

DRAFT

REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE
KANSAS BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

IT'S A PLEASURE TO BE HERE WITH YOU TODAY.

BELIEVE ME, I HAVE A VERY SPECIAL APPRECIATION OF PROFESSIONAL WOMEN. SERIOUSLY, I AM EXTRAORDINARILY PROUD OF ELIZABETH. PERSONAL CONSIDERATIONS ASIDE, I THINK GEORGE BUSH MADE A VERY WISE CHOICE IN PICKING HER FOR SECRETARY OF LABOR. ELIZABETH HAS THE BREADTH OF EXPERIENCE, THE COMMITMENT TO PUBLIC SERVICE, AND THE HEARTFELT DESIRE TO HELP THE WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF THIS NATION, THAT THIS IMPORTANT JOB WILL DEMAND OVER THE COMING YEARS. I KNOW THAT SHE WAS VERY DISAPPOINTED THAT SHE WAS UNABLE TO BE WITH YOU TODAY.

THERE WILL BE TWO WOMEN IN THE BUSH CABINET. SOME WOULD SAY THAT'S NOT ENOUGH. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, WRONGLY I BELIEVE, IS PERCEIVED AS ANTAGONISTIC TOWARD WOMEN AND THEIR CONCERNS.

THE TRUTH IS, REPUBLICANS HAVE ELECTED ABOUT THE SAME NUMBER OF WOMEN TO STATE LEGISLATURES AND THE CONGRESS AS HAVE THE DEMOCRATS. AND DESPITE GEORGE BUSH'S SO-CALLED GENDER GAP, 49 PERCENT OF WOMEN VOTERS CAST THEIR BALLOTS FOR HIM.

SO WHY DOES THE GOP GET SUCH A BAD RAP? I ASSUME IT IS BECAUSE SOME OF THE GROUPS IN QUESTION JUDGE THE PARTY ON THE BASIS OF ONE OR TWO "LITMUS" TEST ISSUES, INSTEAD OF LOOKING AT

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THE WHOLE PICTURE. BUT THERE ARE OTHER ISSUES -- REAL BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES OF DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE RELEVANCE TO THE LIVES OF WOMEN, WHICH SHOULD ALSO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. AND IN THIS AREA, REPUBLICANS HAVE BEEN AT THE FOREFRONT, FIGHTING TO SEE IDEAS TURNED INTO REALITIES.

ADVANCES MADE DURING THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION, ESPECIALLY WHEN THE SENATE WAS UNDER REPUBLICAN CONTROL, ARE IMPRESSIVE. AS CHAIRMAN OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE DURING AND MAJORITY LEADER AND REPUBLICAN LEADER, I WAS PROUD TO HAVE PLAYED A ROLE IN THE ENACTMENT OF THESE MEASURES. MEASURES LIKE THE 1981 TAX CUT AND 1986 TAX REFORM PACKAGE, WHICH IMPROVED THE EARNED INCOME TAX CREDIT FOR LOW-INCOME WORKERS AND RAISED THE STANDARD DEDUCTION FOR SINGLE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS -- A CHANGE THAT I HAD SOUGHT FOR MANY YEARS.

AND LAST YEAR WE APPROVED A LANDMARK WELFARE REFORM MEASURE THAT FOCUSED ON WORK AND EDUCATION PROGRAMS, BUT ALSO MADE PROVISIONS FOR CHILD CARE, SO THAT THESE NEW PROGRAMS COULD BE UTILIZED.

ECONOMY ON TRACK

BUT IT WAS THE OVERALL SUCCESS OF THE REAGAN ECONOMIC PROGRAM THAT, FIRST AND MOST IMPORTANT WAS A BOON FOR WOMEN, WHETHER THEY OWN THEIR OWN BUSINESSES, WORK FOR OTHERS, OR WORK IN THE HOME. FROM DOUBLE-DIGIT INFLATION, DOUBLE-DIGIT INTEREST RATES, AND DOUBLE-DIGIT UNEMPLOYMENT, THE ECONOMY NOT ONLY GOT BACK ON STABLE FOOTING, BUT SAILED, AND HAS CONTINUED TO SAIL INTO THE

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LONGEST PERIOD OF GROWTH AND PROSPERITY IN AMERICAN HISTORY. THERE WERE AND STILL ARE SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY THAT ARE NOT AS STRONG AS OTHERS. BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT THE CHIEF DOMESTIC PRIORITY OF THE IN-COMING BUSH ADMINISTRATION IS TO KEEP THE ECONOMY SURGING FORWARD.

THERE ARE ISSUES THAT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION AND THE NEW CONGRESS WILL HAVE CONFRONT IF WE ARE TO KEEP THE ECONOMY ON A ROLL. AND NONE IS MORE PRESSING THAN THE FEDERAL DEFICIT.

ALTHOUGH WE'VE MADE STEADY PROGRESS OVER THE PAST EIGHT YEARS, WE ARE STILL FACING A SHORTFALL OF AROUND \$135 BILLION IN THE COMING FISCAL YEAR. AND, IF WE ARE TO COMPLY WITH THE GRAMM-RUDMAN-HOLLINGS LAW, THAT MEANS THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS ARE GOING TO HAVE TO AGREE ON ABOUT \$35 BILLION IN DEFICIT REDUCTIONS -- NO EASY TASK. BUT IT IS "DOABLE". AND I BELIEVE WE CAN ACCOMPLISH THAT GOAL SOONER, RATHER THAN LATER. BECAUSE THE BROAD DECISIONS MADE IN THE BUDGET DELIBERATIONS WILL DICTATE MANY MORE IMPORTANT DECISIONS FACING US IN THE COMING MONTHS.

DECISIONS ABOUT EDUCATION, CHILD CARE AND THE ENVIRONMENT AND NATIONAL SECURITY, AND THE WORKFORCE ISSUES YOU ARE DISCUSSING TODAY, ALL WILL BE DRIVEN TO SOME DEGREE BY BUDGET CONSTRAINTS.

DECISIONS DRIVEN BY DEFICIT

BUT THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THEY WILL BE ADDRESSED. CHILD CARE FOR INSTANCE. IT'S TIME FOR THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO COME TO GRIPS WITH DEMOGRAPHIC REALITIES. THE U.S. LABOR FORCE NOW

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INCLUDES 53 MILLION WOMEN. MOREOVER, THE GROWTH IN THE FEMALE LABOR FORCE HAS OCCURRED PRIMARILY AMONG WOMEN WITH VERY YOUNG CHILDREN. INDEED, 50 PERCENT OF WORKING MOTHERS HAVE CHILDREN UNDER SIX YEARS OF AGE. FINDING SAFE, AFFORDABLE CHILD CARE HAS BECOME A MAJOR PROBLEM FOR PARENTS OF MODEST MEANS. MANY ARE CONFRONTED WITH THE STARK CHOICE OF LEAVING THEIR CHILDREN AT HOME ALONE OR IN THE HANDS OF LESS-THAN-SATISFACTORY PROVIDERS.

BASED ON CURRENT REALITIES, I BELIEVE THAT WE NEED A NATIONAL STRATEGY TO DEAL WITH THIS PROBLEM. AND WHILE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN'T PROVIDE ALL THE ANSWERS, IT HAS A ROLE. WHETHER IT IS THROUGH INCREASING TAX INCENTIVES OR PROVIDING DIRECT GRANTS TO ASSIST THE VERY LOW-INCOME.

REPUBLICANS, IN GENERAL, SEEM TO FAVOR PROVIDING TAX CREDITS, AS A WAY OF PROMOTING QUALITY CHILD CARE BECAUSE IT GIVES PARENTS THE OPPORTUNITY TO CHOOSE WHAT KIND OF DAY CARE THEY WANT, AND ALSO PROVIDES HELP TO MORE INDIVIDUALS WITH A BROAD RANGE OF INCOMES.

THERE ARE OTHER SO-CALLED "WORKFORCE" ISSUES WHICH WILL BE DEBATED DURING THE NEXT YEAR -- PARENTAL LEAVE, MINIMUM WAGE INCREASES, MANDATED BENEFITS. IN PRINCIPLE, MANY OF THESE ARE GREAT IDEAS. THE PROBLEM IS THAT EACH ONE OF THESE BENEFITS HAS A COST. MANY OF YOU, WHO OWN OR MANAGE BUSINESSES UNDERSTAND, THAT SOMEONE WILL HAVE TO PAY FOR THIS "COMPENSATION" -- WHETHER IT IS IN HIGHER TAXES, LOWER PROFITS, OR HIGHER PRODUCT PRICES. ONE OTHER CONSIDERATION IS THAT INDIVIDUALS, NOT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, CAN BEST DETERMINE WHAT KIND OF BENEFITS THEY NEED -- FOR SOME IT IS CHILD CARE, OR PAID PARENTAL LEAVE; BUT OTHERS WOULD PREFER LONG-TERM HEALTH CARE, OR MENTAL HEALTH CARE.

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SO, OVER THE COMING MONTHS, WE WILL DEBATE THE MERITS, AND
TRY TO BALANCE THE HUMAN CONCERNS WITH ECONOMIC ONES. I AM
CONFIDENT THAT WE WILL

TRAVEL SCHEDULE
KANSAS

839-1324

THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1989

9:50am DEPART Capitol Hill for National Airport/Butler
Aviation

10:05am ARRIVE National Airport and proceed to departing
aircraft

FBO:

Butler Aviation
703/549-8340

10:10am DEPART Washington,DC for Olathe,KS/Industrial Airport

FBO:

Aircraft:

Tail number:

Flight time:

Pilots:

Seats:

Meal:

Manifest:

Executive Beechcraft
Citation 111(Contran)

44HS

2 hours 20 minutes

David Sims

Herb McCormick

6

\ Snack

Senator Dole

11:30am ARRIVE Olathe,KS/Industrial Airport
(CDT)

FBO:

Executive Beechcraft
913/782-9003

Met by:

Ron Wineinger

SEE ATTACHED KANSAS SCHEDULE

FIRST DRAFT - KANSAS SCHEDULE FOR SENATOR
January 5-6, 1989

THURSDAY, JANUARY 5

11:30 a.m.? Arrive Johnson County Executive Airport
Municipal Airport - Ron Wineinger will meet
you and drive you to the Doubletree.

NOON Overland Park Chamber Luncheon - Governor Hayden
to will discuss the return of the Windfall - you will
1:30 p.m. discuss the new Administration and the new
Congress.

OPTION Received a call from Squire Publications last week.
Tom Leathers would like to tape a 30 minute
interview for telecable following the Chamber
luncheon. Their studio is close to the Doubletree,
but you still probably wouldn't get away from K.C.
before 2:30 or 2:45 p.m., which would mean you
wouldn't get to Russell before 3:30 or 4:00p.m.
Please advise.

Yes ____

No ____

2:00 p.m. Depart for Russell

3:00 p.m. Russell

to
8:00 p.m.

8:00 p.m. Depart Russell for Topeka

9:00 p.m. Arrive Topeka -Ron Wineinger will meet you and
drive you to the Ramada. RON -Ramada

FRIDAY, JANUARY 6

You have nothing scheduled until the 11:00 a.m. press conference with Governor Hayden, as you had originally planned to stay in Russell overnight. Since there are no ready-made events, we will either have to create something, or you could reconsider some of the previous options I sent you.

Fletcher Bell request to visit Blue Cross/Blue Shield for a brief tour and picture with Wayne Johnson - could do this from 9:15-10:00a.m.

Yes ☐

No ☐

Request from Jim Hall, General Counsel and political person for Security Benefit Group-brief visit. Could do from 10:15-10:45a.m.

Yes ☐

No ☐

11:00 a.m.

PRESS CONFERENCE WITH GOVERNOR HAYDEN - Capitol Building, Room 220 South.

NOON
to

1:30 p.m.

Topeka Chamber Luncheon - Ramada Inn Downtown.

1:45 p.m.
to

2:30 p.m.

Hill Pet Food - Capital Towers - 7th Floor - President, Bob Wheeler - review of their operation.

Again, you have open time - Could arrange something in Topeka or you could go back to Kansas City. If you don't do the Tom Leathers interview on Thursday, you could probably do it on Friday.

Also, Topeka recently opened a new Rehabilitation Hospital which is equivalent to Craig Hospital in Denver. They would like to have you come by for a brief tour. Rose Mary and I went to the ribbon cutting in October - it's quite a facility. Any interest.

Yes ☐

No ☐

6:30 p.m. Business and Professional Womens' National
Convention - Crown Center - you will speak
at the beginning of the Reception.

7:00 p.m. Depart Crown Center for KC Municipal, Exec
Beech.

7:15 p.m. Depart KC for Washington (2 hrs.)

TRAVEL SCHEDULE
KANSAS

FRIDAY, JANUARY 6, 1989

7:00pm DEPART Crown Center for Kansas City Downtown Airport/
Executive Beechcraft

Drive time: 15 minutes

7:15pm ARRIVE Kansas City Downtown Airport and proceed to
departing aircraft

FBO: Executive Beechcraft
816/842-8484

7:20pm DEPART Kansas City/MO for Washington,DC/National
Airport

FBO:	Butler Aviation
Aircraft:	Citation 111(Contran)
Tail number:	44HS
Flight time:	2 hours 10 minutes
Pilots:	David Sims Herb McCormick
Seats:	6
Meal:	Dinner
Manifest:	Senator Dole

10:30pm ARRIVE Washington,DC/National Airport
(EDT)

FBO: Butler Aviation
703/549-8340

10:35pm DEPART airport for Residence

10:50pm ARRIVE Residence for Private

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The National Federation of Business
and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.

The Voice of Working Women

BPW usa

The National Federation of Business
and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
of the United States of America

2012 Massachusetts Avenue N.W.
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 293-1100

Working Paper

Reproductive Freedom

- Reproductive freedom means access to safe and legal birth control and access to information about preventing unwanted pregnancies.
- Married women did not have the ability to freely use contraceptive methods until a Supreme Court decision affirmed this right in 1965. The Court later granted this same right to single women in 1972.
- The Supreme Court recently set back the drive to restrict abortions on the state level. In Babbitt v. Planned Parenthood of Central and Northern Arizona, the justices affirmed that states may not cut off public funds to private family planning organizations that also offer abortion or abortion counseling.
- Proposed human life amendments to the U.S. Constitution would legislate that life begins at conception and extend Fourteenth Amendment protection to the unborn.
- BPW/USA believes that these and similar measures allow unwarranted government interference into what is an individual, private, and moral concern. The question of when life begins is not a question for government at any level to answer.
- An amendment to the U.S. Constitution defining when life begins could have the effect of banning two very effective forms of birth control--IUDs and oral contraceptives which prevent implantation of the fertilized egg.
- Sex education courses are vital for today's youth. It is alleged that these classes teach youth how to have sex; this is not true, they include everything from science to home economics, to health classes.
- More than one million adolescent girls were pregnant in 1986. Nearly 400,000 had abortions and the rest gave birth, mostly as unmarried mothers.
- Government funding for reproductive and contraceptive research is waning. Many women do not use any of the contraceptives presently on the market for fear of health risks.

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The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.
2012 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 293-1100

Freedom of Choice

Women must have the right to control their own fertility. If women are to be truly equal to men, they must have the right to determine when and by whom to bear children. Reproductive freedom means access to safe and legal birth control and access to information about preventing unwanted pregnancies.

Anti-choice activists are constantly threatening to take away women's freedom of choice through Congressional proposals. The most common legislative method to attack this freedom is the human life amendment (HLA). A human life amendment would extend legal protection to the zygote or fetus under the Fourteenth Amendment by declaring that life begins at conception. This type of amendment to the Constitution would overturn Roe v. Wade, and essentially prohibit abortions. Women who terminate their pregnancies would be subject to criminal penalties. In order for a human life amendment to become law, it must first be passed by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, and then ratified by three-fourths (38) of the states.

Pro-choice advocates point out that should a human life amendment become law, the fertilized egg and fetus would be considered victims under laws pertaining to manslaughter and murder. Therefore, pregnant women who miscarry (and people who might have caused those miscarriages) as well as women who have had abortions (and people who helped them obtain those abortions) might be subject to prosecution under those laws.

Further, the passage of a human life amendment could have the effect of banning two other forms of birth control--IUDs and oral contraceptives which prevent implantation of the fertilized egg. In addition, there would be no choice for victims of incest and rape, or for those women whose lives were endangered because of pregnancy. (In fact, the case of Roe v. Wade involved a woman, "Jane Doe," who brought a class action suit after she was raped, became pregnant and was unable to obtain a legal abortion.)

Opponents of reproductive freedom have engaged in a disinformation campaign; they argue that reproductive freedom means more abortions. This is not true! Women must remain free to choose contraceptive methods, and this will cut down the number of abortions that are performed in this country each year.

Contraceptive Research

Even though the practice of contraception and access to birth control methods has increased in the last 20 years, many women do not use any contraceptives for fear of health risks and side effects. Therefore, the drastic approach of sterilization has become very popular.

Even with the advent of the sponge and lower dosage birth control pills, there have not been any real breakthroughs in technology in this country. Financial support from pharmaceutical companies for research in this area has been minimal. This is not a profitable area for pharmaceutical firms. The major source of funding for reproductive and contraceptive research is the U.S. Government, but even here, a very small amount is diverted for this purpose.

The Federal Government must take greater responsibility for contraceptive development. In order to stem the number of abortions in this country, effective forms of birth control should be advanced. The best manner to ensure development of new and improved contraceptive methods

would be through increased Federal appropriations. Death and serious side-effects of contraceptives should be a major focus of researchers. The low budget priority given for contraceptive research does not reflect the importance of this matter to American women. Additionally, emphasis on male contraceptives has been minimal.

If support for contraceptive research is to become more widespread, policy-makers must be convinced of how essential it is to American women. Women in this country must let their feelings and voices be heard on this subject. Legislators will not allot additional monies for such research programs without substantial pressure from American consumers, specifically women.

One notable exception to lagging contraceptive research is a drug developed by a French pharmaceutical company. The drug is called RU-486. If women take the drug on the last three days of their monthly cycle, it would prevent a fertilized egg from implanting itself in the womb. RU-486 has been tested in Stockholm, Paris and at the University of Southern California. Trials have also revealed that a certain dosage of the drug, induced complete abortions in more than 80 percent of the women who took it in the first six weeks of pregnancy. This abortion aspect of RU-486 is sure to cause an uproar amongst members of right-to-life groups. RU-486 is ready for distribution in France and Sweden, but may encounter obstacles to its approval in the United States; pharmaceutical companies are reluctant to risk producing new contraceptives. A major drug company, the Upjohn Corporation, discontinued all fertility control research in 1985 because of insurance liability costs. Upjohn tested RU-486, but has no interest in marketing it.

Sex Education

If this country is ever to reduce the number of unwanted pregnancies and abortions, sex education in the schools is vital. Advocates of school-based education say that "In a sex-saturated culture, ignorance of what is around us is no protection. How many teenagers have said 'I didn't think I could get pregnant.'"

In contrast to what many opponents of sex education allege, sex education does not teach youth how to have sex; it can run the gamut from ongoing science, to home economics, to health classes. These courses are generally available in large city public schools, but less accessible where it is just as needed in the rural areas of America. The goals of traditional sex education programs have been to reduce unwanted teenage pregnancy, promote rational decision-making about sexuality, limit teenage sexual activity, and reduce teenage childbearing.

The Surgeon General of the United States, C. Everett Koop, has come out in favor of sex education, and U.S. public school teachers overwhelmingly support sex education in schools. The Center for Population Options in Washington, DC conducted a study on this subject in 1986. They found that teenagers with access to contraceptives and counseling at school-based health clinics were more likely to postpone having sex. The report also indicated that there was no increase in students' sexual activity when birth control and counseling were provided in clinics based on or near school grounds. They could not find any evidence that the clinics were increasing sexual activity.

The poverty rate amongst teenage parents is overwhelming. Adolescent parenthood results in young men not being able to accept the responsibility for these babies and young women not being able to support the children.

has never regained the \$161.7 million level appropriated in fiscal 1981.

On November 3, 1986, the Supreme Court caused a major setback for those attempting to restrict abortions on the state level. The Court upheld a lower court ruling in Babbitt v. Planned Parenthood of Central and Northern Arizona. By a margin of five to three, the justices affirmed an appeals court ruling that said states may not cut off public funds to private family planning organizations that also offer abortions or abortion counseling. The Supreme Court ruled that Arizona acted improperly when it barred state family planning funds for groups providing these services.

In June of 1986, the Supreme Court reaffirmed its 1973 decision legalizing abortion. In Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists (ACOG), the Court ruled the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act (1982) invalid. The Pennsylvania law required that before doctors could perform abortions, they had to tell their patients of the detrimental physical and psychological effects of abortion, describe various stages of fetal development, and discuss aid that might be available if they decided not to have the abortion. The law also required that physicians provide the state with extensive reports on each abortion, have two doctors present during late-pregnancy abortions and use methods least risky to the fetus' possible survival. By a margin of five-to-four, the Supreme Court ruled that "states are not free, under the guise of protecting maternal health or potential life, to intimidate women into continuing pregnancies."

Compiled by BPW/USA (Office of Public Policy)

If this information is quoted BPW/USA must be recognized as the source.

01/18/87

Conference Hotels/Rates:	Single	Twin/Dbl	3/rm	4/rm
The Westin Crown Center One Pershing Road	\$59	\$59	\$64	\$64
Hyatt Regency Crown Center 2345 McGee	\$59	\$59	\$64	\$64

**Women's
Agenda
Conference**

★ ★ ★

c/o BPW/USA
2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036

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2012 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

The Women's Agenda for Workforce 2000

In the year 2000, women will be the majority of workers in the workforce.

In 1988, the United States elected the 41st President and 101st Congress. This President, Congress and the nation will make decisions that will determine the agenda for the next century and shape the society for Workforce 2000.

America's women must act now. Our issues, our dreams — our agenda — must be a vital part of the nation's agenda. We are responsible for our future.

At the Women's Agenda Conference II, national women's organizations, working together with the private sector, labor, state and local governments, will examine the needs and roles of women in the year 2000 and present their findings to the President-elect, Congress and opinion leaders from the respective sectors.

But we won't stop there.

Economic and quality of life models for the year 2000 will be debated and

discussed. Together, we will explore viable options for meeting the business and family challenges of the next century.

Together, we will help our children and families, our economy and workforce, and our country prepare for the next century.

Come join us.

THE PARTICIPANTS

- ★ The President-elect (Invited)
- ★ Senate and House Members
- ★ Corporate and labor leaders
- ★ Public policy experts and demographers
- ★ You ... and 2,000 other women leaders!

THE PROGRAM

The Women's Agenda Conference II program will include Opening and Closing Plenary Sessions, and a series of more than twenty 90-minute workshops following program tracks.

- Track I: Education and the Changing Workforce
- Track II: Work and Family
- Track III: Economic Equity and Civil Rights
- Track IV: Health
- Track V: Reproductive Rights
- Track VI: Taking Charge of Our Future

THE SCHEDULE

Friday, January 6, 1989

- ★ Welcoming Reception

Saturday, January 7, 1989

Morning

- ★ Opening Session
- ★ Press Activities

Afternoon

- ★ Plenary Session
- ★ Workshop Session — Tracks I-VI

Evening

- ★ Caucus Activities

Sunday, January 8, 1989

Morning

- ★ Caucus Activities
- ★ Workshop Session — Tracks I-VI
- ★ Closing Session

THE CONFERENCE SITE

Hyatt Regency Crown Center and The Westin Crown Center
Kansas City, Missouri

REGISTRATION

\$50 per person

January 6-8, 1989, many national women's organizations will come together in Kansas City, Missouri, for a historic event — the Women's Agenda Conference II. The conference will provide:

Dialogue with the President-elect and his transition team on the Women's Agenda;

Strategies for working the Women's Agenda into the public and private sector agenda at the national, state and local levels; and

Training and skills development workshops for the workforce 2000, including entrepreneurship, starting your own small business and career growth within corporations.

CONFERENCE REGISTRATION FORM Women's Agenda Conference II, Kansas City, Missouri January 6-8, 1989

Please submit a separate form for each attendee. Mail registration form and check payable to BPW/USA to: Women's Agenda Conference II, c/o BPW/USA, 2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

Advance registration: \$50

Advance registration must be received no later than December 15, 1988.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City/State/Zip: _____

Member: _____

(sponsoring organization)

Working Paper

The Equal Rights Amendment

Section 1: Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2: The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Section 3: This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

- The basic ratio of women's to men's earnings (65 cents to one dollar) remains roughly the same today as it was in 1939.

- In 1985, the median weekly earnings of fulltime women workers were \$277, compared to \$406 for fulltime male workers.

- A man with a bachelor's degree can earn twice as much in a lifetime as a woman with a bachelor's degree.

- Working women with four or more years of college earn about the same as working men with only one to three years of high school.

- Existing legislation designed to protect women from sex discrimination has proven to be inadequate and can be undermined through regulatory changes or lack of enforcement.

- Congress has always had the power to draft women, so the ERA will not newly subject women to the draft. Further, women have always served in combat positions, and combat exclusion laws do not restrict women from war and combat--they restrict women's full participation in the military.

- There is no connection between abortion and the ERA. The ERA is abortion neutral and no clarifying amendment is needed. The right to choose whether or not to have an abortion has already been constitutionally secured by the Supreme Court's 1973 Roe v. Wade decision on the grounds of personal privacy.

- The passage and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is the only way to guarantee full legal equality for women.

- BPW/USA has supported passage and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment since 1937, and it remains the Federation's number one priority.

- BPW/USA will continue to work for passage and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment by exerting strong, consistent efforts in lobbying and education, by supporting pro-ERA candidates and opposing anti-ERA candidates for public office, and by exercising leadership in statewide ERA activities with other organizations.

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Preamble: Because the fundamental law of the land is embodied in the Constitution of the United States and all statutory rights are derived therefrom, the Equal Rights Amendment shall stand first, foremost and above all other items which may appear on the Legislative Platform of this Federation until equal legal rights for women and men become guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution.

Urgent Need for the Equal Rights Amendment

Women continue to remain unprotected by the American Constitution. Women are not now, and have never been fully protected from sex discrimination under the Fourteenth Amendment. In fact, it was not until 1971 that the Supreme Court even interpreted the Fourteenth Amendment to include women, and this protection remains wholly inadequate. One expert commented that the Supreme Court Justices "have demonstrated--and actually stated--that they will not vigorously prohibit sexual discrimination until there is a political mandate for equal rights."

In addition, existing legislation designed to protect women from sex discrimination has proven to be arbitrarily enforced. For example, increasing the educational levels of American women depends heavily on one piece of legislation--Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Title IX prohibits sex discrimination in any educational program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. But in February, 1984, the Supreme Court, in Grove City College v. Bell, accepted the Reagan Administration's argument to limit the scope and effectiveness of Title IX.

It is obvious that without the proper tools for a particular profession, women cannot compete successfully in the job market. Yet, even with the protection of Title IX during the last ten years, women's income continues to be much lower than men's. A recent Census Bureau study showed that a man with a bachelor's degree can earn twice as much in a lifetime as a woman with a bachelor's degree. Women's earnings are still too low for economic self-sufficiency. About 80 percent of single mothers work fulltime. Yet one-third of female-headed families live in poverty. The typical female head of household works fulltime for a median salary of only \$277 per week.

The passage of the Equal Pay Act in 1962 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 should, in theory, have ended discrimination in hiring and wages. However, such discrimination is still apparent today. The large disparity in the earnings of women and men continues to exist, with the basic ratio of women's to men's earnings remaining much the same today as it was in 1939.

With more and more women pouring into the workforce, the Equal Rights Amendment becomes necessary as a basis for laws covering not only the wage-earning woman, but also the homemaker. Even the laws of the past 20 years have not ended job segregation and salary inequity for women. Hence, the urgent constitutional need for the Equal Rights Amendment--an amendment which would protect women from unequal treatment both in the wageforce and in training to enter that wageforce. Without such protection, the economic status of women will continue to remain uncertain. Further, women will continue to face discrimination in every area of American life.

