Mississippi	41.1
24	Alaska	30.3	50	Arkansas	44.3
25	West Virginia	30.7	51	District of Columbia	55.4
26	Missouri	31.3			

Percent of all births that are to single teens
1991

Rank	State	Rate	Rank	State	Rate
1	Utah	5.4	25	Wisconsin	8.3
1	New Hampshire	5.4	28	Oregon	8.5
3	Texas	6.3	29	Nevada	8.7
4	North Dakota	6.6	30	Pennsylvania	9.0
4	Minnesota	6.6	31	Michigan	9.1
6	Idaho	6.7	32	Kentucky	9.3
7	Vermont	6.8	33	West Virginia	9.8
7	Massachusetts	6.8	34	Delaware	9.9
9	Connecticut	6.9	35	Oklahoma	10.0
10	Alaska	7.0	36	Florida	10.2
10	New Jersey	7.0	37	Missouri	10.3
12	Nebraska	7.3	37	Indiana	10.3
13	New York	7.5	39	Illinois	10.5
14	Washington	7.6	40	Ohio	10.6
15	Iowa	7.8	41	Arizona	11.1
15	Hawaii	7.8	42	Tennessee	11.3
17	Colorado	8.0	43	North Carolina	11.5
17	California	8.0	44	Arkansas	11.9
19	Virginia	8.1	45	Georgia	12.0
20	Wyoming	8.2	45	Alabama	12.0
20	Maine	8.2	47	New Mexico	12.2
20	Maryland	8.2	48	South Carolina	12.9
20	Kansas	8.2	49	Louisiana	13.3
20	South Dakota	8.2	50	Mississippi	16.2
25	Rhode Island	8.3	51	District of Columbia	16.5
25	Montana	8.3			

Juvenile violent crime arrest rate
Ages 10-17 (per 100,000 youths)
1991

Rank	State	Rate	Rank	State	Rate
1	Vermont	45	27	Oklahoma	339
2	North Dakota	59	28	Washington	342
3	West Virginia	74	29	Wisconsin	343
4	New Hampshire	79	30	Texas	346
5	Wyoming	87	31	Utah	347
6	Montana	88	32	Idaho	352
7	Maine	107	33	New Mexico	357
8	South Dakota	112	34	Pennsylvania	367
9	Nebraska	119	35	Michigan	373
10	Iowa	157	36	North Carolina	379
11	Alabama	190	37	Indiana	421
12	Minnesota	196	38	Delaware	459
13	Virginia	214	39	Connecticut	460
13	Alaska	214	40	Louisiana	483
15	Hawaii	248	41	Colorado	489
16	Arkansas	249	42	Massachusetts	493
17	Mississippi	255	43	Arizona	506
18	South Carolina	258	44	Rhode Island	542
18	Kentucky	258	45	Missouri	558
20	Oregon	280	46	Maryland	620
21	Georgia	285	47	California	695
22	Nevada	297	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
23	Ohio	320	49	Florida	757
24	Kansas	322	50	New York	963
25	Illinois	334	51	District of Columbia	1,437
25	Tennessee	334			

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States in Rank Order by Indicator

Percent graduating from high school on time
1991

Rank	State	Rate	Rank	State	Rate
1	Minnesota	88.3	27	Alaska	72.3
2	Wyoming	85.7	28	Missouri	71.0
3	North Dakota	85.6	29	Maryland	70.4
4	Montana	85.5	30	Washington	69.8
5	Nebraska	84.0	31	Oregon	69.7
6	Connecticut	81.8	32	Virginia	69.5
7	Wisconsin	79.9	33	Michigan	69.4
8	New Jersey	79.5	34	Rhode Island	69.3
9	Iowa	79.4	35	Kentucky	69.0
10	South Dakota	78.3	36	Delaware	68.9
10	West Virginia	78.3	37	Tennessee	68.7
12	Massachusetts	77.5	38	Arizona	68.2
13	Kansas	77.2	39	North Carolina	67.3
14	Arkansas	76.7	39	Alabama	67.3
15	Maine	76.3	41	Texas	67.0
16	Idaho	75.7	42	Hawaii	65.1
17	Pennsylvania	75.4	43	Georgia	62.7
18	Oklahoma	74.9	44	California	61.9
19	Utah	74.7	45	Mississippi	61.0
20	New Hampshire	74.3	46	South Carolina	60.9
21	Ohio	74.1	47	New York	59.1
22	Indiana	73.7	48	New Mexico	57.0
23	Nevada	73.2	49	Florida	56.4
24	Illinois	73.0	50	Louisiana	56.0
25	[illegible]	[illegible]	51	District of Columbia	50.6
26	Vermont	72.4			

Percent teens not in school and not in labor force
Ages 16-19
1991

Rank	State	Rate	Rank	State	Rate
1	North Dakota	2.1	27	Maryland	4.9
2	Wisconsin	2.2	28	Alabama	5.0
3	Kansas	2.3	28	Arkansas	5.0
4	Rhode Island	2.5	28	Alaska	5.0
5	Minnesota	2.7	31	Texas	5.1
6	Iowa	2.8	31	New York	5.1
7	Connecticut	2.9	33	Hawaii	5.2
7	Maine	2.9	34	Delaware	5.4
9	South Dakota	3.0	35	Utah	5.5
10	Nebraska	3.1	36	Montana	5.6
10	Massachusetts	3.1	37	Kentucky	5.7
10	Idaho	3.1	37	Tennessee	5.7
13	Virginia	3.3	37	California	5.7
14	Colorado	3.4	40	Illinois	5.8
15	Missouri	3.5	40	Georgia	5.8
15	Wyoming	3.5	42	West Virginia	6.0
17	Vermont	3.6	43	Nevada	6.3
18	Pennsylvania	3.7	44	Florida	6.5
19	Ohio	3.8	45	Washington	6.6
20	New Hampshire	4.2	45	Michigan	6.6
20	Oregon	4.2	47	New Mexico	6.8
22	South Carolina	4.5	48	Oklahoma	7.2
23	Arizona	4.6	48	Mississippi	7.2
23	New Jersey	4.6	50	Louisiana	7.3
25	[illegible]	[illegible]	51	District of Columbia	16.1
26	North Carolina	4.8			

NOV-23-1994 17:17 FROM TO 94565709 P.07

States in Rank Order by Indicator

Teen violent death rate
Ages 15-19 (per 100,000 teens)
1991

Rank	State	Rate	Rank	State	Rate
1	Hawaii	31.5	27	Maine	71.8
2	Delaware	34.9	28	North Carolina	72.3
3	New Jersey	37.3	29	Montana	72.4
4	Rhode Island	38.1	30	West Virginia	73.4
5	Massachusetts	45.7	31	Kansas	73.8
6	Utah	47.8	32	Illinois	73.9
7	Pennsylvania	49.1	33	Indiana	75.9
8	Minnesota	49.3	34	Michigan	77.0
9	New Hampshire	52.9	35	Georgia	78.0
10	Ohio	54.8	36	California	80.8
11	Nebraska	56.3	37	Texas	81.1
11	Connecticut	56.3	38	Tennessee	81.3
13	Vermont	56.4	39	Arizona	83.5
14	North Dakota	60.0	40	Oklahoma	87.4
15	New York	61.5	41	South Carolina	88.0
16	Wisconsin	62.5	42	Missouri	90.0
17	Washington	63.1	43	Alabama	91.9
18	Virginia	63.9	44	Nevada	93.5
19	Iowa	64.8	45	New Mexico	94.0
20	Idaho	65.5	46	Louisiana	94.8
21	Maryland	66.7	47	Arkansas	95.5
22	[illegible]	[illegible]	48	Mississippi	98.0
23	Oregon	68.2	49	Wyoming	105.6
24	Kentucky	70.0	50	Alaska	112.8
25	South Dakota	70.6	51	District of Columbia	278.8
26	Colorado	71.2			

Percent children in poverty
1991

Rank	State	Rate	Rank	State	Rate
1	New Hampshire	8.7	27	Missouri	18.4
2	Connecticut	10.2	28	Minnesota	18.5
3	Delaware	11.7	29	Maine	18.7
4	Utah	12.1	30	North Carolina	18.9
5	Iowa	12.3	30	Indiana	18.9
6	Washington	12.5	32	Michigan	20.5
7	Wyoming	12.6	33	Montana	20.7
8	Wisconsin	12.7	34	Illinois	20.9
9	Vermont	13.2	35	California	21.7
10	New Jersey	13.4	35	Oklahoma	21.7
11	Kansas	13.9	37	Arizona	22.1
11	Alaska	13.9	38	New York	22.5
13	Rhode Island	14.0	39	Florida	22.9
14	Nevada	14.2	40	Kentucky	23.2
15	Oregon	14.3	41	South Carolina	23.9
16	Virginia	14.4	42	Texas	24.1
16	Nebraska	14.4	43	Georgia	24.3
18	Maryland	14.5	44	Alabama	24.6
19	North Dakota	15.5	45	Arkansas	24.9
20	Massachusetts	15.9	46	Tennessee	25.8
21	Pennsylvania	16.2	47	West Virginia	26.4
22	Idaho	17.0	48	New Mexico	28.7
23	South Dakota	17.1	49	District of Columbia	29.5
23	Colorado	17.1			
25	Ohio	17.3	50	Louisiana	32.8
26	Hawaii	17.4	51	Mississippi	33.9

Percent children in single-parent families
1991

Rank	State	Rate	Rank	State	Rate
1	North Dakota	14.4	25	Texas	22.8
2	Utah	14.8	28	Virginia	23.3
3	Idaho	15.1	29	Arizona	23.7
4	Iowa	16.0	30	New Jersey	23.8
5	Nebraska	16.3	31	California	24.3
6	Wyoming	17.7	32	Kentucky	24.8
7	New Hampshire	19.5	33	Nevada	24.9
8	Vermont	19.6	34	Arkansas	25.8
9	Hawaii	20.2	34	Colorado	25.8
10	South Dakota	20.3	34	Massachusetts	25.8
11	Kansas	20.7	37	North Carolina	26.1
11	Washington	20.7	38	Michigan	27.5
13	Rhode Island	20.8	38	South Carolina	27.5
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19	Maine	21.7	46	New York	29.8
21	Alaska	21.8	47	Florida	30.7
22	Minnesota	21.9	48	Louisiana	31.9
23	West Virginia	22.4	49	Tennessee	32.6
24	Ohio	22.5	50	Mississippi	34.9
25	Missouri	22.6	51	District of Columbia	57.3
25	New Mexico	22.8			

include more women and people of color to the bench than ever before. There is no conflict in filling important positions and finding qualified women and qualified minorities if you're willing to work at it. And this President gets up every day thinking that he was elected to represent the entire country and he will continue to do whatever he can to give women opportunities to exercise real power.

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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 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 with their children, 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.

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 -- even pushy -- when it comes to issues affecting children and families.

And that is true for all of us, no matter what jobs or roles we're in, 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, the neighborhood mom who knocks on doors registering people to vote, or the grandmother who sits on the porch and tells stories to kids on the block, 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 remain ours alone to make.

Thank you very much.

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John Mack Carter
(NY Women's Agenda Star Breakfast)

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HEADLINE: GOOD HOUSEKEEPING EDITOR IS GOOD GUY

BYLINE: Thomas Huang Dallas Morning News

BODY:

John Mack Carter's enlightenment came in the form of a hundred women protesting what they saw as his magazine's failure to cover women's rights issues.

New York, 1968. The activists stormed his office. You're not doing anything to empower us, they told Carter, then editor of Ladies' Home Journal. He had no defense.

"I said I would search my soul," he recalls.

Some 26 years later, Carter, who has edited Good Housekeeping since 1975, has come a long way, his supporters say. He has been an advocate for women in the battle for fair pay and against the corporate glass ceiling and sexual harassment.

His most pressing project, he says, is to persuade editors and publishers to join a multimedia advertisement campaign to stop sexual harassment. His ongoing project is to keep Good Housekeeping, which reaches 28 million readers, relevant as more and more women work outside of the home.

These projects share the goal of empowering women, Carter said in an interview during the annual conference of Women in Communications Inc. held recently in Dallas.

"Power is the big issue that divides men and women." Carter, one of the first male members of the professional organization, says men hold power, women want power, but men are reluctant to give it - any of it - away.

"I view my mission as an opportunity to bring about change and make that change - fraught with all its awkwardness and stress - as easy as possible and as rewarding as possible for women."

The magazine publisher has served on commissions that highlighted the need for more child care and for the hiring and promotion of more women in workplaces, including the newsroom.

"His work is phenomenal," says Carol Fenstermacher, president of Women in Communications Inc. "He understands what women go through, which is real rare for someone who doesn't live it every day. He's very committed, not just to women, but to equity in the workplace."

Is Good Housekeeping an unlikely perch from which to work on women's rights? Not at all, says Kathy Bonk, co-director of the Communications Consortium, a media group that focuses on family, women's and environmental issues.

