

Report of the Washington State
International Women's Year Conference
1977



The Women of Ellensburg

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by

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Lynn Morrison
Ruth Jones
Fredericka Foster**

This report was prepared by consultants and staff. Points of view or opinions expressed in this document are those of the authors. The report is not an official report of the Washington State Coordinating Committee to the National IWY Committee. It does not represent the views of either the National IWY Commission or Washington State IWY Coordinating Committee. Management and publication of this report were funded not with federal funds but with monies collected as registration fees at the Washington State IWY Conference. Staff costs were paid for through the King-Snohomish Manpower Consortium (Dee Boersma, Principal Investigator).

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Foreword

This report about the Washington State IWY Conference fulfills one of the objectives of the Washington State Coordinating Committee — to make available the issues and events of the State Conference for Women. Even before the conference took place, the Coordinating Committee agreed that such a report, placed in the hands of conference participants, legislators, the media, women's groups, and the general public, would be an invaluable educational tool in understanding the barriers that prevent women in the State of Washington from full participation in our national society. The controversial nature of the conference has made the necessity for this report even more profound.

The Women of Ellensburg is an attempt to deal with the conference information in a comprehensive way. The issues and concerns identified are "unfinished business" in our society that are becoming pluralistic. Diversity of opinion surrounding this report is recognized. However, the conference format provided a platform for people with different opinions to have their say.

It is hoped that knowledge gained from this report will support the conference theme, "Evaluating Our Strengths — Setting Our Goals — Preparing For Action." It is further hoped that this report will bring greater understanding of women as they strive for full citizenship, full participation, and full equality in our American society.

On behalf of the Washington State Coordinating Committee, I wish to express the committee's deep gratitude to Jean Withers and her staff, whose assistance and hard work in writing this report is recognized. To all the thousands of participants and contributors, our heartfelt thanks. It is indeed a pleasure to have served as Chairperson for the Washington State Coordinating Committee, and I express my high regard for the cooperation and support for the committee members, their dedication and work in making possible the success of the conference.

Dorothy Hollingsworth
Chairperson
Washington State Coordinating Committee
International Women's Year

Acknowledgements

Those of us involved in the preparation of the Washington State International Women's Year Conference Report would have had no story to tell without the assistance of many women. Between early August, when research for the report began, and late October, when it concluded, these women gave freely of their time and information. We especially thank Dee Boersma, without whose initiative this project would never have taken place, Helen Remick, and Mary Helen Roberts.

Many women of diverse political philosophies provided candid and invaluable information. Some of those who were especially helpful included Kathy Boyle, Aline Carroll, Ginny Crow, Jean Dance, Jacqueline Delahunt, Karen Fraser, Dolores Glesener, Donna Hanson, Dorothy Hollingsworth, Beverly Hubbert, Thelma Jackson, Beverly Jacobson, Mildred E. (Betty) Kersh, Elaine Latourell, Mary Ellen McCaffree, Kay Regan, Pam Roach, Shelley Roberts, Susan Roylance, Joan Whinihan, Marilyn Ward, and Alice Yee.

We also thank the Institute for Environmental Studies, University of Washington, and especially Director Gordon H. Orians and Administrative Assistant Betty Hofeditz, for office space and for obligingly accommodating our excessive working hours.

The extremely tight deadline under which this report was produced required an extra measure of cooperation from people involved in production — typists, graphics personnel, photographers, and printers. Without them, this document would not have been possible. We also thank Maggie Savage for the use of her song.

Finally, we wish to thank our friends and families for their support and patience during the time we were consumed with this fascinating and complex story.

Especially, we thank Tim Morrison, Theo Morrison, Lisa Foster, and Bryan Pfingst.