The wording of the Equal Rights Amendment is concise, but important. As part of the U.S. Constitution, this amendment would effectively prevent the passage of any new state or Federal law which discriminates between

men and women on the basis of gender. Further, laws which restrict opportunities for either women or men would be unconstitutional.

Hostility to the ERA

Opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment argue that inequities faced by women can and should be redressed on a case-by-case, law-by-law, state-by-state basis--that women could eventually get the E and the R without the A. However, existing laws can and have been undermined through regulatory changes or lack of enforcement. Further, huge gaps in legislative protection from sex discrimination remain.

The fragmented, often reactionary campaign against the Equal Rights Amendment--waged by right-wing groups like Stop ERA, headed by Phyllis Schlafly--has been characterized by Riane Tennenhaus Eisler, author of the Equal Rights Handbook, as "based not on real issues but on skillfully merchandized falsehoods, on half-truths and deliberate lies." Eisler says "This campaign appeals to fears held by many in the American public. In men, this opposition appeals to the reluctance of those who hold power--no matter how illusory or costly that power may be--to give it up. . . In women, it speaks to the fear of those who do not have power--to the underlying fear of what will happen if they assert, or even express, their needs."

Even though there is opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, a substantial majority of the American public supports it. Eisler says,

"The fact is that ERA is supported by every major women's organization in the nation, from the YWCA to the American Association of University Women, from the League of Women Voters to the Ladies Auxiliary of Veterans of Foreign Wars, from B'nai B'rith to the General Federation of Women's Clubs. . . just about every major political and civic organization endorsed ERA. . . the AFL-CIO, with 116 affiliated unions and about fourteen million members, pledged its support to ERA. So have the United Auto Workers, the United Mine Workers, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and the National Education Association, as well as the American Bar Association. Among religious groups supporting ERA are the United Presbyterian Church, the United Methodist Church Women's Division, the Unitarian-Universalist Association, the National Council of Jewish Women, the California Council of Churches, and the National Coalition of American Nuns. In short, the ERA has the grass roots support of American women--and men--of all religious, and political persuasions, from every walk of life."

Public support for the ERA has been strong for over a decade. The most recent polling data shows that the majority of Americans support the ERA. Obviously they realize, as the Senate Judiciary Committee of the 92nd Congress did, that "The social and economic cost to our society, as well as the individual psychological impact of sex discrimination are immeasurable. That a majority of our population should be subjected to the indignities and limitation of second class citizenship is a fundamental affront to personal human liberty."

ERA and Abortion

Opponents of the ERA charge that the ERA will be used to invalidate the Hyde amendment, or other laws restricting public funding of abortion, and will prohibit the state from in any way regulating abortion. In short, they irresponsibly charge, the ERA means "easy rights to abortion."

This attempt to connect the ERA to abortion is used to discredit the ERA.

In reality, there is no connection between abortion and the ERA. The ERA is already abortion neutral and no clarifying amendment is needed. Case law, legal precedent, and the legislative history of the Equal Rights Amendment clearly demonstrate this. The right to choose whether or not to have an abortion has already been constitutionally secured in the 1973 Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision, and recently reaffirmed in City of Akron v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health Inc. These Supreme Court decisions were based on the constitutional right to privacy.

Further, the experience with state ERAs demonstrates that the national ERA will not invalidate laws regarding public funding of abortion. Attempts to use the ERA to challenge state restrictions on public funding have not been successful. Decisions in these cases have been based instead on the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. While in March, 1984 a low level Pennsylvania court did use the state ERA in its decision to require funding, the ERA alone was not sufficient. Additionally, it is important to note that the Pennsylvania ERA differs significantly from the proposed federal ERA. Funding restrictions have also been successfully challenged where no state ERA exists, so it appears that the ERA remains inconsequential in this area.

For these reasons, some of the strongest members of the House of Representatives pro-life caucus have supported the Equal Rights Amendment. Rep. Silvio Conte (R-MA), ranking Republican and author of amendments limiting public funding for abortion, said on November 15, 1983: "I am sure that members opposed to the ERA will argue that there is a connection between abortion and the ERA. . . But the history in the States--the precedent that has been set--forcefully indicates that the courts will not tie the two issues. There is no reason to conclude that the Supreme Court will broaden the basis of its previous rulings on abortion-related issues."

Legal experts have concluded that "in light of the fact that the right to an abortion is so clearly resolved under other constitutional principles, the continuing effort to inject the debate about abortion into consideration of the ERA can only be seen as an attempt to divert attention from the compelling reasons for guaranteeing equal rights for women."

ERA and the Military

Opponents of the ERA also want to amend the Equal Rights Amendment so that it would not "require the drafting of women or the assignment of women to military combat." The military has remained largely insulated from the changes occurring in society at large. While women are now more involved in the military than they have been in the past, they are prevented from full participation within the military, the nation's largest employer and vocational trainer. The issue of combat duty and the draft is used by many opponents of the Amendment to incite fear in the hearts of women. Opponents say that passage of the ERA will place women in the battlefields.

Those resistant to the ERA say that they support amendments to the bill because they want to "protect" women from the draft. Passage of the ERA without amendments would require that men and women be treated equally with respect to the draft and draft registration. But Congress has always had the power to draft women, so the ERA will not newly subject women to the draft. In fact, plans for a draft of men and women with

medical skills are already being made--without a national ERA. With the declining birth rate, women may well be needed in order to meet future military personnel needs.

BPW/USA opposes any blanket draft exclusion for women. With equal rights come equal duties and obligations. Those who wish to "protect" women from the draft imply that the least fit man is more worthy to defend the nation than the most fit woman.

A combat exclusion amendment would not really "protect" women either. Under current military regulations, women are excluded from "combat" situations, but what analysts have found is that the definition of "combat" changes to fit the personnel needs of the military. These changing definitions have allowed women to serve in positions which many civilians would call combat. Women were involved in the 1983 military action in Grenada. Women regularly pilot Air Force supply planes, but are prohibited from piloting fighter planes. It offends common sense to think that, in time of war, the enemy would not attack the relatively undefended, slow supply planes, and restrict their attack to "fighters." Combat exclusion laws restrict women from certain ships and planes, they do not protect women from war and combat.

Past and existing exclusions have not prevented women from serving in combat areas in every American war. American women have died, been wounded and taken prisoners of war. An employee at the Women's Equity Action League testified on the effect of the ERA on the military at House hearings. She said:

"The effect of the so-called "combat exclusions" is to control women's participation in the military, while still allowing Congress and the service branches enough flexibility to assure that women will be available when their skills are required. Behind every combat exclusion lies an exception--"except" nurses when they are needed; "except" in times of "real" national emergency; "except" when enough qualified men are not available."

The existence of these exclusionary laws and policies does not then protect women from combat. The real result is the creation of artificial barriers to promotion and to policy-making roles.

The ERA would not impair our national defense efforts. Assignments in the military under the ERA will be made on the basis of individual ability. According to former Under Secretary of the Air Force Antonia Handler Chayes, "the military will not be required to utilize soldiers who are unfit or untrainable, and will not be able to exclude women from positions on the grounds of assumed lack of qualifications." (Emphasis added.) This means that if an assignment requires the carrying of one hundred pounds, then only those military personnel meeting these qualifications would be eligible for this duty assignment. All women could not automatically be excluded from this assignment on the belief that no woman could meet the physical or psychological requirements.

The ERA will also not mandate parity in assignment: that is, one-half of the jobs in every position will not have to be filled by women. Again, assignment will be based upon the individual meeting the requirements of the specific job. Having a military based on merit can only increase its quality.

ERA supporters must realize that an amended ERA would perpetuate the existing inequities facing women within the military. Since the military is hierarchical, unless women have specific duty experience, they cannot

be promoted. Higher level decision-making positions, which are both prestigious and well-paying, require combat duty experience. Military women are legally limited in what jobs they can hold and what training they receive. Denied these experiences, they do not have equal access to the benefits of military service and future employment opportunities outside of the military. These inequities help fuel the wage gap between men and women within the civilian workforce.

Legislative Status

The Equal Rights Amendment was never acted upon in the 99th Congress. However, supporters wasted no time in introducing the bill in the 100th Congress. Representatives Edwards (D-CA) and Schroeder (D-CO) are the major sponsors of the bill in the House (H.J. Res 1), and Senator Edward Kennedy (D-MA) introduced the measure in the Senate (S.J Res 1).

Even though BPW members actively worked for the passage of the Vermont Equal Rights Amendment, the referendum failed to pass. Conservatives destroyed hopes for passage by initiating media campaigns that pinpointed emotional issues. The Eagle Forum, headed by Phyllis Schlafly, distributed brochures suggesting that ERA will result in homosexual marriages and contribute to the spread of the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). The polls showed a majority of citizens supported the Vermont ERA, but the referendum went down to defeat by 5,000 votes out of 200,000 cast.

Additional Resources

"Getting Ready to Ratify the ERA" a Workbook (\$2.00). Available through BPW Supply Service, Inc., 11722 Parklawn Drive, Rockville, MD 20852.

"On the Road to Ratification" an Audio Cassette (\$5.00 audio cassette and workbook). Available through BPW Supply Service, Inc., 11722 Parklawn Drive, Rockville, MD 20852.

"The BPW State ERA Kit" includes information on publicity, fundraising, and the political nuts and bolts of state ERAs. Available at no charge through BPW/USA's Office of Public Policy.

"Testimony on the Equal Rights Amendment before the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights" (submitted by BPW). Available at no charge through BPW/USA's Office of Public Policy.

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Working Paper

Pay Equity

- In 1955, full-time women workers earned 65 cents for every dollar earned by men--today that figure remains 65 cents.
- Full-time black women workers earn only 60 cents, and Hispanic women only 55 cents for every dollar earned by white men.
- In 1985, 75 percent of working women were clustered into the lowest-paying occupations--clerical, service, sales, and unskilled factory jobs.
- Equal pay for work of comparable value means that two employees whose work is not identical, but whose duties, responsibilities and skills are comparable, would receive equal pay.
- The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and the state of Washington, settled a major pay equity case this year. The salary increases for employees went into effect in April.
- Forty states have initiated research projects or collected data on pay equity, 24 states have reviewed their state civil service systems, and 14 states have implemented pay increases for employees.
- A pay equity policy in all employment and training programs could help achieve equitable wages for female-dominated jobs.
- To reject the principle of equal pay for work of comparable value as "too complicated" is to perpetuate the history of women's work--a history of female ghettos, of low-paid and undervalued jobs, of discriminatory job assignments and job evaluations.
- In addition to supporting comparable worth, BPW/USA continues to support measures to end all forms of discrimination against women, and to expand opportunities for women throughout the labor force, including vigorous enforcement of equal opportunity laws already in existence.

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Item I: Secure equal treatment for women in all areas of employment and support implementation of pay equity.

Efforts to secure equal treatment for women in employment include measures to advance the position of women in the laborforce, end discrimination in the workplace, and ensure the enforcement of existing equal opportunity legislation. Federal enforcement of affirmative action standards is also needed, including the use of monitoring systems, goal setting, and timetables to assure an equitable balance of women and men in the workforce.

Also needed are legislative and regulatory efforts to increase part-time and flex-time opportunities in the private and public sectors, increase training opportunities for women of all ages in traditional and nontraditional fields, establish a family and medical leave policy, limit the use of veterans' preference in civil service systems, and eliminate sexual harassment in the workplace. The implementation of equal pay for work of comparable value is particularly important.

Pay Equity/Comparable Worth

Women continue to earn only about 65 cents for every dollar men earn. Full-time black women workers earn only 60 cents, and Hispanic women only 55 cents for every dollar earned by white men. In 1984, all families maintained by women had median incomes of \$12,803 compared to \$23,325 for families maintained by men.

The pay gap does not result primarily from the simple refusal to hire women, although in a few professions, such as the military, women are still denied access to certain job categories. Nor does pay inequity result wholly from the refusal to pay women and men equal wages for the same job, although this form of employment discrimination has not disappeared. (One recent report, for example, revealed that female engineers on average earn only 86 percent of what male engineers earn.)

In reality, pay inequity is largely a result of the undervaluation of occupations in which women are clustered. Women continue to be segregated into a few occupations characterized as "women's work"--work that is undervalued and underpaid. Of all employed women in 1985, 77% were in non-professional occupations: clerical, sales, service, factory or plant jobs. Even though many of these female-dominated occupations require skills equal to those required in many male-dominated occupations, the jobs filled primarily by women command substantially lower salaries. Nearly two-thirds of all minimum wage earners are women.

Equal Pay for Equal Work

For example, a study conducted by the Illinois Commission on the Status of Women found that regardless of level of job complexity, the job classifications filled primarily by men were assigned consistently higher wages. The study measured the job complexity of selected classifications using basic components common to all jobs--know-how, problem solving, accountability, and working conditions--and then compared the salaries. Overall, the study revealed that the majority of male employees earned more than \$16,000 per year, while the majority of female employees earned less than \$16,000 per year.

Further, this gap was not due to different career patterns, but rather to the undervaluation and lower salaries of the jobs that were

dominated by women. For example, in the Nurse IV occupational class title, which is female intensive, the total number of points assigned by the evaluating committee was 537. The average monthly salary for a Nurse IV was \$2,104. In contrast, in the Stationary Engineer occupational class title, which is male intensive, the evaluating committee assigned a point total of only 157, and yet, the average monthly salary for a Stationary Engineer was \$2,389--\$285 more per month than a Nurse IV, whose job rating total was 380 points higher.

The principle of equal pay for work of comparable value has been proposed as a remedy for the pay inequities that women face. In essence, comparable worth means that two employees whose work is not identical should receive equal pay if their duties, responsibilities and skills are comparable.

Opposition to Pay Equity

Opponents of comparable worth argue that women are paid less because they make different career choices. Studies have determined, however, that as little as 13 percent of the wage gap is caused by women's different career patterns. The work that women have historically done and continue to do today has always been undervalued. The type of positions open to them and the salary these positions paid reflected the fact that women were not supposed to work, or were to move out of the workforce at some point. This historical prejudice continues today.

Opponents of comparable worth further argue that the free market should control wage levels. However, numerous cases have shown that supply and demand does not always work so simply in setting wages. In recent years, for example, severe shortages of nurses have not pushed their pay up, while an oversupply of doctors in some areas has not caused their pay to go down. Many researchers have concluded that social prejudice and active discrimination have influenced wage setting in the free market as much as supply and demand.

Finally, opponents argue that the concept of comparability is too complicated and subjective, and therefore too difficult to implement. However, studies such as the one conducted in Illinois have not proved overwhelmingly difficult to carry out, nor particularly subjective. Tools to evaluate jobs and performance have been developed, and many employees have been effectively evaluated. This is not a new idea.

To reject the principle of equal pay as too complicated is to perpetuate the history of women's work--a history of female ghettos, of low-paid and undervalued jobs, of biased job assignments and job evaluations, of discrimination more subtle than outright rejection, but no less damaging.

The Present Situation

Past efforts at gaining pay equity for women have proved fruitful in some instances. A variety of laws, for example, have been passed to guarantee women equal pay and equal access to employment. The Equal Pay Act of 1962 requires employers to pay men and women equally when they do the same work. In addition, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination in employment, and in 1980 the Supreme Court ruled that wage discrimination based on sex can be challenged under Title VII (County of Washington v. Gunther), even where the jobs are not identical. Further, Executive Order 11246, signed into law by President

Johnson, prohibits discriminatory hiring practices by Federal contractors and subcontractors.

Yet, after almost more than 20 years, it appears that anti-discrimination legislation has been considerably less effective than either its advocates hoped or its opponents feared. In fact, the pay gap between women and men has remained roughly the same for over 40 years. Thus, advocates of pay equity for women have come to realize that more is needed.

Recommendations

Title VII must continue to be interpreted as prohibiting sex discrimination in pay for comparable work as well as identical work. Title VII must continue to be vigorously enforced, through lawsuits as well as regulations. Further, the appointment of staff and officials who are committed to ending pay inequity to the Department of Justice, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is needed.

Forty states have initiated research projects on pay equity, 24 states have reviewed their civil service systems, and 14 states have implemented pay increases for employees. Legislation is still needed in several states; these bills should mandate job evaluation studies of the public sector workforce, with the subsequent full and prompt implementation of the results of those studies. Also necessary is the establishment of a pay equity policy in all employment and training programs, to insure that female-dominated jobs receive appropriate salaries. Implementation of pay equity in state and local governments through collective bargaining and the involvement of labor unions and advocacy groups in efforts by enforcement agencies to eliminate wage discrimination is also recommended. Finally, the education of the public about pay equity is vital, and can be achieved through speeches, publications, conferences and other appropriate activities.

Legislative Status

Even though the 99th Congress failed to complete action on a pay equity measure, the Courts handed pay equity advocates a significant victory. In September 1985, a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit overturned the AFSCME v. Washington state pay equity case. The Court ruled that Washington state had not violated Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and was not required to eliminate discrimination it had not created. The decision overturned Judge Jack Tanner's 1983 ruling that the state was in violation of this law. AFSCME immediately asked for an en banc (full court) review of the case. However, in January of 1986, AFSCME and Washington reached a negotiated settlement, and the pay increases went into effect in April 1986.

The "Federal Equitable Pay Practices Act of 1985," passed the House of Representatives in October, 1985. Sponsored by Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH), the bill would have required the federal government to examine its hiring, promotional and wage-setting practices to determine whether discrimination on the basis of sex, race or national origin exists. This subject has never been studied in the history of the Federal Government rating process. The Senate counterpart, "The Federal Employee Anti-Sex Discrimination in Compensation Act of 1985" failed due to inaction.

Working Paper

Insurance Discrimination

- Sex discrimination in insurance affects the availability of insurance to women, the terms and conditions of some types of insurance, and the rate structure.
- Women often pay higher rates for health insurance than men for identical coverage. In addition, women have greater difficulty getting disability coverage than men, and when they can get disability insurance, it costs more for less benefits.
- While discrimination on the basis of race has been outlawed in many areas of insurance, it continues to exist in property insurance. Redlining, the practice of denying insurance or varying the terms of insurance for inner-city residents and business owners, still exists.
- The insurance industry uses sex-based actuarial tables to set rates in life insurance and rates and benefits for pensions and annuities even though statistically it is only a small group of women who live longer than a small group of men.
- While the industry claims that the longevity difference between women and men is biological, a 1985 study indicates that the average life expectancy for someone born between 1979 and 1981 is 70.1 years for a male, and 77.6 years for a female. The gap between the sexes is attributed largely to heart disease rates, which runs 50 percent higher among males than among females.
- Sex discrimination in insurance costs women throughout their lifetime. Any "advantage" they enjoy in life insurance rates is more than offset by higher rates/lower benefits in health and disability insurance and pensions and annuities.
- Industry estimates of the cost to consumers of eliminating discrimination in insurance are greatly exaggerated. For example, if mileage were used as the primary factor in rate setting in auto insurance instead of sex, women overall would save.
- The insurance industry has spent more than \$5 million over the past several years, lobbying against the unisex insurance legislation pending in Congress--yet they continue to argue that eliminating sex as a classification would cost too much money--to the industry as well as to women.
- Other equity issues of concern to BPW/USA include quality affordable dependent care, parental and disability leave, public and private pension reform, and heads-of-household tax treatment.

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Item IV: Secure economic equity for women with special emphasis on the elimination of discrimination in insurance.

Sex discrimination in insurance affects the availability of insurance to women, the terms and conditions of some types of insurance, and the rate structure. This discrimination damages millions of women whose need for affordable insurance coverage is greater now than ever before. Projections indicate that by the year 1990, 95 percent of American women age 16 and over will be in the workforce, compared with more than 50 percent today. Despite this trend, the insurance industry continues practices and policies which reinforce the current inferior legal and economic status of women.

Sex-based Statistical Tables

Most insurance discrimination involves the use of sex-based statistical tables. Since women, as a class, live six years longer than men, as a class, the insurance industry uses actuarial tables to set rates in life insurance, and rates and benefits in non-employment pensions and annuities. Consequently, women participating in non-employment pension or annuity programs are required to pay higher premiums than men for equal benefits or receive lower monthly benefits if their premiums are equal.

In life insurance, women have a slight advantage in the rates they pay. However, they usually buy, for various reasons, smaller policies than men. Since most companies charge more per thousand dollars coverage for smaller policies, any advantage women may have is lost. Further, where the increased longevity of women is an "advantage," as in life insurance, most companies continue to use only a three to five year differential (setback), but where it is a disadvantage, as in pensions and annuities, the full six to nine year setback is used.

Other examples of discrimination include health insurance, where women often pay higher rates than men for identical coverage. Many health insurance plans exclude maternity coverage, or if it is included, it is extremely expensive and limited in scope. Women frequently have greater difficulty getting disability coverage than men, and when they can obtain it, it usually costs more. The industry justifies higher rates for women in disability and health insurance by pointing out that women, as a class, have a higher use rate for these types of insurance. Published data, however, does not substantiate this assertion. In auto insurance young women generally pay less than young men because, as a class, young women are safer drivers. These differentials narrow with age, and any sex-based rate differentials disappear by age 25-30. When factors other than sex--such as mileage--are used, the driver's sex has little if any impact on driving performance.

Opposition and Replies

Opposition to eliminating sex discrimination in insurance centers around the costs of implementing corrective legislation. Opponents argue that rates for women will actually increase. However, predictions by the industry of the possible costs of eliminating sex discrimination are not based on fact. While the elimination of sex-based classifications may cause some shift upward in life insurance rates for women, these changes should be relatively minor in actual dollar amounts. And, any additional dollars that women might pay for life insurance would be more than offset by eliminating discrimination in other areas of insurance where women currently pay much more. While the industry has spent millions lobbying against the unisex insurance legislation, they continue to argue that they

cannot afford nondiscriminatory practices.

Recent Supreme Court decisions have already rejected treating individuals as part of a racial or sexual class. In City of Los Angeles, Department of Water and Power v. Manhart, the Court ruled that employer-operated pension plans which required women to make larger contributions than men, were in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This Act prohibits sex discrimination in employment. For a second time, in Arizona Governing Committee for Tax Deferred Annuity and Deferred Compensation Plans v. Nathalie Norris, the Supreme Court applied Title VII to the use of sex-based actuarial tables. In Norris, the Court ruled that it is illegal for an employer to provide smaller monthly benefits to women than to men.

The industry itself says that it does not discriminate in premium rates or in availability of coverage on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin, because "to do so would be contrary to both public policy and to general ethics." Advocates of eliminating discrimination in insurance believe that this same logic should apply to sex as a classification.

The use of sex-based actuarial tables to set rates and benefits is a blatant distortion of the concept of the "average" man and the "average" woman. Statistically, it is only a small group of women who live longer than a small group of men. If insurance is supposed to spread risks over a participating population, surely the industry can develop nonsex-based rates and payments which reflect the experience of the participating population as a whole.

While the industry assumes that the differences in longevity between men and women are biological, others cite "typically male behavior patterns" which clearly contribute to earlier death ages for men. For example, a study in Public Health Reports study found that "differential rates of cigarette smoking are apparently the overwhelming cause for the male-female longevity difference." The study concluded that, "standard census data on life expectancy in the United States and elsewhere, merge the two very different mortality rates of smokers and nonsmokers. This process produces inaccurate estimates for each category when they are considered separately. Therefore, in any discussion or actuarial use of the MFLD (male-female longevity difference) i.e. calculation of pension benefits or life insurance premium rates), these categorical differences should be taken into account."

Similarly, behavioral rather than genetic factors explain other statistical differences. A study by the National Insurance Consumer Organization found that "if mileage were used at all ages, premiums would fall significantly (by about 25 percent) for cars driven by women over the age of 25." Overall, using mileage instead of sex for rate setting would save women over a billion dollars a year. Further, by using mileage, safe young male drivers would not be unfairly penalized.

Any assertion by the insurance industry that discrimination is "fair" and even beneficial is an insult to the intelligence of women. The industry argument that classifications based on sex are a sound business practice cannot be tolerated. Sex discrimination is never good business, and it should not continue to be sanctioned in any area of American economic life.

Legislative Status

Several important pieces of legislation were never acted upon in the

99th Congress; supporters are hoping that these bills will be reintroduced in the 100th Congress. Legislation to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex, race, color, religion, or national origin in insurance, failed to see action. This bill was sponsored by then Rep. Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), Reps. John Dingell (D-MI), and Jim Florio (D-NJ).

In 1984, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled that sex-based insurance rates are illegal under the state's ERA. Pennsylvania's House and Senate responded by passing bills to restore sex-based rates. In March of 1985, the insurance commissioner reversed that statute and ordered insurers to stop basing auto insurance premiums on the sex of the drivers. This mandate would have taken effect on January 1, 1986, but the date was later postponed to March 1, 1986. The Pennsylvania legislature then overwhelmingly passed a bill to allow continuation of sex-based insurance for 18 months, while a government commission studies how to implement unisex auto insurance.

A bill which failed to be acted upon in 1986 by the Massachusetts legislature, would have ensured that all future insurance contracts in the state were free of gender bias. The bill would have prohibited insurance companies from taking sex into consideration under certain circumstances. If insurance companies were bidding for a group contract, the benefits or premiums could not differ by sex for anyone in the group. The legislature failed to take action before the session ended. This bill was hailed for its diversity of support, which included women's organizations, consumer groups and the insurance industry.

Other Equity Issues

During the past several Congresses, a bill entitled the Economic Equity Act (EEA) has been introduced. The legislation generally contains provisions on insurance reform, retirement security, equal employment and fair credit. The Economic Equity Act of 1985 was introduced in the 99th Congress. Although all the provisions of the bill did not see House or Senate action, proponents of the reforms are confident that similar provisions will again be introduced in the 100th Congress.

Health Insurance Continuation for widows, divorced spouses and unemployed workers, became law on April 7, 1986, and went into effect on July 1, 1986. Widows and divorced spouses may continue to remain part of a group health insurance plan for up to three years. They will receive these benefits as long as they pay the premium. The law also helps unemployed workers and their families, by offering continuation for up to 18 months.

The Family and Medical Leave Act, sponsored by Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-CO), was never acted upon in the 99th Congress, but will be reintroduced in the 100th Congress. The bill would have required that both mothers and fathers be able to take up to 18 weeks unpaid job protected leave in order to participate in the early care of a newborn or newly adopted child, or attend to a son or daughter with a serious health condition. The Act would ensure that an employee who takes temporary medical leave would retain his or her job security and work-related benefits for the duration of the illness up to 24 weeks. Employees covered by this bill would have been those in the private sector employing more than 15 people, federal government and state and local government employees.

Additional Resources

Testimony on insurance discrimination is available, at no charge, from the

Office of Public Policy, BPW/USA, 2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW,
Washington, DC 20036.

A pension/insurance information packet is available, for \$3.00 per packet,
from the Marguerite Rawalt Resource Center, BPW Foundation, 2012
Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036 (make check or money order
payable to the BPW Foundation).

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Working Paper

Pensions/Social Security

- Present pension systems reward workers who have a steady career, with low job mobility and substantial earnings. The typical woman worker, however, has a very different employment pattern--she changes jobs more frequently, has gaps in her employment record due to family responsibilities, and earns less than the average man.

- In 1985, only 12 percent of the women in this country received any pension income. The primary source of income for women 65 or older is Social Security.

- In 1985, the median income of elderly women was slightly more than half the median income of elderly men; the average income for elderly women was \$5,156.

- o Nearly three-quarters of the elderly poor population are women, and by the year 2050, the percentage of elderly in this country will nearly double from over 11 percent to 22 percent.

- BPW/USA supports implementation of a system of portability so that workers do not have small accrued benefits scattered in several different plans, and do not lose pension protection because of job changes.

- In computing benefits, Social Security allows only the five lowest years of earnings to be discounted for computing benefits. If a woman has been out of the workforce for more than five years, her benefit level will be reduced.

- The Social Security system is based on assumptions--that men provide the family income, that women are primarily homemakers whose labor force participation is minimal, that family responsibilities like homemaking and child care have no economic value, and that marriage is permanent--these assumptions were only partially true when the system was established and certainly do not reflect current realities for American women today.

- Married women who work generally receive little or no additional retirement benefit for themselves or their families from the Social Security taxes they pay.

- The two-earner couple often receives a lower retirement benefit than the one-earner couple, even when the couples paid the same amount into the Social Security system. This is also true of survivor benefits.