"There's an image that homemakers are more conservative and traditional, but I live in the suburbs of Rochester, New York, and I know homemakers going back to school and work," says Bonk, who has worked on women's rights campaigns with Carter.

"There's a hotbed of women's rights supporters in suburban America," she says. "What John did is, he took public positions because he really believed in these issues and found his readers were very tolerant and supportive."

But for major changes to occur in the workplace, Carter argues, women must shatter the corporate glass ceiling. Greater numbers must become directors, chief executive officers and senior managers.

One positive change would be to reduce incidents of sexual harassment.

"Short of rape, the threat of sexual harassment is one of the most violent acts against women," Carter says in his conference speech, which is often interrupted by applause and cheers from the crowd.

"It's tricky. Insidious crimes are conducted quickly, and there are no clear lines. Allegations can be hard to prove, and justice can be elusive. The victim who steps forward puts her livelihood at risk."

Carter, recognized by the National Women's Political Caucus as one of 10 "Good Guys" in 1985, will represent Hearst Magazines (which publishes Good Housekeeping) in a campaign against sexual harassment. Women in Communications Inc. will launch the campaign in January, with the help of Hearst; Capital Cities/ABC Inc.; and advertising firm Bozell Worldwide.

He says he has persuaded editors at publications including Time, Newsweek, U.S. News & World Report, Parade and Working Woman to run anti-harassment ads that will reach as many as 100 million subscribers.

Good Housekeeping, whose name brings to mind recipes, makeover tips and celebrity interviews, has undergone a subtle makeover of its own, says Carter, who also is director of magazine development for Hearst Magazines.

You'll still find a raisin-bread pudding recipe and a Jaclyn Smith fashion spread in recent issues. But you'll also find articles on how to choose the appropriate birth control, finance a college education and understand legal contracts.

Carter is "really working in the framework of Good Housekeeping, but trying to stay at the cutting edge, as far as his readers would let him go," Bonk says.

The publication has won two National Magazine Awards for Personal Service in the past five years.

"Good Housekeeping recognizes women in the workplace and enables them to be successful outside the house" by providing them with tips on how to be more effective at home and outside, he says.

Married for more than 25 years, Carter speaks with the experience of having watched his son and daughter enter into marriages where each partner shares the housework.

"All four are working, and I see teamwork there," he says. "They share the workload, cooking load, they clean up - everything. That, I think, is wonderful."

LOAD-DATE-MDC: October 23, 1994

I have been asked to speak to you today about the glass ceiling and African American women. I will talk about the glass ceiling in the all the typical ways. I'll tell you what you expect to hear. I will tell you again what you've already heard or read or sighed about.

It is tough. There are breakthroughs but it is still an uphill battle. To be African American and woman -- even in the 1990s, even in America, even with Bill Clinton as President, even with Hillary Clinton as First Lady -- to be African American and woman requires more energy, more tolerance and more faith. It just plain requires more.

I will talk to you about the low expectations of others and how such expectations are related to keeping the glass ceiling above our heads strong and seemingly unbreakable. And I want to talk a little about how the potent mix of sexism and racism conspires against promotions, early mentorships, fair wages, and informal networking.

But much of what is said today will focus on the personal struggle for achievement and building individual power and confidence. Because we know from history -- the kind we read about and the kind of history we see in the making --- in our own homes and in our own neighborhoods -- what can be accomplished by sheer force of will and few resources.

What is this "glass ceiling"? The Department of Labor offers a technical definition. "The term glass ceiling refers to the obstacles that some believe inhibit the advancement of women and minorities through the management ranks in the private and public sectors. The term refers to the attitudinal and organizational; practices which impede promotion and opportunities for women who work outside the home."

Let's talk plainly for a moment about these obstacles. The attitudinal obstacles are familiar. We are discriminated against because we are women and because we are African American women.

There is a longstanding belief among many in this country that African Americans are less smart, less hardworking, less able. And many folks are operating from that belief. In the American workplace that view of you and me still exists.

Not to sound paranoid but in my own job I am aware that when I open my mouth at a meeting it is a tiny test. People are listening, rating my contribution. For some of my colleagues, there is still the unspoken question, "Is she smart enough, good enough for this job?"

What you and I also know from our daily experiences is that many also believe that African Americans are not honest or trustworthy. This is made painfully clear when we walk into a store and are followed around by security guards.

So if we live and want to work in a society which is burdened by false notions of the kind of people we are -- less smart, less hardworking, less able, dishonest, untrustworthy -- the logical extension of these low expectations is that we aren't fit for the top jobs. We don't have the qualities they are looking for even if we have the qualifications.

Many of the organizational obstacles which stand in our way are subtle, harder to pin down. These obstacles are connected to the way business has been done for years in this country. And the traditions have been set by those who have run the business of this country both public and private -- white males.

For example, business is often conducted in social and informal settings. Such settings often exclude women and minorities -- not only keeping them out of the "information loop" but also narrowing the opportunities they have to demonstrate compatibility or the ability to fit in.

Compatibility and "fitting in" tend to be significant factors when it comes to promotions, getting plum assignments or courting possible mentors.

Clearly one of the great benefits of having more and more women in significant positions in both the private and public sectors is that old girl networks which rival the "old boy networks" are beginning to be put in place and are functioning.

Let me stop here and try to catch up to where you are right now. First, it's Saturday. This is no day to listen to a speech -- especially one that keeps bringing bad news. This is fast becoming one of those "Shut up, its boring already presentations" because the glass ceiling and Department of labor reports and three martini business lunches seemed so far removed from what your lives are like today. There is such a short distant between now and your future.

Believe me when I tell you the decisions you make today are absolutely connected to what your lives will be like tomorrow. I want to emphasize this point, not to scare you, although it still scares me. I will say it again. The decisions you make today are absolutely connected to what your lives will be like tomorrow.

Alice Allison Dunnigan was the first African American woman to receive congressional and White House Press credentials.(explain)

She was the first African American woman reporter to travel with a president. In 1948 she covered President Truman on his cross country campaign trip while reporting for the Associated Negro Press. Dunnigan's success in 1948 had a great deal to do with the passions, aspirations and decisions of her youth.

Dunnigan loved learning. She worked hard in school and was at the top of her high school class. She graduated valedictorian. She married very young. Had some slow and false starts. She finally finished her undergraduate degree in 1932 in Paducah, Kentucky. For a while she taught school. While teaching she decided to write articles for black newspapers in the state, picking up some solid journalistic skills. Wanting a better economic condition for herself and a young son she moved from Kentucky, passed the civil service exam and worked as an entry clerk. She was promoted in time to a first rung professional in the Office of Price Administration. Dunnigan lost her government job and decided to devote some time to building a career in journalism.

In 1946 she signed on as a correspondent for the Associated Negro Press. And the rest as they say is history.

There is not enough time to tell the entire story of Maggie Lena Walker, an African American and the first woman bank president in the United States or the story of Roger Arliner Young the first African American woman to earn a doctoral degree in zoology or of Ella Baker, the brilliant political organizer and a founder of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committeeing or of Hazel O'Leary the current Secretary of Energy.

But each of these women took charge of their lives as young women. They were able to see opportunity and to take advantage. I am not going to tell you that each had a grand plan. From what I read, most of them didn't. Mistakes were made. And mistakes were fixed. But they understood their lives were their own to shape. And lives are shaped by the choices we make.

I love the words of Madam C. J. Walker who laid the foundation for the black hair care business in this country. Madam Walker said:

> "I got myself a start by giving myself a start. . . I am a woman who came from the cotton fields of the South. I was promoted from there to the washtub. Then I was promoted to the cook kitchen, and from there I promoted myself into the business of manufacturing hair goods and preparations. . .I have built my own factory on my own ground." p.1209 Black Women in America

Some of you may choose business or teaching or politics. Of equal value are the paths which lead to poetry, dance and painting. Look and learn from the lives of Faith Ringgold, the artist or Queen Latifah who led the way for women in "rap".

Being someone's partner in life and being someone's mother are choices which nurture and enrich us. And in my opinion the work of making African American families strong and secure is critical to the success of our success as a race.

However, I urge you not to take on the important work of taking care of children until you are clear that you can take care of yourself. If you are someone's mother already, I challenge you to work harder and longer preparing yourself so you have the skills that guarantee a decent life for your family.

Let's do a reality check here. Sometimes choices are made for us. For example, your current economic situation is pretty much dictated by your parents or grandparents or whomever you live with. And for many of your parents their economic choices have been dictated by the choices this country's past leadership has made.

The bottom line -- some in this room will have many more opportunities presented to them than others. This is all a part of the mystery of time and place and fate. But each person must find a way to make the most of their opportunities.

A glass ceiling does exist for us as African American women. It is my view that continued legal intervention on the part of federal and state governments is needed.

A glass ceiling does exist for African American women and those of us going before you and those who have gone before us are working steadily at pushing against the glass for you.

But if a glass ceiling exists in your own head you alone must shatter it. You must ignore the teachers and employers and anyone else who says you aren't smart enough or good enough. You must say yes to your own possibility and potential.

You must build and then hold on to a set of values which guide you and give you the courage to press against the glass. Let me tell you a few of mine.

1. Have faith in something outside of yourself. So when you falter or fail there is someplace to go to be renewed.

2. Set your own goals. Do what is right for you, what is manageable for you, what makes you feel good about yourself.

3. Having lots of money is not a goal. Place your sights on work that benefits others and satisfies your needs. The money will follow. And when it follows, get enough of it to have the things you need and some of the things you want.

4. Be disciplined, but not inflexible.

5. Pair creativity with practicality.

6. Be grateful to have been born African American, blessed with a legacy of struggle and a legacy of survival.

Visualize yourself with wings on the eighteenth floor of a 19 story building. You are ready to fly up to the very top floor and bam you bump your head on the ceiling. There's no way to fly up. You've just hit the glass ceiling. But there is hope.

There is one thing that has always been appealing about a glass ceiling -- glass can be broken.

Elinor Guggenheimer

Women Execs in public relations
Communications people
2+ yrs ago - ? got v. irritated by redistricting of council + Gracie Mansion keeping
- (no women involved in things)
called major heads of major women's to say not enough women
- greater interests than choice, sex harassment - we also care abt B'klyn Bridge falling down
- 10 organizations → now 53 women's organizations
- fashion, real estate, 100 bl. women, Korean women
- Event - this one we raise $$
- Corp'ns by tables - Chem Bank, Citibank,
- support central organization
- Mrs. Giuliani, Mrs. Cuomo, the 3 Koch Mrs.
- 501 C-3 non for profit
- Central Issues - (Linda Fairstein, Lucy Freeman)
- Love getting coordinators in E. Rooms - on domestic violence
- foster care
- jobs/econ committee - glass ceiling
- a lot of events - dealing w/ b. reform, bring all grps together; networking;
- Interested in having women have more say in kind of society we want
- HRC will be extremely popular w/ this group
* → What do we expect of women? What role should women play as 53% of the population

NOVEMBER 28, 1994

TO: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
FROM: LISSA MUSCATINE
RE: REMARKS TO THE NEW YORK WOMEN'S AGENDA BREAKFAST

The following is a ROUGH and PARTIAL draft of remarks for the NYWA, an umbrella organization representing women from 53 professions in New York who are trying to give women a greater voice in issues affecting the city (everything from domestic violence to repairing the Brooklyn Bridge). The audience will be about 3,000 people, mostly professional women but also some men and some guests of corporations that buy tables.

Elinor Guggenheimer suggested a speech about "the roles women play in our society, what we expect of women, etc." What I'm trying to do is take elements of your Hollywood Women's speech (your version, not mine, which I'm sending for your review) and weave in the following themes:

1) Women must have a voice in public life even as they work to integrate the various facets of their lives.

2) Women must have confidence in the choices they make -- and others must respect those choices.

3) Women have a unique vision, based on their special life experiences, that can help lead our society us on a path to progress and a restoration of the values and institutions we care most deeply about.

The end will say something about how women (because of their experiences) can help foster a spirit of cooperation, compromise, and community, but how we can also be aggressive and tough when it comes to our families and our children. This approach to life -- this vision -- is reflected by women at all levels (from Janet Reno to the neighbor who goes door-to-door registering voters) and is essential to our progress as a society.

I've also tried to make the themes inclusive, reminding people that many of the issues that women care about also are important to men, families, and children. (The men named at the beginning of the remarks are winning Honorable MEN-tions from NYWA -- the first men to be honored by the organization).

Hope this gives you an idea of where this is headed. Please steer me in another direction if I'm on the wrong track.

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
HOLLYWOOD WOMEN'S POLITICAL COMMITTEE
BEVERLY HILLS, CA
OCTOBER 28, 1994

TRANSCRIPT

Whoopi Goldberg: [Introduction]

(Applause)

First Lady: That was a most amazing introduction and I loved it. I just loved it. Thank you so much.

Whoopi Goldberg: You're welcome.