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Ruth Jones
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Introduction

In April before the Washington State International Women's Year Conference, Coordinating Committee member Dee Boersma, acting as an individual, wrote a grant entitled "Washington State Conference for Women; An Adjunct of the International Women's Year National Women's Conference Mandated by Congress." Through funding provided by the King-Snohomish Manpower Consortium, three staff members were hired with CETA funds and housed in an office at the Institute for Environmental Studies at the University of Washington. They were managed by a consultant paid by funds collected during registration at the conference.

The Coordinating Committee participated in setting the general direction of the report via individual responses to a table of contents, but the control of content rested in the hands of the manager. It was decided that the report would be most timely if produced before the National Women's Conference scheduled to be held in Houston in mid-November.

In addition to being comprehensive, one of the earliest decisions was that the report would be as fair and impartial as possible. Thus, the staff members who were hired were selected not only for the professional standard of their research and writing but, just as importantly, for their ability to deal effectively with women of all political persuasions. Two part-time and one full-time employees were hired.

Research involved conducting more than 350 interviews with Coordinating Committee members, the leaders of political organizations, and conference participants. Both in-person and telephone interviews were conducted. Documents relating to the conference were also used and, in more than one instance, the complete conference files of individual committee members were loaned to the report office. Audio and video tapes of the plenary were viewed and carefully analyzed.

Reports of issues, which by common agreement of pro and con ERA spokespeople were confined to those issues discussed at the conference, were based on conference notes and resources suggested by workshop leaders and feminist and conservative women.

Research consumed the first six weeks of the project and proved so time-consuming that all three staff members consistently worked hours in excess of full-time. Throughout the research phase, the manager and staff concentrated on evaluating the information collected equitably. The desire to check out the accuracy of information collected from such a myriad of sources prompted us to issue an information draft early in October. This draft was sent to all Coordinating Committee members, delegates, alternates, workshop leaders, and other sources, along with a cover letter explaining that the draft contained information that would be in the final report, but that this information was not in its final form. Out of a desire to interpret the information for our readers grew a "Conclusions" section — an addition to the report to which committee members, delegates, alternates, and all other sources were again given an opportunity to respond.

Minority reports were solicited from groups who had earlier expressed interest in presenting their own perspective of either the report or the conference. Some groups declined, saying that they were satisfied with their representation in the text of the report.

We had expected that no further research would be necessary after the draft was issued, but with the report pulled together for the first time, we discovered that additional research was needed in both "The Story of Ellensburg" and in the issues part of the report. One of the areas that had not been explored was the concern of the Mormon church about the IWY conference. Another was the Oklahoma tape (described in the report) which our sources had described, but which we had not heard. Both proved to be very important to understanding the story of Ellensburg. Meanwhile, workshop leaders and some panelists expanded our understanding of the crucial issues facing women in the state.

In evaluating feedback from all sources, we consistently looked for first-hand accounts of information and viewed second-hand information with disfavor. Where there was time to check out new information, we did so. When time was limited, we checked out first-hand accounts. Second-hand versions of incidents were, we frequently discovered, merely more rumors resulting from the polarization of the conference.

The combination of late but significant research in addition to extremely constructive feedback about the draft resulted in limited time before the deadline to publish the final report. While the finished document may not, in fact, be the whole story of Ellensburg or reflect all the issues of women in Washington State, we believe that it is nevertheless as complete a version as can be obtained.

Jean Withers
Project Manager



Part I.

The Story of Ellensburg

Cast of Characters*

Washington State IWY Coordinating Committee Chairs

Lilly Aguilar	Chair of Outreach Committee, Hispanic Caucus
Jayne Howard Anderson	Chair of Fundraising Committee
Dee Boersma	Chair of Communications Committee
Rita Elway	Western Co-Vice Chair, Asian/Pacific Caucus
Judy Fortier	Chair of Transportation Committee
Karen Fraser	Chair of Elections Committee
Dorothy Hollingsworth	Chairperson of Coordinating Committee
Thelma Jackson	Organizer of Black Caucus
Beverly Jacobson	Eastern Co-Vice Chair
Elaine Latourell	Chair of Program Committee
Mary Ellen McCaffree	Budget and Finance Officer, Chair of Nominations Committee
Helen Raymond	Recorder
Kay Regan	Chair of Rules Committee
Mary Helen Roberts	Fiscal Officer
Elsie Schrader	Plenary Planner
Dolores Sibonga	Asian/Pacific Caucus
Marilyn Ward	Chair of Registration Committee
Joan Whinihan	Chair of Publicity Committee
Alice Yee	Chair of Arrangements Committee