- BPW/USA advocates the implementation of earnings sharing--whereby marriage would be considered a partnership and the family a basic economic as well as social unit--to make the Social Security system more responsive to the needs and working patterns of women today.

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Item II: Reform laws governing Social Security and pension programs to achieve equity and adequacy for women.

The poverty rates for older women are significantly higher than the rates for elderly men. In 1985, the median income of elderly women was slightly more than half the median income of elderly men, \$5,156 versus approximately \$10,000. Nearly three-quarters of the elderly poor in this country are women, and this figure is likely to double in the coming years. In 1984, retired female workers averaged \$381 while males received \$497. Current pension and Social Security systems do little to alleviate this disparity. Both systems fail American women--homemakers, as well as those who are paid for their work--in terms of adequacy of protection and equity.

Pensions

For a variety of reasons, most women never receive a pension benefit, even when they or their spouses have spent many years in the laborforce. In 1985, only 12 percent of the women in this country received any pension income. Even if a woman does receive a benefit, it is usually much less than that of the average man. This year, the average private pension or annuity benefit was \$1,520 for women 65 and older and \$4,152 for men.

Present pension systems reward workers who have low job mobility and substantial earnings--mostly men. However, women often have very different employment patterns. They change jobs more frequently, have gaps in their employment due to family responsibilities, are more likely to work part-time, and earn much less than men. Both women's different employment patterns and wage discrimination significantly affect their eligibility for pension benefits as well as the amount of those benefits.

Women still earn only about 65 cents for every dollar men earn. Lower wages mean lower pension benefits. For example, only ten percent of women over age 65 receive pensions compared to 29 percent of elderly men.

In addition, some participation requirements for pension plans disproportionately exclude women. For example, women are much more likely to work part-time or part-year (more than 70 percent of the part-time labor force is female), and therefore are less likely to get a pension benefit because they do not meet the standards set for a "year of service." The new tax law does not provide coverage for part-time workers or older workers who begin their employment within five years of normal retirement.

Vesting, Integration, and Portability

Vesting, integration and portability are three frequently used terms when referring to pensions. Vesting is the number of years one must be employed before s/he is eligible to receive a benefit upon retirement. Integration involves taking into account part of an employee's Social Security benefit. An employer may subtract a percentage of the Social Security benefit from the pension benefit, leaving the low income worker with little pension benefit after integration. Portability is a system that would allow workers to "carry" vested benefit credits from one plan to another; workers could change jobs without losing their pension protection.

Major changes are needed if private pension plans are to be more responsive to the needs of workers, both men and women. The new tax law

lowered the number of years required to vest, and integration of the pension benefits with a worker's Social Security benefits was partially eliminated. Even so, further reforms are needed in vesting, integration and portability.

Prior to the new tax law, most private pension plans required that a worker be employed for ten years before s/he is eligible to vest, or receive a benefit upon retirement. The Tax Reform Act of 1986 lowered the number from ten to five years; part-time workers and workers covered by multi-employer pensions (many unions) are still excluded from the reform. The bill also allows three year vesting at 20 percent and increases the percentage for every year of work until 100 percent vesting occurs at 7 years.

These reforms are significant, but a gap still remains. The median number of years women spend on their jobs is 3.3 years. More women workers would be helped if vesting requirements were lowered to three years.

Another common practice which disproportionately hurts women is integration. Essentially, integration is taking into account part of an employee's Social Security benefit when figuring his or her pension benefit. The new tax law would partially eliminate the practice of integration. Presently, an employer can subtract up to 83 percent of a retiree's anticipated Social Security benefit from her pension benefit. It is not uncommon for the low income worker to have little or no benefit left after integration. The law mandates that the worker retain at least half of her pension.

Even with these reforms, more needs to be done. Women cannot truly receive equity in retirement income until this practice of integration is totally eliminated. Social Security benefits were intended to supplement retirement income, not reduce or replace it.

With lower vesting requirements workers need a system of "portability" so that they do not have small accrued benefits scattered in several different pension plans. Instituting a system of portability would allow workers to "carry" vested pension credits from one plan to another. Consequently, workers would be able to change jobs without losing pension protection.

Coverage

While changes are needed in existing pension plans, an even greater need exists to extend pensions to employment areas where they do not now exist. Many businesses do not offer their employees any private pension protection. Presently, 41 percent of full-time private sector workers are covered by plans. Sometimes employees are excluded from pension protection by virtue of their job category, for example "all hourly workers" may not be covered. The new tax law would require that a company offer pension coverage to a minimum of 80 percent of its employees. Currently, employers with pension plans are only required to include 56 percent of their employees.

Any increase in coverage is an improvement, but all workers deserve retirement benefits. Additionally, further laws are needed to cover part-time workers, and older workers who begin their employment within five years of normal retirement.

Social Security

Many women find themselves dependent solely upon Social Security for their retirement income. The sole source of income for 60 percent of women age 65 or older is Social Security. And yet, the average woman's Social Security benefit is only 76 percent of the average man's benefit.

The shortcomings of the Social Security system result from the assumptions upon which the system is based. These assumptions--that men provide the family income; that women are primarily homemakers whose laborforce participation is minimal; that family responsibilities, such as child care and homemaking, have no economic value; and that marriages are permanent--were only partially true when the system was established, and certainly do not reflect current realities for American women and the American family today.

As with private pension systems, women who work generally accrue lower Social Security benefits than men because their wages are, on average, lower than men's. Also, as with pension plans, women who spend several years out of the laborforce fulfilling traditional responsibilities are penalized for not having "worked." Each year out of the laborforce over five is counted as a zero when computing average lifetime earnings for Social Security. As one expert put it, "Despite the sentimentalizing of motherhood and children, women are coming to realize that the price of motherhood and child rearing in the U.S. is a possible old age of poverty."

Married women who work generally receive little or no additional retirement benefit for themselves or their families from the Social Security taxes they pay. Their workers' benefits duplicate the benefits to which they are entitled as "dependents." In addition, the system is heavily weighted toward single-earner couples. The two-earner couple often receives a lower retirement benefit than the one-earner couple, even when they paid the same amount into the Social Security system.

This bias toward single-earner couples extends to survivor benefits. The survivor of a two-earner couple often receives a lower benefit from Social Security than the survivor of a one-earner couple, even when their total average incomes were the same.

It is apparent that all women--single, married, divorced, widowed--working in the home or outside--with dependents or without--face severe obstacles to financial security in their later years. After working much of their lives, far too many women find their "golden years" a struggle for survival. Federal laws and regulations must be changed so that the discrimination implicit in both systems is halted, and so that all Americans can look forward to their later years with the assurance of adequate financial security.

Recommendations

The 1983 Social Security Amendments included benefit changes for some survivors and divorced women. Pension laws were made more equitable for all workers, including women, when Congress passed the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) in 1974. In the 98th Congress, legislators finally began to focus on the inequities in the pension system and passed the Retirement Equity Act (P.L. 98-397). The Retirement Equity Act made important changes in pension law to: liberalize break-in-service rules so that women can leave the workforce to raise children or care for ailing family members without being penalized; lower the minimum age of

participation in pension plans so that the crucial employment years between 20 and 24 for women are counted when figuring the amount of a pension benefit; and changing survivor benefit rules so that both spouses are protected.

While these measures were a step in the right direction, they have not eliminated the majority of disadvantages which women continue to face. Lowering vesting requirements, minimizing integration and instituting a way to make small accrued pension benefits portable are changes which are urgently needed. Means need to be devised to extend coverage to more workers, especially low-income workers.

Changes that would make the Social Security system more equitable include implementing a system of earnings sharing, whereby marriage would be considered a partnership and the family a basic economic as well as social unit. Under this system, quarters of Social Security coverage would be shared equally between spouses for each year of marriage. Each individual would, therefore, be entitled to a primary benefit in his or her own right, consisting of a person's earnings while unmarried and half of a couple's combined earnings while married.

Earnings sharing would have several positive effects. For two-earner couples, both spouses' payments into the system would be credited for eventual sharing, thereby eliminating the current problem which married working women face when they receive little or no additional retirement benefit from the Social Security taxes they pay. Also, the disparity which now exists between a family where there was one wage-earner and a family where both adults were working, in retirement and survivor benefits would be reduced or eliminated. In addition, under earnings sharing, women who opt to stay at home to fulfill family responsibilities would not be penalized for being out of the workforce. Finally, divorced women would get better protection since each person would be entitled to a primary benefit consisting of earnings prior to and/or following a marriage, and half a couple's combined earnings for the years of marriage.

Opposition to Changes

Opposition to such changes in the law, however, is strong. The basic argument is one of cost. Indeed, reform of laws governing Social Security and private pension systems would add some costs to employers and taxpayers, but discrimination now "costs" women--the number of elderly poor women is growing rapidly. In a just society, the costs of eliminating discrimination would be distributed so that no individual or group of individuals bears the entire burden.

Clearly, most Americans are concerned about poverty among the elderly. In fact, in a survey of public attitudes conducted for the American Council of Life Insurance, more than two-thirds of the people interviewed indicated that government spending on programs to support the elderly should be increased. The inequities in both Social Security and private pension systems must be addressed in a responsible manner, and the excuse that it is "too expensive" to right the wrongs must not be tolerated.

Legislative Status

The 99th Congress concluded with some successes and some failures. From all indications, the 100th Congress will be very active. In the 99th Congress, Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-OH) introduced legislation to implement

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a system of earnings sharing, whereby marriage would be considered a partnership and the family a basic economic as well as social unit. Under this plan, quarters of Social Security coverage would be shared equally between spouses for each year of marriage. Each individual would, therefore, be entitled to a primary benefit in his or her own right, consisting of a person's earnings while unmarried and half of a couple's combined earnings while married. Sen. Alan Cranston (D-CA) introduced the Senate version of earnings sharing legislation. The bills were never acted upon.

Representative Oakar also sponsored other Social Security bills including one which would have provided for full benefits for disabled widows and widowers without regard to age and without regard to any previous reduction in their benefits. Another bill would have provided for the payment of a transition benefit to the spouse of a worker upon the worker's death if the spouse is 50 and is not otherwise immediately eligible for benefits. The three House bills were referred to the House Ways and Means Committee's Subcommittee on Social Security; no action was taken.

In response to the need for additional pension reform, Rep. Barbara Kennelly (D-CT) introduced the Pension, Vesting, Integration and Portability Act of 1985. Many of the provisions in this bill were included in the Tax Reform Act of 1986; the bill was passed by both Houses of Congress in September and signed into law by the President on October 22, 1986. The number of years required to vest were reduced from ten years to five. The bill also partially eliminates the practice of integration. Integration permitted an employer to subtract up to 83 percent of a retiree's anticipated Social Security benefit from one's pension benefit, leaving low income people with little or no benefit. The tax bill mandates that the employee retain at least half of his/her pension.

Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) also introduced pension reform legislation. The Military Spouse Pension Reform Act would have required that a former spouse who was married to a member of the armed services for ten years or more be entitled to a pro-rata share of retirement benefits. The bill was referred to the House Armed Services Committee's Subcommittee on Armed Services Personnel and Compensation in May of 1985. Several provisions of this bill were passed in the Department of Defense Appropriations measure. State courts are now permitted to award the military pension survivor's benefit to a former spouse and the age at which the surviving spouse may remarry without losing benefits was lowered from 60 to 55 years old.

The Federal Employee's Retirement System Act was signed into law on June 6, 1986 (PL 99-335). The bill will create an entire pension system to supplement Social Security for those federal employees who are covered by Social Security.

Additional Resources

Pension and Social Security testimonies are available, at no charge, from the Office of Public Policy, BPW/USA, 2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

A packet on Insurance and Pensions is available, for \$3.00 per packet, from the Marguerite Rawalt Resource Center, BPW Foundation, 2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 (make check or money order payable to the BPW Foundation).

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01/18/87

Working Paper

Equal Education

- Since Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 was passed, the number of women enrolled in professional schools has dramatically increased. For example, in the ten year period after the bill was passed, the enrollment of women in dental schools increased more than tenfold.

- Title IX dealt a severe blow to sex barriers which existed in the educational system. By 1984, women were able to earn 31.3 percent of the doctorates in the biological sciences granted in that academic year.

- Although Title IX abolished many discriminatory practices, inequality in education still exists. For example, women still head only one percent of elementary and secondary schools.

- Women have still not achieved parity with men in graduate schools. In 1985, women were only 30.1 percent of the medical school graduates.

- Research indicates that math and science teachers have higher expectations of, and make more demands on, their male students. Female students have a negative view of science classes and science careers.

- Women now account for 45.4 percent of accounting degrees and only 13.3 percent of engineering, and 28.9 percent of MBA degrees.

- Conflicting provisions, regulations and interpretations of federal student aid and AFDC laws make college attendance almost impossible for low income women. Women on AFDC may be penalized because aid is counted as income; consequently, these women tend not to enroll in school.

- The biggest problem for women re-entering college is covering child care costs. Current federal student aid regulations allow campus student aid officers to ignore child-care costs in calculating student need.

- Even though Title IX has been effective in eliminating discrimination, the law was gutted in 1984 by the Supreme Court's Grove City v. Bell decision.

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Item V: Support equal educational opportunity at all levels.

Education has a significant affect on a woman's well being. When a woman's education does not adequately prepare her for employment, she and her children often live below the poverty level.

Occupational segregation is a major reason for women's unemployment and low wage careers. As a direct result of the educational limitations placed on them, women have had access to a limited range of occupations when they leave school. Schools must provide women and girls with adequate guidance to make choices for their future, including counseling to prepare women for employment, post school training and higher education.

Government regulations and programs such as Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, the Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA), the Vocational Education Act (Voc Ed), and Math/Science programs are directed at the removal of bias and sex discrimination in schools, but they have only scratched the surface. Progress towards equal opportunities in education has been slow. Curricula and counseling activities still need to be changed. Until equal education opportunities exist at all levels, women's and girls' potential will be limited and so will their ability to contribute to the nation.

TITLE IX

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits sex discrimination in educational programs or activities receiving federal funds. Title IX is the only federal law prohibiting sex discrimination in education.

Passed in 1972 and signed into law by President Richard Nixon, Title IX was instrumental in opening classroom doors to women and girls. While enforcement of Title IX by the Department of Education has always been a problem, voluntary compliance and monitoring by individuals and community groups have greatly reduced overt forms of discrimination. Title IX was also an incentive for institutions to eliminate more subtle forms of discrimination, such as sexual harassment, and sexist classroom materials, career counseling and teaching practices.

Title IX arose as a response to blatant academic discrimination. Prior to 1972, many colleges required women to have SAT scores 30-40 points higher than those of entering men. Women were counseled to pursue traditionally female careers; no colleges or universities offered women athletic scholarships; and some elementary schools assigned male teachers to grades four through seven, and females to the lower grades. For many years, sex discrimination in testing, applications, tracking and hiring produced an educational system that enforced stereotypical roles for both sexes.

Title IX has served the nation well. In 1970-71, there were only 300,000 girls participating in interscholastic athletics on the high school level. By 1978-79, the number had reached two million. In 1972, only 16,000 women were participating in intercollegiate athletics. By 1984, the number had topped 150,000. The number of girls playing high school sports has increased from seven percent to 35 percent. Today, more than 10,000 women are attending college on athletic scholarships, a rarity before the passage of Title IX. Title IX also banned school policies that expelled pregnant students or prevented them from participating in extracurricular activities.

The percentage of women receiving graduate and professional degrees has also increased dramatically. For example, the percentage of MBA degrees received by women rose from less than four percent in 1970 to almost 30 percent in 1986; in 1971-72, women received nine percent of the medical degrees conferred, but in 1985, they received 30 percent. Admissions policies which officially restricted the enrollment of women, particularly in professional schools, have been eliminated. The number of women in law school, veterinary school and doctorate awardees have increased tremendously.

Title IX required school counselors to test and score male and female students in the same way, so that girls, for example, were not automatically counseled to become nurses and boys, doctors.

Despite such dramatic progress under Title IX, the law was gutted. In 1984, the Supreme Court ruled in Grove City v. Bell that only the program or activity receiving federal funds, not the whole institution, was required to comply with Title IX. Officials of Grove City College in Pennsylvania refused to sign the compliance forms. They argued that since the only federal funds they received were federal student loans, only the financial aid department should have to comply with the nondiscrimination law.

Under the Grove City decision, federal money can now flow to institutions who openly discriminate. Only four percent of the more than \$13 billion in federal assistance received by colleges and universities is earmarked for specific programs. Therefore, most students stand vulnerable to discrimination.

Since the Grove City decision, over 60 Title IX complaints have been dropped by the Department of Education. For example, in a sexual harassment charge at Northeastern University, the grievance has not been redressed because the building where the incident is alleged to have taken place was not constructed with federal funds.

An increasing number of Title IX complaints are filed each year, but the Department of Education has been slow in enforcing Title IX as a direct result of the Grove City decision. Legislation to restore Title IX's institution-wide coverage (The Civil Rights Restoration Act), failed to be acted upon in the 99th Congress, but should be reintroduced in the 100th Congress.

The Women's Educational Equity Act

The Women's Educational Equity Act (WEEA) was enacted by Congress in 1974 to help remedy widespread discrimination against women and girls in our nation's educational system. The Act established a program of grants to fund projects promoting quality education for women and girls at all levels. WEEA projects provide a resource to states and localities, without imposing requirements on the states. Many positive results and valuable materials have resulted from this small investment of federal money.

WEEA has been a leader in funding programs that encourage women and girls to take math/science and technology courses. WEEA has also funded several projects that encourage women and girls to enter nontraditional vocational education programs, supported programs to assist lower income women entering the workforce, and is the only federal education program that specifically reserves funds for programs addressing the needs of

disabled women and girls.

Despite the fact that the WEEA program has been cost effective, it has been subject to a steady barrage of attacks. In 1981, the Reagan Administration requested that WEEA be buried with many other programs in a block grant to the states, with no requirement that the states undertake women's equity projects. In fiscal years 1982, 1983, and 1984, the Administration proposed that no money be spent on the WEEA program. The Administration again this year, recommended zero funding for the program, but 3.5 million was appropriated for fiscal year 1987.

The above efforts to eliminate WEEA failed, but other methods have been used to undermine the program. The Department of Education carried out a reorganization plan that downgraded the WEEA office by four levels. As part of the plan, the WEEA program director was fired and the staff reduced.

WEEA has contributed significantly to progress toward the national goal of quality education for women as well as men. The federal role in this effort is as important today as when Congress held the 1973 hearings which led to the passage of WEEA. Funding for the program should be increased to its 1980 level.

Vocational Education

The Vocational Education Act first passed in 1963. Its purposes include: assurance that individuals who have traditionally been underserved by vocational education receive increased access to services; improvement of consumer and homemaker education; and reduction of sex-role stereotyping.

More than 40 provisions within the Act have the potential of improving the vocational education system for women and girls. Title I of the Act requires each state to assign a full-time sex equity coordinator to administer programs related to sex equity, conduct oversight and offer technical assistance. The Single Parents and Homemakers program makes funds available for: vocational education and training programs for single parents and homemakers; grants to community-based organizations; assistance with child care and transportation services; and outreach about vocational educational programs and related services. Within the population of homemakers, the state must give priority to displaced homemakers.

The Sex Equity/Young Women's Program makes funds available for: programs to eliminate sex bias and stereotyping in secondary and postsecondary vocational education; programs targeted at young women 14 to 25 to assist them in preparing to support themselves; and supportive services like child care for those enrolled in the programs.

Amendments to the Vocational Education Act were passed in 1976. The amendments prohibit discrimination in vocational education programs and require state education agencies to: implement activities to overcome sex bias; appoint full-time personnel to help furnish equal educational opportunities in vocational education programs; and monitor vocational education programs within the state for compliance with civil rights statutes.

The 1976 Vocational Education Amendments were some of the most far reaching pieces of sex equity legislation ever enacted. When the Amendments were passed and guidelines were set, sex-equity advocates hoped

that strong federal enforcement would compel states to translate their sex equity plans into action. However, the lenient standards set by the Department of Education indicate that enforcement of sex equity is a low priority, and funding for the program has been frozen for many years at the same level.

Vocational education has the potential to serve both the needs of the nation and the needs of women. Strong pressure is being applied to orient the vocational education curriculum to areas of genuine need--including job categories with a demand for a skilled workforce. Equally strong leadership to counsel women toward training in fields with labor market demand and adequate wages is needed. The program was funded at the level of \$874,819 for fiscal year 1987.

Math and Science

The increasingly "high tech" society in which we live cannot afford to waste the brainpower of one-half of its population through unequal education. Obviously, not all young women have the desire or aptitude for scientific careers, but it is critical not to close the door on those who do. Many female students forfeit the option of later choosing a science-related career by avoiding advanced science and mathematics courses during secondary school.

Women are still substantially underrepresented in scientific and technical fields; females possess only 13 percent of the engineering degrees. Possibly the greatest barrier to the achievement and participation of young women in mathematics and science is the persistent cultural bias that classifies these fields as male. Data shows that by age nine, girls have fewer experiences with science than boys. This lack of science experience continues through ages 13 through 17, and is paralleled by an increasingly negative view by girls of science, science classes, and science careers. Consequently, girls do not picture themselves as future scientists. Out of all the students taking advanced placement tests in math and science, males continue to greatly outnumber females. Changes in classroom instruction, in teacher and parental expectations, in girls' club activities, and in social perceptions, are needed. By holding equal expectations for female and male students, providing science career information, making sure materials are free of gender bias, and fostering positive feelings about science classes and students' abilities, science teachers can encourage girls to take advanced math/science courses and to consider choosing science careers.

The Education for Economic Security Act, first enacted in 1984, would improve the quality of mathematics and science teaching in the United States. The Education for Economic Security Act was authorized \$45 million for fiscal year 1986, and \$80 million for FY 87. Several provisions in the law relate to educational equity and specify development of programs to meet the needs of underrepresented and underserved populations. The law is a beginning but a great deal still needs to be done to increase the number of women in the math/science fields. The components of change needed to increase the participation of women and minorities in math and science over the next decade include: teacher preparation, curriculum improvement, increased course requirements, and industry-education linkages. New courses focusing on mathematical literacy for teachers, introductory technology courses, increased math and science requirements, and an ongoing cooperation between industry and the schools are necessary to develop a pool of skilled women workers.

Computer Equity

Research shows that boys are learning more about using computers, and using them more in school than girls. For example, computer programming courses are often treated as advanced studies reserved for the brightest math students, often male. At the high school level, boys outnumber girls two to one in computer programming courses. In contrast, girls outnumber boys by more than three to one in business education courses that will lead to "pink collar" jobs such as word processing and data entry.

In addition, parents of girls are often less likely to buy a home computer for their daughters or to encourage those daughters to take computer courses than parents of boys. Computer advertising is often slanted toward boys. Computer camps, which have become increasingly popular, are most often attended by boys, and computer and video games are often designed with boys in mind.

In 1985, the U.S. Department of Labor estimated that by the time our children enter the job market, 50-75 percent of all jobs will involve computers in some way: operation, repair, hardware and software designs, sales, and programming. Lack of computer skills is likely to relegate future workers to low-skilled, low-paying jobs. Without efforts toward computer equity, the majority of these "dead end" jobs will be filled by women.

One key to computer equity in schools is the willingness of the faculty to take active steps toward encouraging girls' computer use. The gender gap in perceived abilities could be overcome by requiring a course in basic computer literacy for all students.

Legislative Status

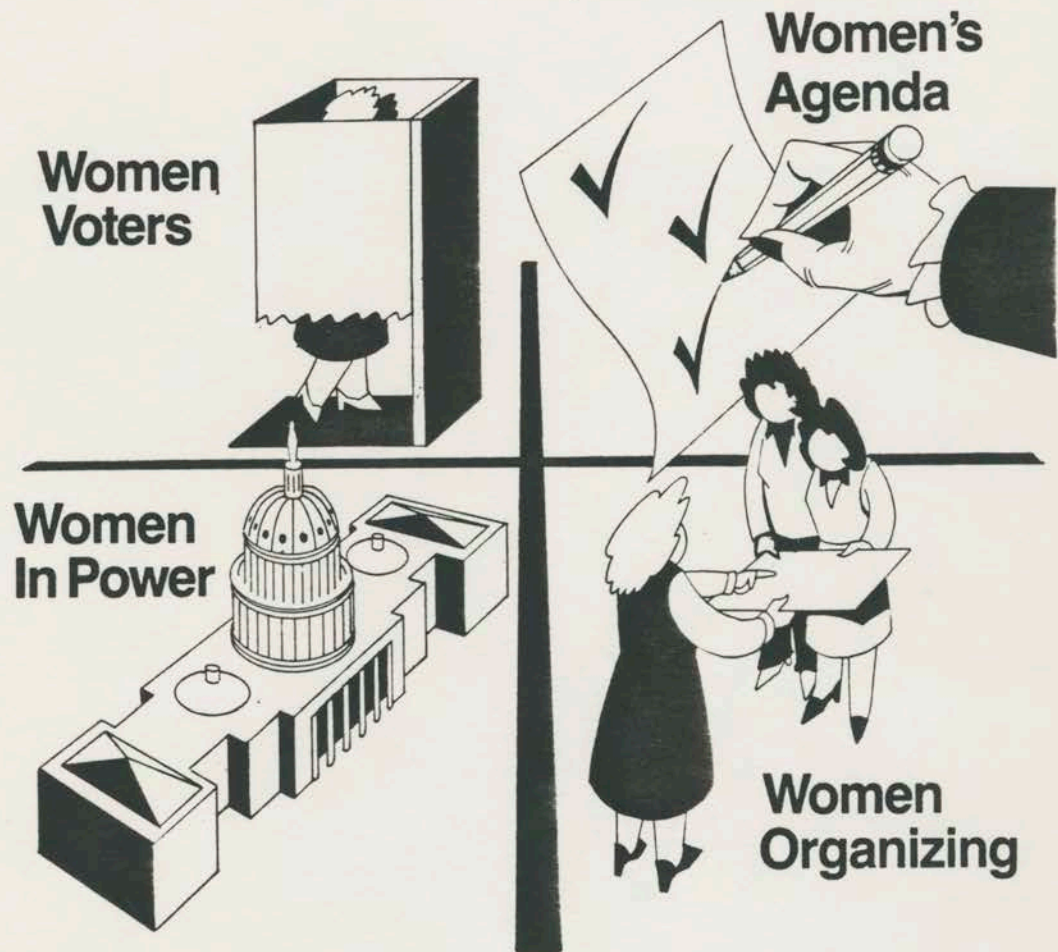
The major focus of education advocates in the 99th Congress was The Civil Rights Restoration Act. The bill failed due to abortion amendments that were attached to it in Committee. Civil Rights proponents are hopeful that the bill will be reintroduced in the 100th Congress and favorably acted upon.

The Civil Rights Restoration Act would have restored Title IX to its pre-Grove City institution-wide coverage. The House Education and Labor and Judiciary Committees passed the bill with amendments. The amendments passed by the Education and Labor Committee would have severely restricted abortion services and exempted many schools from providing institution-wide coverage. The abortion amendment would have overturned regulations which prohibit discrimination on the basis of pregnancy-related conditions, including abortion. Presently, religious institutions are exempt from complying with any of the Title IX regulation which conflicts with their religious beliefs; the second amendment would have extended this exemption to religiously-affiliated institutions. The Senate counterpart was never acted upon.

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GENDER POLITICS 1988

Earning the Women's Vote

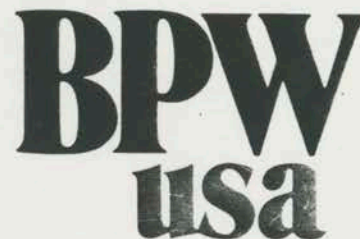


*State-by-State Analysis
of the Gender Gap
in the 1988 Elections
October 1988*

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GENDER POLITICS 1988

EARNING THE WOMEN'S VOTE

OCTOBER 1988

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INTRODUCTION

The gender gap -- the difference between men and women in their political preferences and behavior-- has evolved, once again, as a important factor in American electoral politics. The history of the gender gap reveals that the closer the election, the more important the women's vote.