First Lady: Thanks. (Applause) Thank you. (Applause) Thank you all. Thank you so much.

Gee, I would've travelled forty hours instead of twenty to get here, to hear Chaka sing and hear Barbra talk about what's important and what's been accomplished and to hear me called 'very cool' by the high priestess of cool. I mean this is a great welcome home. (Applause)

I also am so pleased to be here with so many women and men whom I respect and admire and have become friends with and I'm so grateful for all of you supporting the work that has gone on for the last ten years by the Hollywood Women's Political Caucus, Committee. I am tired today.

Because without that work and without that commitment, a lot of very good candidates would not have been elected. And the people who are being supported this year need it more than ever in order to combat the misinformation and the propaganda and to get the message out.

I really believe that we are now ten days from an election where many candidates who were written off, were considered long shots are moving, and moving quickly to close the gap with their better financed opponents. And it is really a question of our momentum versus their money. And I believe that momentum is on the side of candidates like Kathleen Brown. And if she gets the resources to get her message out, she will win on November 8th. And that will be in large measure to many of you in this room.

And the same is true for Dianne, who has waged an extraordinary campaign based on accomplishments, based on a vision for the future, and she deserves to be reelected to the United States Senate and will be with your help. (Applause)

You know, on Wednesday, I was in Jordan for the peace signing and I was in a place called the Great Rift Valley and I was there, and perhaps some of you have stood across from Acaba

and looked at Jordan, and I was so struck by what had been accomplished because both brave leadership and the yearnings for peace in the hearts of Jordanians and Israelis had made it happen.

But as I sat through the ceremony, occasionally, my thoughts would return back home, because I thought over and over about the challenges that afflict any society, the challenges that have to be met in order for the future to be realized. Thankfully, we have not suffered the way those in the Middle East have who have worked tirelessly against great odds, both to defend themselves and to achieve peace.

But we have our own struggles and challenges and we also have to have a vision about what kind of country we want to be and what kind of energy we are willing to put into realizing that vision. And certainly, elections help to join the issues, to make clear what the choices are. And this year, perhaps more starkly than at other times in the recent past, we have a very clear choice in election after election around our country. We have the choice to yield to the forces of fear and negativism, cynicism and those who wish to take us back. If we listen to that Siren song that calls out and says things can be so much better, they can be so much easier if we just pull back. If we disenfranchise people in effect, if we pick out some enemies amongst us and turn our hatred toward them, then the rest of us will somehow feel better.

This is not a new Siren song in American politics. In fact, it seems to come up every so often, usually at the end of an era. If you go back to the end of the era that World War I marked, you can see it. The world was changed dramatically and all of a sudden, the rise of insecurity and anxiety amongst people as to the direction that they and we would take resulted in the first red scare, the upsurge of the Ku Klux Klan, a decade of greed and anxiety and frenetic activity culminating in the great depression.

At the end of the Second World War we had something comparable when all of a sudden again, the world changed for the better, Nazism was defeated, but in its place we faced the threat of communism. And again there was insecurity and anxiety and we found ourselves with McCarthyism, we found a resurgence of racism. We saw all of that and we had to work it through our political system.

Well now we are at the end of the Cold War, and because we are at the end of that era, the way people order their thinking has been challenged. We used to do everything in our political system in relation to our struggle against the Soviets. We educated our children after Sputnik by putting more money into classrooms and curriculums so that we could say we would be competitive. Everything we did had a touchstone that in some way related to that global struggle. That is no longer the defining

way we think about our world. And we have to begin to rebuild, not only how we see the world, but how we see ourselves. That, I think, accounts for much of the insecurity, the fear, and the unfortun -- merchanting of hate that Barbra referred to.

But it's important for us to recognize that that is an issue we have to understand and contend with because the legitimate concerns of people, who themselves feel that they're not making their way in our society, are being manipulated and used by those who are truly trying to take advantage of the political system and the citizens of this country for their own personal power and financial advantage.

So then how do we think about the upcoming election? I think we have to recognize that there is often more at stake than just who we vote for, because the candidates themselves symbolize something bigger than who they are individually. We saw that clearly when all of the Republicans lined up in support of the Contract For America. It was really that Siren song again -- turn back the clock, go back to the 1980's, drive up the deficit, write a trillion dollars worth of hot checks, take no responsibility and try to make people feel good while you essentially do what you can to promote your own political agenda.

That Contract For America included specific items such as the reinstitution of the gag rule, but in addition to that, it is a cynical document that tries to pull the wool over the eyes of the American public. But we saw a lot of that in the past several months. We saw legislation after legislation blocked or obstructed, not on the merits, but in a desire to prevent any kind of political progress from being made.

In the last days of the Senate, as Senator Boxer can attest to, who is here with us today, there were at times four different filibusters going on by the Republican minority in an attempt to prevent the passage of legislation.

My particular favorite was the filibuster of the Superfund legislation, a bill that had the combined support of big business, including the chemical companies, the labor unions, and the Sierra Club. Never before has those three ever agreed on any piece of legislation. But instead of trying to work together to do something about the poison in the ground, the Republican Senators filibustered that because they would rather spread the poison of political pollution than deal with the problems that the Superfund was designed solve.

There was a lot of that kind of cynical obstructionism. But there is an alternative and that is the message that I think is finally breaking through. Because you cannot continue to tell people that the clock can be turned back when they know better. What we have, instead, is an opportunity to continue to build on the work that has already been accomplished in the last twenty months.

We have seen progress in the economy. It hasn't touched everyone, but it is beginning to. We have seen the passage of significant legislation. 20 million more young Americans will be able to go to college than could this time last year. We have seen the beginning of the AmeriCorps experiment with 20,000 young Americans giving service to their communities. We've seen now the funding for 800,000 more youngsters to go into Head Start, 5 million more women to get nutritional supplements through the WIC program, every child to be immunized regardless of their parent's financial or insurance status, and we have seen an education package that will guarantee high standards in our schools and also opportunities for young people who do not go on to college. All of that has been passed and now is being implemented.

There were things we did not get. (Applause) There were things that we were not successful in achieving because it was a very ambitious agenda trying to push on many fronts that had either been neglected or denied in the past. We did not get comprehensive health care reform, but we will get it because it is the right thing to do for the people of our country. (Applause)

But we did make progress in funding health research, particularly on issues affecting women. It was about time that the Institutes of Health that are funded by the federal government gave their attention to breast cancer, ovarian cancer, osteoporosis, and other diseases that affect women. (Applause)

And we knew from the very beginning of the administration when the President signed the repeal of the gag rule that this President and administration is committed to a woman's right to choose and will stand firmly for it. (Applause)

And we know that comprehensive health care reform means expanding family planning, it means providing access to the kinds of facilities that those of us in this room take for granted to all of our citizens. And it means signing the Freedom of Access to Clinics Entrance Act to try to prevent the kind of violence that too often has interfered with women's right to choose.

But we haven't just moved forward on what we knew was already necessary to be done. We've also talked with women about what they wanted done. In an unprecedented outreach effort, this administration asked more than 250,000 women to fill out surveys about their lives. And some of you in this room helped with that project and we are very grateful. Because what we heard is that women who are there in the workforce, outside the home, they want what all of us want, they want respect, they want equal pay for the work they do, they want some opportunity to balance their work and family responsibilities and they don't think they are getting any of that now.

And this administration is committed to a broad agenda to help women realize their full potential whether they choose to

remain at home or whether they choose to go into the workforce or whether like most of us they are in the middle of the balancing act that we all are engaged in. (Applause)

Part of what is at stake in this election, although I doubt that anyone would ever come right out and say it on the other side, is that by turning back the clock, by going back to the political policies that are promoted in the Contract For America, they are really trying to limit women's potential. They are really trying to say that there are certain roles and activities that are appropriate for women and should be supported and there are others which are not. And I think we need to say through the support of the candidates like those in this room, women are not going to buy that. We want to be whomever we choose to be, that's what we are fighting for in our political system. (Applause)

You know, when we announced the results of the survey that I just referred to and published the study called Women Count, we had three women speak from their own personal experiences. One was a women who had gone into the workforce late in life and talked about how much she enjoyed working and how important it was for her to work because she was the one who 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 who had been in a non-traditional job and had raised three daughters as a single mother said all she really wanted was the chance to compete for promotion and for the kind of opportunities on the job that she thought she deserved to have.

As I listened to those three women, I knew that I had been every place they were. I knew that those kinds of feelings, those conflicts, that guilt, that excitement, that challenge were all part of what it means to be a woman today. And I stood there as I made the closing remarks and said that for all of my life, ever since I started with part-time jobs, I had known how difficult it would be to do what I wanted to do. In my early years, there was always some boy telling me I shouldn't do what I was doing. And as I got older, there was always some man around who said the same thing. But I never felt that they knew what they were talking about and I don't think that (Applause) I don't think that we ought to support candidates who either explicitly or implicitly try to say to little girls or to those of us who are grown ups, we know what's best for you and we will make the decisions for you. (Applause)

Now one of the ways to avoid that is to do what the President has been doing with the appointments he's been making. He has appointed some of the most qualified people ever to sit on the federal bench. And the biggest majority of women and people of color that have ever been put on the bench and they are getting high quality marks. Because there isn't any conflict between filling important positions and finding qualified women

and qualified minorities if you're willing to work at doing it right. And this President gets up every day thinking that he was elected to represent the entire country and that is what he will continue to do to give women opportunities to exercise real power. (Applause)

Nearly all those thoughts went through my mind as I was sitting at that signing on Wednesday. (Laughter) Partly, because I have to tell you, that it also was my birthday which has now been celebrated in four countries and in ten time zones. There is absolutely no escaping your age when you're in this position. That is one of the downsides. But I did think of many of these issues as I helped to celebrate such an extraordinary accomplishment halfway across the world. And it made me very proud of America.

The ceremony was started when the Jordanian band played the Jordanian anthem, then the Israeli band played the Israeli anthem, and then they joined together to play our anthem. And in our group of people who went to that signing, there were Arab Americans, Jewish Americans, Christian Americans of every denomination, all there representing what is best about America. All there committed to a better future, not a reactionary past. And I was so proud to be an American. And I was so proud of our President for having both the head and the heart that it takes to try to solve difficult problems. (Applause) There aren't any problems in our country that cannot be solved by people of good faith working together. Yes, it takes patience, and it takes forbearance, and it sometimes takes biting your tongue, as the forces arrayed against you are attempting to confuse or distort.

But what you have done with your contributions is to make it possible for those who believe in a better future, who believe in practical, progressive problem-solving to join together to get their message out. And I'm very grateful for that. Because I happen to believe that we're going to do quite well in these elections if we really stay focused between now and November 8. Because what you are standing for and what we are working for makes more sense in the long run and if people can hear the truth, they will be informed voters and they will vote for candidates who promise a better future. That's what politics should be about. That's what I have just seen in an entirely different part of the world. And that's what I will keep working for here at home.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

November 28, 1994

Lissa-

NY WOMEN'S AGENDA STAR BREAKFAST:

Background information on John Mack Carter and Howard Rubenstein (nothing available on Lexis-Nexis on Coy Ecklund)

John Mack Carter
-19 years as editor-in-chief of Good Housekeeping
-stepping down to become president of Hearst Magazines Enterprises, a newly created division for the development of new magazines (he has been involved in magazine development at Hearst since 1980, when he created a unit to start new magazines within the company)
-"one of the most respected editors in the industry" NYT 10/14/94
-only person to serve as editor-in-chief of all three leading women's service magazines, Good Housekeeping, McCall's and Ladies' Home Journal
-organizing chair of a 5K run/walk on Sept. 12, 1993 in Central Part to raise money for breast cancer

Howard Rubenstein
-known as the No. 1 New York PR person
-his clients include some of the city's most powerful builders, institutions and unions -- NYU, Columbia University, the School of American Ballet, the New York City Marathon, the Real Estate Board of New York, the New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, the Hotel Association of New York City...he's been the spokesperson for Rupert Murdoch, Donald Trump, Leona Helmsley, George Steinbrenner..
-"There is a pattern in the hundreds of battles I've won and lost. I've always been a negotiator rather than someone to advise, 'Let's go out and kill someone.' You can't roll over a community." -Rubenstein
-started with a PR business out of his family home in Brooklyn

News United States Department of Labor

Office of Information Washington, D.C. 20210

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(OCT 1994)

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Friday, Oct. 14, 1994

STRONG CONSENSUS FOR CHANGE EMERGES AS A QUARTER OF A MILLION AMERICAN WOMEN SPEAK OUT THROUGH WORKING WOMEN COUNT!

Improved Pay and Benefits, Help Balancing Work and Family, Fighting Discrimination Are Critical, Working Women Say

American women like their jobs but want changes that reduce stress, improve pay and benefits, help them balance work and family responsibilities, increase job training opportunities and end discrimination. Those and other results of *Working Women Count!*, a groundbreaking initiative by the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor, were released today at a news conference at the Old Executive Office Building with Vice President Al Gore, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich and other officials.