National IWY Commission

Jill Ruckelshaus	Former Presiding Officer of National IWY Coordinating Committee, Ex-officio member of Washington State Coordinating Committee
Gisela Tabor	Regional Coordinator

Blue and White Coalition Leaders

Dolores Gilmore	Organizer and Chairperson
Dolores Glesener	Nominations Chair
Susan Roylance	Issues Chair, Spokesman

*Persons whose names appear several times in this volume.

Friends of Equal Rights

Jeanette Williams	Temporary Chairperson
Jean-Marie Brough	Nominations Committee
Michelle Pailthorp	Nominations Committee
Shelley Roberts	Workshop Strategist, Member of "Creative" Subcommittee
Beth Zimmerman	Nominations Committee

Workshop Leaders

Kathy Boyle	Chair of Lesbian Rights Information Panel
Donna Hanson	Coordinating Committee Member and Chair of Child Care Information Panel and Action Workshop
Mildred E. (Betty) Kersh	Chair of Classroom Setting Information Panel and Action Workshop
Sandra Schuster	Chair of Gay Parenting Information Panel and Speak-Out
Dr. Kathleen Skrinar	Anti-ERA Panelist in Equal Rights Amendment Workshop

Plenary Officials

Judith Lonquist	Presiding Officer, Sunday Plenary Session
Beverly Smith	Presiding Officer, Saturday Plenary Session

The Story of Ellensburg

When the International Women's Year state conferences were initiated, the mission to be served by these conferences seemed as clear as a smooth-running stream. By mid-1977, each state, including Washington, would sponsor a conference for all state women at which problems barring women from equality could be raised. Recommendations for removing these barriers would be passed, and delegates would be elected from each state to carry the recommendations to a national conference to be held in Houston just before Thanksgiving, 1977. What could be simpler?

As has become obvious, Washington's International Women's Year conference was everything but simple. By the time the IWY stream flowed into Washington State, it was running wildly, and it spawned a conference — and a controversy — just as wild.

Background of International Women's Year

How did it happen? How could so worthy an objective as women planning their own equality with government assistance become so enmeshed in controversy?

To understand the state controversy requires seeing Washington's IWY experience in context.

The United Nations General Assembly proclaimed 1975 as International Women's Year. This prompted the President of the United States to issue an executive order establishing a National Commission on the observance of International Women's Year. A 42-member commission, headed by Jill Ruckelshaus of Medina, Washington, was appointed to spend a year studying the problems of women. With the secretariat (their staff), commission members produced a 382-page report, *To Form a More Perfect Union*. . . , which contained 115 recommendations aimed at, in commission terminology, "eliminating the inequities that still linger as barriers to the full participation of women" in American life.

Meanwhile, the life of the commission had been extended through mid-1976, and Congress had, in December of 1975, passed a law directing the National IWY Commission to organize and convene a National Women's Conference. To precede this national conference were the 56 state conferences. (Some U.S. territories and the District of Columbia were defined as states for this purpose.)

In arguing for Public Law 94-167 which set up the conferences, Representative Bella Abzug of New York said,

"This is the first time that women of every walk of life will have an opportunity to express themselves in a meaningful setting. (This) national conference. . . will afford an opportunity for every kind of woman, representing every viewpoint, in every State of this Nation to make a statement of her concern." Other Congressmen expressed concern about the \$5 million in federal funding to be allocated to IWY. Senator Jesse Helms, Republican of North Carolina, opposed the legislation. He believed that organizations like the National Women's Political Caucus and the National Organization for Women, which supported the National IWY Commission and the National Women's Conference did not represent either the majority of American women or "the best interests of American women."