- o Significant differences in men's and women's votes were first noticed in the 1980 election when a majority of men (53%) but only a plurality of women (49%) supported Ronald Reagan for President.
- o In June 1984, there was a significant gender gap with men solidly supporting Republicans and women leaning toward the Democrats. By November the Republicans had succeeded in winning the majority of women's votes. The Republicans targeted the women's vote and engaged in a sophisticated media campaign that succeeded in closing the gap. The Democrats targeted women voters by nominating a woman Vice Presidential candidate but did not focus on the issues important to women. There was an eight percent gender gap in the 1984 presidential race but its significance was lost in a landslide election. (64% of men and 55% of women voted for Reagan).
- o Women's votes made a critical difference in helping the Democrats gain seats in the Senate in 1984 in four close races. Senators Harkin (D-Iowa), Simon (D-Illinois), Kerry (D-Massachusetts), and Levin (D-Michigan) were elected on the women's vote.
- o In 1986 women's votes played a critical role in helping the Democrats retake the Senate by providing the margin of victory in 9 close races. Senators Shelby (D-Alabama), Cranston (D-California), Wirth (D-Colorado), Fowler (D-Georgia), Breaux (D-Louisiana), Reid (D-Nevada), Sanford ((D-North Carolina), Conrad (D-South Dakota), and Adams (D-Washington) were elected on the women's vote.
- o In 1984 and 1986 exit poll data show twenty-eight (28) states where women voted differently than men in top statewide races and fourteen (14) states in which women's votes were the margin of victory.

During the first part of 1988, men were evenly divided in their support of both parties while women were solidly in support of the Democrats. By September, the Republicans developed strategies that helped close the gap. If the 1988 presidential election is close, as some have predicted, the more important the women's vote will be.

**SUMMARY OF STATE-BY-STATE PRESIDENTIAL POLLS BY GENDER
CONDUCTED SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1988**

DATE	STATE	GENDER GAP		
		BUSH	DUKAKIS	UNDECIDED
10/7-9/88	ALABAMA	(- 5)	(+ 2)	(+ 3)
9/30-10/9/88	ALASKA	(- 4)	(+ 4)	(0)
10/3-7/88	ARIZONA	(- 1)	(0)	(+ 1)
10/10-11/88	ARKANSAS	(- 6)	(+ 5)	(+ 1)
10/14-16/88	CALIFORNIA	(- 8)	(+ 7)	(+ 1)
9/30-10/5/88	COLORADO	(- 8)	(+ 6)	(+ 2)
10/11-16/88	CONNECTICUT	(-16)	(+ 9)	(+ 6)
9/19-26/88	DELAWARE	(- 6)	(- 3)	(+ 9)
9/26-27/88	FLORIDA	(- 9)	(+ 6)	(+ 3)
10/1-3/88	GEORGIA	(-10)	(+ 4)	(+ 6)
9/6-12/88	HAWAII	(-12)	(+ 1)	(+11)
9/27-28/88	ILLINOIS	(- 4)	(+ 3)	(+ 1)
9/26-27/88	INDIANA	(- 3)	(+ 5)	(- 2)
9/26-10/3/88	IOWA	(-10)	(+ 6)	(+ 4)
10/3-5/88	KANSAS	(-14)	(+ 1)	(+11)
9/29-10/4/88	KENTUCKY	(0)	(+ 2)	(- 1)
10/7-9/88	LOUISIANA	(- 9)	(+ 5)	(+ 4)
10/2-7/88	MAINE	(- 7)	(+ 6)	(+ 1)
10/6-8/88	MARYLAND	(- 5)	(+ 1)	(+ 4)
10/15-16/88	MASSACHUSETTS	(-10)	(+10)	(0)
10/14/88	MICHIGAN	(- 6)	(+ 5)	(+ 1)

9/19-22/88	MINNESOTA	(- 8)	(+ 2)	(+ 6)
9/30-10/3/88	MISSISSIPPI	(- 7)	(+ 3)	(+ 4)
10/8-10/88	MISSOURI	(- 6)	(+ 6)	(0)
9/14-16/88	NEBRASKA	(-11)	(+ 2)	(+ 9)
10/9-10/88	NEW HAMPSHIRE	(-18)	(+ 6)	(+12)
10/9/88	NEW JERSEY	(-14)	(+ 9)	(+ 5)
10/1-6/88	NEW MEXICO	(- 7)	(+ 4)	(+ 3)
10/10-11/88	NEW YORK	(- 2)	(+ 5)	(- 3)
10/9-12/88	NORTH CAROLINA	(-10)	(+ 8)	NA
9/26-28/88	NORTH DAKOTA	(- 2)	(- 3)	(+ 5)
10/1-6/88	OHIO	(- 8)	(+ 2)	(+ 6)
10/5-6/88	OKLAHOMA	(- 5)	(+ 4)	NA
9/6-7/88	OREGON	(- 8)	(- 7)	(+15)
10/1-2/88	PENNSYLVANIA	(- 6)	(+ 6)	(0)
10/6-8/88	RHODE ISLAND	(-15)	(+11)	(+ 4)
10/1-11/88	SOUTH CAROLINA	(- 6)	(0)	(+ 6)
10/2-5/88	SOUTH DAKOTA	(- 5)	(+ 1)	(+ 2)
10/3-5/88	TENNESSEE	(- 8)	(+ 3)	(+ 5)
9/28-30/88	TEXAS	(- 7)	(+ 7)	(- 1)
10/10-14/88	UTAH	(- 3)	(- 1)	(+ 2)
9/15-18/88	VIRGINIA	(- 7)	(+ 7)	(0)
10/10-11/88	WASHINGTON	(- 7)	(+ 5)	(+ 3)
10/11-13/88	WEST VIRGINIA	(- 9)	(+ 3)	(+ 6)
10/6-7/88	WISCONSIN	(- 6)	(+ 2)	NA
9/25-28/88	WYOMING	(-13)	(+ 1)	NA

NOTE: MT, NV and VT Gender Gap Data are Unavailable; Totals for all states are included in this report except ID and DC.

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

STATE-BY-STATE PRESIDENTIAL POLLS, STATE ORDER
(CONDUCTED SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1988)

ALABAMA

OCTOBER 7-9, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(833 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	52	55	50	(- 5)
DUKAKIS	39	38	40	(+ 2)
UNDECIDED	9	7	10	(+ 3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 13)	(+17)	(+ 10)	

ALASKA

SEPTEMBER 30-OCTOBER 9, 1988, DITTMAN RESEARCH CORP.
(508 ADULTS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	47	49	45	(- 4)
DUKAKIS	40	38	42	(+ 4)
UNDECIDED	13	13	13	(0)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 7)	(+ 11)	(+ 3)	

ARIZONA

OCTOBER, 1988 (first week), BEHAVIOR RESEARCH CENTER
(721 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	49	50	49	(- 1)
DUKAKIS	26	26	26	(0)
UNDECIDED	25	24	25	(+ 1)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 23)	(+ 24)	(+ 23)	

ARKANSAS

OCTOBER 10-11, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(826 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	47	50	44	(- 6)
DUKAKIS	41	38	43	(+ 5)
UNDECIDED	12	12	13	(+ 1)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 6)	(+ 12)	(+ 1)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

CALIFORNIA

OCTOBER 14-16, 1988, FIELD RESEARCH
(444 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	50	55	47	(- 8)
DUKAKIS	41	37	44	(+ 7)
UNDECIDED	9	8	9	(+ 1)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 9)	(+ 18)	(+ 3)	

COLORADO

SEPTEMBER 30-OCTOBER 5, 1988, TALMEY FOR THE DENVER POST
(1,248 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	50	54	46	(- 8)
DUKAKIS	38	35	41	(+ 6)
UNDECIDED	12	11	13	(+ 2)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 12)	(+ 9)	(+ 5)	

CONNECTICUT

OCTOBER 11-16, 1988, UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT AT STORRS,
INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL INQUIRY
(512 REGISTERED AND LIKELY TO REGISTER VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	46	55	39	(-16)
DUKAKIS	36	31	40	(+ 9)
UNDECIDED	17	14	20	(+ 6)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 10)	(+ 24)	(- 1)	

DELAWARE

SEPTEMBER 19-26, 1988, UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE
(1,602 VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	43	47	41	(- 6)
DUKAKIS	32	33	30	(- 3)
UNDECIDED	25	20	29	(+ 9)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 11)	(+ 14)	(+ 11)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

FLORIDA

SEPTEMBER 26-27, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(636 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	54	59	50	(- 9)
DUKAKIS	37	34	40	(+ 6)
UNDECIDED	9	7	10	(+ 3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 14)	(+ 25)	(+ 10)	

GEORGIA

OCTOBER 1-3, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(834 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	48	53	43	(-10)
DUKAKIS	40	38	42	(+ 4)
UNDECIDED	12	9	15	(+ 6)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 8)	(+ 15)	(+ 1)	

HAWAII

SEPTEMBER 6-12, 1988, HONOLULU ADVERTISER/SMS
(909 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	31	38	26	(-12)
DUKAKIS	43	43	44	(+ 1)
UNDECIDED	27	19	30	(+11)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 12)	(- 5)	(- 18)	

ILLINOIS

SEPTEMBER 27-28, 1988, GALLUP FOR THE CHICAGO SUN TIMES
(1,068 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	44	46	42	(- 4)
DUKAKIS	44	42	45	(+ 3)
UNDECIDED	12	12	13	(+ 1)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(0)	(+ 4)	(- 3)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

INDIANA

SEPTEMBER 26-27, 1988, GORDON S. BLACK CORP. FOR THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR (812 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	57	54	51	(- 3)
DUKAKIS	36	30	35	(+ 5)
UNDECIDED	7	16	14	(- 2)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 21)	(+ 24)	(+ 16)	

IOWA

SEPTEMBER 26-OCTOBER 3, 1988, DES MOINES REGISTER (1,022 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	38	43	33	(-10)
DUKAKIS	49	46	52	(+ 6)
UNDECIDED	13	11	15	(+ 4)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 11)	(- 3)	(- 19)	

KANSAS

OCTOBER 3-5, 1988, TOPEKA CAPITAL JOURNAL (500 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	40	47	33	(-14)
DUKAKIS	31	31	32	(+ 1)
UNDECIDED	29	23	34	(+11)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 9)	(+ 16)	(+ 1)	

KENTUCKY

SEPTEMBER 29-OCTOBER 4, 1988, HAMILTON, FREDERICK & SCHNEIDER (650 LIKELY REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	43	43	43	(0)
DUKAKIS	42	41	43	(+ 2)
UNDECIDED	15	15	14	(- 1)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 1)	(+ 2)	(0)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

LOUISIANA

OCTOBER 7-9, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(821 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	47	51	42	(- 9)
DUKAKIS	43	41	46	(+ 5)
UNDECIDED	10	8	12	(+ 4)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 4)	(+ 10)	(- 4)	

MAINE

OCTOBER 2-7, 1988, CAPITOL NEWS SERVICE
(631 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

NOTE: The total figures are based on a sample of 554 likely voters and the gender figures are based on a sample of 631, or all respondents. Thus, averages of men and women, do not equal the total response.

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	47	51	44	(- 7)
DUKAKIS	36	48	54	(+ 6)
UNDECIDED	17	1	2	(+ 1)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 11)	(+ 3)	(- 10)	

MARYLAND

OCTOBER 6-8, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(839 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	43	45	40	(- 5)
DUKAKIS	47	47	48	(+ 1)
UNDECIDED	10	8	12	(+ 4)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 4)	(- 2)	(- 8)	

SEPTEMBER 26-29, 1988, BALTIMORE SUN
(889 REGISTERED, LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	48	52	44	(- 8)
DUKAKIS	44	42	47	(+ 5)
UNDECIDED	NA	NA	NA	NA
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 4)	(+ 10)	(- 3)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

MASSACHUSETTS

OCTOBER 15-16, 1988, KRC COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH FOR THE BOSTON HERALD (400 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	39	44	34	(-10)
DUKAKIS	49	44	54	(+10)
UNDECIDED	12	12	12	(0)
(BUSH-DUKAKIS)	(- 10)	(0)	(- 20)	

MICHIGAN

OCTOBER 14, 1988, GORDON S. BLACK CORP.
(326 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	54	58	52	(- 6)
DUKAKIS	41	39	44	(+ 5)
UNDECIDED	5	3	4	(+ 1)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 13)	(+ 19)	(+ 8)	

MINNESOTA

SEPTEMBER 19-22, 1988, ST. PAUL PIONEER PRESS DISPATCH\WCCO TV & RADIO (623 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	41	45	37	(- 8)
DUKAKIS	48	47	49	(+ 2)
UNDECIDED	11	8	14	(+ 6)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 7)	(- 2)	(- 12)	

MISSISSIPPI

SEPTEMBER 30-OCTOBER 3, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(812 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	54	57	50	(- 7)
DUKAKIS	39	38	41	(+ 3)
UNDECIDED	7	5	9	(+ 4)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 15)	(+ 19)	(+ 9)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

MISSOURI

OCTOBER 8-10, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(824 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	44	47	41	(- 6)
DUKAKIS	45	42	48	(+ 6)
UNDECIDED	11	11	11	(0)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 1)	(+ 5)	(- 7)	

OCTOBER 2-3, 1988, KANSAS CITY TIMES
(550 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	45	47	44	(- 3)
DUKAKIS	41	42	40	(- 2)
UNDECIDED	14	11	16	(+ 5)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 4)	(+ 5)	(+ 4)	

MONTANA

SEPTEMBER 10-11, 1988, GARY LAWRENCE FOR NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
SENATORIAL COMMITTEE (400 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	42	NA	NA	NA
DUKAKIS	41	NA	NA	NA
UNDECIDED	17	NA	NA	NA
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 1)	NA	NA	

NEBRASKA

SEPTEMBER 14-16, 1988, OMAHA WORLD HERALD/SRI
(755 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	44	50	39	(-11)
DUKAKIS	33	30	32	(+ 2)
UNDECIDED	23	20	29	(+ 9)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 11)	(+ 20)	(+ 7)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

NEVADA

OCTOBER 3, 1988, LANCE TARRANCE & ASSOCIATES
(500 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	48	NA	NA	NA
DUKAKIS	31	NA	NA	NA
UNDECIDED	21	NA	NA	NA
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 17)	NA	NA	NA

NEW HAMPSHIRE

OCTOBER 9-10, 1988, KRC COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH
(400 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	58	67	49	(-18)
DUKAKIS	31	28	34	(+ 6)
UNDECIDED	11	5	17	(+12)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 27)	(+ 29)	(+ 15)	

NEW JERSEY

OCTOBER 9, 1988, THE HACKENSACK RECORD
(907 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	48	55	41	(-14)
DUKAKIS	40	35	44	(+ 9)
UNDECIDED	12	10	15	(+ 5)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 8)	(+ 20)	(- 3)	

OCTOBER 1-3, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(822 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	47	50	44	(- 6)
DUKAKIS	43	41	45	(+ 4)
UNDECIDED	10	9	12	(+ 3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 4)	(+ 9)	(- 1)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

NEW MEXICO

OCTOBER 1-6, 1988, ALBUQUERQUE JOURNAL
(772 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	47	51	44	(- 7)
DUKAKIS	39	37	41	(+ 4)
UNDECIDED	14	12	15	(+ 3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 6)	(+ 14)	(+ 3)	

NEW YORK

OCTOBER 10-11, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(850 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	40	41	39	(- 2)
DUKAKIS	49	47	52	(+ 5)
UNDECIDED	11	12	9	(- 3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 9)	(- 6)	(- 11)	

SEPTEMBER, 1988 (mid-September), MARIST COLLEGE
(601 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	42	44	40	(- 4)
DUKAKIS	48	47	48	(+ 1)
UNDECIDED	10	NA	NA	NA
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 6)	(- 3)	(- 8)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

NORTH CAROLINA

OCTOBER 9-12, 1988, CHARLOTTE NEWS & OBSERVER
(870 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	53	58	48	(-10)
DUKAKIS	40	36	44	(+ 8)
UNDECIDED	7	NA	NA	NA
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 13)	(+ 12)	(- 8)	

SEPTEMBER 17-19, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(818 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	49	50	45	(- 5)
DUKAKIS	41	37	45	(+ 8)
UNDECIDED	10	11	10	(- 1)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 8)	(+ 13)	(0)	

NORTH DAKOTA

SEPTEMBER 26-28, 1988, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA FOR THE GRAND
FORKS HERALD (504 ELIGIBLE VOTERS STATEWIDE WITH 503 RESPONDING)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	54	55	53	(- 2)
DUKAKIS	29	31	28	(- 3)
UNDECIDED	17	14	19	(+ 5)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 23)	(+ 24)	(+ 25)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

OHIO

OCTOBER 1-6, 1988, COLUMBUS DISPATCH
(1,571 ADULTS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	47	52	44	(- 8)
DUKAKIS	43	41	43	(+ 2)
UNDECIDED	10	7	13	(+ 6)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 4)	(+ 11)	(+ 1)	

SEPTEMBER 30-OCTOBER 2, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(814 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	46	49	44	(- 5)
DUKAKIS	44	41	47	(+ 6)
UNDECIDED	10	10	10	(0)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 2)	(+ 8)	(- 3)	

OKLAHOMA

OCTOBER 5-6, 1988, KWTU/KOTV (600 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)
NOTE: Gender Gap data is based on strong/mild positive ratings,
thus, only a fraction of responses are included in the gender
difference

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	49	31	26	(- 5)
DUKAKIS	39	20	24	(+ 4)
UNDECIDED	12	NA	NA	NA
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 10)	(+ 11)	(+ 2)	

OREGON

SEPTEMBER 6-7, 1988, OREGONIAN
(400 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	46	50	42	(- 8)
DUKAKIS	45	48	41	(- 7)
UNDECIDED	9	2	17	(+15)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 1)	(+ 2)	(+ 1)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

PENNSYLVANIA

OCTOBER 1-2, 1988, PHILADELPHIA DAILY NEWS
(790 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	45	48	42	(- 6)
DUKAKIS	43	40	46	(+ 6)
UNDECIDED	9	9	9	(0)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 2)	(+ 8)	(- 4)	

SEPTEMBER 29-OCTOBER 1, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(837 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	45	50	40	(-10)
DUKAKIS	46	42	50	(+ 8)
UNDECIDED	9	8	10	(+ 2)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 1)	(+ 8)	(- 10)	

RHODE ISLAND

OCTOBER 6-8, 1988, KRC COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH
(400 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	39	46	31	(-15)
DUKAKIS	47	41	52	(+11)
UNDECIDED	13	13	17	(+ 4)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 9)	(+ 5)	(- 21)	

SOUTH CAROLINA

OCTOBER 10-11, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(819 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	54	57	51	(- 6)
DUKAKIS	38	38	38	(0)
UNDECIDED	8	5	11	(+ 6)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 16)	(+ 19)	(+ 13)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

SOUTH DAKOTA

OCTOBER 2-5, 1988, MELLMAN & LAZARUS RESEARCH
(500 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	43	40	35	(- 5)
DUKAKIS	40	34	35	(+ 1)
UNDECIDED	17	13	15	(+ 2)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 3)	(+ 6)	(0)	

TENNESSEE

OCTOBER 3-5, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(809 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	46	50	42	(- 8)
DUKAKIS	41	40	43	(+ 3)
UNDECIDED	13	10	15	(+ 5)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 5)	(+ 10)	(- 1)	

TEXAS

SEPTEMBER 28-30, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(842 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	49	52	45	(- 7)
DUKAKIS	44	40	47	(+ 7)
UNDECIDED	8	8	7	(- 1)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 5)	(+ 12)	(- 2)	

UTAH

OCTOBER 11-14, 1988, BARDSLEY, HARDISON & NEIDHART
(601 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	61	63	60	(- 3)
DUKAKIS	30	31	30	(- 1)
UNDECIDED	8	7	10	(+ 2)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 31)	(+ 32)	(+ 30)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

VERMONT

AUGUST 30 - SEPTEMBER 2, MACRO MARKET RESEARCH
(503 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	40	NA	NA	NA
DUKAKIS	41	NA	NA	NA
UNDECIDED	NA	NA	NA	NA
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 1)	NA	NA	NA

VIRGINIA

SEPTEMBER 15-18, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(832 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	51	55	48	(- 7)
DUKAKIS	40	36	43	(+ 7)
UNDECIDED	9	9	9	(0)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 11)	(+ 19)	(+ 5)	

WASHINGTON

OCTOBER 10-11, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(817 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	42	45	38	(- 7)
DUKAKIS	44	41	46	(+ 5)
UNDECIDED	15	13	16	(+ 3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 2)	(+ 4)	(- 8)	

WEST VIRGINIA

OCTOBER 11-13, 1988, RYAN SAMPLES, INC.
(485 REGISTERED AND LIKELY VOTERS THAT VOTED IN THE PRIMARY)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	44	49	40	(- 9)
DUKAKIS	40	38	41	(+ 3)
UNDECIDED	16	13	19	(+ 6)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 4)	(+ 11)	(- 1)	

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE BY GENDER

WISCONSIN

OCTOBER 6-7, 1988, MILWAUKEE JOURNAL
(604 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	43	46	40	(- 6)
DUKAKIS	50	49	51	(+ 2)
UNDECIDED	7	NA	NA	NA
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 7)	(- 3)	(- 11)	

SEPTEMBER 2-4, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(831 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	42	45	39	(- 6)
DUKAKIS	48	45	50	(+ 5)
UNDECIDED	10	10	11	(+ 1)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 6)	(0)	(- 11)	

WYOMING

SEPTEMBER, 1988 (last week), UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING, GOVERNMENT
RESEARCH (480 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE AND 61 UNREGISTERED
VOTERS STATEWIDE FOR A TOTAL SAMPLE SIZE OF 541)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	40	46	33	(-13)
DUKAKIS	29	26	27	(+ 1)
UNDECIDED	31	NA	NA	NA
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 11)	(+ 20)	(+ 6)	

SUMMARY STATE-BY-STATE UNDECIDED VOTE BY GENDER:

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
ALABAMA	9	7	10	(+ 3)
ALASKA	13	13	13	(0)
ARIZONA	25	24	25	(+ 1)
ARKANSAS	12	12	13	(+ 1)
CALIFORNIA	9	8	9	(+ 1)
COLORADO	12	11	13	(+ 2)
CONNECTICUT	17	14	20	(+ 6)
DELAWARE	25	20	29	(+ 9)
FLORIDA	9	7	10	(+ 3)
GEORGIA	12	9	15	(+ 6)
HAWAII	27	19	30	(+11)
ILLINOIS	12	12	13	(+ 1)
INDIANA	7	16	14	(- 2)
IOWA	13	11	15	(+ 4)
KANSAS	29	23	34	(+11)
KENTUCKY	15	15	14	(- 1)
LOUISIANA	10	8	12	(+ 4)
MAINE	17	1	2	(+ 1) *
MARYLAND	10	8	12	(+ 4)
MASSACHUSETTS	12	12	12	(0)
MICHIGAN	5	3	4	(+ 1)
MINNESOTA	11	8	14	(+ 6)
MISSISSIPPI	7	5	9	(+ 4)
MISSOURI	11	11	11	(0)

MONTANA	17	NA	NA	NA
NEBRASKA	23	20	29	(+ 9)
NEVADA	21	NA	NA	NA
NEW HAMPSHIRE	11	5	17	(+12)
NEW MEXICO	14	12	15	(+ 3)
NEW YORK	11	12	9	(- 3)
NEW JERSEY	12	10	15	(+ 5)
NORTH CAROLINA	7	NA	NA	NA
NORTH DAKOTA	17	14	19	(+ 5)
OHIO	10	7	13	(+ 6)
OKLAHOMA	12	NA	NA	NA
OREGON	9	2	17	(+15)
PENNSYLVANIA	9	9	9	(0)
RHODE ISLAND	13	13	17	(+ 4)
SOUTH CAROLINA	8	5	11	(+ 6)
SOUTH DAKOTA	17	13	15	(+ 2)
TENNESSEE	13	10	15	(+ 5)
TEXAS	8	8	7	(- 1)
UTAH	8	7	10	(+ 2)
VERMONT	NA	NA	NA	NA
VIRGINIA	9	9	9	(0)
WASHINGTON	15	13	16	(+ 3)
WEST VIRGINIA	16	13	19	(+ 6)
WISCONSIN	7	NA	NA	NA
WYOMING	31	NA	NA	NA

*See explanation with each complete polling listing.

STATE-BY-STATE MARGINS BY GENDER: BUSH VS. DUKAKIS - SUMMARY

Electoral College Vote listed next to each State
Of the 538 Electoral College votes, 270 are need to win.