"More than a quarter of a million women took the time to respond and showed their faith in the process when they sent in their questionnaires. We intend to listen," said Gore.

"Just a few months ago, we launched an unprecedented effort to talk directly to the experts themselves -- America's working women. Their response exceeded all our expectations," said Mrs. Clinton. "We will continue to listen and respond to the concerns of working women and working families."

Working Women Count! found a strong consensus for change among women in three areas -- compensation (pay and benefits), work and family policies and the undervaluing of women's work (equal opportunity and training). The popularly distributed *Working Women Count!* questionnaire was complemented by a scientific phone survey using the same questions with a nationally representative, random sample of 1,200 working women.

Among the results is the fact that four in five women (79 percent) either "love" or "like" their jobs, but women also see a need for change:

-- Too much stress is a serious problem for more than half the women in both the popular (58 percent) and scientific samples (59 percent), cutting across income and occupational groups.

-more-

-- Two-thirds of women (65 percent) say improving pay scales is a high priority. Fifty-five percent of women in the popular sample and 49 percent in the scientific sample say they are not getting paid what they are worth.

-- Health and pension benefits are critical concerns. Health care insurance for all is women's number one priority. In the scientific sample, 43 percent of women who work part-time and 34 percent of women over age 55 lack health insurance, while a scant 19 percent rate their health insurance plans as excellent. Fifty-seven percent of respondents give their pension plans negative ratings, including 23 percent who have no pension at all.

-- Three-fifths of women in the scientific sample (61 percent) say they have little or no ability to advance.

-- In the scientific sample, 14 percent of white women and 26 percent of women of color report losing a job or promotion on the basis of their gender or race.

-- Many women consider on-the-job training (52 percent in the scientific and 61 percent in the popular sample) and insuring equal opportunity (51 percent in the scientific and 63 percent in the popular sample) priorities for change.

-- The number one issue women would like to talk to President Clinton about is their difficulty balancing work and family -- including child care. Unequal or unfair pay is second, and lack of equal treatment and equal opportunity is third.

-- More than half (56 percent) of women with children under age five say that finding affordable child care is a serious problem. More than half (53 percent) of this group say that "information about or support for child or dependent care" is a very high priority for change.

-- Women executives or managers are much more likely to have family-friendly workplaces than women in blue-collar jobs. Three in five women (63 percent) who work as executives or managers -- compared to only 42 percent of women who work in low-wage blue collar jobs -- rated their jobs as either excellent or good in terms of support for family responsibilities in the scientific sample.

"In vast numbers and with extraordinary candor and insight, working women have told us about their lives," Reich said. "Women want the opportunity and the resources to lead full, productive lives. They want to be treated not as expendable

commodities, but as essential assets. And they want to work in an environment that treats them with dignity, respects the importance of their families and invests in their skills."

"Through *Working Women Count!*, women have raised serious concerns," said Women's Bureau Director Karen Nussbaum. "Only by addressing these issues will we fully and fairly value women. Government, businesses, unions, national and grassroots organizations and the media all have a role to play in finding solutions. The Clinton Administration has made important progress in improving the lives of working women by signing the Family and Medical Leave Act into law and through the Head Start Reauthorization bill. The voices of America's working women will add the fuel to power even greater progress in the future."

The *Working Women Count!* questionnaire was distributed by more than 1,600 partners, including businesses, labor unions, magazines, newspapers, national and community-based organizations and government agencies. They included 300 businesses (from Xerox Corporation to local hair salons), more than 900 national and community-based organizations (including the YWCA, the National Association of Black Mayors and the National Council of La Raza), 75 international unions and locals, 10 federal and 100 state agencies, mayors, members of Congress, tribal governments, universities, community colleges, historically black schools, and the Compuserve and Prodigy on-line services. Four national magazines, 40 daily newspapers, and many weekly and foreign language newspapers published the questionnaire, and 175 stations ran public service announcements.

Working Women Count! was launched May 5th; the deadline to return questionnaires was August 31st. The questionnaire was developed by the Women's Bureau and distributed in all 50 states, the Virgin Islands, Guam and Puerto Rico. It was translated into Braille and five languages -- Chinese, Korean, Portuguese, Spanish and Vietnamese.

The Women's Bureau was created by Congress in 1920 to "promote the welfare of wage-earning women."

# # #

NOTE: Media can order full copies of *WORKING WOMEN COUNT! A REPORT TO THE NATION* from Lisa Lederer at 202/371-1999. Also available is a demographic profile of working women in each state, and a list of *Working Women Count!* partners in each state.

This information will be made available to sensory impaired individuals upon request. Voice Phone: 202-219-6060, TDD Message Referral Phone: 1-800-326-2577.

The text of this release is available from the Department of Labor electronic bulletin board, LABOR NEWS, at 202-219-4784. Callers must pay any toll-call charges. 300, 1200, 2400, 9600 or 14,400 BAUD; Parity: None; Data Bits = 8; Stop Bit = 1. Voice phone: 202-219-8831.

COMMENTARY

By Christopher Farrell

HOW WOMEN ARE STAKING OUT THE CENTER

"White Males Deliver Message to Democrats: Get Lost," writes the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. "Men Want to Torch Washington," says *USA Today*. Haunted by stagnant real wages and traumatized by several years of brutal corporate downsizings, men have moved to the right. On Election Day, 54% of men voted for Republican House candidates vs. 48% in the 1992 election.

ELECTION '94

Thanks to the ballot box revolt, the politics of male fury is in the media glare. But in the long run, it's the attitude of women that may be more important. While men supported a conservative mandate for political overhaul, women were less willing to overturn the status quo, with 54% backing Democratic candidates.

Women have favored Democrats since the 1980s, in large part reflecting opinion on abortion and other social issues. But this time, gender-based economics also came to the fore. Over the past three decades, women have enjoyed new opportunities and improving living standards. Women in the workplace are reaffirming the traditional American notion of upward mobility. As has been true throughout U.S. history, improving economic circumstances are exerting a powerful moderating force—and encouraging mostly middle-of-the-road voting.

Indeed, the female voter may reflect a new centrism, one that rejects both the Republican Right's firebrand politics and traditional Big Government liberalism. The phenomenon, born both of women's progress up the socioeconomic ladder and their experience with economic discrimination, could reshape the political agenda for years to come.

SOCIAL LIBERALISM. Both parties are fighting to capture this emerging group, offering strong candidates such as Christine Todd Whitman, Republican governor of New Jersey, and Roy Romer, Democratic governor of Colorado. "Fiscal conservatism and social liberalism is becoming the center of American politics," says Susan J. Carroll, senior researcher at Rutgers University's Center for American Woman & Politics. "And more and more women are moving in that direction."

Just ask Susan Larson, the 40-year-old president of HOLCOR Corp., a maker of institutional lighting based in Riverdale, Ill. An ardent backer of liberal Presidential candidate George McGovern in her college undergraduate days, she has been moving steadily to the center. "Every year, owning a business has shifted me further to the right on economic issues. But on social issues, I'm still to the left."

Peggy Pandaleon, a 38-year-old marketing consultant from Lake Forest, Ill., finds herself moving from the right to the center. A fiscal conservative, she also "thinks there definitely is a glass ceiling and Corporate America isn't as sensitive to allowing women into the club. Probably some incentives from the government are worthwhile to accelerate the change."

Certainly, women have been moving into the economic mainstream. The principal reason is the rise of the service and information economy, which is driven by the computer, software, and telecommunications industries.

It is easier for women and men to compete for jobs on equal terms in service and knowledge industries than before. Since 1982, more women than men have been getting bachelor's degrees, and women now make up about 36% of the students at law, medicine, and business schools.

EAGER ENTREPRENEURS. The wage gains by working women are stunning, especially next to those of men. Between 1979 and 1993, women in white-collar jobs saw their real average hourly wages improve by 12.2% vs. a decline of 3.3% for their male counterparts, according to Lawrence Mishel, research director at the Economic Policy Institute. True, wages of women in blue-collar occupations fell by 6.2%, but men in similar jobs suffered a 14.6% drop.



The job market has been better for women, too. In 1989, 54.3% of all women 16 years and older were employed. By October 1994, that ratio had risen to 55.6%—a jump that added roughly 1.3 million jobs for women. In striking contrast, the employment-population ratio for men, 72.5% in 1989, collapsed to 70.9% by October 1994—equal to some 1.5 million fewer men working. Moreover, women are forming small businesses at about twice the rate of their male peers.

It's that sort of economic progress that is pushing women toward the political middle—and toward power. As Roosevelt recognized in the 1930s, and Eisenhower in the 1950s, political clout in America lies with the center. So, too, in the 1990s. As they make economic gains, women increasingly will define the course of American politics.

Chris Farrell writes on economics.

CENTER FOR POLICY ALTERNATIVES

THE WOMEN'S NEW ECONOMIC AGENDA

A Center for Policy Alternatives Campaign

Today women are joining the work force faster than men; more women are graduating from college than men; and more women are starting small businesses than men. Global competition requires that every worker fulfill their economic potential. Yet, American women disproportionately face economic barriers in the workplace and in balancing family and work. Removing these barriers will allow women to reach their untapped economic potential to drive the new economy of the 21st century.

Specifically, women require an agenda that ensures:

1. Capital to start and expand businesses.
2. Training, continuing education and skill development.
3. Business networks and telecommunications of the 21st century.
4. The value of women's work is recognized.
5. Flexible or alternative work schedules.
6. Improved child and elder care.
7. Personal safety and a harassment free workplace.
8. Responsible workplace standards.
9. Retirement security.
10. Health care for workers and families.

This campaign is built on the following five principles:

- It is a bottom-up agenda voiced by real women that needs to be led by women;
- It is based on removing barriers, not on imposing standards;
- National change requires state and local innovation;
- It is unifying across race and class;
- Men have a stake in this agenda.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Women & Glass Ceiling —

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Business Week

November 28, 1994

SECTION: NEWS; Analysis & Commentary: COMMENTARY; Number 3401; Pg. 52

LENGTH: 761 words

HEADLINE: HOW WOMEN ARE STAKING OUT THE CENTER

BYLINE: Chris Farrell writes on economics.; Christopher Farrell

BODY:

'White Males Deliver Message to Democrats: Get Lost," writes the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. "Men Want to Torch Washington," says USA Today. Haunted by stagnant real wages and traumatized by several years of brutal corporate downsizings, men have moved to the right. On Election Day, 54% of men voted for Republican House candidates vs. 48% in the 1992 election.

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Women have favored Democrats since the 1980s, in large part reflecting opinion on abortion and other social issues. But this time, gender-based economics also came to the fore. Over the past three decades, women have enjoyed new opportunities and improving living standards. Women in the workplace are reaffirming the traditional American notion of upward mobility. As has been true throughout U.S. history, improving economic circumstances are exerting a powerful moderating force -- and encouraging mostly middle-of-the-road voting.

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LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

26TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 The Christian Science Publishing Society
The Christian Science Monitor

November 18, 1994, Friday

SECTION: ECONOMY; Pg. 11

LENGTH: 233 words

HEADLINE: More Women in Corporate Boardrooms

BYLINE: Shelley Donald Coolidge

DATELINE: BOSTON

BODY:

MORE women are breaking through the glass ceiling.

For the first time, more than half (52 percent) of Fortune 500 companies have at least one woman on the boards of directors. That's up from 49 percent in 1993, according to a survey released this week by Catalyst, a New York-based nonprofit research advocacy group for women in business.

''It's the smart CEOs that know that women are a powerful force in corporate America,'' says Catalyst President Sheila Wellington, who says she expects to see double-digit increases every year in the number of women on boards as more of them move up the corporate ladder.

When Catalyst first conducted the study in 1977, 47 women served on boards, compared with 570 today.

On Fortune 500 boards, women hold the most seats in the jewelry industry, soaps and cosmetics, publishing, apparel, toys, and sporting goods industries.

Despite the gains, women still hold only 6.9 percent of total board seats.

Other findings include:

* Each of the 10 most profitable Fortune 500 companies has at least one female director; 60 percent have two.

* 67.5 percent of all companies headquartered in the Northeast do have a female director, versus 58 percent in the Midwest, 52 percent in the West, and 51 percent in the South.

* The number of companies with multiple female directors has increased by 19.3 percent between 1993 and '94.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

34TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 Star Tribune
Star Tribune

November 16, 1994, Metro Edition

SECTION: Variety; Pg. 1E

LENGTH: 1083 words

HEADLINE: Subtle sexism more insidious than outright discrimination, study shows

BYLINE: Karin Winegar; Staff Writer

BODY:

Bernice Resnick Sandler knows the little things that grind women down - the soul-soiling daily wounds more insidious than getting groped in the elevator or propositioned in the hall. Sandler knows in detail about the teacher who doesn't make eye contact with female students, the way a woman's proposal goes unheard until a male co-worker rephrases it, about the girls who don't get called on as much as the boys in the same classroom.