Concerns similar to those of Helms were later voiced in a lawsuit brought by members of an anti-Equal Rights Amendment organization, STOP-ERA. The plaintiffs challenged that federal funds allocated to IWY activities were being spent for lobbying. The Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago ruled that, while the IWY Commission had engaged in a variety of activities as permitted by its broad Congressional mandate, none of these activities were shown to harm the plaintiff's interests. This case was then thrown out of court.

Soon after Congress allocated the \$5 million in IWY funds in July, 1976, came the difficult assignment of naming the Coordinating Committee in each state that would plan and administer the meeting for women. The National IWY Commission determined at the outset that each state committee would be a working and not an honorary group of outstanding women. Each committee would be a practical size, bi-partisan, and represent diverse racial, ethnic, religious, age, and income groups. In addition, the designates were to have some knowledge of women's issues, have some conference planning skills, have credibility in and familiarity with their state and, finally, be willing to commit the time necessary to plan the conference.

The commission sought recommendations from over 1,000 national and state organizations and individuals and convened a series of consultation sessions with over 100 national, non-government women's and ethnic organizations. Commission members, secretariat staff, Congresspeople who had sponsored the legislation — all helped get out the word to potential committee members. The cut-off date of mid-September was extended several times to accommodate the incredibly high response.

Four regional coordinators were primarily responsible for analyzing the qualifications of nominees, gathering additional information when necessary, and assuring that as many segments of the population and as many organizations as possible were represented. Where there appeared to be gaps in representation (geographic, age,

ethnic, political, economic, etc.), an additional effort was made to fill those. According to information released by the commission, there was also a conscious attempt to designate people with a range of views on some of the more controversial women's issues. Half of the state Coordinating Committees were designated by the end of November, 1976.

In addition to this laborious task, the Commission and secretariat staff were also responsible for preparing grants based on state population and per capita income; these were to be used by the states to hold their women's meetings. Substantive workshop guidelines on some 20 topics were prepared for use by the state committees, and a manual assisting the conference planners was issued. The meetings were to be held between February and July of 1977.

IWY Conferences in Other States

The coordinating Committee in each state was given wide latitude in planning and carrying out their conference. As a result, the meetings took many forms. Vermont's one-day town hall meeting took place during a heavy snowfall in February. Contacting and involving a diverse group of women was a particular problem in Alaska, a state one-fifth the size of the entire United States; their conference had to wait for the spring thaw in May. Other May conferences, in Georgia and Idaho, were two-day events.

Forty-one of the state conferences were held during the four weekends in June. At a dozen or more of these meetings, women who identified themselves as being anti-abortion and anti-ERA (Equal Rights Amendment) participated. At the Minnesota conference, which was one of the largest gatherings, a public confrontation occurred between anti-abortion and pro-choice groups. Nevertheless, the following "resolution of unity" was passed unanimously by the participants.

"Recognizing that we will never all agree on every issue, we pledge to bind ourselves together in love, to continue to work on the concerns of universal importance — the need for our personal dignity, the relief of our suffering, the achievement of our aspirations — so that we can go on to that great victory — equality for all women."

Other states where confrontations occurred ended less idyllically. For example, during the Illinois conference preliminary session, several males identified as "professional organizers" constantly passed notes to their anti-ERA female followers. Charges such as open ballot boxes were levied against Illinois organizers following the conference, and the state chairman of the Eagle Forum (a national anti-ERA group) said that there had been misuse of federal funds by the IWY Commission.