I. BUSH LEADING BY MORE THAN 10 POINTS (135)

Alabama (9)	Mississippi (7)	Wyoming (3)
Arizona (7)	Nebraska (5)	
Colorado (8)	Nevada (4)	
Delaware (3)	New Hampshire (4)	
Florida (21)	North Dakota (3)	
Indiana (12)	South Carolina (8)	
Maine (4)	Utah (5)	
Michigan (20)	Virginia (12)	

II. BUSH LEADING BY 6-10 POINTS: (125)

Alaska (3)	Kansas (7)
Arkansas (6)	New Jersey (16)
California (47)	New Mexico (5)
Connecticut (8)	North Carolina (13)
Georgia (12)	Oklahoma (8)

III. BUSH LEADING BY 2-5 POINTS: (82)

Louisiana (10)	Tennessee (11)
Ohio (23)	Texas (29)
South Dakota (3)	West Virginia (6)

IV. BUSH VS. DUKAKIS TIED STATES (ONE POINT MARGIN) (83)

Illinois (24)	Montana (4)	Vermont (3)
Kentucky (9)	Oregon (7)	
Missouri (11)	Pennsylvania (25)	

V. DUKAKIS LEADING BY 2-5 POINTS: (20)

Maryland (10)	Washington (10)
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VI. DUKAKIS LEADING BY 6-10 POINTS: (74)

Massachusetts (13)	New York (36)	Wisconsin (11)
Minnesota (10)	Rhode Island (4)	

VII. DUKAKIS LEADING BY MORE THAN 10 POINTS: (12)

Hawaii (4)	Iowa (8)
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POLLING DATA NOT AVAILABLE: District of Columbia (3); Idaho (4)

STATE-BY-STATE MARGINS BY GENDER - BUSH VS. DUKAKIS

I. BUSH LEADING BY MORE THAN 10 POINTS:

		TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
ALABAMA	BUSH	52	55	50	(- 5)
	DUKAKIS	39	38	40	(+ 2)
	UNDECIDED	9	7	10	(+ 3)
ARIZONA	BUSH	49	50	49	(- 1)
	DUKAKIS	26	26	26	(0)
	UNDECIDED	25	24	25	(+ 1)
COLORADO	BUSH	50	54	46	(- 8)
	DUKAKIS	38	35	41	(+ 6)
	UNDECIDED	12	11	13	(+ 2)
DELAWARE	BUSH	43	47	41	(- 6)
	DUKAKIS	32	33	30	(- 3)
	UNDECIDED	25	20	29	(+ 9)
FLORIDA	BUSH	54	59	50	(- 9)
	DUKAKIS	37	34	40	(+ 6)
	UNDECIDED	9	7	10	(+ 3)
INDIANA	BUSH	57	54	51	(- 3)
	DUKAKIS	36	30	35	(+ 5)
	UNDECIDED	7	16	14	(- 2)
MAINE	BUSH	47	51	44	(- 7)
	DUKAKIS	36	48	54	(+ 6)
	UNDECIDED	17	1	2	(+ 1) *
MICHIGAN	BUSH	54	58	52	(- 6)
	DUKAKIS	41	39	44	(+ 5)
	UNDECIDED	5	3	4	(+ 1)
MISS	BUSH	54	57	50	(- 7)
	DUKAKIS	39	38	41	(+ 3)
	UNDECIDED	7	5	9	(+ 4)
NEBRASKA	BUSH	44	50	39	(-11)
	DUKAKIS	33	30	32	(+ 2)
	UNDECIDED	23	20	29	(+ 9)
NEVADA	BUSH	48	NA	NA	NA
	DUKAKIS	31	NA	NA	NA
	UNDECIDED	21	NA	NA	NA

STATE-BY-STATE MARGINS - BUSH VS. DUKAKIS

		TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
NEW HAMPSHIRE	BUSH	58	67	49	(-18)
	DUKAKIS	31	28	34	(+ 6)
	UNDECIDED	11	5	17	(+12)
NORTH DAKOTA	BUSH	54	55	53	(- 2)
	DUKAKIS	29	31	28	(- 3)
	UNDECIDED	17	14	19	(+ 5)
SOUTH CAROLINA	BUSH	54	57	51	(- 6)
	DUKAKIS	38	38	38	(0)
	UNDECIDED	8	5	11	(+ 6)
UTAH	BUSH	61	63	60	(- 3)
	DUKAKIS	30	31	30	(- 1)
	UNDECIDED	8	7	10	(+ 2)
VIRGINIA	BUSH	51	55	48	(- 7)
	DUKAKIS	40	36	43	(+ 7)
	UNDECIDED	9	9	9	(0)
WYOMING	BUSH	40	46	33	(-13)
	DUKAKIS	29	26	27	(+ 1)
	UNDECIDED	31	NA	NA	NA

II. BUSH LEADING BY 6-10 POINTS:

		TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
ALASKA	BUSH	47	49	45	(- 4)
	DUKAKIS	40	38	42	(+ 4)
	UNDECIDED	13	13	13	(0)
ARKANSAS	BUSH	47	50	44	(- 6)
	DUKAKIS	41	38	43	(+ 5)
	UNDECIDED	12	12	13	(+ 1)
CA	BUSH	50	55	47	(- 8)
	DUKAKIS	41	37	44	(+ 7)
	UNDECIDED	9	8	9	(+ 1)
CONN	BUSH	46	55	39	(-16)
	DUKAKIS	36	31	40	(+ 9)
	UNDECIDED	17	14	20	(+ 6)
GEORGIA	BUSH	48	53	43	(-10)
	DUKAKIS	40	38	42	(+ 4)
	UNDECIDED	12	9	15	(+ 6)

STATE-BY-STATE MARGINS - BUSH VS. DUKAKIS

		TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
KANSAS	BUSH	40	47	33	(-14)
	DUKAKIS	31	31	32	(+ 1)
	UNDECIDED	29	23	34	(+11)
NEW JERSEY	BUSH	48	55	41	(-14)
	DUKAKIS	40	35	44	(+ 9)
	UNDECIDED	12	10	15	(+ 5)
NEW MEXICO	BUSH	47	51	44	(- 7)
	DUKAKIS	39	37	41	(+ 4)
	UNDECIDED	14	12	15	(+ 3)
NORTH CAROLINA	BUSH	53	58	48	(-10)
	DUKAKIS	40	36	44	(+ 8)
	UNDECIDED	7	NA	NA	NA
OKLAHOMA	BUSH	49	31	26	(- 5)
	DUKAKIS	39	20	24	(+ 4)
	UNDECIDED	12	NA	NA	NA

III. BUSH LEADING 2-5 POINTS:

		TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
LOUISIANA	BUSH	47	51	42	(- 9)
	DUKAKIS	43	41	46	(+ 5)
	UNDECIDED	10	8	12	(+ 4)
OHIO	BUSH	47	52	44	(- 8)
	DUKAKIS	43	41	43	(+ 2)
	UNDECIDED	10	7	13	(+ 6)
SOUTH DAKOTA	BUSH	43	40	35	(- 5)
	DUKAKIS	40	34	35	(+ 1)
	UNDECIDED	17	13	15	(+ 2)
TENN	BUSH	46	50	42	(- 8)
	DUKAKIS	41	40	43	(+ 3)
	UNDECIDED	13	10	15	(+ 5)
TEXAS	BUSH	49	52	45	(- 7)
	DUKAKIS	44	40	47	(+ 7)
	UNDECIDED	8	8	7	(- 1)
WEST VIRGINIA	BUSH	44	49	40	(- 9)
	DUKAKIS	40	38	41	(+ 3)
	UNDECIDED	16	13	19	(+ 6)

STATE-BY-STATE MARGINS - BUSH VS. DUKAKIS

IV. BUSH VS. DUKAKIS TIED STATES (ONE POINT MARGIN)

		TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
ILLINOIS	BUSH	44	46	42	(- 4)
	DUKAKIS	44	42	45	(+ 3)
	UNDECIDED	12	12	13	(+ 1)
KENTUCKY	BUSH	43	43	43	(0)
	DUKAKIS	42	41	43	(+ 2)
	UNDECIDED	15	15	14	(- 1)
MISSOURI	BUSH	44	47	41	(- 6)
	DUKAKIS	45	42	48	(+ 6)
	UNDECIDED	11	11	11	(0)
MONTANA	BUSH	42	NA	NA	NA
	DUKAKIS	41	NA	NA	NA
	UNDECIDED	17	NA	NA	NA
OREGON	BUSH	46	50	42	(- 8)
	DUKAKIS	45	48	41	(- 7)
	UNDECIDED	9	2	17	(+15)
PENNA	BUSH	45	48	42	(- 6)
	DUKAKIS	43	40	46	(+ 6)
	UNDECIDED	9	9	9	(0)
	BUSH	45	50	40	(-10)
	DUKAKIS	46	42	50	(+ 8)
	UNDECIDED	9	8	10	(+ 2)
VERMONT	BUSH	40	NA	NA	
	DUKAKIS	41	NA	NA	
	UNDECIDED	NA			

V. DUKAKIS LEADING BY 2-5 POINTS:

		TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
MARYLAND	BUSH	43	45	40	(- 5)
	DUKAKIS	47	47	48	(+ 1)
	UNDECIDED	10	8	12	(+ 4)
WASH	BUSH	42	45	38	(- 7)
	DUKAKIS	44	41	46	(+ 5)
	UNDECIDED	15	13	16	(+ 3)

STATE-BY-STATE MARGINS - BUSH VS. DUKAKIS

VI. DUKAKIS LEADING BY 6-10 POINTS:

		TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
MASS	BUSH	39	44	34	(-10)
	DUKAKIS	49	44	54	(+10)
	UNDECIDED	12	12	12	(0)
MINN	BUSH	41	45	37	(- 8)
	DUKAKIS	48	47	49	(+ 2)
	UNDECIDED	11	8	14	(+ 6)
NEW YORK	BUSH	40	41	39	(- 2)
	DUKAKIS	49	47	52	(+ 5)
	UNDECIDED	11	12	9	(- 3)
RHODE ISLAND	BUSH	39	46	31	(-15)
	DUKAKIS	47	41	52	(+11)
	UNDECIDED	13	13	17	(+ 4)
WISCONSIN	BUSH	43	46	40	(- 6)
	DUKAKIS	50	49	51	(+ 2)
	UNDECIDED	7	NA	NA	NA

VII. DUKAKIS LEADING BY MORE THAN 10 POINTS:

HAWAII	BUSH	31	38	26	(-12)
	DUKAKIS	43	43	44	(+ 1)
	UNDECIDED	27	19	30	(+11)
IOWA	BUSH	38	43	33	(-10)
	DUKAKIS	49	46	52	(+ 6)
	UNDECIDED	13	11	15	(+ 4)

STATE-BY-STATE POLLS IN SELECTED STATES FROM MAY - JULY, 1988

DATE	STATE	(BUSH-DUKAKIS)		
		TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN
5/88	ARIZONA	(+12)	(+25)	(0)
7/16/88	CALIFORNIA	(+ 1)	(+ 7)	(- 6)
6/88	COLORADO	(- 9)	(- 3)	(-16)
6/14-23/88	CONNECTICUT	(-16)	(- 9)	(-20)
5/7-10/88	FLORIDA	(+10)	(+16)	(+ 3)
4/24-28/88	INDIANA	(+ 9)	(+19)	(+ 1)
6/7-14/88	IOWA	(-32)	(-28)	(-36)
6/14-17/88	MARYLAND	(-13)	(- 5)	(-20)
8/2/88	MICHIGAN	(-11)	(- 3)	(-19)
5/9-12/88	MINNESOTA	(-21)	(- 7)	(-33)
6/9-12/88	MISSISSIPPI	(+13)	(+20)	(+ 5)
6/13-16/88	MISSOURI	(-10)	N/A	N/A
5/22-25/88	NEBRASKA	(- 2)	(0)	(- 4)
4/28-5/1/88	NEVADA	(+ 2)	(+ 8)	(- 4)
5/18-26/88	NEW JERSEY	(-14)	(+ 2)	(-31)
5/18-26/88	NORTH CAROLINA	(- 6)	(+ 1)	(-12)
4/19-20/88	NORTH DAKOTA	(+ 7)	(+ 7)	(+ 7)
5/1- 9/88	OHIO	(-12)	(+ 1)	(-23)
6/20-28/88	RHODE ISLAND	(-24)	(-11)	(-35)
5/18-26/88	SOUTH CAROLINA	(+ 3)	(+20)	(-12)
7/12-13/88	TEXAS	(- 4)	(- 3)	(- 4)
5/18-23/88	UTAH	(+ 3)	(+10)	(- 8)
6/24-26/88	VIRGINIA	(+ 8)	(+16)	(+ 2)
6/24-26/88	WISCONSIN	(-14)	(-10)	(-16)

STATE-BY-STATE POLLS IN SELECTED STATES FROM MAY - JULY, 1988

DATE	STATE	GENDER GAP	
		BUSH	DUKAKIS
5/88	ARIZONA	(-14)	(+11)
7/16/88	CALIFORNIA	(-10)	(+ 3)
6/88	COLORADO	(- 8)	(+ 5)
6/14-23/88	CONNECTICUT	(- 6)	(+ 3)
5/7-10/88	FLORIDA	(- 7)	(+ 6)
4/24-28/88	INDIANA	(-15)	(+ 3)
6/7-14/88	IOWA	(- 5)	(+ 3)
6/14-17/88	MARYLAND	(-11)	(+ 4)
8/2/88	MICHIGAN	(-10)	(+ 6)
5/9-12/88	MINNESOTA	(-15)	(+11)
6/9-12/88	MISSISSIPPI	(- 8)	(+ 7)
6/13-16/88	MISSOURI	N/A	N/A
5/22-25/88	NEBRASKA	(- 1)	(+ 3)
4/28-5/1/88	NEVADA	(- 8)	(+ 4)
5/18-26/88	NEW JERSEY	(-19)	(+14)
5/18-26/88	NORTH CAROLINA	(- 9)	(+ 4)
4/19-20/88	NORTH DAKOTA	(- 2)	(- 2)
5/1- 9/88	OHIO	(-14)	(+10)
6/20-28/88	RHODE ISLAND	(-15)	(+ 9)
5/18-26/88	SOUTH CAROLINA	(-18)	(+14)
7/12-13/88	TEXAS	(- 4)	(- 3)
5/18-23/88	UTAH	(-12)	(+ 6)
6/24-26/88	VIRGINIA	(- 9)	(+ 5)
6/24-26/88	WISCONSIN	(- 4)	(+ 2)

STATE-BY-STATE PRESIDENTIAL POLLS
PRE-CONVENTIONS - CONDUCTED MAY - JULY, 1988

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE

ARIZONA

MAY, 1988 (early), BEHAVIOR RESEARCH CENTER, "ROCKY MOUNTAIN POLL" (457 REGISTERED VOTERS, PHOENIX)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	49	56	42	(-14)
DUKAKIS	37	31	42	(+11)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+12)	(+25)	(0)	

CALIFORNIA

JULY 16, 1988, TEICHNER ASSOCIATES FOR KABC, "CALIFORNIA POLL" (450 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	40	45	35	(-10)
DUKAKIS	39	38	41	(+ 3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 1)	(+ 7)	(- 6)	

JUNE 8, 1988, TEICHNER ASSOCIATES FOR THE SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	37	46	28	(-18)
DUKAKIS	46	40	52	(+12)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 9)	(+ 6)	(-24)	

GALLUP

JUNE 3-5, 1988	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	39	46	33	(-13)
DUKAKIS	48	44	51	(+ 7)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 9)	(+ 2)	(-18)	

MAY 5-7, 1988	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	42	47	36	(-11)
DUKAKIS	46	42	51	(+ 7)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 4)	(+ 5)	(-15)	

MAY 16-22, 1988, FIELD INSTITUTE, "CALIFORNIA POLL"

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	40	42	39	(- 3)
DUKAKIS	53	51	54	(+ 3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(-13)	(- 9)	(-15)	

STATE-BY-STATE PRESIDENTIAL POLLS - PRE-CONVENTIONS

COLORADO

JUNE, 1988 (451 REGISTERED VOTERS, 6TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	37	41	33	(- 8)
DUKAKIS	46	44	49	(+ 5)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 9)	(- 3)	(-16)	

CONNECTICUT

APRIL 10-14, 1988, THE ANALYSIS GROUP
(900 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WORKING WOMEN	HOME MAKERS	GENDER GAP	
					WORKING WOMEN	HOME MAKERS
BUSH	35	39	33	31	(- 6)	(- 8)
DUKAKIS	51	48	49	55	(+ 1)	(+ 7)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(-16)	(- 9)	(-16)	(-24)		

FLORIDA

MAY 7-10, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(836 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	48	51	44	(- 7)
DUKAKIS	38	35	41	(+ 6)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+10)	(+16)	(+ 3)	

INDIANA

APRIL 24-28, 1988, THE FORT WAYNE JOURNAL-GAZETTE
(1,017 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	45	52	37	(-15)
DUKAKIS	36	33	36	(+ 3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 9)	(+19)	(+ 1)	

IOWA

JUNE 7-14, 1988, THE DES MOINES REGISTER, "IOWA POLL"
(670 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	28	30	25	(- 5)
DUKAKIS	60	58	61	(+ 3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(-32)	(-28)	(-36)	

STATE-BY-STATE PRESIDENTIAL POLLS - PRE-CONVENTIONS

MARYLAND

JUNE 14-17, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(839 "LIKELY" VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	37	43	32	(-11)
DUKAKIS	50	48	52	(+ 4)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(-13)	(- 5)	(-20)	

MICHIGAN

AUGUST 2, 1988, MICHIGAN EXIT POLLS AT 79 PRECINCTS
(2,690 VOTERS STATEWIDE ON PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	38	43	33	(-10)
DUKAKIS	49	46	52	(+ 6)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(-11)	(- 3)	(-19)	

MINNESOTA

MAY 9-12, 1988, ST. PAUL PIONEER PRESS DISPATCH, WCCO TV, AND
WCCO RADIO (767 ADULTS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	34	42	27	(-15)
DUKAKIS	55	49	60	(+11)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(-21)	(- 7)	(-33)	

MISSISSIPPI

JUNE 9-12, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(825 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	53	57	49	(- 8)
DUKAKIS	40	37	44	(+ 7)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+13)	(+20)	(+ 5)	

MISSOURI

JUNE 13-16, 1988, LEARFIELD COMMUNICATIONS
(414 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	37	N/A	N/A	N/A
DUKAKIS	47	N/A	N/A	N/A
(BUSH-DUKE)	(-10)	N/A	N/A	N/A

STATE-BY-STATE PRESIDENTIAL POLLS - PRE-CONVENTIONS

NEBRASKA

MAY 22-25, 1988, HICKMAN-MASLIN RESEARCH (504 LIKELY VOTERS)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	46	46	45	(- 1)
DUKAKIS	48	46	49	(+3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 2)	(0)	(- 4)	

APRIL 27-MAY 1, 1988, RESEARCH ASSOCIATES FOR THE LINCOLN JOURNAL
(448 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	40	43	38	(- 5)
DUKAKIS	38	39	37	(- 2)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 2)	(+ 4)	(+ 1)	

NEVADA

APRIL 28-MAY 1, 1988, SURVEY RESEARCH SYSTEMS FOR NEVADA STATE
PRESS ASSOCIATION (599 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	42	46	38	(- 8)
DUKAKIS	40	38	42	(+ 4)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 2)	(+ 8)	(- 4)	

NEW JERSEY

MAY 18-26, 1988, STAR-LEDGER/EAGLETON POLL
(570 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	36	49	30	(-19)
DUKAKIS	50	47	61	(+14)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(-14)	(+ 2)	(-31)	

NORTH CAROLINA

MAY 18-26, 1988, CHARLOTTE OBSERVER
(543 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	40	45	36	(- 9)
DUKAKIS	46	44	48	(+ 4)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 6)	(+ 1)	(-12)	

STATE-BY-STATE PRESIDENTIAL POLLS - PRE-CONVENTIONS

NORTH DAKOTA

APRIL 19-20, 1988, THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA FOR THE FARGO FORUM (501 ADULTS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	46	47	45	(- 2)
DUKAKIS	39	40	38	(- 2)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 7)	(+ 7)	(+ 7)	

OHIO

MAY 1-9, 1988, UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI/CINCINNATI POST (551 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	37	44	30	(-14)
DUKAKIS	49	43	53	(+10)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(-12)	(+ 1)	(-23)	

RHODE ISLAND

JUNE 20-28, 1988, ALFRED TAUBMAN CENTER, BROWN UNIVERSITY (381 ADULTS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	26	34	19	(-15)
DUKAKIS	50	45	54	(+ 9)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(-24)	(-11)	(-35)	

MAY 2-5, 1988, ALPHA RESEARCH ASSOCIATES FOR WJAR-TV (549 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	31	39	24	(-15)
DUKAKIS	58	53	62	(+ 9)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(-27)	(-14)	(-38)	

SOUTH CAROLINA

MAY 18-26, 1988, CHARLOTTE OBSERVER (216 REGISTERED VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	44	54	36	(-18)
DUKAKIS	41	34	48	(+14)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 3)	(+20)	(-12)	

STATE-BY-STATE PRESIDENTIAL POLLS - PRE-CONVENTIONS

TEXAS

JULY 12-13, 1988, CBS NEWS POLL, "TEXAS POLL" (793 ADULTS
STATEWIDE - 580 OF WHOM WERE REGISTERED VOTERS)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	44	46	42	(- 4)
DUKAKIS	48	49	46	(- 3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 4)	(- 3)	(- 4)	

JUNE 10-13, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(855 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	58	61	56	(- 5)
DUKAKIS	35	30	39	(+ 9)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+23)	(+31)	(+17)	

MAY 5-4, 1988, DELTA RESEARCH FOR AFSCME
(773 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

				GENDER GAP	
	TOTAL	MEN	FEMALE HOME	FEMALE WORKS	FEMALE HOME WORKS
BUSH	47	52	43	41	(- 9) (-11)
DUKAKIS	42	38	46	46	(+ 8) (+ 8)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 5)	(+14)	(-3)	(-5)	

UTAH

BARDSLEY, HARDISON, & NEIDHART FOR THE SALT LAKE TRIBUNE
(490 REGISTERED VOTERS)

MAY 18-23, 1988	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	42	47	35	(-12)
DUKAKIS	39	37	43	(+ 6)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 3)	(+10)	(- 8)	

MARCH, 1988	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	55	58	44	(-14)
DUKAKIS	34	35	37	(+ 2)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+21)	(+23)	(+ 7)	

VIRGINIA

JUNE 24-26, 1988, MASON-DIXON OPINION RESEARCH
(828 LIKELY VIRGINIA VOTERS)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER
GAP				
BUSH	48	53	44	(- 9)
DUKAKIS	40	37	42	(+ 5)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(+ 8)	(+16)	(+ 2)	

STATE-BY-STATE PRESIDENTIAL POLLS - PRE-CONVENTIONS

WISCONSIN

JUNE 24-26, 1988, MILWAUKEE JOURNAL POLL
(600 LIKELY VOTERS STATEWIDE)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	39	41	37	(- 4)
DUKAKIS	53	51	53	(+ 2)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(-14)	(-10)	(-16)	

THE SOUTH

JUNE 8-13, 1988, CLAIBOURNE DARDEN RESEARCH GROUP
(750 VOTERS IN 9 STATES)

	TOTAL	MEN	WOMEN	GENDER GAP
BUSH	42	45	39	(- 6)
DUKAKIS	45	44	47	(+ 3)
(BUSH-DUKE)	(- 3)	(+ 1)	(- 8)	

SELECTED CLIPPINGS ON THE GENDER GAP

THE CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER. "Businesswomen put Gender Gap on GOP Burner," by Joe Frolik, August 16, 1988.

NATIONAL COLUMN: "How Bush Is Closing the Gender Gap," by Ellen Goodman, October 15, 1988.

WASHINGTON POST. "Dukakis' Gender Gap Advantage, Once Formidable, Has Vanished," by Gwen Ifill, October 17, 1988.

NEWSWEEK. "Closing the Gender Gap," by James N. Baker with Howard Fineman and Timothy Noah, October 24, 1988.

THE CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER
Cleveland, OH
August 16, 1988

Businesswomen put gender gap on GOP burner

By JOE FROLIK

PD CONVENTION BUREAU

NEW ORLEANS — Betty Forbes and Linda Dorian were fresh from brunch with Republican governors Sunday afternoon when they wandered into a little park near the riverfront. In the middle of the park stood a gold statue of Joan of Arc on horseback.

Forbes and Dorian weren't sightseeing. They had come to catch the end of a Mardi Gras-style parade sponsored by a handful of women's groups protesting the absence, once again, of support for the Equal Rights Amendment from the Republican platform.

About 80 marchers had wound through the French Quarter from Lafayette Square, led by a small but spirited band and a float carrying, among others, National Organization for Women president Molly Yard and her predecessor, Eleanor Smeal. As they straggled into the park, the protesters chanted, "What do we want? ERA! When do we want it? Now!"

Forbes, a dapper bank executive from Troy, Va., and new president of Business and Professional Women USA, looked pained. So did Dorian, BPW's equally well-turned out executive director.

"We're here to support the ERA, which is fundamental to our platform," Dorian said. "But this is not exactly our kind of event."

She and Forbes left before the speakers had finished. They prefer to chat with governors, to button-hole Republican heavyweights like Elizabeth Dole. They don't climb on monuments, as Yard did, and shout, "We are here to tell the world and especially the women of America, that the Republican Party has turned its back on women."

But in their low-key way, the women from BPW have emerged as two of the most important figures shaping this year's political debate. They have helped redefine what the campaigns and the media consider women's issues. And they have put the prospect of a potentially decisive "gender gap" on the front-burner as Michael S. Dukakis and George Bush look toward November.

By most estimates, up to 10 million more women than men will vote this fall. Since April, when the race narrowed to Dukakis and Bush, polls consistently have shown the Democrats may ride a wave of female support to the White House.

In survey after survey, Bush has run close to or even slightly ahead of Dukakis among men. But with women, the vice president has run from 12 to 32 points behind in polls taken in the past month. Last week's Gallup Poll, which revived GOP hopes by showing Bush only 7 points behind overall, still found him 15 back with women.

"It's gonna require constant attention to what women are thinking about in this campaign," GOP pollster and consultant Linda DiVall said yesterday. "The Bush campaign knows there's a gender gap out there, and they know they have to address it."

The GOP definitely is concerned about the gap and is giving its female stars prominent display this week. Although fewer than a third of convention delegates are women, about half the podium speakers will be

Last night's prime time proceedings opened with an appeal to women voters from former Cabinet member Elizabeth Dole, a potential Bush running mate.

"Women of America," Dole said, "work with us."

Bush signaled his desire to work on issues of deep concern to women last month at BPW's annual convention in Albuquerque. There he unveiled a day care proposal that features tax credits of up to \$1,000 a year for families with young children.

Forbes says the Bush plan is too limited, and apparently many of her group's members agree. A plurality of delegates in Albuquerque said they were Republicans, but a straw poll after both Bush and Democratic vice presidential nominee Lloyd Bentsen had spoken preferred the Democrats 2-1.

Bush might have fared better if he handled the red purse better.

For the past few years, BPW has given guest speakers a red purse to symbolize the fact women workers earn less than their male counter-

parts, about 70 cents on the dollar. When Bush was given his, he looked embarrassed, tucked it under his arm, then handed off to a Secret Service agent. He left the stage to polite applause and scattered cries of "What about ERA?"

Bentsen stuffed a dollar in the handbag and said, "At the end of our term, there'll be a dollar in this purse and it'll be black." The crowd went nuts.

Dorian noted the Bush campaign had asked her group to set a photo opportunity of the vice president at a day care center during his visit. She had to point out he was coming on Sunday when virtually all centers are closed. To her, that indicated Bush's staff has a "reality gap" when it comes to child care.

Reality is important at BPW. So is pragmatism. Its leaders and members worry about what will work. Forbes shakes her head at the way some women's groups seem to be backing away from this year's race because neither Dukakis nor Bush is deemed aggressive enough on feminist issues.

For decades BPW played its political cards very close to the vest. When it lobbied, it did so quietly at the state level. In Washington, its officers met regularly with the leaders of other women's groups, but usually stepped back when high-profile feminists like Smeal stepped forward.

That began to change last year during the fight against Robert Bork's Supreme Court nomination. BPW leaders found their group's heavily Republican membership, its 3,400 chapters and its mainstream political bent gave them good access to moderates of both parties.

Even before Bork went down to defeat, BPW and other women's groups began plotting how to make sure feminist goals got a hearing during this year's campaign. They organized a conference in Des Moines in January and invited all the presidential candidates. Every Democrat except Gary Hart showed up. Not a single Republican did.

The conference attempted to define women's issues as more than ERA and abortion.

WASHINGTON POST
October 15, 1988

Ellen Goodman

How Bush Is Closing the Gender Gap

BOSTON—Last June, a group of pollsters rounded up some women in New Jersey for a sophisticated game of Knock-Knock.

Let's imagine the candidates coming to your front door, the pollsters said. Knock-knock, who's there? First comes Dukakis. What do you think would happen next? Well, said the women, he'd come in, have a cup of coffee, sit down and talk.

Okay, Knock-knock. This time it's Bush. What happens? One of these women answered for the group: Bush would come in and say hello, but he'd keep the car motor running.

This is the way it was in the early days when the women's vote ran deep and swift for the Democrats. There was the sense among a majority of women that Bush didn't understand their lives, didn't make a connection with them.

But what a long, long way from June to October. In the last polls, a modest gender gap remained, but the advantage among women had slipped away. By the end of Thursday night's debate, the images of the two candidates had almost flip-flopped.

What happened to the women's vote was simple: The Democrats took women for granted. It was the Republicans who came knocking at the door.

From the beginning, the Republicans knew that Bush needed a biography that women would relate to and so they presented it. The Republican National Convention was a Bush family reunion. He was no longer the man with the resume but the grandfather.

They knew he needed a language that resonated in women's ears as well, something better than "the value thing," and so they scripted one for him. His speechwriter, Peggy Noonan, crafted a speech that presented him as caring, a man who wanted "a gentler, kinder nation."

The original fuel behind the women's vote, what prejudiced them in favor of the Democratic camp at the outset, was their sense of economic vulnerability. It is not news that women suffered more from the Reagan era cuts and profited less from the Reagan era prosperity.

The gap between the rich and the poor would have been greater if women hadn't kept their families above the line by going to work. But it came at a cost in anxiety about family life, about good jobs, about their children.

"On a whole set of issues, women have a Democratic profile," says Ethel Klein, a Columbia University professor who has tracked the women's vote. "But the campaign's silence on the domestic agenda really hurt."

The Democratic pitch to women's sense of economic vulnerability was slow and haphazard. The Republican pitch to women's sense of personal vulnerability was hard-hitting.

Using the language of values, Bush spoke to their fears of crime and environmental pollution. He issued one proposal for day care and another to encourage public service in young people. However specious an attack, however dubious a fact, however modest a proposal, he was in the kitchen, talking.

Dukakis, on the other hand, continued to present himself as the son of immigrants rather than the father of a modern family, a man who knew firsthand the cost of food at the supermarket and the difficulties of finding time for your family. He said that he cared "very, very deeply." But women in particular looked for other clues and didn't find them. They have been harsher than men in judging the Democrat as unlikable.

Every piece of the Republican strategy for the women's vote was telegraphed well in advance. But the Democrats in '88, like the Democrats in '84, ignored the signals or directed their message elsewhere. When they came out with a plan for college tuition, a plan for home-buying, that margin of women was no longer as eager, as attentive.