Sandler is the godmother of two levers by which American women are moving toward a fairer world: Title IX (the Educational Act of 1972) and the 1982 study of campuses by the Project on the Status and Education of Women.

"People understand a lot these days about the overt forms of gender discrimination," said Sandler, who will speak at the University of St. Thomas in St. Paul on achieving gender equity on campus. "They think of intentional discrimination such as 'I wouldn't hire a woman here' or 'we're not going to let women work nights' or 'if you sleep with me, you'll get a better job.' "

"But they don't understand the more subtle forms of discrimination, the kinds of behaviors that by themselves are not terribly important, but when they occur again and again, create a pattern that excludes women, damages women's self-esteem, keeps women from participating, dampens their enthusiasm and ambitions and makes it harder for women to participate."

Sandler, senior scholar in residence at the National Association for Women in Education, is spearheading a second national examination of gender issues on campuses.

Both men and women discriminate against women through such behaviors as the following, her research found:

- Women are far more likely to be interrupted when speaking. Even when men interrupt men, the interruptions are the reinforcing kind. The interruptions women get often trivialize them, change the subject or focus on their appearance but are not a continuation of an intellectual dialogue.

- In classrooms and committees in particular, women may get no response when they speak. Men are far more likely to get praise, criticism and help. They get coaching: 'tell me more,' ' tell me why you think that is,' 'explain your answer more fully,' 'I like what you said.' And women are more likely to get 'un-hunh.'

42ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 The Daily Telegraph plc
The Daily Telegraph

November 14, 1994, Monday

SECTION: Pg. 24

LENGTH: 385 words

HEADLINE: Women have little hope of breaking 'glass ceiling'

BYLINE: By Jenny Rees

BODY:

WOMEN have little expectation of being able to break through the professional "glass ceiling" and have become frustrated and disillusioned, according to a survey published today. Mori analysed a sample of 597 job applicants - registered with Hays Personnel Services, the specialist recruiter - and found a "sex war" in the professions. Only a third of young women expect to get to the top in their careers and feel "resented" for taking men's jobs. There is "bitterness and confusion among both sexes about their respective roles in the professional workplace", said the survey. A large majority, 78 per cent, of men in the professions said they opposed "positive discrimination", such as quotas for male and female recruitment. A male lawyer is quoted as saying: "Sometimes women get promoted too fast just to improve the look of the statistics." The survey found that 73 per cent of women who expressed a view felt that they were resented by men. Their feeling was confirmed by more than a third of their male colleagues Twice as many men as women thought that mothers ought to stay at home with the children, though younger men had less rigid views, saying they believed men should also share the burden of looking after the family. Only four per cent of women thought it would be right to stop working if they had children. The survey found that men in law and insurance tended to be the most old-fashioned in their views about mothers not working. Most bankers were more liberal in outlook. There were very differing attitudes between the sexes towards the right time to start a family. Most career women said they would not contemplate having babies until 27, while 62 per cent of men with professional jobs said they would like to become fathers by 28. Women's strongest preference was to start a family at 30. The largest group of men opted for 25. Women bosses did not come out well in the survey, which found that only four per cent of men wanted to work for a woman. Women said they would rather work for a man. A woman banker is quoted as observing: "Women managers have more difficulty in treating the sexes equally." The survey concluded: "Despite their success in entering traditional male bastions of work, today's professional women appear to be unhappy at work and unhappy at home."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 15, 1994

46TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 Guardian Newspapers Limited
The Guardian

November 14, 1994

SECTION: THE GUARDIAN FEATURES PAGE; Pg. T10

LENGTH: 1440 words

HEADLINE: WOMEN: THE OFFICE BATTLEFIELD;
A survey reveals that high-achieving young women are quickly disillusioned by hostility at work. Liz Roberts reports

BYLINE: Liz Roberts

BODY:

THE FUTURE is female. The BBC's Panorama programme has told us so - companies are recruiting more female than male graduates. The independent think tank, Demos has told us that young women are forging ahead, unfettered and full of confidence. The girls are beating the boys in exams, causing alarm in parliament.

Recent media coverage would have it that men are now the disadvantaged in the workplace, that women are about to burst through the glass ceiling en masse to gain the keys to the executive loo.

Surprise, surprise, the reality is somewhat different, as the survey Sex in the Professions, carried out by MORI for Hays Personnel Services and published today, confirms.

The survey, which questioned men and women in accountancy, law, banking, construction and information technology about issues of sexual discrimination in the office, paints a bleak picture of men and women, bitter and resentful towards each other, engaged in outright hostilities.

The women who have succeeded in entering the professions appear to have become disillusioned and frustrated, lowering their ambitions and losing self-confidence.

But they are working in the kind of environment in which a male lawyer feels justified in commenting: "Sometimes women get promoted too fast just to improve the look of the statistics." And where, on the other hand, one male banker happily admits: "My boss likes to recruit girls with short skirts, but the men get promoted faster."

It is evident that female professionals have a strong desire to work, however much their enthusiasm is dampened by their experiences. Just 37 per cent of women say they are only working because thay have to, compared with 54 per cent of men. But, aside from money, it is achieving independence that is the major motivation for women, whereas self-esteem is more important for men.

Self-esteem is not much evident among the women in the survey. While nearly two -thirds of men can see themselves getting to the top, only half as many women believe that they can make it to the chief executive's chair (female bankers, however, are more bullish, at 58 per cent).

Women are more modest about their abilities, with only two out of five rating themselves in the top third of their peer group, against three out of five men. As one female accountant said: "I have had to work harder for recogniton. Men tend to assume that men are more competent."

Most professional women feel that men resent them for taking "men's jobs", and, depressingly, more than a third of men agree with this. Nearly 80 per cent of men oppose any positive discrimination such as quotas for female recruitment, despite agreeing that professionally qualified women get paid less for doing the same job.

One of the most worrying conclusions is that many professional women seem to be their own worst enemies. Hardly any are enthusiastic about having a female boss, while a quarter would prefer a man in charge. The highly ambitious female bankers are most pronounced in this tendency: 35 per cent want a male boss, none a female. One female banker claimed: "Women managers have more difficulty in treating the sexes equally."

There are probably various reasons for this lack of female solidarity. One female lawyer suggests: "The women who make it tend not to be married and don't have children. They play the man's game by the man's rules. Other women expect more empathy from them, but don't get it."

Indeed, the crunch issue is having children. The notion that child care should be shared is only paid lip service. The majority of both sexes agree that men are just as capable of bringing up children, yet nearly half the men believe that young mothers should stay at home.

Women are afraid of disrupting their careers by having babies - their preferred age to start a family is 30, against 25 for men - and more than a third of women believe it is vital not to take a career break. A female legal executive said: "When I told my boss that I was pregnant there were references to my 'illness', and they started preparing to replace me."

The issue of looks and clothes at work is still very much live. The men surveyed say that to succeed, a businesswoman needs to be well-dressed, attractive and charming, while they themselves need ability, ambition and intelligence. Yet, 60 per cent of men with a view insist that they take women's roles at work seriously. The same amount of women disagree that this is the case. The Equal Opportunities Commission last week attacked the under-representation of women at board level as scandalous, and warned that compensation awards were likely to escalate.

All in stark contrast to the optimism displayed at the recent Girls School Association conference, where Education Secretary Gillian Shephard challenged schoolgirls to boost their presence in the professions and told businesses to provide more flexible working arrangements.

But without the legislation, financial inducements and childcare that the Government is proving reluctant to provide, this clarion call sounds a false note. The right time and place for these bright, optimistic, young females in the highly paid, desirable professions seems some way off.

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 14, 1994

52ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Plain Dealer

November 13, 1994 Sunday, FINAL / ALL

SECTION: BUSINESS; Pg. 2H

LENGTH: 660 words

pro-women companies

HEADLINE: CELEBRATING PROGRESS THAT WOMEN ARE MAKING

BYLINE: BY MARY ANN CROWLEY HUESKEN

BODY:

Sheila Wellington is an optimist. She thinks it's a great time to be a woman.

"Everywhere I go, I find increased recognition of the talent pool of women that's available," Wellington said during a recent visit to Cleveland.

And pretty much everywhere she goes is what you would consider Corporate America. Wellington, you see, is head of Catalyst, a New York research group that focuses on women's career issues.

In that position, the former secretary of Yale University meets with business leaders nationwide and supervises a staff of 40 people who keep tabs on women's advancement. She is enthusiastic about what she and her researchers are finding, and that excitement shows in her breathless tone and quick smile as she discusses advances women are making.

"I think the leadership of American business at this point is very aware of the contributions women make," said Wellington, who met with executives from several northeast Ohio corporations on her visit last month.

She said it is the smart businesses that are waking up and making the most of women. "I think it's beneficial for American business to recognize that women are consumers, women are workers, and their perspective should be heard."

Trouble is, too many businesses don't know how to change their policies to tap into this pool. That's one area where Wellington's group can help. One recent report, for example, details 10 corporate initiatives that help women advance.

"The focus that Catalyst is taking is very much a focus on effectiveness," Wellington said. "How can you make it work for business to take advantage of the skills women have?"

If that's a question your company is asking, the Catalyst report can help you find the answer. Among the initiatives described in "Cracking the Glass Ceiling: Strategies for Success," are Motorola's programs for advancing minorities and women and Johnson & Johnson's efforts to help employees juggle work and family demands. J&J's programs include on-site child-development centers and dependent-care assistance plans.

Indeed, the variety of demands on working women is an issue corporations need to address, Wellington said.

"There seems to be a perception out there that women are leaving the work force, but there's absolutely no data to support that. In fact, there has been a sharp rise in the number of mothers in the workforce. Now something like 75 percent of mothers are back in the work force by the time the kids are 2."

That doesn't mean that young mothers are working in Fortune 500 companies, though.

"What we find in our surveys is that, increasingly, women are leaving firms that don't offer them the ability to balance work and family demands or that don't listen to them. They are not leaving the work force - they are seeking out other opportunities."

Increasingly, those opportunities include entrepreneurship.

"Women are starting businesses at six times the rate of men," she said.

To combat the trend away from big companies, "some corporations are consciously becoming magnets for women. Kroger, Sara Lee, Motorola, Avon and Amoco - they have said, 'We want to be a place where smart, able women want to work.'

Such companies share certain traits, she said. Their CEOs are committed to the goal and keep track of progress made towards it, the efforts are sustained, and managers are held accountable for women's progress.

While Wellington is pleased with the advances she sees, she knows more is needed. But, she believes, people now in their 20s and 30s will force change. They are more concerned about quality of life than many of their predecessors and, as a result, will make employers help them juggle work and personal demands.

"My generation said, 'Just let us in. We'll do anything.' This generation doesn't want that,' said Wellington, 62. "I sense that change is in the air, and this is a generation that is going to seek to capitalize on it."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

COLUMN: WOMEN'S WORK

LOAD-DATE-MDC: November 14, 1994

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HEADLINE: Women executives say they work in alien territory

BYLINE: By Judith Schoolman

DATELINE: NEW YORK

BODY:

For all the talk about diversity in the workplace, women executives say they spend most of their day feeling as if they're working in alien territory, according to a survey released Friday.

And the blame, they said in the survey by Working Women magazine, is a "male-dominated corporate culture" which more than half of female executives say is the greatest impediment to success.

The survey comes at the same time as a massive U.S. government study, released Friday, which shows that American working women earn only about three-fourths as much as men.

Women earned an average of $ 7.15 an hour in 1993, about 79.8 percent of male workers' average wage, the Labor Department survey showed, and weekly earnings were only 76.8 percent of men's.

Annual earnings in 1992, the most recent year this statistic was available, were $ 21,440, or 70.6 percent of what the average man earned.

Women in the Labor Department survey said they were frustrated by poor pay, benefits and problems balancing work and family. Even so, 79 percent of working women said they "like" or "love" their jobs.

Female executives surveyed by Working Women and the Louis Harris polling organization said that a "glass ceiling," the management level beyond which women seldom seem to advance, was the second largest barrier. Fifty-one percent of respondents overall and 59 percent of those in companies with more than 3,000 employees felt this way.

Other obstacles to succeess exist as well, the women executives said, including "a reluctance to give women the same assignments and responsibilities as men" (35 percent) and "unequal compensation" (33 percent).

Executive women were shown to be bailing out of big companies en masse, sometimes at twice the rate as men.

Fifty-six percent of those polled said they knew of female managers who had quit because of a stifling atmosphere; 54 percent said they knew of female managers who had left to find a less hostile environment.

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New York Law Journal

October 6, 1994, Thursday

SECTION: PERSPECTIVE; Pg. 2

LENGTH: 1710 words

HEADLINE: Rx for Law Firms: Shatter the Glass Ceiling

BYLINE: GINA S. ANDERSON; This article was adapted from testimony delivered by Gina S. Anderson on behalf of the New York Women's Bar Association at hearings last week before the U.S. Department of Labor Glass Ceiling Commission. Ms. Anderson, a vice president of the women's bar organization, is a deputy general counsel at a publishing company, having first spent 12 years at New York City law firms.