At the Ohio conference, 45 of the state's 56 delegates were anti-abortion, groups opposing the ERA successfully campaigned for an entire anti-ERA delegate slate, and resolutions suggested by the IWY Commission were defeated. After the conference, the chair of the state's Women's Political Caucus issued a letter warning other state

chairs that a "'right-to-life' van was parked conspicuously at the entrance to the parking lot." She urged that "Black, labor, League (of Women Voters), business, and political women must band together (at their state conferences) if progressive delegates are to be chosen."

Pro-ERA participants in Arizona organized MMOPP, a Monitoring and Mobile Operation Partnership Program, in workshops. If anti-ERA women packed any workshop, a pro-ERA monitor assigned to the workshop went to a central location, passed the word, and moved pro-ERA participants to that workshop. "It was simple, effective, and it worked beautifully," said a letter from the Women's Political Caucus.

In Utah, more than 13,000 women attended the conference, including large numbers of women identified as Mormons. A group identified as "Citizens' Review Committee for IWY" evaluated the Georgia meeting, noting what the group identified as "irregularities" in voting, and raising other challenges. This list of charges was sent to all state Coordinating Committee chairs by Bella Abzug, who had by this time completed her service in Congress and had been appointed by President Jimmy Carter as presiding officer of the IWY Commission.

Like Washington, Montana was one of the final states to hold its IWY conference. In addition to the date, there were other striking similarities between the two conferences. According to Eleanor Pratt, past state chair of the Montana Women's Political Caucus, approximately 800 of the 1,100 participants were not pre-registered, claiming that they had just heard of the conference. Most wore identifying yellow scraps pinned to their dresses or a nametag with a beehive on it.* They voted as a bloc against the ERA, abortion, and homosexual rights, and provided their own food, transportation, and housing.

Conference Planning

By December, 1976, 35 members of the Washington State Coordinating Committee had been selected. They were:

Lilly Aguilar, Yakima. Chair, Yakima County Women's Council. Planner, Yakima Women's Center for United Community Action. Legal assistant for Yakima County Legal Aid.

Dawn Bernstein, Tacoma. Public Affairs Chair, National Council for Jewish Women. Member, Panel for Family Living, Tacoma. Member, Tacoma Association for Education of Young Children.

Dee Boersma, Seattle. Assistant Professor, University of Washington Institute for Environmental Studies. One of 19 Outstanding Young Women in America. Member, University of Washington Chapter, Business and Professional Women's Club. Member, American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Lucy Covington, Nespelem. Ranch owner and manager. Chair, Colville Indian Business Council.

* A beehive is a symbol of the Mormon church.

Dr. Theresa Aragon DeShepero, Seattle. Member, National Advisory Council of Women's Education Programs. Member, Mexican American League Defense Education Fund. Member, King County Manpower Consortium.

Carroll B. Dick, Olympia. Head, Adult Health Section, Department of Social and Health Services. Former Coordinator of comparable worth activities of the Network of Women in State Government.

Denise Downer, Port Angeles. Diesel mechanic. Member, Presbyterian Church State Women's Board. Member, Board of Peninsula Women's Resource Center.

Rita Fujiki Elway, Seattle. Partner, Communications Design, Inc.. Chair, Washington State Women's Council. Member, Task Force on Asian-American Women.

Judie Fortier, Tacoma. President, Board of Directors, Pierce County Planned Parenthood. Member, Rape Relief Advisory Board. Women's Rights Supervisor, City of Tacoma.

Karen Fraser, Lacey. Mayor of Lacey. Policy analyst and legal liaison, Office of Community Development. Pilot trainer for career development program for women in State Government.

Wanda Fullner, Seattle. Equal opportunity consultant, Association of Washington Businesses. President, Seattle-King County Chapter, National Organization for Women (NOW).

Irma M. Gilleland, Clarkston. Member, Executive Committee, National Council of Catholic Women. Regent, Catholic Daughters of America. Served on ad hoc committee for Bishops' Pastoral Council and Lay Senate of the Spokane Diocese.