Even in the debate Thursday night, Dukakis talked about "tough choices" while Bush again talked about "values." When asked a "hot" question—how would he feel about capital punishment if his wife had been raped and murdered?—Dukakis answered much too coolly for the wives listening.

If, despite all this, the race remains close, it's because women remain suspicious of Bush and of Republicans as well. There are 10 million more women voters than men, and some 13 percent are undecided compared to only 8 percent of men.

Dr. Klein says the candidates at this point are like two potential suitors. Bush may not offer much but at least he's being attentive. Dukakis, on the other hand, is asking women to stay at home and sit by the phone. He may be the one that women would really like to hear from, but they find it frustrating to wait for him to call.

Knock, knock.

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Dukakis' Gender-Gap Advantage, Once Formidable, Has Vanished

Bush's 'Kinder, Gentler' Image and Pronouncements Seen as Key

By Gwen Ifill
Washington Post Staff Writer

The healthy advantage Michael S. Dukakis once held over Republican presidential nominee George Bush among female voters has virtually disappeared this fall, and the Democratic nominee is now the victim, rather than the beneficiary, of a gender gap.

Dukakis' substantial lead over Bush in spring and summer public opinion polls was based in considerable part on his appeal to women, who are expected to outvote men by as many as 10 million ballots this year and who have generally told poll-takers that they are unhappy with the status quo.

In a Washington Post-ABC News Poll last June, Dukakis had a 24-percentage-point lead over Bush among women. But by last week, Post-ABC polls taken before the second presidential debate showed that advantage had been eliminated, with Dukakis the choice of 48 percent of the women and Bush the choice of 47 percent. Bush, meanwhile, continued to maintain a 55-to-43 percent advantage with male voters.

Many political analysts have been baffled by the swiftness of the turnaround in women's voting preference, and some of them say they would not be surprised to see the figures shift once again before Election Day.

"I'm frankly somewhat mystified," said Susan Carroll, a senior research associate at the Center for American Women in Politics at Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute. "I suspect it's short-term, but who knows?"

The consensus is that Bush took advantage of the Democrats' post-convention lethargy in July and early August and jumped into the void with his vision of a "kinder, gentler America" that included a spate of well-received pronouncements on child care, education and parental leave—and effective soft-focus ads featuring a casually dressed Bush at play with his grandchildren.

"Before the Republican convention, Bush was running a very male-oriented campaign," said Democratic pollster Celinda Lake, who noted that during the primary campaign, Bush's military record and Central Intelligence Agency service were emphasized. "Now he's more of a family man. One of the central questions [about Bush] was whether he understood how people lived their lives."

Bush's turnaround has created frustration among Democrats and some feminists.

"It drives me crazy," said Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.), who worried aloud in July that Dukakis was "thinking he has pocketed the gender gap."

"I can't believe it," she said. "I think part of it was that Dukakis felt everybody knew what his record was, and of course they didn't."

Democrats, Schroeder said, should have learned the lesson of 1984, when Geraldine A. Ferraro's presence on the presidential ticket was not enough to keep a majority of female voters from casting ballots for Ronald Reagan.

One clue to Bush's improved standings among women can be found in polling results about voters' sense of optimism about the country. In general, women are more pessimistic than men. For example, a Washington Post-ABC News poll of 1,595 likely voters completed last week found that more than half of the women said that the country is off on the wrong track.

But a similar survey taken last May showed that two-thirds of the women believed the country was on the wrong track. Lake said Bush has made his biggest gains among women under the age of 45—many of them working and helping to support young children—who have become more optimistic about the direction in which the nation is headed.

Dukakis also suffered among women voters on issues like the Pledge of Allegiance, according to the Post-ABC News poll. Asked whether the Pledge was an important issue in the campaign, 46 percent of the women said yes as opposed to 31 percent of the men.

In early September, Bush repeatedly criticized Dukakis for vetoing on constitutional grounds a Massachusetts measure that would have required public school teachers to lead students in reciting the Pledge.

"Bush has drawn a line in the sand," Lake said. "He's been much clearer about saying what this election is about than Dukakis has been."

Bush advisers maintain that the gender gap began to close at the Republican convention and is the direct result of Bush's transformation from second-fiddle vice president to first-string Republican nominee. "I watched the gender gap close almost overnight like the jaws of an alligator snapping shut," Bush spokesman Mark Goodin said.

"Many of us who have known George Bush for a long time knew that would happen," said Deborah Steelman, the Bush campaign's domestic policy adviser who crafted the initiative that she claimed was

responsible for "completely taking child care away from the Democrats."

Republicans who had tried to dismiss the gender gap issue during the Republican convention are gleeful today. "I said I was never answering another gender gap question again," Bush cochairwoman Rep. Lynn Martin (R-Ill.) said last week. "Now, it's kind of like reminiscing to talk about it. I have not had that question asked since George Bush's speech" in New Orleans.

But Molly Yard, president of the National Organization for Women, said Bush could suffer from debate statements about abortion that implied that women might be treated as criminals if the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision is overturned. Dukakis campaign manager Susan Estrich agreed, saying that Bush's opposition to abortion rights could cost him women's votes. Women who have shifted to Bush, Yard added, have done so because "they aren't paying attention."

Estrich conceded that Bush may have hijacked much of the women's vote for now, but maintained that the gap will close again as Dukakis mounts new appeals in coming weeks. "During the election cycle, you see polls go back and forth and back and forth," Estrich said. "George Bush has been trying to portray himself as kinder and gentler . . . What we see is George Bush, the candidate, embracing issues which George Bush, the vice president, explicitly opposed."

Bush has made some missteps. His selection of youthful and handsome Indiana Sen. Dan Quayle as his running mate, for instance, was widely viewed in part as an appeal to women. But women of all political stripes rejected that approach as demeaning.

Yet it is the rest of Bush's message that has so far swayed the voters he needs. "A lot of us told the Dukakis people early on that they were going to do that," Schroeder said. "They did it in the last campaign; you would have thought Ronald Reagan invented pay equity."

But Irene Natividad, the president of the nonpartisan National Women's Political Caucus, said she is gratified that concern about how women vote has affected the tenor of the campaign.

"Whether it's political expediency or genuine commitment doesn't really matter," she said. "When you have child care standing alongside foreign policy as a sexy campaign issue, everyone wins."

Polling director Richard Morin contributed to this report.

NEWSWEEK
October 24, 1988

Closing the Gender Gap

How Dukakis squandered his lead among women

Remember the gender gap? Last spring the favorite wisecrack on the campaign circuit was that "George Bush reminds every woman of her first husband." Male voters at the time favored Bush by a few points in the polls, while women preferred Michael Dukakis by runaway margins. One survey gave the Massachusetts governor an overwhelming lead of 61 to 33 percent among women. "We are going to deliver the next president!" exulted Jane Danowitz of the Women's Campaign Fund. But her boast now has a hollow ring. Recent polls indicate the gap has narrowed dramatically: earlier this month a Gallup Organization survey of women voters showed the candidates in a dead heat. Bush may remind some women of a bad first marriage, but for others, Dukakis seems to rekindle memories of a disastrous blind date.

How did Dukakis squander his lead? Feminists believe he spent too much time trying to improve his standing among white male voters by toughening his positions on defense. He may also have sidestepped women's issues because he feared the identification with special-interest groups that dogged Walter Mondale in 1984. "I heard the word w-o-m-a-n twice in his acceptance speech," says author Betty Friedan. "This strange reticence allowed Bush to take advantage."

Bush did close in. In his own acceptance speech, written by Peggy Noonan, he courted women with soothing buzzwords about "a kinder, gentler nation." He blurred differences with Dukakis on social issues by endorsing programs for health care, child care and parental leave. Surprisingly, his hard line on law and order may appeal to women voters. Since women are often victims of violent crime, says CBS pollster Dotty Lynch, "the question of personal security may be one that Bush tapped more effectively."

Bush's TV ads have helped. The warmer spots in his video arsenal—those that show him as a loving family man—appear on programs popular with women. "If I see him lifting that grandchild up one more time," says Democratic consultant David Garth, "I think, I'll even vote for the s.o.b.!"



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

Soothing buzzwords and warm ads: Bush in New Jersey

Dukakis hasn't featured his family in his ads, and some of his "photo opportunities" have backfired. Says Republican consultant Linda DiVall: "Dukakis popping up out of a tank may have diminished him more among women than men."

Since nearly half the support for both candidates is "soft," Gallup pollsters say there could still be significant voter shifts. Census Bureau statistics favor Dukakis: women make up 53 percent of voters, and 55 percent of them are Democrats. Women are also expected to outnumber men at the polls by 10 million. Two recent public-opinion polls indicate that Dukakis may be regaining some support among women. To win them back, Friedan says, Dukakis should sound the alarm about the danger a conservative Supreme Court could pose to women's rights. Other activists think the exodus to Bush has been superficial. "I hope women aren't bought off by Madison Avenue phrases like ['kinder, gentler nation']," says Georgetown University law professor Eleanor Holmes Norton. But the consensus is that the bottom line is the economy. If people believe times are good, they vote not with their hearts but with their wallets—or their pocketbooks.

JAMES N. BAKER with HOWARD FINEMAN
and TIMOTHY NOAH in Washington

ABOUT BPW/USA: THE VOICE OF WORKING WOMEN

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (BPW/USA) is the world's oldest and largest organization for working women. BPW/USA promotes full participation, equity and economic self-sufficiency for working women. BPW/USA has:

- o 125,000 members in the United States.
- o A \$3.07 million annual operating budget, including the BPW Federation, which is responsible for legislative affairs and public policy, membership services, training, and administration; and the BPW Foundation, a non-profit research, education and grant-making organization started in 1956 that received funding from BPW members, corporate and private donors.
- o 53 state federations, comprised of every state plus the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico.
- o 3,400 local organizations with members residing in every Congressional district.
- o 250,000 women from 60 countries united by the International Federation, working to improve the lives of women worldwide.

BPW/USA POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

BPW members work to elect women and men who share a commitment to economic and social equity, and in 1980, created a national Political Action Committee. Through contributions and endorsements, BPW/PAC assists candidates for federal office who support the goals of BPW. More than 90 states have founded BPW/PACs of their own to bring BPW's political influence to the state and local level.

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S FOUNDATION

In 1956, BPW members created the Business and Professional Women's Foundation, a nonprofit research and education organization. Its Marguerite Rewalt Research Center is one of the most extensive libraries on women's employment issues in the U.S. Its scholarship and loan programs help women attain higher education by providing critical funds. The Foundation also supports graduate research on working women.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON FUTURE OF WOMEN IN THE WORKPLACE

America's economy and workplaces have changed dramatically. BPW/USA realized the impact these changes would have on women workers and in 1983, founded the National Council on the Future of Women in the Workplace. Councilors in each state investigate the implications for women of new workplace technologies, and establish innovative programs to prepare women of all ages for the future workplace.

ABOUT BPW/INTERNATIONAL

BPW/USA members belong to a network of over one-quarter million working women worldwide. Headquartered in London, the International Federation brings together business women from 60 different countries. BPW has an official representative to the United Nations who serves on the UN Council of Organizations and has been active in the UN Decade for Women and the Commission on the Status of Women.

ABOUT BPW MEMBERS:

Residence	42%	live in areas with population ranging between 10,000 and 100,000.
	13%	come from major metropolitan areas.
Age	25%	are under 40.
	19%	are between 40-49.
	20%	are between 50-59.
	36%	are 60 and over.
Education	17%	have graduate degrees.
	60%	have some college or a college degree.
	23%	have a high school diploma only.
Personal Income	14%	earn less than \$10,000 per year.
	39%	earn between \$10,000 - \$20,000 per year.
	40%	earn between \$20,000 - \$30,000 per year.
	7%	earn over \$40,000 per year.
Household Income	25%	have household incomes of less than \$20,000 per year.
	37%	have household incomes between \$20,000 - \$40,000 per year.
	31%	have household incomes between \$40,000 - \$75,000 per year.
	7%	have household incomes of over \$75,000 per year.

Work Force	63%	have worked without interruption throughout their careers.
	44.3%	are in traditional female occupations: accounting, education, nursing/health.
	34.6%	are in middle management or are self-employed.
Family Status	54%	are married.
	46%	are single heads of households.
	10%	are divorced.
	20%	have children under 12 living at home.
	10%	have disabled or elderly adult family members at home.
Political	43%	identify with the Republican Party
Affiliations	42%	identify with the Democratic Party
	14%	identify with independents

POLLING SOURCES: For more information on polls and polling results, contact the following polling sources:

- o Bardsley, Hardison & Neidhart, 503/248-9058
- o Behavior Research Center, 602/258-4554
- o Gordon Black Corp., 202/223-8007
- o The Darden Research Group, 404/377-9294
- o Delta Research, 713/869-8105
- o Dittman Research Corporation, 907/243-3345
- o Field Research, 415/781-4921
- o Ft. Wayne Journal Gazette, Polling Unit, 219/461-8364
- o The Gallup Organization, Marketing and Attitude Research, 609/924-9600
- o Hamilton, Frederick & Schneider, 202/857-1980
- o Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc, 202/234-5570
- o Hickman-Maslin Research, 202/659-4000
- o Honolulu Advertiser/SMS, 808/525-8000
- o Houston Chronicle, Polling Unit, 713/220-7171
- o KRC Communications Research, 617/491-8070
- o Ethel Klein, Associate Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, 212/678-7055
- o Marist College, 914/471-3240
- o Mason-Dixon Opinion Research, 301/982-1455
- o Mellman & Lazarus Research, 202/775-9436
- o Omaha World Herald/SRI, 402/222-1000
- o Ryan Samples, Inc., 304/343-7655
- o Tarrance and Associates, 703/684-6688
- o University of Cincinnati, 513/475-5028
- o University of Connecticut/Institute for Social Inquiry, 203/486-4441
- o University of Delaware, 302/573-2257
- o University of North Dakota, 701/780-1100
- o University of Wyoming, 307/766-6484

BACKGROUND: This analysis was based on publicly available survey research from 40 different sources covering 49 states. We were unable to obtain polling data for Idaho and the District of Columbia. For the summary pages, the most recent polls were used, except for data from the state of Pennsylvania. The summary chart on page 26 includes two polls taken on the same day with slightly different results. Gender data was available on all states except Montana, Nevada and Vermont.

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, CONTACT DENEEN FRAZIER AT BPW/USA AT 202/293-1100 OR KATHY BONK AT THE COMMUNICATIONS CONSORTIUM AT 202/682-1270.

How You Can Help



SINCE ITS FOUNDING in 1956 by The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc. (BPW/USA), BPW Foundation has helped working women move forward with a changing world. BPW members, business leaders, independent foundations and other friends have made it possible for the Foundation to touch the lives of tens of thousands of women. But that philanthropy cannot keep pace with the urgent need for support, education and analysis.

We need your help. As a national public operating and grantmaking foundation, we depend on your tax deductible contributions. Ask your employer to match your gift. Share this brochure with local business leaders and foundation officers.

For more information on what you can do — and what the BPW Foundation can do for you — write or call:

Business & Professional Women's Foundation

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Washington, DC 20036
(202) 293-1200

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL
WOMEN'S FOUNDATION
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WASHINGTON DC 20036



Business & Professional Women's Foundation



TODAY'S WORLD is a world of change, and working women are at the center of this change. . .

The Changing World



FOR OVER 30 YEARS, women have made up two-thirds of new workers. Women are concentrated in the fastest-growing sectors of the economy.

In this changing world, women are taking on new roles and responsibilities because of economic necessity. More and more women are the sole or primary support of themselves and their families.

How can they make the most of change through education and employment?

How can the doors of opportunity be opened wider for women?

The Business and Professional Women's Foundation helps women achieve full participation, equity and economic self-sufficiency in this changing world.

BPW Foundation



WOMEN TODAY face new pressures — and new possibilities. BPW Foundation helps shape policies and programs to meet their needs.

Working with employers, educators, policy makers, schools and government, the Foundation:

- collects, analyzes, and disseminates information on critical issues affecting working women,
- supports policy-oriented research, and
- provides financial assistance to individual women for education

Finding Answers



KNOWLEDGE IS POWER, as the BPW Foundation recognized early. Its Marguerite Rawalt Resource Center, one of the first collections for and about working women, tracks women's progress toward economic equity.

The Rawalt Resource Center offers reference and referral services to individuals, government agencies, policy makers and the media. Its information serves to document women's progress, spur new policy initiatives and educate the public about the changing world of working women.

Reaching Out



BPW FOUNDATION reaches out to diverse audiences with information and materials on women, work and careers.

It addresses critical issues such as women in small business, pensions and insurance, and alternative work schedules. The Foundation translates topical research findings and analysis into publications for the general public. It advises women on educational choices and financial aid through individual assistance and informational materials. The Foundation works with BPW/USA to identify urgent issues for community-based action.

Opening Doors



EDUCATION CAN UNLOCK the door to economic self-reliance. In its 30-year history, the BPW Foundation has helped many thousands of working women change their lives through its pioneering scholarships, grants, and loans.

The *Career Advancement Scholarship Program* offers critical financial assistance to women over 25 for tuition and education-related expenses, such as child care and transportation.

The *BPW Loan Fund for Women in Engineering Studies* fosters women's entry into non-traditional careers through engineering degree programs.

The *BPW/Sears-Roebuck Loan Fund for Women in Graduate Business Studies* promotes women's entry into leadership roles through graduate business programs.

The *Lena Lake Forrest/BPWF Research Grants* fund doctoral-level research on changing employment patterns; race, gender and class; women in organizations; and work and family.

The *Sally Butler Memorial Fund for Latina Research* assists women scholars of Latin American descent or citizenship studying issues of concern to Latinas.

Philosophy & Goals

The Business and Professional Women's (BPW) Foundation is a nonprofit research, educational, and grantmaking organization founded in 1956 by the members of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc. (BPW/USA). In its 30-year history, the Foundation has helped thousands of women improve their lives through scholarships, loans, and grants. *(For information on scholarships and loans, contact the Foundation.)*

Research grant awards support vital feminist scholarship which has policy implications for fulfilling the Foundation's goal of equity and self-sufficiency for women in the workforce.

All research must have policy implications in one of the following four areas, which are the funding priorities for 1986-1990:

- **Changing Employment Patterns;**
- **Gender, Race, and Class;**
- **Women in Organizations; and**
- **Work and Family.**

The grant program continues to be funded primarily through the generosity of BPW members, a network of 130,000 working women throughout the country. *For information on membership, contact BPW/USA at the same address as BPW Foundation.*



BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL
WOMEN'S FOUNDATION
2012 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, DC 20036

LENA LAKE FORREST FELLOWSHIP AND BPW RESEARCH GRANTS

The Lena Lake Forrest Fund was established in 1923 in honor of BPW/USA's National President at that time. This program funds women and men engaged in contemporary and historical research in the U.S. on issues of importance to today's working women. Goals for this program include:

- Supporting research that will help women achieve economic equality and balance the demands of work and home;
- Supporting research that will aid the formation of positive policies for women as permanent members and full participants of the work force; and
- Fostering the development of feminist scholars, especially by funding those in the early stages of their careers.

SALLY BUTLER MEMORIAL FUND FOR LATINA RESEARCH

The Sally Butler Memorial Fund for Latina Research is named for the BPW Past National President whose bequest initiated the fund. This program's goals include:

- Assisting women scholars of Latin American descent or citizenship at crucial points in their careers;
- Facilitating understanding among women of the Americas; and
- Supporting research that promotes equity for Latinas.

BPW Foundation Research Grant Programs

LENA LAKE FORREST FELLOWSHIP/BPW RESEARCH GRANTS

SALLY BUTLER MEMORIAL FUND FOR LATINA RESEARCH



Deadlines

Applications, letters of recommendation and transcripts must be postmarked on or before **January 20**.

Only completed applications with all required supporting materials will be considered. No application or support material will be returned.

Candidates will be notified by April 1.

Awards

Applicants may request any amount between \$500 and \$3,000. The average award is \$2,000. There are from one to seven awards made per program per year. Grants are made directly to the recipients, to support direct research costs.

Eligibility Criteria

- Applicants must be post-doctoral scholars or doctoral candidates whose research proposal has been approved by academic authorities in an accredited graduate institution, or individuals demonstrating that their research will be conducted under standards of scholarship recognized at the doctoral level.
- Pre-doctoral candidates must have completed all coursework and passed their qualifying exams.

- Applicants for Lena Lake Forrest Fellowships/BPW Research Grants must be citizens of the United States.
- Applicants to the Sally Butler Memorial Fund for Latina Research must be Latin American women by descent or citizenship, including women in the Caribbean, North, South and Central American regions.

Application Instructions

Applications are available **between September 1 and December 15**. To receive an application form applicants must send a **one-page letter including a concise statement about the proposed research subject and the applicant's academic level**. Sally Butler candidates should indicate Latina background in the initial letter.

Application forms will be sent only after eligibility is ascertained.

Applicants are responsible for providing the following documents:

1. APPLICATION FORM

All sections must be completed. Do not substitute your *vita* for any information requested. Type or print all information and specify the full names of all acronyms.

2. PROSPECTUS

This should include specific aims, methodology, summary literature review, and bibliography. It should be written in clear and simple language, keeping technical terminology to a minimum. Please limit proposals to approximately **10 pages** excluding the bibliography.

3. DETAILED BUDGET

The BPW Foundation endorses cooperative funding. A Fellowship recipient may receive other forms of support concurrently during her/his fellowship year. Please include other grants or fellowships applied for. This information will not affect your application.

BPW Funds **Will** Cover:

- field expenses
- computer time

- printing and duplicating
- transcription
- supplies and postage
- travel to research site

BPW Funds **Will Not** Cover:

- travel to conferences
- tuition
- institutional overhead
- research assistant salaries
- researcher's salary

Total projected costs for the research project should be reflected in the budget. Specify dollar amounts for all line items, and where possible, further cost breakdowns. Your budget should specify those costs to be covered by the BPW grant and those to be covered by confirmed university or other grant support.

4. TIMETABLE

Please include:

- expected stages of the research project;
- time period for completion of each stage; and
- anticipated date of completion.

5. LETTERS OF RECOMMENDATION

These should evaluate the research and writing skills of the applicant and the overall value of the proposed research project. For doctoral candidates one letter should be from the dissertation advisor.

Letters should be completed on the forms provided and mailed directly to the Foundation by the recommender. It is the candidate's responsibility to ensure these are mailed before the deadline.

6. GRADUATE SCHOOL TRANSCRIPTS

These are required of doctoral students. It is not necessary to submit an official transcript with the registrar's seal; a photocopy is acceptable.

7. PUBLICATIONS

Do not send original or one-of-a-kind copies of publications. The BPW Foundation will not return any application materials.

Include English summaries of publications in other languages.





★ **The New
Women's
Agenda:
A Report to the Nation**

© 1987. BPW/USA



March 25, 1988

Dear Friends:

A year ago, Business and Professional Women conceived the Women's Agenda Conference, and watched it grow into a first-ever historical event, co-sponsored by 43 women's organizations.

As we met in Des Moines, Iowa, our message was simple and clear: the women's agenda has become the nation's agenda. Our agenda is deeply rooted in the economic needs of women across the country. Since 1986, we have known what others are just realizing — at the ballot box, a woman's purse has become as important an issue as a man's wallet.

The agenda of women spans the complete life cycle; from child care for our children to family care for our ailing parents. The Conference participants reached a consensus that economic issues are vital and require political redressing.

When we speak about balancing the budget, the bottom line for us is balancing our checkbook. We are not only concerned with the trade deficit, but with our salary deficit.

As we move toward the nation's all-important 1988 presidential election, we must keep in mind four vital points:

- There will be ten million more women voters than men in Election '88;
- More women than men remain undecided in candidate preference as we wait to assess how the candidates plan to address our issues;
- There is a growing "gender gap" because women are voting differently than men and view the issues differently than men, with a stronger focus on issues that affect the home and family than on global issues; and
- The women's vote has come of age as a political force, accounting for the balance of victory in 1986 in nine U.S. Senatorial races, and 14 major state races — including two Governors, one Democratic and one Republican — who were elected because of women's votes.

While the Womens' Agenda Conference did not construct a platform, nor endorse any political party or candidate — there was clearly a consensus that women will be voting the family issues and the pocketbook issues and they will be voting in large enough numbers to make a difference.

But we do not plan to let our voices grow quiet after the new president is elected. In the beginning of the next president's term, we will be hosting Women's Agenda Conference II, January 6-8, 1989 in Kansas City. Our agenda will still be the family and pocketbook issues; we plan to work with the new president as he makes his policy-making appointments.

Our goal then will be as it is now — to assure that we have local, state and national office holders who understand and are prepared to address the concerns of women and the nation.

The success of the first Women's Agenda Conference was due to the special efforts of the organizers, the co-sponsors and the participants. A special thanks to the local coordinating committee of Iowa women, and all the organizers and members they represented, for their assistance in organizing and turning out the attendance. My gratitude also to the Iowa Commission on the Status of Women for their assistance.

Sincerely,

Beth Wray
President, BPW/USA



The New Women's Agenda: A Report to the Nation

by BPW/USA

When 1,100 women from all over the United States met in Des Moines, Iowa January 22-24, 1988, they did more than set new records for participation; they demonstrated the new, expanded agenda of women's concerns.

The National Women's Agenda Conference, first suggested by BPW/USA less than one year ago, was a historic occasion. For the first time, 43 national women's organizations worked together on a conference organized around common concerns. The conference brought these issues forcefully into the national dialogue, beginning with the presidential campaigns, while encouraging participants to continue their work at the grassroots level.

Topics such as work and family, judicial selection, housing, education and health care were discussed by conference participants, state and local elected officials, strategy and issue advisors — and by presidential contenders. The significance of the agenda was noted by *The Des Moines Register* from its own pre-caucus vantage point at the center of the American political process:

"Economic equity, health care, family leave and child care are some of the issues to be addressed," said The Register in welcoming the conference to Des Moines. "While these may once have been the unique domain of the women's movement, the country and the movement have progressed beyond that narrow perspective..."

"The centerpiece of the so-called women's agenda is economics; the nation simply cannot compete in the world market if a large portion of the labor force is given second-class status. But there also are political implications. No man — particularly one running for president — can ignore the fact that half the voters in the presidential election will be women."

That message was clearly heard. Five candidates came to Des Moines to speak and answer questions raised by a panel of participants: Governor Michael Dukakis, Congressman Richard Gephardt, Reverend Jesse Jackson, Governor Bruce Babbitt, and Senator Paul Simon.

Senator Robert Dole, Senator Albert Gore, Governor Pete DuPont and former Senator Gary Hart were represented by members of their families, respectively, wife, mother and daughters. And the large number of Republican women at the conference, disappointed that none of their candidates made a personal appearance, agreed to work within their party on behalf of the new agenda and for greater responsiveness to women's concerns.



The leaders of some of the co-sponsoring women's organizations meet the press.