BODY:

IN THE LEGAL profession very few women make it into management and fewer still make it to the top. Women work in all sectors of the legal profession, but my focus is on corporate law firms with more than 50 lawyers, where the glass ceiling is most impenetrable. These firms are the trendsetters for the entire profession. Here is an opportunity for law firms to do good business and the right thing at the same time.

Women currently account for about half of law students nationwide, and make up almost half of the first-year associates at U.S. law firms. This is not new. Women have comprised a substantial percentage of entry level positions since the late 1970s, and more than 30 percent since the 1980s. The career path from first-year associate to partner generally takes eight years. Thus, more than enough time has elapsed for women to be far better represented in partnership ranks than they are today. In 1993, almost 40 percent of all associates were women, but only 12.5 percent of all partners were women.

Minority women fare the worst. They have the lowest percentage of entry level jobs in law firms, following white men, white women and minority men. I found no statistical data concerning promotion of minority women to partnership. n1 They are indeed the invisible minority.

n1 African-American, Hispanic, Asian and Native American lawyers, both male and female, constituted 6.8 percent of associates and 2.5 percent of partners at the largest law firms in 1991. Unlike women, minorities continue to be underrepresented at the entry level. Many of our proposed strategies for shattering the glass ceiling are applicable to minorities as well as women.

Of course, partnership is only the first level of the glass ceiling. The real decisionmaking in law firms takes place in executive or management committees, and women are a true rarity on these committees.

In order to break the glass ceiling, we need to understand its causes. First, like minorities, women are simply and unavoidably different from the white male elite that has historically dominated U.S. law firms. People are often uncomfortable with differences. The thinking goes: "You can't ask lawyers to be partners with people with whom they don't feel comfortable."

In law firms, this discomfort gives rise to false stereotypes that women are not aggressive enough to be effective lawyers or rainmakers, or committed enough to put in the eight-year apprenticeship and long hours required by big firm practice. While it is true that women leave law firms (but not the profession) in much larger numbers than men, two major studies attributed this not to lack of commitment but to gender bias in the firms and their failure to accommodate family responsibilities.

Ageism also works against women in law firms because women are more likely than men to start entry level jobs when they are older, after having had another career or raising a family.

WE BELIEVE THAT the law firm managers who harbor these stereotypes and attitudes are largely unconscious of them. Nonetheless, these attitudes have pernicious consequences. Women too rarely get the choice, highly visible assignments for high profile clients. They are too rarely offered the mentoring of senior partners that grooms white male associates for partnership and firm leadership and introduces them to clients and business opportunities. We also believe the massive attorney layoffs during the recent recession disparately affected women because termination decisions were based on the same biases and stereotypes that hinder women's career advancement.

One of the most difficult issues that stands between women and career advancement in law firms is the work-family conflict. Beginning in the 1980s, law firms instituted paid maternity leaves, longer unpaid leaves, and a limited number of individually negotiated part-time work arrangements in order to recruit and retain the most talented associates.

We applaud these changes, but they do not go far enough. The fact is that the firms are treating family needs as problems with short-term or stopgap solutions. As one woman put it, "I don't have a problem. I have a family." The work-family issue is a long-term issue that is present throughout the career path of every parent who has primary responsibility for child-rearing from birth to independence.

Moreover, most women who take advantage of even stopgap measures face serious career disadvantages. "Part-time" arrangements are often illusory; the hours end up being long, the salary is still based on part-time work, and there is no potential for partnership. It is off the partnership track and onto the mommy track.

It makes good business sense for law firms to shatter the glass ceiling.

Important clients are pressuring for change. In the private sector, many large U.S. corporations have become more inclusive and supportive of women and minority employees because they believe it gives them competitive advantages with a workforce and consumer markets in which women and minorities are rapidly becoming the majority. Some of these companies are bringing pressure on their outside law firms not only to recruit but to advance women and minorities because these corporate clients cannot afford to retain a legal team that will be perceived by diverse juries, customers, government agencies and others as a bunch of good old boys. These forward-looking companies include the Oracle Corporation, General Dynamics, Chrysler, and Chemical Bank.

In the public sector, government clients are applying pressure on their law firm contractors by conducting compliance reviews of their hiring and promotion of women and minorities. The 1993 glass ceiling review of the 400-lawyer New York City firm of White & Case by the U.S. Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs put law firms on notice that they are being held to the same standard as business contractors.

Enhanced ability to attract and serve a broader client base. In both the public and private sectors, as women and minorities continue to make inroads into management of organizations, large and small, they become clients and prospective clients who will consider, among other factors in selecting counsel, the extent to which women and minorities are represented among the firms' lawyers and management. Also, women outnumber men among small business owners, a growing sector of the market for legal services. Firms whose lawyers and managers reflect the growing diversity of the market for legal services will be better positioned to attract and retain this broader client base.

COMPETITION FOR TOP talent. Firms such as Morrison & Foerster that become recognized in the legal community as providing better opportunities for women and minorities are able to recruit the best talent. The competition for the brightest and the best of the new generation entering the workforce is not only among law firms. The legal profession competes with business and other professions competes with business and other professions for the best talent. Firms that do not advance women and minorities will be at a distinct disadvantage.

Improved morale and reduced replacement costs. Making sure that women and minorities have equal opportunities for professional growth and advancement within firms will stem the tide of voluntary departures among these groups and reduce the high cost of replacing them.

Here is our prescription for shattering the glass ceiling in law firms.

What Law Firms Can Do:

We would like senior management of law firms to assume moral leadership on this issue. Here are some strategies that we recommend:

1. Establish mentoring programs with special emphasis on providing mentoring for women and minority employees. The New York Women's Bar Association is establishing a group mentoring program, which we hope will provide a model for law firms, but there are programs up and running (for example, at Morrison & Foerster) that can serve as models right now.

2. Reward productivity instead of inefficiency. For example, consider replacing hourly billing with value billing. This would reduce the pressure to put in extraordinarily long hours whether or not they are required.

3. Adopt procedures to ensure that women and minority associates are assigned to choice, highly visible matters for high-profile clients to the same extent as while male attorneys.

4. Systematically monitor their own progress in recruiting, retaining and advancing women and minorities, and monitor layoff decisions to ensure that they do not disparately affect these groups.

5. Regularly conduct exit interviews of women and minority associates who voluntarily leave the firm.

6. Make partnership opportunities available to attorneys who work part-time.

7. Take an active role in developing child care systems and supports for their employees.

What Bar Associations Can Do

We would like to see the major bar associations call upon law firms to establish voluntary goals and to furnish data relating to the advancement of women.

What Law Schools Can Do

We would like to see law school placement offices encourage or require law firms that recruit at their schools to submit on an annual basis the National Association for Law Placement's Workplace Environment Questionnaire.

What Women Lawyers Can Do

We would like to see women lawyers get more involved in speaking out and developing strategies for shattering the glass ceiling within their firms.

What the Legal Press Can Do

We would like to see the legal press track data on advancement of minority women. This will permit their progress to be evaluated authoritatively for the first time. We would also like to see more public recognition given to firms that have demonstrated success in advancing women and minorities.

The New York Women's Bar Association invites corporations, bar associations, law schools, lawyers, the legal press and forward-looking, competitive-minded law firms to work with us to put an end to the glass ceiling in law firms. We think the firms will find that they are better off without it. The legal profession as a whole will be too.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE-MDC: October 11, 1994



Working Women Count!

A REPORT TO THE NATION
Executive Summary

WOMEN'S BUREAU U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

WOMEN WORK FOR PAY—in greater numbers, in more occupations, and for more years of their lives than ever before. Today, women make up nearly half of our nation's workforce, and a staggering 99% of women in America will work for pay sometime during their lives. Nearly every woman has a stake in what happens in the workplace.

Despite the importance of women to today's economy, not enough is known about how women themselves evaluate their work lives. In May 1994, the Women's Bureau launched ***Working Women Count!*** to ask working women about their jobs—what they like, what they do not like, and what they want to change.

We believed that if we spoke to women, they would talk back. And they did. In record numbers.

In only four months, over a quarter of a million women told us what it means to be a working woman in America today. This report reflects their concerns and experiences.

"Not the Run of the Mill Survey"

As part of the Clinton administration effort to "reinvent government," ***Working Women Count!*** reached out on an unprecedented scale with a publicly distributed questionnaire asking women about their lives as workers.

"This is not the run of the mill survey," promised First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. "This is the experts themselves—working women—telling us what we need to do."

The Women's Bureau enlisted more than 1,600 partners to help distribute the questionnaire. The partners include more than 300 businesses, 900 grassroots organizations, 75 unions, daily newspapers, national magazines and Federal agencies—in all 50 States, the Virgin Islands, Guam and Puerto Rico.

In addition to the popular questionnaire, the Women's Bureau conducted a telephone survey with a scientifically selected, national random sample. This scientific sample provided a benchmark for evaluating the replies of women who chose to be counted in response to the public outreach. **Unless otherwise noted, the figures used to discuss the results of the *Working Women Count!* questionnaire are drawn from the scientific sample.**

Findings: A Consensus for Change

Working Women Count! paints a complex portrait of American working women in the 1990's. The voices of working women in this report reveal their pride and satisfaction at being breadwinners for their families and a significant part of the American workforce. Fully 79% of respondents tell us that they either "love" or "like" their jobs overall.

Working Women Count! also reveals a powerful consensus among working women about what is wrong with their jobs, and what needs to be fixed—a consensus that crosses all occupations and incomes, all generations and races, and all regions of the country.

In addition, the priorities and concerns of the women in the scientific sample mirror those of the self-selected respondents to the public questionnaire. This convergence points to the depth of consensus among America's working women.

Working Women Count! respondents speak with one voice on the following issues:

☆ **Pay and Benefits Should Provide Economic Security:** Working women tell us they are breadwinners, and frequently the sole support of their households. Yet, they are not getting the pay and benefits commensurate with the work they do, the level of responsibility they hold, or the societal contribution they make.

Improving pay scales and health care insurance for all are the two top-ranking priorities for workplace change of respondents in both the scientific and popular samples.

☆ **Workplace Culture Should Support and Respect Families:** Working women tell us their families are very important to them. Yet, they feel that neither their employers nor public policy adequately recognize or support women's family responsibilities.

The number one issue women want to bring to the President's attention is the difficulty of balancing work and family obligations. They report that problems with child care are deep and pervasive, affecting families across the economic spectrum.

☆ **Opportunity Should Reflect the Value of Women's Work:** Working women tell us they have valuable skills and on-the- job experience, but often do not get recognition and credit for what they can do—nor access to training to build their skills and increase their marketability.

On-the-job training, and giving employees more responsibility for how they do their jobs, are cited by more than half of respondents as priorities for change.

Underscoring this consensus, respondents repeatedly express distress and frustration: they are distressed that their work at home and on the job continues to be devalued, and they are frustrated with the visible and invisible signs of inequality.

Respondents are concerned about incidents of discrimination. However, the most frequently described inequities, those that seem to weigh most heavily, are systemic. Time and again, women describe a work world that still compensates women in almost every job and profession at a lesser rate than men, defines jobs done primarily by women as less valuable, and fails to acknowledge that women are mainstays in both the workplace and the home.

As a working mother from Louisiana writes, "My first priority is, and will always be, to care for my family. However, I take my job very seriously and I am entitled to receive the same compensation and consideration for what I do as does any male working in a comparable capacity in the nation."

Issues and Concerns

The questionnaire surfaced a number of issues and concerns that are shared by working women from both the popular and scientific samples. **The numbers cited are drawn from the scientific survey:**

☆ **Health and pension benefits are critical concerns.** Health care insurance for all ranks as the number one priority for change. Forty-three percent of women who work part-time and 34% of women over 55 years old lack health care insurance. These percentages far exceed the 18% of the general population who lack health insurance. Fifty-seven percent of respondents give their pension plans negative ratings, including 23% who have no pension at all.

☆ **Vacation and sick leave benefits are inadequate.** While 14% of respondents report having no sick leave, the figure for those earning less than $10,000 is 31%. Of respondents in blue collar occupations, 46% say they have either inadequate vacation time or none at all.

☆ **Stress ranks as working women's number one problem.** This problem, identified by almost 60% of all respondents, cuts across income and occupational-groups. It is particularly acute for women in their forties who hold professional and managerial jobs (74%) and for single mothers (67%).

☆ **More than half of the sample, 61%, say they have little or no ability to advance**. This increases to 69% for blue collar workers and 70% for technical workers.

☆ **14% of white women and 26% of women of color report losing a job or promotion on the basis of their gender or race.** While women of color report a higher incidence of discrimination, both groups give high priority to "insuring equal opportunity"—50% of white women and 61% of women of color.