Jackie Griswold, Seattle. President, Seattle Women's Commission. Initiated battered women's project. Wrote state's model rape legislation. Member, Seattle NOW.

Julia B. Hansen, Cathlamet. Member, U.S. House of Representatives, 1960-1974. Member, State Legislature, 1939-1960. Member, State Highways Commission.

Donna Hanson, Spokane. President, Junior League. Member, Spokane Chapter, American Association of University Women. Member, Washington State Family, Children and Adult Services Advisory Committee.

Dorothy Hollingsworth, Seattle. Director of Children's Services for the Department of Human Resources. Member, Seattle School Board. American Businesswomen's Association's 1974 Woman of the Year.

Betty Horne, Longview. Chair, Women's Studies Advisory Committee for Lower Columbia Community College. Former member, State Board, Parent-Teachers Association. Former national staff, Young Women's Christian Association for India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon.

Pamela Jacklin, Pullman. Law student. Director of Affirmative Action and Special Programs for Women, Washington State University (on leave). Co-investigator of Grant for Northwest Women's Studies Resource Bank. Former (ex-officio) board member, American Association for Affirmative Action.

Thelma A. Jackson, Olympia. Project Coordinator, Work Options for Women, Young Women's Christian Association, Olympia. Member, North Thurston School Board.

Beverly Jacobsen, Richland. Editor, "Desert Living" section, Tri-City Herald. Member, Florence Merick Women's Council. Member, Women in Communications, Inc.

Elaine Day Latourell, Seattle. Architect. National Legislative Vice President, National Organization for Women. Faculty member, Architecture Department, University of Washington.

Christine Pratt Marston, Seattle. Member, Welfare Reform Coalition. Director, Seattle-King County Community Coordinated Child Care. Editor, "Foresight."

Mary Ellen McCaffree, Olympia. Director, State Department of Revenue. Member, State Legislature, 1962-1970. Past President, Seattle League of Women Voters.

Marion S. Moos, Spokane. Chair, Task Force on Image of Women in Media, National Organization for Women. Member, United Methodist Women. Owner, Past Time Feminist Book Center.

Alene H. Morris, Seattle. Director and Co-Founder, Individual Development Center, Inc. Career consultant and seminar leader, Weyerhaeuser Company. Designer and trainer, Association of Junior Leagues.

Helen Raymond, Vancouver. Board member, Soil Conservation Service Federal Credit Union. State Parliamentarian, American Association of University Women (AAUW). Former State President, Business and Professional Women's Club.

Joyce Reyes, Seattle. Director, Adult Basic Education Programs, United Indians of All Tribes Foundation. Member, Seattle Women's Commission. Member, National Independent Education Association.

Mary Helen Roberts, Olympia. Executive Director Washington State Women's Council. Member, Women's Political Caucus.

Elsie F. Schrader, Olympia. Area Representative, Federation of State Employees. Chair, Women's Committee of State Labor Council, AFL-CIO. Executive Board Vice President, Young Women's Christian Association, Olympia.

Dolores Sibonga, Seattle. Deputy Executive Secretary, State Human Rights Commission. Member, Washington Women Lawyers Association.

Alvina Simpson, Edwall. Member, Lincoln County Democratic Central Committee. Former Home Economics Chair, local area Grange. President, Seslo Clubs.

Sally Stephens, Spokane. Senior seminary student. Student chaplain.

Marilyn Ward, Bellevue. Director, Office of Citizen Participation, Department of Social and Health Services. Board member, Sound Savings and Loan. Member, Advisory Committee, Casey Foundation.

Jeanette Williams, Seattle. Member, Seattle City Council. Member, State ERA Steering Committee. Originator, Seattle Office of Women's Rights.

Alice Yee, Ellensburg. Director, Women's Center, Central Washington State College. Vice Chair, City Planning Commission. Vice President, Kittitas County League of Women Voters. Advisor, Kittitas Community Action Council.