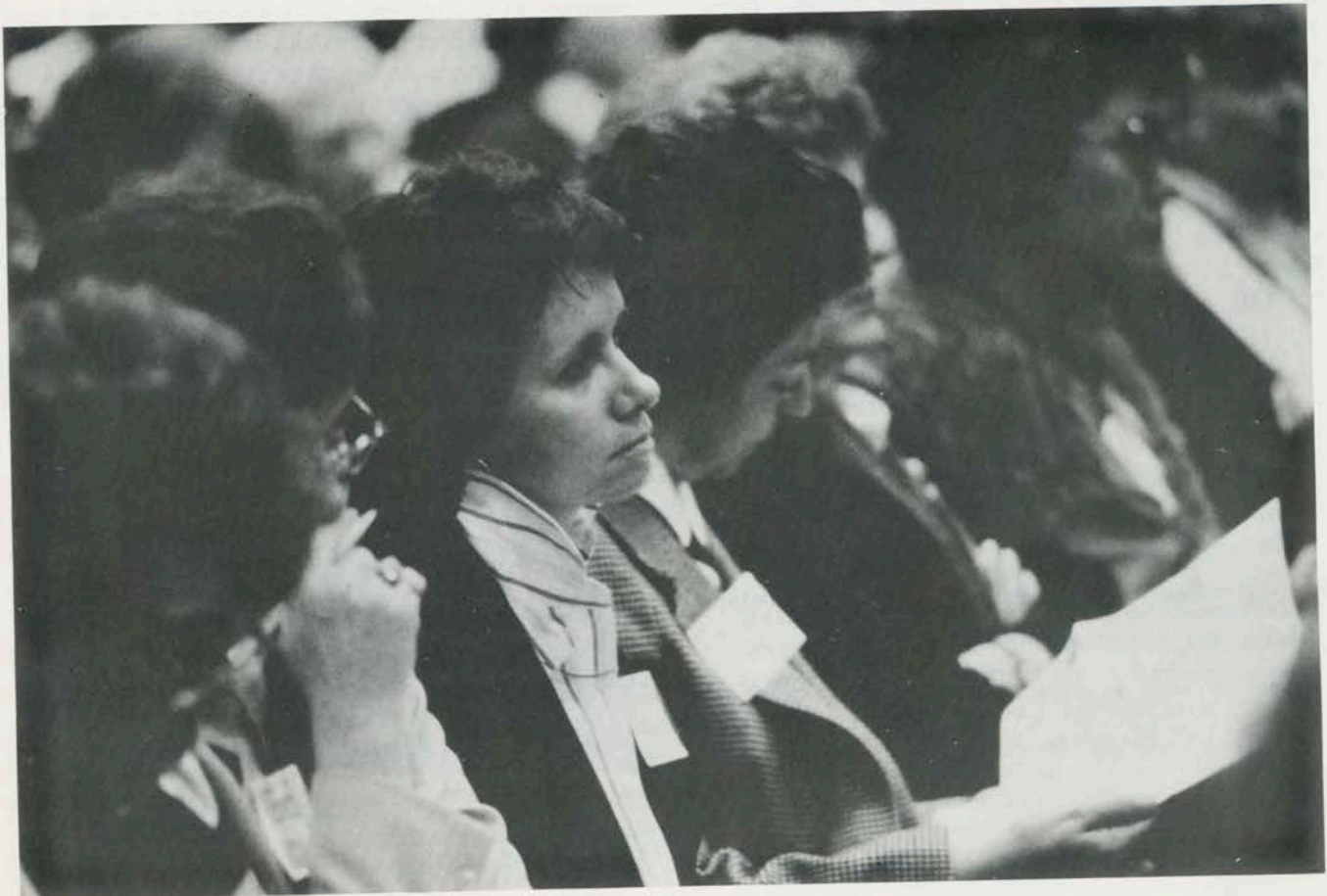
Those candidates, candidate representatives, and campaign officials who did participate in the discussion in Des Moines were among the first national policymakers to join in this new, broader dialogue — but they will not be the last. Both individual participants and sponsoring organizations have indicated their intention to move forward on the agenda and strategies developed at the conference, inside and outside the political campaigns.

The Women's Agenda is a national agenda, not a partisan one; and the National Women's Agenda Conference was a national, bipartisan effort. All presidential candidates of both political parties were invited to participate in the candidates' forum. No candidate was endorsed and no preference votes were taken. Discussion centered on the issues for which there was consensus and on strategies to reach these goals.

The emphasis on strategy was not coincidental. In planning and execution, the conference program stressed the

importance of a strategic approach to the issues: defining concrete goals, and how those goals can be achieved. Thus, the workshop on individual rights and the law included a thorough discussion of strategies for judicial selection. Other workshops included education, housing, health care, reproductive rights, the equal rights amendment, peace and national security, welfare reform, work and wages and family.

The women who came to Des Moines represented a cross-section of American women today. They were Democrats, Republicans and Independents; black, white, Hispanic and Asian. Most had families; some were students; and some combined studying with family responsibilities. Participants worked outside the home, and in the home. They worked part time and full time. They told us that they care about the range of issues included in the conference agenda — and they are committed to working actively in the political process to make local, state and federal policymakers responsive to their concerns.



The participants listen as the candidates speak.



The Issues Make a Difference Defining the New Women's Agenda:

We asked conference participants:

"In your opinion, what is the *most serious issue* facing women today?"

Their response showed a consensus among priority issues.

The majority cited economic issues. Their comments included concerns for:

"Economic equity...Pay equity...Equal pay for equal work...Employment (or lack of)...Wage discrimination...Equal opportunity in the workplace...Economic survival...Low wages and work-related support."

The message was clear and the recommendations specific:

"Equal pay so we can achieve independent status and participate as first class citizens...Economic equality and equal access to commercial credit...Equal pay, health insurance, job security...Enough money to manage as head of household...Employment opportunities and advancement in pay as well as job responsibility."

Work and family issues were next. participants made clear that both were important in their lives. Child care was listed over and over by itself and in combination with other concerns. And education was often cited as the key to improving work and pay status. Comments included:

*"Child care is the key to a network of interlocking issues...We need economic self-sufficiency and support for family responsibilities...Two key issues are child care and that women are being held up career-wise by the 'glass ceiling'...Pay equity, day care and education: **all** are #1...ERA and day care so that women can get educated and/or work outside the home...Day care for working mothers, health care and long term care...Problems related to women heads of households need to be addressed; i.e., quality child care, training, welfare reform, and minimum wage."*



Elizabeth Dole brings greetings from husband, Sen. Robert Dole, during a reception.

Legal rights, the right of privacy, reproductive rights and the Supreme Court were very important to conference goers and were often combined with economic issues. Participants called for:

"Reproductive rights...Right of privacy = the right to choose...Economic equality and keeping reproductive rights...An end to threats to reproductive freedom from the right wing...The need for the equal rights amendment to the Constitution...The right to decide our futures — the right to make whatever decisions affect us."

Participants strongly support more women in office, both elective and appointed. The following were among the key concerns listed:

"Making women's voices heard and respected in the political process...Getting more women into political office...Protecting reproductive rights and electing more women...Getting more enlightened women into state, local and national political office...Getting minorities, especially women and Hispanics, involved, active — and elected!...We need campaign finance reform — all women's is-

sues depend on a change in composition of elected bodies...There is a lack of women participating in the decision-making process at all levels — in school, at home, in the Cabinet, and in the White House!"

The messages were candid, and current. They included national and international priorities:

"The economic priorities of the nation need reordering...Make the future secure for generations to come..."

They included personal concerns for:

"Balancing work and family...the conflict between work and family — women should not have to choose...Finding time to do everything."

And they were inspiring, calling for:

"Personal dignity...Realizing what we are capable of as women...The right to be taken seriously as competent, valuable thinkers and doers who can and must be involved in decision making...Getting energized, organized, and voting!"



BPW President-elect Betty Forbes with Pauline Gore, mother of Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore Jr.



BPW President Beth Wray with Hattie Babbitt, wife of former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt.



Women Voters 1988: Making a Difference

DES MOINES: Ten million more women than men are expected to vote in 1988, according to a study released by the National Women's Agenda Conference...

USA TODAY, January 25, 1988

Women outnumber men at the polls...

The Wall Street Journal, February 24, 1988

TEN MILLION more women than men are expected to vote in November 1988 — a new female majority of increasingly large dimensions. And the tendency of women to remain undecided longer into the election season than their male counterparts underscores the importance of the difference they can make.

THE NEW YORK TIMES/CBS POLL in early February — just three weeks before Super Tuesday — showed that women constituted two-thirds of the undecided Democratic voters.

Exit polls taken immediately after the primary and caucus elections held so far in this election year show clear gender differences in voter behavior and turnout.

On Super Tuesday, March 8, the Republican primary electorate was predominantly male, by 52% to 28%. The majority of the Democratic electorate was female, by 51% to 49%. (CBS/NY Times exit poll data). Fully 56% of Republican women voted for George Bush and 20% for Robert Dole while men voted 52% for Bush and 24% for Dole — an 8 point difference. (ABC/Washington Post exit poll).

As the 1988 presidential election unfolds, the votes of women and the changing political behavior and attitudes which determine these votes are more important than ever in the American political scene. The strength of women voters at the polls is the latest example of the expansion of American democracy. The history of the women's vote shows it to be growing in distinction and in impact.

In the election of 1920, immediately following ratification of the constitutional amendment which gave women the right to vote, only one-third of the eligible women voted, a far lower rate than that of men.

For the next sixty years, pollsters and political strategists assumed that women would vote at a lesser rate — and that their eventual choices would resemble those of the men around them.

"Decades after women began to vote, their voting behavior was assumed to follow that of the men in their household. Political pollsters who analyzed voter responses by age, race, and income, did not even bother to print the gender breakout."

Ms Magazine, April 1988

But in the election of 1980, two historic changes occurred: women actually registered and voted in slightly higher numbers than their male counterparts — and a gender gap emerged with a consistent, statistically significant difference in votes cast for the Presidential candidates.

Both trends have continued. The rate of participation by women continues to increase, led by women under 44 who today comprise a larger than ever share of the electorate.

Between 1980 and 1984, women comprised 60% of newly registered voters, evidence that the female majority will continue to grow into the next decade.

And the difference in decision-making between women and men at the polling place resulted in substantial changes in election outcome:

- In 1984 and 1986, there was a significant gender difference in 28 statewide races, with women's votes the margin of victory in 14;
- Nine Democratic Senators (more than enough to change party control of the United States Senate) were elected because of their support from women in 1986; as well as two Governors, one Democratic and one Republican.

Looking ahead to the 1988 campaign, analysts and political strategists are now preparing for a higher turnout of women voters in primaries and the general election, taking into account the difference in policy and partisan choices. It is increasingly clear that the reasons for women's voting behaviors are based in their life experiences, values and priorities, which differ from that of men.

The women's agenda includes their economic perspective expressed in concrete, specific issues. Women are more concerned with employment and unemployment and the effects of inflation on family budgets, rather than more abstract issues such as the trade deficit.

Issues such as child care, parental leave, access to health care and long term care are seen as economic issues by women directly related to economic self-sufficiency and family survival.

Women have different priorities for government. They are more likely to support government being responsible for meeting human needs and ensuring equality of opportunity, and are more likely to increase support for education, job training and toxic waste cleanup. And they are particularly concerned with problems of the elderly, including income security and health care.

The dramatic changes in women's voting behaviors have received widespread attention, but the political establishment is still groping for a response. The fact that women remain uncommitted so much longer into the campaign season has major implications for candidates, especially in such a fluid election year.

Nationally, three times the number of Republican women are undecided as Republican men, and 20% more Democratic women are undecided. In most Southern states, more women than men are undecided in both parties.

Women and Politics: Election '88

*Report prepared for the
Women's Agenda Conference
January 1988*

As the United States prepares to elect a new President, members of the House and Senate, and other national, state and local officials in November 1988, women voters will be more important than ever before. These are the voters who have given us the new women's agenda — their votes are most likely to go to those candidates who take that agenda seriously.



The cameras of the major networks focus on the women who came to Iowa.



The Candidates Speak

The Women's Agenda Conference featured a presidential candidates forum on Saturday, January 23 which was broadcast over the C-Span network. The forum allowed each candidate to have the spotlight for 20 minutes to make opening and closing remarks and answer questions from a panel. Some of the comments by the candidates, in the order of their appearance, follow.



Congressman Richard Gephardt
Missouri

Question: *America's families already need more day care facilities...What policies would you propose to meet the widespread and growing need for safe, affordable and quality child care in this country for families of all incomes?*

Answer: *"I would develop a strategy for child care to include private, state and local funding because, to be honest, I do not believe we can fund it entirely at the federal level."*

About pay equity: *"In 1959, women earned 59 cents on a dollar earned by men. Eleven years later, there was 11 cents worth of progress. This is not enough. At this rate, it will be 2011 before women achieve equity."*



Senator Paul Simon
Illinois

Question: *What are your national priorities?*

Answer: *"Jobs, education, and health care...If a person is out of work for at least five weeks, they could get a government job as a last resort. The job would be for up to 32 hours a week at pay 10 per cent above welfare or unemployment."*

Senator Simon also pointed out the importance of long term health care to women *because two-thirds of those needing this assistance are women...*



Governor Bruce Babbitt
Arizona

Question: *We often hear discussion in campaigns of the importance of appointing women, and minorities and using the talents of all Americans in selecting the next administration. Can you tell us what your record has been?*

Answer: *"During the Babbitt administration, Arizona ranked fifth in the nation in terms of the number of women appointed to cabinet level positions."*

About pension reform: *"The current pension system discriminates against women as most plans do not allow for full vesting until after five or ten years. But women are in and out of the workforce and will wake up at 50 years of age with no pension."*



Governor Michael Dukakis
Massachusetts

Question: *American families need decent wages, and that means a well-educated, well-trained work force. What do we need to give our young people the training and skills they need?*

Answer: *"Child care and education are important issues. Welfare women can lift themselves out of poverty if they have child care and adequate education programs available."*

About appointments: *"Women are traditionally shut out of foreign policy decision-making, but I'd bring more women into that vital policy-making area."* Dukakis said he would not only consider a woman as the Secretary of Health and Human Services, but also as Secretary of Defense or of State.



Reverend Jesse Jackson
Illinois

Question: *Hundreds of thousands of America's children are homeless, and the number of families with children turning to homeless shelters increases every day...*

Answer: *"The nation must seize on every moment to focus on the homeless, because it is just, it is right, and it is cost-efficient to build homes for the homeless and provide jobs for the jobless."*

About Priorities: *"As a nation, we need to pay at the front side for day care and head start programs or we will pay at the backside for jail care and welfare."*



The Conference Made a Difference: The Co-Sponsors Speak Out

Forty-three women's organizations co-sponsored this historic Women's Agenda Conference. The consensus is that it was an informative, productive and valuable event in enhancing the political skills of the members of the sponsoring organizations.

De Burton, Co-Chair Women's Conference Committee

The Women's Conference Committee is the continuation of the International Women's Year Commission, founded at the Houston Conference.

"The Women's Agenda Conference was a major event in the history of our nation. Women representing themselves and organizations with diverse backgrounds, opinions, and viewpoints were united with one goal and purpose — to present our issues to the Presidential candidates. The message was sent to all candidates, present and absent, that women are serious about their concerns and that it will be a mistake for them to see us as a small special interest group."

Joyce D. Miller, President Coalition of Labor Union Women

CLUW represents 18,000 working women who are members of unions.

"The Conference offered an exciting opportunity to meet with women from diverse organizations. The Presidential Candidates Forum was useful and interesting."

Dr. Elizabeth A. Abramowitz, President Black Women's Agenda

BWA is a coalition of black women's organizations and individuals, founded in 1977.

"I was pleased with the visibility given Black women's issues and our organization."

Judith L. Lichtman, President Women's Legal Defense Fund

WLDF is a national non-profit membership organization committed to securing and advancing the legal rights of women.

"We enjoyed the opportunity for true interaction between those of us who work at the national level and those who work on the state and local level. The issues presented were absolutely on target, and are being addressed in the public policy dialogue. We will continue to talk about the

women's agenda — to the media, policy makers and activists."

Sylvia Talbot, President Church Women United

CWU is a national ecumenical movement that unites Protestant, Roman Catholic, Orthodox and other Christian women to work to eliminate poverty and toward peace and justice.

"Excellent! The Conference was a great idea. The workshops were superb, with excellent resource persons."

Mary Gray, President Women's Equity Action League

WEAL specializes in economic issues.

"The conference was well organized — a good mixture of opportunities to get to know people and events with substantive content. There was lots of good discussion among the participants. Our board of directors met in conjunction with the conference and found lots of things to put into our long-range planning process."

Gillian Rudd, President National Association of Women Business Owners

NAWBO is the only organization that represents women business owners. There are 38 chapters nationwide with 3,000 members and affiliates in 22 countries.

"It was our first opportunity to work with so many other women's groups and it was a very rewarding experience. We hope to use the Conference as a start to expand the work and issue support with other groups. NAWBO feels that it is essential to move 'en force' politically — so that we can see some results on the issues that are important to NAWBO and to other groups."

Sarah Harder, President American Association of University Women

AAUW promotes equity for women, education and self-development over the life span, and positive societal change.

"The fact that 43 organizations representing millions of women chose to agree on one agenda with five components is what, at its beginning and end, made the conference unique. It gave a clear message to the candidates and the media...and that message is, if you find the idea of women's issues too vague or too special, I encourage you to hang out awhile around the kitchen table and listen to what families and their neighbors need."

Molly Yard, President
National Organization for Women

NOW is a 21-year old organization of women and men dedicated to gaining equal rights for women and moving women into the mainstream of America.

"It is always good to get together with members of various organizations from different parts of the country...we covered most, if not all the issues, didn't we?"

Marcia Greenberger
Nancy Duff Campbell
National Women's Law Center

NWLC is a non-profit legal organization that works to advance the legal rights of women, especially in education, employment, income security and family support.

"The conference provided a good opportunity for women to become energized about their role in setting the tone for discussing issues of concern to women in the 1988 election. Further, women were given the chance to inform one another of their work on women's issues in different parts of the country. The Women's Agenda firmly reflects the agenda of the NWLC."

Rita Jaramillo
Mexican American Women's Association

MANA was founded in 1974 to promote the social, educational and economic advancement of Mexican-American women. It is the nation's largest membership organization for Hispanic women.

"As women of color, we viewed the Women's Agenda Conference as a great opportunity to make other women and the presidential candidates aware of the concerns of women of color. It was an opportunity to become more actively involved in the political process and to hear how candidates will address the needs of the 'at risk' population, heavily concentrated in the racially and ethnically diverse population of this country. The issues were timely and appropriate; the difference in perspective of women of color is reflected in two simple words: adequate vs. access. MANA is on the executive committee of the National Hispanic Leadership Conference which is preparing a 'Hispanic Agenda' and is planning to integrate the Women's Agenda into the Hispanic Agenda."

Pat Ford-Roegner
American Nurses Association

ANA is the largest professional organization, representing 188,000 registered nurses. The Association works on behalf of its members to improve health care in this country.

"ANA is proud to have co-sponsored the sophisticated summit of women bent on polishing their political skills. Nurse leaders enjoyed rubbing elbows with and sharing political expertise with the broad range of woman participants. The variety of issues considered were real-life daily concerns facing these women as workers and caregivers. We were impressed with the intensity with which participants worked to reach solutions."

Kate Michelman
NARAL

The National Abortion Rights Action League is the nation's largest pro-choice membership organization.

"The conference offered a critical opportunity to position the issue of choice within the total context of issues of vital concern to women, which is exactly where the abortion debate belongs. Our message to the candidates and to the women gathered in Iowa was this: women will settle for nothing less than full and complete reproductive freedom. After 15 years of legal precedent, women will no longer settle for a President who would attempt to overturn or erode the gains of Roe v. Wade."

Irene Natividad, Chair
National Women's Political Caucus

NWPC was founded in 1971 to increase the number of women elected and appointed at all levels of government.

"The conference marked the politicization of a number of diverse women's organizations not previously recognized for their involvement in the political process. An overall focus of the conference — the redefinition of women's issues as mainstream concerns — was a noble one. For women new to the political arena, the mix of hands-on workshops was a good one."

Andrea Lee
IHM, Chair
Religious Network for Equality for Women

RNEW is a coalition of 41 Protestant, Catholic, Jewish and other faith groups committed to economic justice for women, and the elimination of poverty and legal inequities.

"The discovery of allies and the experience of solidarity with a diverse group of women gave energy and hope for the work ahead. At RNEW's Board meeting, immediately following the Conference, it was decided to prepare a packet for Election Year 1988 to help member groups' constituents to take an active role in the election process, i.e., getting candidates to address the issues, getting other women in the communities involved in the issues and in 'getting out the vote'."

Irma Gertler, President
B'nai B'rith Women

BBW, founded in 1897, works to affect positive changes for human rights, social and economic equality.

"Iowa was a coming together of thousands of women representing millions of women, all concerned with social and economic conditions in our country, particularly affecting women and children, and concerned with human conditions throughout the world — with poverty, health and peace, etc. During the conference, there apparently was a general consensus about what women wanted."



A Profile in Participation: The Women Who Came to Des Moines

The women who participated in the National Women's Agenda Conference represented a cross-section of American women: geographically, demographically and politically. Of the 1,100 conference participants, 846 completed data sheets which helped us learn more about them and the issues they care about:

- About 280 came from Iowa, while twice that number came from all over the United States. In all, conference participants represented 45 states plus the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. (See map, back cover, for details).
- In age, almost half the participants were between 28 and 45 years old. Another third were between the ages of 45 and 60, while slightly less than 20% were over 60. The only age group with low representation in the recorded information were young women between 18 and 28 years old.
- Participation was racially inclusive, reflecting the outreach and affirmative action policies of sponsoring organizations and the local host committee. But we are also aware that more can and should be done for future events. About 700 attendees were white — about 85% of the total — while 6% were black, 3% Hispanic, 3% Native American and 2% Asian.
- Most attendees were members of one or more of the sponsoring organizations, and those organizations are an important source of information. 75% indicated that they learned about the conference as members of a sponsoring group — by far the largest source. The next largest category, 10%, was contacted through the Iowa Commission on the Status of Women, while others learned of the conference from friends, the press and at work.
- The largest number were members of Business and Professional Women/USA, which estimates that more than 300 of their members attended. About 150 were from the American Association of University Women, and another 100 from the Women of Color Conference whose formation was announced in Des Moines. The Women's Equity Action League held a national board meeting just before the conference, hosted by Iowa Secretary of State and WEAL Board member Elaine Baxter, so that their members could attend; and the national Women's Political Caucus brought its National Steering Committee.
- Like most American women, conference attendees work outside and inside the home. 75% are employed full time, another 10% part time, and a few are looking for employment. The remaining 15% included students, homemakers and professional volunteers — a new category and one we believe deserving of increased recognition.
- And like the American electorate, the conference included Democrats, Republicans and Independents. Almost two-thirds of the participants list themselves as Democrats, and 20% as Republicans. The remaining 15% identified themselves as Independent or refused to specify — a truly independent response.
- But conference attendees are more interested in politics than the general public, and are much more likely to vote. Ninety percent indicated that they had voted in 1984, and a slightly higher number planned to vote in 1988. (Note: the difference seems to be made up of students who might not have been old enough four years ago.)

In addition, conference participants included a number of women who were and are elected officials — including former Congresswoman Bella Abzug; Vermont Gov. Madeline Kunin; Iowa Lt. Gov. JoAnne Zimmerman; Minnesota Lt. Gov. Marlene Johnson; Missouri Lt. Gov. Harriet Woods; Massachusetts Lt. Gov. Evelyn Murphy; Iowa Secretary of State Elaine Baxter; New York Secretary of State Gail Shaffer; Iowa Representative Sue Mullins, and Judy Bredeweg, Will County Commissioner in Iowa.

Participants also included Mary Louise Smith, former chair of the Republican National Committee and Mary Crisp, former co-chair, Republican National Committee.

What are the issues that brought participants to the conference — and will help to determine their vote? The answers confirmed the breadth of the new women's agenda, and fell in three categories by proportions of responses.

■ **Work and wages** drew the largest single response, followed closely by **Education and Women and family**. Each of these issue areas was chosen by more than 60% of participants.

■ **Legal Rights and the Courts, Health Care, Reproductive Rights and Peace and National Security** were the categories receiving a 50% and higher response rate.

■ **Welfare reform** (44%), **Affordable housing** (38%) and the **Equal Rights Amendment** (20% on a write in) also received substantial support as issues of concern to women.

The goal was to have a conference that was truly open, representative and participatory. For those who were unable to attend, the figures above give some indication of that success. Readers may also be interested to know that participation was not restricted to women — some of the data information sheets were filled out by men!

Thus, the Women's Agenda Conference, with its diverse participants, clearly made its point: women's issues are mainstream issues. Women left the conference enthusiastically committed to affecting public policy changes on the issues that concern them. They were also eager to increase their grassroots political activity. Present and future candidates for local, state and national offices will be called upon to address these issues. And those candidates who listen to women's concerns and offer realistic solutions are those likely to garner the women's vote.



The opening plenary session was filled to capacity.

Conference Workshops: The Issues that Make the Difference and Strategies That Will Help Us Get There

Session I: Framing the Issues

Developing strategies to frame crucial component issues within the priority focuses stated in the Women's Agenda. Workshops determined how best to frame the issue for adoption by parties and candidates, and work to develop the outline of a marketing strategy for the Women's Agenda which will maximize this issue in elections.

Each workshop was led by a resource panel of experts from issue-based organizations, policy makers, women's organizations, and political and marketing consultants. Workshop titles were as follows:

Education ★ Reproductive Rights ★ Health Care ★ Housing ★ Individual Rights & Courts ★ Peace and National Security ★ Reproductive Rights ★ Toward the ERA ★ Welfare Reform ★ Women and Family ★ Work & Wages ★

Session II: Political Action and Skill Development

These workshops were designed to provide participants with the skills, strategies and confidence needed to educate the public and advance Agenda Issues in the political processes. Topics were:

- ★ Presidential Politics: Delegate Selection
- ★ Women & Politics of the Mid-West
- ★ Running for Office
- ★ Promoting Your Issues and/or Your Candidate:
How to Run a Press Conference
- ★ Mobilizing the Women's Vote
- ★ Homestyle Politics: Empower Rural Feminists

Session III: Promoting the Women's Agenda

These workshops combined the issues and strategies discussed throughout the conference to develop practical effective strategic plans and recommendations for every phase of the coming year. The focus was on how to raise and promote the issues of the Women's Agenda for the American public within the 1988 electoral context. A summary of workshop recommendations was shared with the final plenary: **Winning With Women**. The workshops focused on:

- ★ Presidential Elections, Democratic
- ★ Presidential Elections, Republican
- ★ Congressional Elections
- ★ Statewide and Legislative Elections
- ★ Local Elections
- ★ Nonpartisan, Grassroots Issue Campaigns



The workshops were productive and lively.

WOMEN

Conference Sets Agenda For 1988 Campaign

Ellen Goodman

The Boston Globe



Des Moines, Iowa

The tall and gray-haired Iowan wore a Simon button prominently displayed on her lapel. But as we passed in the Convention Center

THE WASHINGTON POST
Sunday, Jan. 24, 1988

Women Upset By No-Shows From GOP

Focus on Economics Marks Iowa Meeting

By Paul Taylor
Washington Post Staff Writer

DES MOINES, Jan. 23—The women's movement plunked itself down in the temporary center of the political universe here today to make a point about how "mainstream" its agenda has become. To

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bread-and-butter anxieties of women, their daily concerns about family life, children, the future.

"Women and men don't live in the same economic world," explained Celinda Lake of The Analysis Group, as she drew a portrait of the women's vote from her research. "They don't work in the same jobs, money, juggle t and large, wom mistic about tl frame larger i their daily liv likely to feel t speaking their most general "Women are lo who understand

Does the 19 dates have th The five Demo the conference rum all appea able with the ssues than were in 1984.

Of the gre appeal was c narrow, even checklist of Senate bills he co-sponsored. The more successful messages — notably those of Mike Dukakis and Bruce Babbitt — ntegrated women's concerns into an essay answer rather than a

Women's convention criticizes no-show presidential aspirants

By Mark Obmascik

THE DENVER POST

DES MOINES, Iowa — Five Democratic presidential candidates drew a generally lukewarm response Saturday from a political convention of representatives from 42 women's groups, who reserved their loudest reactions for the candidates who didn't attend: two Democrats and all the Republicans.

"George Bush today is dedicat-

more women will vote than men.

But all six Republican candidates skipped the conference in Iowa, where important caucuses will be held Feb. 8.

That distressed Mary Crisp, former co-chairwoman of the Republican National Committee, who said, "We lost the U.S. Senate because of the women's vote. And I firmly believe our party can win the women's vote. To our candidates, I say, 'Boys, catch on.'"

The candidates who did appear — Missouri Rep. Richard Gephardt, Illinois Sen. Paul Simon, former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt, Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis and Jesse Jackson — all tried to emphasize their support of the women's movement.

Simon dealt the only direct political jab, questioning Gephardt's commitment to women's issues. Simon noted Gephardt voted against aid for battered-women's shelters and a bill to extend ERA approval time.

Several women singled out Hart for criticism because of his romantic links to Miami model Donna Rice.

"He's had a pretty feminist approach to the issues, but his personal life would seem to indicate that he does not understand

News of the Women's Agenda Conference was carried on national television news broadcasts and was published in more than 300 newspapers and magazines across the country.