☆ **63% of mothers with children age five and under, and 61% of single mothers, give high priority to getting paid leave to care for children or relatives.** Almost half of the respondents of all ages and family situations support paid leave as a priority for change.

☆ **56% of women with children age five and under say "finding affordable child care" is a serious problem,** and over half of this group (53%) say "information about and support for dependent care" is a high priority for change.

☆ **65% of women say "improving pay scales" is a high priority for change,** and 49% say, "I don't get paid what I think my job is worth."

Conclusions: Making Working Women Count!

Working Women Count! gives voice to the hopes and concerns of America's working women.

We heard a consensus for change across occupations and incomes, across races, ages and regions. Respondents told us: that child care is hard to find and difficult to afford; that pay and benefits, especially health care, are neither sufficient nor secure; that training is valued by the professionals who have it and sought by the blue collar women who need it; that discrimination is experienced by women of all races; and that workplace inequalities on the basis of gender are endemic and in need of remedy.

Many of the problems women shared with us are also issues for working men. While some of the obstacles respondents wrote about stem from discrimination, others reflect the trend toward a workforce anxious about job insecurity, declining benefits, and stagnant wages. The stresses on working families affect all family members and, likewise, the remedies stand to benefit all.

The Clinton administration shares working women's concerns about these problems and is actively working toward solutions. For example, the first piece of legislation signed by President Clinton was the Family and Medical Leave Act, enacted in 1993 after a ten-year congressional battle and two vetoes by the previous administration. It is an important step, and the first legislation in decades to recognize the need for policy that supports women's work and family responsibilities. In 1994, the President signed the Head Start Reauthoriza-tion bill, which provides for the expansion of this very successful child care program—expanding the number of eligible children and creating some full-day, full-year slots to better serve working parents.

Most importantly, the administration is working to provide greater economic security for all Americans. Expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit gives a boost to low-income families with an unprecedented income supplement. Passage of the School to Work Opportunities Act provides young women and men with new opportunities for job training and education and demonstrates the importance of investing in our future workforce. Through tough and consistent enforcement of our labor laws, the Department of Labor has been sending a clear signal to employers that this administration is committed to promoting equal opportunity in the workplace and protecting all workers, regardless of gender, race, age or ability.

Solutions to the problems *Working Women Count!* respondents have identified must come from many quarters. Positive change will require a cooperative effort, and the imaginations and talents of many individuals and organizations. More than 1,600 partners joined the Women's Bureau out of a shared concern and desire to understand what working women care about. Now each of us—government, business, unions, grassroots organizations, and the media—has an important role to play. And we can each begin by discussing these issues with our own co-workers, our own community organizations, and our own families. We must build the consensus documented in this report into a national consensus for change.

Our challenge? To build high performance workplaces that fully and fairly value women as equal partners in American life.

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America's working women have made their voices heard. In vast numbers and with extraordinary candor and insight, women from every region of the country have responded to this unprecedented questionnaire and told us about their lives. This report is the culmination.

The report weaves a fabric of opinion and experience that is as richly diverse as America's working women themselves. Yet these wide-ranging convictions are unified by a common thread: women—indeed, all working people—want the opportunity and the resources to lead full, productive lives. They want to be treated not as disposable parts, but as essential assets. And they want to work in an environment that treats them with dignity, respects the importance of their families, and invests in their skills.

Moving in this direction is essential. It's essential for reasons of fairness and equality, but it is equally an economic imperative. In today's economy, only one resource offers an enduring competitive edge: people. Everything else—machines, processes, raw materials—can be easily replicated. The only element that cannot be easily duplicated is workers—their skills, their creativity, their capacity to work together.

Investing in America's workers is the key to competitive success. Private companies, government, and labor unions must equip workers—whatever their gender or race—with a set of flexible skills that they can sharpen throughout their working lives. Working women appreciate the urgency of this task. On-the-job training was cited by more than half the women in this questionnaire as a priority for change.

The same is true for giving workers—especially women—authority on the job. This, too, is a matter of both equity and common sense. Workers who are treated fairly, who are respected, and who are given responsibility perform better and produce more. Our best companies have recognized the value of flattening their traditional hierarchies and pushing responsibility to the front-line workers who know the product and customers best.

Still, not every organization is committed to investing in workers' skills and reorganizing the workplace. Some have opted for another route. And that is why it is also essential to block the low road of unsafe conditions, job discrimination, and meager wages. Fair pay and adequate child care, the questionnaire results reveal, are critical to working women and therefore critical to the country. Providing safe, healthy, and family-friendly workplaces is a national priority.

As we continue to reshape workforce policy—together with employers, women's groups, and community and labor organizations—we will address the issues which working women themselves have so forcefully and eloquently raised.

This report—an historic attempt to collect the views of working women—arrives in a Capitol that has already begun to change. Much work remains to improve the lives of working women. But already hopeful signs of progress are emerging throughout the country.

The Clinton Administration began making progress almost immediately upon taking office. For example, the first bill President Clinton signed into law was the Family and Medical Leave Act, which gives workers—men and women—unpaid time off work to care for a new child or a sick relative. The importance of this achievement cannot be underestimated, coming as it did after a decade-long congressional battle and two vetoes by the previous President. This legislation is a landmark achievement, the first legislation in decades to honor women's work and put families first.

In addition, this year the President signed the Head Start Reauthorization bill, which expands this proven child care program. More children will now be able to participate, and there will be more full-day, full-year slots to better serve working parents.

The Administration is also forging solutions to working women's central concern: economic security. Thanks to the School-to-Work Opportunities Act, more of our nation's young people—both young women and men—will be able to move smoothly from the classroom to a job with a future. The Earned Income Tax Credit, part of the President's economic plan, is providing tax relief for fifteen million working families with modest incomes. And this Administration is vigorously enforcing the laws that promote equal opportunity and prohibit discrimination based on race, gender, age or disability.

We've made a good start. And the voices of America's working women add the fuel to power even greater progress.

Karen Nussbaum

To obtain a copy of the full report,
Working Women Count! A Report to the Nation,
please send a self-addressed mailing label to:
Women's Bureau
U.S. Department of Labor
attn: WWC! Report
200 Constitution Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20210

Robert B. Reich

Robert B. Reich
Secretary of Labor

Karen Nussbaum
Director, Women's Bureau

NEW YORK WOMEN'S AGENDA

"A Voice for Women"

218 W. 40th St., Room 206, New York, NY 10018. Tel: (212) 764-NYWA / Fax: (212) 764-0402

TO:PATTY SOLIS
FROM: ELINOR GUGGENHEIMER

WE ARE FACING A MAJOR OVER-SELL PROBLEM, AND WE HAVE TAKEN THE MERCURY BALLROOM NEXT TO THE MAJOR BALLROOM FOR OVERFLOW. EVEN THEN WE WILL BE TURNING A GOOD MANY PEOPLE AWAY. WE HAVE RESERVED A DRESSING ROOM IMMEDIATELY BEHIND THE DAIS FOR MRS.. CLINTON. WE HOPE SHE MIGHT BE WILLING TO VISIT THE MERCURY BALLROOM IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE PROGRAM, OR WE CAN ARRANGE TO HAVE HER VISIT THAT ROOM BEFORE SHE TAKES HER SEAT ON THE DAIS. I'M ENCLOSING A COMPLETE SCRIPT WHICH IS SUBJECT TO ADJUSTMENT BY EACH OF THE PEOPLE WHO ARE PART OF THE PROGRAM AS LONG AS THE TIME ALLOTTED IS NOT EXCEEDED. OF COURSE THAT DOES NOT APPLY TO MRS. CLINTON.

COULD YOU LET US KNOW IF WE CAN COUNT ON MRS. CLINTON BEING WILLING TO VISIT THE MERCURY BALLROOM BRIEFLY, AND THEN JOINING US IN THE SO-CALLED GREEN ROOM FOR A BRIEF RECEPTION FOR OUR MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS? I KNOW WE'RE ASKING A LOT, BUT SHE IS SO POPULAR WITH OUR WOMEN THAT WE HAVE BEEN RECEIVING REQUESTS FOR SEATS FAR IN EXCESS OF ANYTHING WE COULD HAVE PREDICTED, AND WE'RE TRYING TO DO THE BEST WE CAN TO ACCOMMODATE AS MANY AS POSSIBLE. I'LL LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING FROM YOU AND THANKS SO VERY VERY MUCH FOR BEING SO HELPFUL.

NEW YORK WOMEN'S AGENDA

"A Voice for Women"

218 W. 40th St., Room 206, New York, NY 10018. Tel: (212) 764-NYWA / Fax: (212) 764-0402

We are looking forward to seeing you on November 30th at the Hilton no later than 7:30. I wish I could give you a little longer to sleep, but we are obviously going to be more than sold out, and we want to have the dais seated early. The program will start at exactly five of eight. I am enclosing a script so that you can see exactly how it will run. We have timed everything, but of course you are free to change anything being said about you or that has been written for you . We would be grateful, however, if the length of each presentation remains the same.

I want to say again how very very pleased we are that you will be with us. If you have any questions or suggestions please call or have someone call me. at 764 6992. Changes you may wish to make in your part of the script should be faxed to 764 0402. We hope you'll enjoy the morning as much as we enjoy the prospect of your participation

Elinor Guggenheimer

PROGRAM SCRIPT

(T*his script is designed to insure that the program concludes by nine fifteen at the latest. We have suggested remarks for everyone , but they may be changed to fit any of your particular styles as long as the time allotted is not extended. If you are making any changes in language, I'd be grateful if you could fax them to 212 764 0402 as soon as possible. We want a script in absolute final form by November 15. Thanks so very, very much for your participation in what we hope will be a fabulous morning - E. Guggenheimer*)

Antonacci: Good morning! My name is Lori Antonacci. As Board Vice Chair of Events it is my privilege to welcome you to NYWA's third Star Breakfast, and to thank the members of our Events Committee for their great contributions of time, effort, skill, and particularly to thank the Chair of the Events Committee, Joan Horton (*Joan stands.)* Today we are celebrating the conclusion of our second full year of life. Having finished with the terrible twos, we're looking forward to a period of growth and renewed activity and we're also looking forward right now to welcoming our traditional MC- Traditions become fixed very quickly and ours are now immutable. They include having the inimitable, the treasured founder and creator of Ms, and the acknowledged leader of all of us, NYWA special Star M.C. Gloria Steinem!

Steinem : Thank you, Lori! I'm beginning to feel the Star Breakfast is a kind of homecoming event for me, and one that gets bigger every year. Two years ago in December 1992, I introduced the twelve charter women's organization members of NYWA at the first Star Breakfast. This morning I am calling the roll of NYWA organizations that now make up this astonishingly evolving coalition of women's groups (*Read list- each org. representative stands as her organization name is read and remains standing until all fifty three are standing)*

We are breaking one tradition this year We have added one additional category of gratitude. We are for the first time awarding Honorable MEN-tion to three wonderful men who have, for many years been strong and active supporters of the goals of women and women's organizations. Their contributions to these goals are listed in our program- please read! and appreciate!, because my introductions this morning are, of necessity, very abbreviated.

First of all John Mack Carter, the former, until-last-month, Editor in Chief of Good Housekeeping, and now the Director of Magazine Development for Hearst Magazines: Winner of too many awards to chronicle, and sensitive in his publications, and in his life, to the very real concerns of women. NYWA takes pleasure in saluting and thanking John Mack Carter. (*he stands*)

The former CEO of Equitable Life Assurance ,and presently Consulting Director of Equitable as well as Chairman of Trivest Financial Services. Many of us turned to him so often and found a welcome in the years that he chaired Equitable when almost no other CEO was interested in hosting and supporting women's organizations, we found a genial host and a home at Equitable whenever we needed it. We wish there was time to list his many accomplishments and honors, but we hope he knows how much we value him. Thanks for years of understanding and help,Coy Ecklund (*he stands*)

The President of Rubenstein Associates, well known nationally, who recently celebrated the fortieth anniversary of his firm with some thousand or more of his closest friends and best known clients. He has had the courage to be the only man on a number of women's organization Boards, and he has been more than generous in contributing his formidable talents to help women tell their stories to the media, and to help in every way open doors of communication for women and women's groups. Thank you Howard Rubenstein.(*he stands*)

Before we present our special 1994 Stars we want to introduce a few of the stars seated around the ballroom, simply to give all of you a chance to plan networking after Breakfast - recognizing, however that everyone here is a star. First of all our distinguished public officials : (read list) And then most importantly for NYWA and its future, the generous corporate leaders who make it possible for NYWA to flourish: (Read list)

I want to remind you that the very top leader of our country is always introduced quite simply:" Ladies and Gentleman, The President of the United States!" This morning we have three top leaders with us. To do justice to their achievements would take until tomorrow, and although I'm sure all of us would stay to hear them , they themselves might not. We're therefore introducing them simply and appropriately : "Ladies and Gentlemen, the First Lady of New York City"

Mrs. Giuliani: (suggested remarks subject to change by Mrs. Giuliani) I am delighted to be here again this year to greet and congratulate the winners of the Star Awards, and to bring you the congratulations of the Mayor. This is an impressive gathering, and it reflects the diversity and strength of New York,

and especially of its women. We are the tourist center of the world and there is no place where you can dine more exquisitely- I should know- this is my area. Food is an area I've spent a good deal of time exploring, eating, and talking about. And of course, between our fabulous restaurant meals there are our great museums, our concerts and opera halls, our parks and cathedrals and the libraries - the list is endless. This is a wonderful City and I hope you'll work with me and of course with my husband and with all of you to make this very great metropolis City even more hospitable to, women, to their families, and to our guests who come here from all over the world..