Women's issues get a day in the spotlight

By DAVID YEPSEN

Register Staff Writer

Flexing Political Muscle

From Comparable Worth to Reproductive Rights to Child Care—Women's Issues Are Everyone's Issues, Activists at Conference Say

By KATHLEEN HENDRIX, Times Staff Writer

DES MOINES, Iowa—"My daughter is a nurse. She has five years of education. She does not get as much of a salary as some custodians. She has no health benefits through her hospital. And she has a bachelor of science degree," an exasperated Sue Mullins said in defense of comparable worth Sunday morning to a crowded workshop of Republican women.

Fighting to keep her composure, her tight throat keeping her anger and hurt in check, she proceeded to spell out how the issues under discussion were indeed

care, child care and elder care, job training, pay equity, welfare reform and cuts in military spending to provide a more balanced budget.

The ERA, self-sufficiency and the family notwithstanding, 20 years ago, when the current phase of the women's rights movement was beginning, some of those issues Mullins calls hers were espoused by radical feminists or flaming liberals. Just how far they have moved into the mainstream of either party or the nation is about to be put to the test.

Coalition of 42 Organizations

agenda as well.) They met, their leaders announced, to ensure that their concerns be included on the political agendas of the presidential candidates and in the campaign debates.

"The candidates cannot continue to roll over and play dead when it comes to women's issues," said Beth Wray, president of the Federation of Business and Professional Women, the main sponsor of the conference. "We're a force to be reckoned with. We matter too much."

History and the numbers are on their side, they said, releasing a study that reports that women, along with blacks,

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES
Wednesday, Jan. 27, 1988

Women's Agenda Conference Sponsor:

Philip Morris
New York, New York

Women's Agenda Conference Supporters:

Ms. Sally Bingham
Louisville, Kentucky

Bankers Trust
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Brenton Banks, Inc.
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Meredith Corporation
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Norwest Bank
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Pioneer Hi-Bred International, Inc.
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South Central Bell, Inc.
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Women's Agenda Conference Sponsoring Organizations

Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority
American Association of University Women
American Nurses Association
American Women in Radio & T.V.
Black Women's Agenda
B'nai B'rith Women
BPW/USA (National Federation of Business &
Professional Women Clubs, Inc.)
Center for Women Policy Studies
Church Women United
Coalition of Labor Union Women
Fund for a Feminist Majority
Federally Employed Women
Hispanic Women's Council
Mexican American Women's National Association
National Abortion Federation
National Abortion Rights Action League
National Association of Commissions for Women
National Association of Black Women Attorneys
National Association of Negro Business & Professional Women
National Association of Women Business Owners
National Conference of Puerto Rican Women
National Council of Negro Women
National Federation of Temple Sisterhood
National Institute for Women
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National Women's Law Center
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Religious Network for Equality
The Women of Color Caucus of the New Alliance Party
The Women's Economic Justice Center of the National Center
for Policy Alternatives
Women's Equity Action League
Women in Communication
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Women's Legal Defense Fund
YWCA of the USA National Board
Zeta Phi Beta Sorority



Women's Agenda Conference II: Kansas City January 6-8, 1989

The Board of Directors of Business and Professional Women, USA has voted to hold the second Women's Agenda Conference in Kansas City on January 6-8, 1989.

BPW conceived and organized the successful conference held in Des Moines, Iowa in January 1988, providing organizing, logistic, financial and personnel support. The organization's 125,000-plus members are enthusiastic about this opportunity to advance the Women's Agenda on a bipartisan basis.

The next Women's Agenda Conference, held at the beginning of a new year and a new presidency, will once again offer American women the opportunity to come together around the issues that concern them most; and to bring their agenda to the attention of the next President and his administration, even before they take office.

The Kansas and Missouri chapters of BPW are now making plans to welcome the Women's Agenda Conference.

"The first Women's Agenda Conference was a wonderful experience. There was a lot of enthusiasm on the part of the participants," said Eleanor Griffith, Missouri BPW state president. "We hope to attract members and participants from all across the country to help make the Women's Agenda Conference II an even more astounding success."

"The Des Moines conference was a wonderful experience," agrees Beverly Brenneman, Kansas BPW president. "Our members really enjoyed the discussion of the issues and the chance to meet women from all over the country. Now I'm looking forward to showing off our talented Kansas women, including Senator Nancy Kassebaum and Congresswoman Jan Meyers — two great Republican leaders."

Talented women, especially those with an interest in government, are expected to be an important topic at the second conference, which comes as the next President will be making major policy-making appointments.

Other topics will include further discussion of the new women's agenda, the legislative, political and communications strategies needed to make it a reality, and the role of women voters in the 1988 election. Conference participants will again have their choice of workshops and panels. Speakers will include issue experts, communications and marketing strategists, and representatives of the next Congress and the next Presidential administration.

Like its predecessor, Women's Agenda Conference II will be held in the center of the country.

"We feel strongly that the women's agenda is a mainstream agenda," said Betty Forbes, BPW national president-elect. "Our strength is at the grass-roots level. Kansas City is at the geographic center of the country, which makes the conference accessible and affordable for more participants. And it is also in the political heartland which helps to illustrate the importance of our issues to women everywhere."

CELEBRATE WOMEN IN POLITICS

with the video tape

THE NEW WOMEN'S AGENDA: ELECTION '88

Yes! I want to order ____ copies of the video tape, *The Women's Agenda: Election '88* at \$75 each.

I am a BPW/USA member, and I want to order ____ copies of the video tape at \$50 each.

Local Organization Name: _____	Format	Quantity	Price
Identification Number: _____	1/2 VHS	_____	_____

Ship to:

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Check ____ or Money Order ____ enclosed for \$ ____.

Charge to: ____ VISA ____ Mastercard

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Send this form and payment to:

BPW/USA
2012 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

LET'S DO IT AGAIN!

WOMEN'S AGENDA CONFERENCE II JANUARY 6-8, 1989 KANSAS CITY

Yes! I am committed to enhancing the political power of women. Please keep me posted on information regarding Women's Agenda Conference II, January 6-8, 1989 in Kansas City.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____

Phone: () _____ (home) () _____ (work)

I am a member of BPW/USA: ____ YES ____ NO

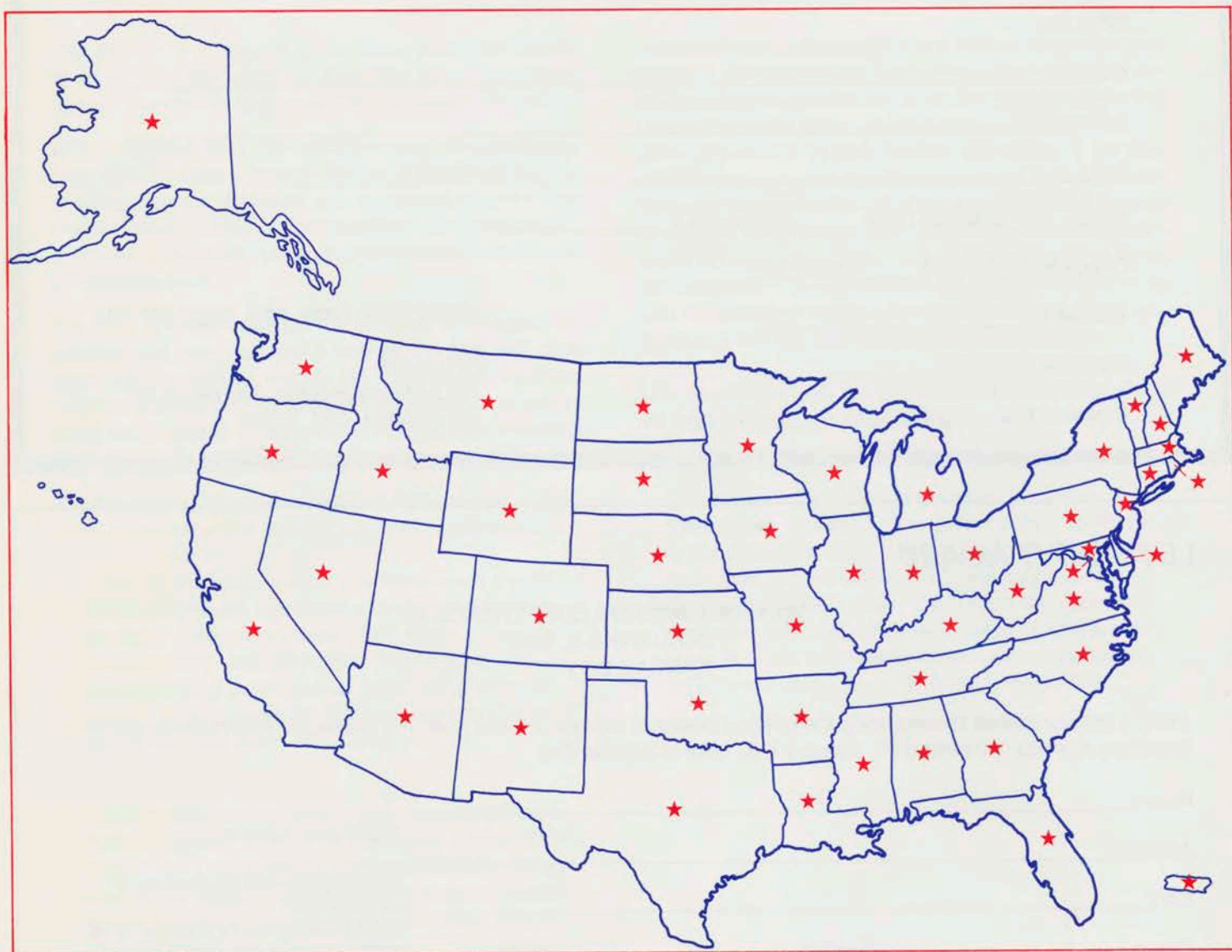
I am a member of the following women's organizations: _____

Send this form to:

Women's Agenda Conference II
c/o BPW/USA
2012 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Women's Agenda Conference — A National Agenda

The participants in Des Moines came from 47 states, plus the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.



This report was funded by a grant from the Ms. Foundation for Women to the BPW Foundation.

BPW usa

The National Federation of
Business and Professional
Women's Clubs, Inc.

MEMBER BENEFITS

These benefit programs are endorsed by BPW/USA. However, BPW/USA membership does not provide entitlement to these benefits. BPW/USA members are subject to the eligibility guidelines established by the benefit vendor.

2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW.
Washington, DC 20036
1-202-293-1100

Revised October 1988

The National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs offers its members these benefits and services.

1 **National Business Woman**

The official publication of BPW/USA, is published bimonthly and offers articles on issues of importance to working women, as well as legislative updates and reviews of BPW activities. **Annual membership dues include a subscription to *National Business Woman*.** If you do not receive your first copy within 2 months of membership, contact:
**BPW/USA Circulation Department
Membership Services
2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW.
Washington, DC 20036
1-202-293-1100**

2 **Member Loan Program**

Get extra cash with an **unsecured personal loan of up to \$7,500**, payable over 6 years, or a **home-equity loan of up to \$100,000**. Nearly \$10 million have been loaned to almost 2,500 BPW/USA members since June 1984. Some states' lending laws prohibit this program. For more information, call toll free:
**MNC Consumer Discount Company
Member Loan Program
1-800-245-4486
1-800-472-2740 in Pennsylvania**

3 **Credit Card Program**

BPW offers members a chance to "master the possibilities" with Mastercard. Your BPW Mastercard features **low interest rates and no annual fee the first year**. Apply by dialing toll free:
**SIGNET Bank/VA Credit Card Ctr.
1-800-368-4868**



Some states' laws prohibit this program. For information on the availa-

bility of this program, contact:
**Transnational Finance
BPW Credit Card Program
1-800-225-7678**

4 **Conventions and Meetings**

Every July, BPW/USA holds a National Convention, where members gather to attend training track workshops and skill-building sessions, network, elect national officers, and formulate BPW programming.

In addition, members can attend State Conventions, District Meetings, the Leadership Conference, the bi-annual International Convention, and special gatherings, such as the Women's Agenda Conference I and II.

For more information, contact:
**BPW/USA Meetings Department
2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW.
Washington, DC 20036
1-202-293-1100**

5 **Insurance Plans**

Take advantage of BPW group rates to obtain insurance or add to your existing coverage. BPW offers a variety of insurance plans tailored to suit the needs of BPW members.

- Term Life Insurance
- Business Overhead Expense Coverage
- Comprehensive Major Medical Insurance
- Excess Major Medical Insurance
- Hospital Income Protection Plan
- Accidental Death & Disability Insurance
- Disability Income Protection Plan

For more information, write or call toll free:
**Kirke Van Orsdel, Inc.
P.O. Box 1326
Ft. Worth, TX 76101
1-800-759-0101**

6 Travel Programs

Imagine yourself touring the British Isles, on safari in Kenya, or exploring the Orient! These and other exotic destinations are yours through BPW/USA's Travel Program. Exciting group tours are organized year-round for all BPW members.



For more information, or to make reservations, call toll free:

Trans National Travel
BPW/USA Reservation Center
1-800-262-0123

7 Working Woman Magazine

Available to BPW members for just \$12 for 12 issues--That's a **33 percent savings off the basic subscription rate!** Look for order forms in *National Business Woman*, or call BPW/USA Membership Services to receive your discount subscription form.

8 Working Mother Magazine

Take advantage of this special offer to BPW members. Receive a year of *Working Mother* magazine for **1/2 off the regular subscription price.** Look for order forms in *National Business Woman*, or call BPW/USA Membership Services to receive your discount subscription form.

9 Auto Rental Discount

BPW/USA members receive **substantial discounts on auto rental** from Hertz. For frequent users, BPW/USA can issue a Hertz identification card. For information on rental, call toll free:
Hertz Car Rental
1-800-654-2200
BPW Identification #152300

10 Training Programs

Build your personal and professional skills through BPW/USA's **low-cost workshops and seminars.** Offerings include the issues-oriented Individual Development Course to help women develop leadership and communication skills, and the annual nationwide seminars to enhance women's personal and career success. For information on BPW training in your state, contact:
BPW/USA
Education Programs and Training
2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW.
Washington, DC 20036
1-202-293-1100

*"The
Voice of
Working
Women"*

11 BPW/USA Working Papers

In today's world, information is power. BPW/USA keeps you up to date on important issues and legislation affecting working women.

"Working Papers," published by the **Office of Government Relations and Public Affairs**, provide background information on BPW/USA-supported issues and legislation. Topics include:

- Pay Equity
- Social Security
- Equal Education
- Insurance Discrimination
- Reproductive Freedom
- Equal Rights Amendment
- Pensions and the American Working Woman
- Employer Responsiveness
- International Federation of BPW
- Individual Development

"Charting Change," published by the **Department of Issues Research and Development**, tracks the trends and provides bibliographies on the following issues:

- The Wage Gap
- Taking Care – Our children, our parents
- Women as Managers
- Women in the Workforce – Past trends, future projections

This department also produces fact sheets, materials, and handbooks for organizing programs and projects on:

- The National Council on the Future of Women in the Workplace
- Employer Responsiveness

*"Women
Helping
Women"*

- National Business Women's Week
- Woman of the Year
- Individual Development
- Women in Transition
- BPW Federation FOCUS Issues
- Choices

12 Marguerite Rawalt Resource Center

The MRRC, an information center located at BPW's National Headquarters in Washington, DC, permits public access to its substantial collection of books, journals, audio-tapes, and microfilm on issues of interest to working women. BPW/USA members can use the MRRC to supplement their local resources for developing state and local programs and to request interlibrary loan through their local libraries. For information, contact:

Marguerite Rawalt Resource Center
BPW Foundation
2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW.
Washington, DC 20036
1-202-293-1100

Your Benefits

• National Business Woman

National Business Woman, the official publication of BPW/USA, is published bi-monthly and reviews BPW activities, offers legislative updates and issue articles.

• Contacts and Networking

BPW/USA is one of the best networks that you'll ever have. Members come from all occupations, and through BPW projects, you build invaluable networks with other leaders.

• Personal and Professional Development

BPW/USA offers seminars and workshops on key topics from public speaking to financial management. BPW's Foundation gives scholarships and loans to women who need assistance to further their formal education.

• Information Resources

BPW/USA backs up our members with the information they need to take action on the issues... from pension reform to pay equity. Members tap the working papers and resources of our Government Relations and Issues offices.

• Marguerite Rawalt Resource Center

Members delve into the collection of the MRRC, one of the nation's largest libraries on working women's issues. Now, with our new automated library catalog, you can request bibliographical references for a variety of working women's issues.

• Political Skills and Awareness

Today's working women want to know how to plan a project, move an agenda, or build a coalition. BPW members develop those skills through training programs geared for women in politics and through taking on leadership roles in BPW/USA.

• Full Package of Member-Only Benefits

BPW/USA members have access to many services:

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- A variety of insurance options (i.e. health, life insurance, income continuancy) at affordable group rates.
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Founded in 1919, BPW/USA was the first among women's organizations to formally endorse the Equal Rights Amendment in 1937, and we have led the drive for ratification ever since. BPW/USA has been a leader in passing much of the landmark civil and women's rights legislation of our time, from the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Pay Act, to Title IX and the Equal Credit Opportunity Act.

BPW/USA knows the issues that concern working women. And we bring those issues to policymakers in Washington, in state capitals, and in city halls across the country.

BPW/USA makes your voice heard.

BPW usa

The Voice of Working Women

**Can You
Afford
Not
To Join?**

BPW/USA
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036
202/293-1100

revised 9/88

“I am a prime example of the influence BPW can have on working women. I had never considered advancing from anything other than a secretary by day and a mother by night before joining BPW. Since then, many doors have opened for me. BPW encouraged me to follow my ambition and return to college, overcoming the fright of being the oldest in most of my classes.”

—F. Yvette Ayres, BPW/Missouri Member

“The encouragement, education and invaluable skills I gained through my involvement with BPW gave me the courage to go into business for myself ten years ago. Without BPW I would not be the owner of a successful business today.”

—Joyce Hart, BPW/New York Member

Our Goal To promote full participation, equity, and economic self-sufficiency for America's working women.

Our Issues The issues that matter most to working women ... an Equal Rights Amendment as the law of the land... pay equity, better child and dependent care, fair pension laws and equity in insurance ... equal opportunity in education and training. BPW works for you... for economic gains and a bigger paycheck in a woman's purse.

- Our Strength**
- 120,000 individual members, a network of working women which spans thousands of cities and towns across the country
 - 3,400 local BPW organizations, providing training, career networking, resources and support to working women
 - 53 state federations, each an active presence in public policy at the state level
 - 250,000 women from 60 countries united by the International Federation, working to improve the lives of women worldwide
 - A powerful national advocate, combining the strengths of the National Federation, the Business and Professional Women's Foundation, and the BPW/USA Political Action Committee.

Business and Professional Women's Foundation

In 1956, BPW members created the Business and Professional Women's Foundation, a non-profit research and education organization. Since its establishment, the BPW Foundation has awarded over \$4.4 million to nearly 6,800 women in scholarships, loans and fellowships. The Foundation also offers reference and referral services through its Marguerite Rawalt Resource Center. The Center contains the oldest and most comprehensive collection on women and work in the U.S. In addition, the BPW Foundation supports general issues education through joint partnerships with organizations such as Save the Children Federation, focusing on dependent care, pay equity and other topics. Members can also participate in BPWF training programs on small business, leadership development and more.

BPW/USA Political Action Committee

BPW members work to elect women and men who share a commitment to economic and social equity, and in 1980, created a National Political Action Committee. Through contributions and endorsements, BPW/PAC assists candidates for federal office who support the goals of BPW. More than 30 states have founded BPW/PACs of their own, to bring BPW's political influence to the state and local level.

International Federation of Business & Professional Women

BPW/USA members belong to a network of over one-quarter million working women worldwide. Headquartered in London, the International Federation brings together business women from 60 different countries. BPW has an official representative to the United Nations who serves on the UN Council of Organizations and has been active in the UN Decade for Women and the Commission on the Status of Women.

JOIN TODAY!

Membership in BPW/USA is open to all women and men who share our goals.

Active Members

Active members join BPW through a local organization. Active members come together for regular meetings and special programs — to network professionally, to share contacts, career strategies, and to work on the political and social issues of importance. Active members participate in BPW at all levels, and are eligible to serve as convention delegates.

Annual dues for active members vary, depending on the local organization.

Members-at-Large

Members-at-large participate in BPW only at the national level, choosing to support the work of BPW/USA without participating in a local unit. Members-at-large receive all benefits of membership, except that they are not eligible to hold office or serve as convention delegates.

Annual dues for members-at-large are \$25.

When you join BPW/USA, you join an organization that demonstrates the true strength and diversity of America's female workforce. Members represent every age, race, religion, political persuasion and socio-economic background. They come from all levels of the workforce, and virtually every occupation.

Yet they share a common purpose. BPW/USA members know that women must work together — and with other major institutions in our society — for economic security and professional development.

YES! I WANT TO JOIN BPW/USA!

Name: _____

Title: _____

Employer: _____

Congressional District: _____

Below is my ☐ home ☐ business address:

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Business Phone: _____ Home Phone: _____

☐ I am interested in becoming an **Active Member**. Please send me information on BPWs in my area. Clip application and send to:

BPW/USA
2012 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington DC 20036

☐ I want to become a **Member-at-Large**. My \$25 payment for annual membership dues is enclosed. Send application and payment to:

BPW/USA
Washington DC 20061-5006

Method of payment:

☐ Check enclosed for \$_____.

☐ Charge \$ 25 to my ☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard

Acct # _____

Signature _____

Expiration date _____

WOMEN'S AGENDA CONFERENCE II

CO-SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

American Association of Retired Persons
American Association of University Women
American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO
American Nurses' Association
American Women in Radio & Television
Association of Junior Leagues, Inc.
Black Women's Agenda
B'nai B'rith Women
Center for Women Policy Studies
Child Care Action Campaign
Coalition of Labor Union Women
Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc.
Displaced Homemakers Network, Inc.
Federally Employed Women
Fund for the Feminist Majority
General Federation of Women's Clubs
Jewish Women's Caucus
League of Women Voters
LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens)
Mexican American Women's National Association
National Abortion Federation
National Abortion Rights Action League
National Association of Black Women Attorneys
National Association of Commissions for Women
National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women
National Association of Women Business Owners
National Center for Policy Alternatives
National Committee on Pay Equity
National Conference of Puerto Rican Women
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council of Negro Women, Inc.
National Foundation for Women Business Owners
National Organization for Women
National Political Congress of Black Women
National Urban Coalition
National Women's Conference Committee
National Women's Law Center
National Women's Party
National Women's Political Caucus
NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund
Older Women's League
Organization of Chinese American Women

Planned Parenthood Federation of America
Project on Equal Education Rights of the
NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund
Religious Network for Equality
Save the Children
Wider Opportunities for Women
Women in Communications, Inc.
Women's Campaign Fund
Women's Economic Justice Center of the National
Center for Policy Alternatives
Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)
Women's International League for Peace & Freedom
Women's Legal Defense Fund
Women's Vote Project
YWCA of the USA
Zeta Phi Beta Sorority

INDUSTRY-LABOR ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
Bakery, Confectionary & Tobacco Workers' International Union, Local 218
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers
International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, Local Lodge 1650
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Central States Region
International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen
National Alliance for Business
National Association of Manufacturers
National Federation of Independent Business
National Small Business United
Service Employees International Union
United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, Local 655

Saturday, January 7

7 a.m. - 5 p.m.	REGISTRATION Hyatt - Pershing Exhibition Hall
8 a.m. - 5 p.m.	EXHIBITS: Open Hyatt - Pershing Exhibition Hall
7 a.m. - 8 p.m.	STAFF OFFICES: Open Hyatt - Northrup Westin - Gallery
7 a.m. - 8 p.m.	PRESS CONFERENCE ROOM: Open Westin - Presidents Room
7 a.m. - 5 p.m.	PRESS OFFICE: Open Westin - Independence Room
8-10 a.m.	PRESS BRIEFING: "The Gender Gap" Hyatt - Van Horn <i>Distinguished Panel:</i> Vince Breglio - Director, Polling Division, Bush-Quayle '88; President, RSM Ethel Klein - Professor of Political Science, Columbia University Celinda Lake - Vice President, Greenburg- Lake, The Analysis Group, Inc.
9 a.m. - noon	PLENARY SESSION I Hyatt - Regency Ballroom <i>Greetings:</i> Betty J. Forbes President, BPW/USA <i>Call to Order by the Temporary Chair:</i> Ann Dalton Association of Junior Leagues, Inc. <i>Welcome to Kansas City:</i> The Hon. Richard Berkley Mayor, Kansas City, Missouri <i>A Workforce 2000 Overview:</i> Betty J. Forbes President, BPW/USA

Introduction:

The Hon. Nancy Johnson
U.S. Rep. - Connecticut

A message from the President-Elect

VIDEO PHONE CALL
ROSS.

Keynote Address:

Distinguished representative of the Bush Administration

Introduction of Congressional Perspective:

Pat Ford-Roegner
American Nurses' Association

A Congressional Perspective:

The Hon. William H. Gray III
U.S. Rep. - Pennsylvania

The Women's Perspective:

The Hon. Janet C. Rzewnicki
State Treasurer - Delaware

EDUC.

Betty L. McCormick
Director of Personnel Research, IBM

TV moderator -

Noon - 1:30 p.m.

LUNCH

1:30 - 3 p.m.

PLENARY SESSION II
Hyatt - Regency Ballroom

Call to Order by the Temporary Chair:

Betty Jo Toccoli
President, National Small Business United

Award Presentation:

Betty J. Forbes
President, BPW/USA

Introduction of Workforce 2000 Speakers:

The Hon. Ester Valladolid Wolf
Secretary on Aging - State of Kansas

Toward the Workforce 2000-The Federal Perspective:

Robert T. Jones
Assistant Secretary for Employment and Training, U.S. Department of Labor

Toward the Workforce 2000-A State Perspective:

The Hon. Joanne Zimmerman
Lieutenant Governor - Iowa

The Women's Perspective:

Glendora Putnam
YWCA of the USA

Karlyn Keene
American Enterprise Institute

Moderator: Sarah Harder, AAUW

4-5:30 p.m.

WORKSHOPS

See enclosed Workshop Guide

6:30-8:30 p.m.

RECEPTION: BPW/USA

Westin - Century Foyer
(Members only)

6:30-10:30 p.m.

CAUCUSES: Organizational and State

See enclosed Caucus Guide

Sunday, January 8

7 a.m. - 4 p.m.

STAFF OFFICES: Open

Hyatt - Northrup

Westin - Gallery

PRESS CONFERENCE ROOM: Open

Westin - Presidents

PRESS OFFICE: Open

Westin - Independence

8-9:30 a.m.

HEARTLAND BREAKFAST: Kansas/Missouri BPW

Westin - Century Ballroom C

8 a.m. - noon

REGISTRATION

Hyatt - Pershing Exhibition Hall

8 a.m. - 1 p.m.

EXHIBITS: Open

Hyatt - Pershing Exhibition Hall

9-10 a.m.

PRESS BRIEFING

Westin Presidents]

9:30-11 a.m.

WORKSHOPS

See enclosed Workshop Guide

11:30 am-1:30 pm

PLENARY SESSION III

Westin - Century Ballroom

Greetings:

Betty J. Forbes

President, BPW/USA

Call to Order by the Temporary Chair:

Faith Breen

Organization of Chinese American Women

Lee

Introduction of Speaker:

Gillian Rudd

National Association of Women Business Owners

Looking Ahead:

The Hon. ~~Lieutenant Governor - Minnesota~~ Marlene Johnson

Lieutenant Governor - Minnesota

A Report to the Conference:

Kate Michelman
National Abortion Rights Action League

Dorothy Spinks
President, Federally Employed Woman

Lou Glasse
President, Older Womens League

Dr. Dolly Adams
Black Women's Agenda

Cheryl Brown Henderson
Displaced Homemakers Network, Inc.

1-4 p.m.

EXHIBITS: Tear-down
Hyatt - Pershing Exhibition Hall