Steinem; Thank you, Mrs. Giuliani. It's wonderful to have you with us and to have a first lady who is a powerful role model for all of us. To continue our program:- Ladies and Gentlemen, the First Lady of New York State

Mrs. Cuomo: (suggested comments - subject to change by Mrs. Cuomo) It's good to be here this morning with so many women I've worked with and who have contributed so much to our State. I hope you will continue to use your strength and your voices to build a society where every child and every family has the opportunity to grow and succeed. I've spent twelve years now working on a large variety of problems that affect children's health and their education; on preventing the abuse and neglect of women and children; and the development of programs such as the growing mentoring services that I hope many more of you will be joining in the next years. Its a privilege to be able to make a difference, and I intend to continue all my efforts and to call on all of you to continue to give the help you have given so generously in the past. Congratulations to the NYWA Stars.They give us all hope.

Steinem: We have one more First Lady to introduce, but a little later. I imagine you already suspect who she is.. But before that we have a ceremony that I know you look forward to, as I do. The introductions will be brief, but much fuller descriptions of the presenters are in your programs.

Our first presentation will be made by a woman who was herself honored by NYWA last year , which makes her part of a very elite and special family, our Star family. When we invited her to be a presenter it was under the title of Vice President. As of this morning we are welcoming AT and T Executive Vice President of Domestic Consumer Communication Services who will award our first Star. Welcome Beth Bronner.

Beth Bronner *(at right podium)*: The phrase "Per Aspira ad Astra", through work to the stars, is a phrase that must have been devised specifically for the woman I have the pleasure of introducing. She designed, organized and directed the organization that embodies her own philosophy, "people are capable of creating the resources they need through their intelligence and their work" ASPIRA is a wonderful reality, serving Puerto Rican youth in New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. It is appropriate that this symbol of our appreciation is a Star, since she has led so many to the stars. Per Aspira Ad Astra- Our 1994 Star Honoree, Antonia Pantoja

Pantoja *(at right podium)* responds (one minute)

Steinem: Our next presenter is a woman with extensive experience in social and corporate policies, programs and communications. She was elected as a corporate officer of Time Warner Inc. in 1993 and serves as a Vice President of Community Relations. Please welcome Toni Fay

Toni Fay *(at left podium)* One of the measurements NYWA uses in selecting its Stars is the position occupied by the candidate in her particular profession or company; the degree to which this qualifies her as a role model, and the extent to which this has served to inspire and/or support other women. I have the pleasure of presenting a Star this morning to a woman who meets all three criteria. She is Senior Vice President for Public Affairs at Avon Products; she is currently the head of a new Avon Business unit titled "Taking Control of your Life" and she initiated the "Women of Enterprise" Awards, the annual salute to extraordinary women who have overcome obstacles and become successful entrepreneurs. The luncheon at which she presents these awards is considered one of the hottest tickets in town. Her husband and her daughters testify to the strength and vison of this woman who might be called a model for the twenty first century, as she has been for the past years a model for our twentieth century. Please join me in greeting Gail Blanke.

Blanke *(at left podium)* Responds- One minute

Steinem: As Agency Principal and Vice President of Harold Lee and Sons, a successful Insurance brokerage company, our next presenter is involved in marketing and sales- a neat jump from the health and social service fields where she also starred. I'm delighted to welcome, Sandra Lee Kawano.

Kawano *(at right podium)* I am pleased to be presenting an award to the distinguished Vice President of Human Resources and Staff Relations who acts as one of four ombudsmen- and of course I really meant to say "Ombudswomen!". She is responsible for strategic planning for insurance services in a very large, extremely well-known and important organization, the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association- more often simply known as TIAA. She has been part of the TIAA family since 1969 and has followed a straight upward path from Premium clerk to her present exalted position. She belongs to a number of major professional organizations, and in 1989 was inducted into the YWCA Academy of Women Achievers. Please welcome 1994 Star, Larema Smith.

Smith; *(right podium)* Responds for One minnute

Steinem: Our next presenter is the Manager and Staff Director of Brooklyn Union, the gas company that is so involved in community and women's issues, and is known for its involvement with Brooklyn organizations of all kinds- particularly with women's groups such as the Brooklyn Women's Chamber of Commerce. We're delighted that the President of the Brooklyn Women's Chamber of Commerce is here with us this morning - Judith Castellano Weinberg. We are also grateful to Brooklyn Union for the wonderful contribution of printing our programs. Please welcome Anna LLoyd

Lloyd: *(left podiu))*I have the privilege of saluting a very bright star indeed. She was described in a news article as 'A Beautiful Butterfly" a role she has sung for rapturous audiences at the Metropolitan Opera, and that she will be performing again several times in the forthcoming season. Her voice has enchanted the audiences at the Metropolitan Opera since her debut in the 1985 season as Olga in"Eugene Onegin" and she is now recognized as one of today's most talented young artists. Born in China she came to the United States to study at Juilliard, and subsequently has performed in Bonn, Cologne, Vienna and Salzburg. We invite her to accept our salute this morning, and with some small regret that she will not be responding in song. Our 1994 NYWA Star, Mezzo-Soprano Yun Deng

Deng *(left podium)* Responds one minute

Steinem Our next presenter was awarded a NYWA Star in 1993. She carries the heavy responsibility of Managing Director in charge of the Community Development Group at Chemical Bank and has been responsible for outreach programs and help to small businesses with an important impact on the lives and careers of women. Please welcome Carol Parry

Parry: (*right podium*) I have the joy of presenting a woman with beauty and form in her hands and in her mind. She has given all of us the gifts of her sculpture:- the Vietnam Veterans Memorial; the Civil Rights Memorial in Montgomery Alabama; A wonderful environmental sculpture for Charlotte, North Carolina; A marvelous outdoor sculpture at Yale entitled "the Women's Table ". And she has recently completed sculptures titled "Eclipsed "she is known as an environmentalist who has won many awards, and is also known for having used recycled glass and natural substances in the wonderful creations in her studio. Please meet 1994 Star Maya Lin

Lin :(*Right podium)* Responds one minute

Steinem: Our next presenter was also a star- in fact she was saluted at the first star breakfast in 1992 as the woman who broke through the ticker tape ceiling, becoming the first female to hold a seat on the New York Stock Exchange. It wasn't easy being accepted- in fact at first she wasn't, but today everyone in the business world, locally and on the international exchanges as well as in every other area, applauds Muriel," Mickie", Siebert.

Siebert *(Left podium,)* I have been watching with so much delight the women who have been assuming more and more responsibility in their companies; who have become role models for younger women; and who are making a very large difference for all of us. Today I have the honor to introduce such a woman. She has only recently been named Senior Vice President for Global Finance Operations and all Global Finance technology including Latin America, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, the middle East and Africa. Actually only Mars and Jupiter and some galaxies in outer space remain for her to conquer. In her present capacity she manages 7000 employees in 24 countries. She has reached what one would consider the absolute peak of a fantastic career in finance and corporate activities, but I am convinced that there will be a Citibank branch on Mars any day now, under the direct supervision of NYWA 1994 Star, Mary Cirillo.

Cirillo (*Left podium*) one minute response

Steinem: And our final presenter- except for the presentation of a special and first time award to a rising star, is a Senior Vice President of Chase Manhattan Bank who serves on the boards of Chase Bank International, Chase Community Development Corporation and Chase Investment Services. It is almost overwhelmimg to stand here reading the resumes of the women we are honoring

concept that a woman would stand so tall in the hierarchy of a major financial institution like Chase would have been unthinkable. Perhaps I should introduce our last Star presenter as the Unthinkable Deborah Talbot

Talbot: (*Right Podium*)The light from all these stars is pretty remarkable, and by the time we present the final Stars it should be actually blinding. The wonderful woman who is my Star - I feel a little possessive about the honoree I am privileged to introduce. She is the Assistant Vice President for Community and Educational Programs for Con Edison, overseeing corporate public affairs and responsible for the remarkable increase in educational initiatives and community related activities. Under her leadership Con Edison has increased its focus on mathematics, science technology, literacy and parental involvement, and she has also been responsible for working with a network of organizations on health and human services. Please greet a wonderful 1994 major Star, Leandra Abbott.

Leandra Abbott (*Right Podium*) . One minute response

Steinem One more break with tradition! This year we have a new category. We are saluting for the first time a Rising Star. And to make the presentation we've asked a 1993 NYWA Star, the woman who nominated our rising star with whom, or for whom, she works. Please welcome Group Vice President of NYNEX's Manhattan Market Area, the major market area of the world.-- Patricia Higgins! .

Higgins (*left Podium*) Midtown and southern Manhattan- can you imagine a busier communication place in the world? I have someone working for me who is responsible for this part of our metropolitan marketplace- and I can tell you I sleep soundly at night. She is young, she is knowledgable and she is a joy to all of us who are part of the NYNEX family. Please greet the Vice President and General manager of the NYNEX Manhattan Market area, a rising NYNEX Star, Virginia Ruesterholz

Ruesterholz (*left podium*) one minute response

Steinem: The Commission on the Status of Women is the organization that reports to the Mayor on the problems and projects that affect women in New York. Although its Chair represents Staten Island and parts of Brooklyn in congress, in her role as the head of the Commission she belongs to all five of our Boroughs. The Honorable Susan Molinari!

Molinari: (suggested remarks - subject to change in substance but not time!) The Commission has been developing a number of programs some of which I hope you know about. As an example, we've held hearings on domestic violence and we hope to work with some of your organizations to develop policies that will begin to offer protection and to help victims. NYWA is in a sense the private side, as the Commission in the public organization that represents needs and hopes of New York City's women. Together we can foster the programs that are the agenda for women in New York. Today, however I want ????proud. I hope you'll help me in my role as Chair of the Commission and I hope I can help you and NYWA achieve our common goals.

Guggenheimer (center Podium) Thank you Congresswoman Molinari and a very warm and grateful thank you to Gloria Steinem. Please put November 19, 1995 in your date book. We expect you back chairing our Star Breakfast which will be held in the main auditorium of the Javits Center - or if the present trend continues, in outer space. Meanwhile we will be busy implementing this year's agenda with, I hope, all your help. First however let me join in congratulating and thanking all of our Stars and Presenters and Friends of NYWA, and of course a special thanks to Mrs. Cuomo and Mrs Giuliani who are first ladies in everything they do and stand for. As a woman, and I've been a woman for a good many years, I have such a feeling of pride today! I remember when women marched in the 1918 suffrage parade in fact I was there - when women artists were considered inferior to the talented members of the other sex, and when most law and medical schools were closed to women. We've made a good deal of progress but the road ahead is still a long one but now we have assembled fifty three women's organizations under one umbrella, and we're raising our voices, and we're ready to make our presence felt. The agenda for the forthcoming year includes bringing together all the various groups that are now dealing with the problems of domestic violence; examining the foster care system in our City with a view to recommending changes; developing reference material to help entrepreneurs and women-owned businesses; reviewing our programs dealing with needs of the elderly to increase the services to the homebound; and working with all existing agencies in the City to insure there are programs preventing child neglect and supporting the needs of working women. We want to help our Mayor make government more

accountable , and to insure fiscal responsibility. In other words, we the women of New York care deeply about our City and we stand ready to become partners in public private efforts.

We lost, during my early years, the wisdom and leadership skills of fifty percent of our population. We still lose too much, and too many but now we're fifty three percent, and appropriately fifty three member organizations of NYWA. We're learning to work together and to speak strongly, and I see change and growth every day. Most of all, we're grateful to the women who have been on the firing line and who make progress possible for all of us. I knew Eleanor Roosevelt, and I had the privilege of working with her. I know our present first Lady , and I know the principles for which Mrs. Roosevelt stood are once again at the center of a national agenda. Women are beautiful, and our most honored guest today exemplifies that- in every way. Ladies and Gentlemen, the First Lady of the United States of America.

Hillary Rodham Clinton (At center Podium) (ten or fifteen minutes? I am not suggesting anything here, but she may wish to talk about women's place in the society, problems that women face, and her own views - or obviously anything else she chooses to discuss)

(At conclusion the song "No Longer in the Shadows" as people leave.

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