Two Washington State members of the IWY National Commission were appointed to serve as ex-officio members of the Committee. They were *Jill Ruckelshaus* of Medina, former IWY presiding officer and a member of a commission assigned to study the state Department of Social and Health Services; and *Paula Gibson* of Spokane, a student at Spokane Falls Community College, a past national and state officer of the Future Homemakers of America, and a National Merit Scholar.

Coordinating Committee member Alene Moris was invited to serve as temporary convenor by Gisela Tabor, IWY Regional Coordinator and a former Washington State resident who had once served as Executive Director of the State Women's Council. By December 11, Ms. Moris had conducted the committee's organizing meeting which provided many of the members who had not met previously a chance to introduce themselves. Ms. Tabor defined the parameters of the task: By July 10, Washington must hold a state women's meeting planned by the Coordinating Committee; \$41,000 had been allocated to the state for that purpose. Before the end of the meeting, the group had agreed that the state conference would be held July 8, 9, and 10 at the Conference Center on the campus of Central Washington State College in Ellensburg. The site offered several advantages: a location in the center of the state, the lowest-priced conference accommodations available, and adequate facilities for the 3,000 participants the committee hoped to attract. Additionally, Ellensburg was located away

from urban distractions. A Coordinating Committee member, Alice Yee, lived in Ellensburg and was an administrator at the college. She agreed to make arrangements for the conference.

The committee also elected officers at the organizing meeting, with minority women assuming several of the assignments. Dorothy Hollingsworth was elected Chairperson, Rita Elway of Seattle was chosen Western Co-Vice Chair, and Beverly Jacobson of Richland was named Eastern Co-Vice Chair. Mary Helen Roberts was chosen Fiscal Officer, Mary Ellen McCaffree head of Budget and Finance, and Helen Raymond, Recorder. Elaine Latourell was elected to take the lead in developing the program at the workshop and plenary sessions; Dee Boersma was placed in charge of communications (publicity, speakers' bureau, etc.); and Betty Horne was named to direct the outreach effort that would get the word about the conference out to Washington women. With Ms. Yee, these women made up the executive committee. Other Coordinating Committee members assisted the elected committee chairs, and women who were not members of the Coordinating Committee also helped. One committee member estimates that the number of women working to plan the conference reached 1,000. All were volunteers, and virtually all had full-time commitments besides the conference.

Many significant policy decisions that impacted Washington State's conference were made in the fiscal planning for the conference. It was determined that candidates for delegates should not be determined by their ability to pay airfare and expenses to the national conference in Houston. For this reason, \$10,000 of the \$41,000 IWY grant was set aside to send the 24 delegates to Houston; it remains untouched. The conference fee (\$29 for meals and lodging, \$10 registration fee, and \$5 for late registration) was set higher than it had been at some other state conferences, but a large fund (\$15,000) was set aside to underwrite registration costs, lodging, food, and transportation for women needing scholarships. Child care was free to all. (And later, when the committee realized that the women who needed scholarships and free child care also required free housing for children, this too was corrected.) The committee vigorously sought cash contributions and in-kind donations to further increase the scholarship fund. Meanwhile, Coordinating Committee members were reimbursed only for expenses — travel, photocopying, and the like.

"The intent of these policies, when considered jointly with other committee efforts, was to get as many people as possible to the conference and make it as easy as possible for them to participate," says Mary Helen Roberts.

The meticulous planning necessary to coordinate the multitude of details required for a meeting of 3,000 women was begun almost immediately by Alice Yee. Lodging, food, child care, rooms for workshops, caucusing, and the plenary sessions (those attended by all registrants), room signs, display tables, first aid, security, lost-and-found,

dormitory hostesses, typing and duplicating equipment, a van for disabled women, video tape facilities, lights, chairs, the public address system, registration planning — all these tasks and others fell within the purview of the arrangements chair. By the time the conference took place, 200 local volunteers had supplemented her efforts, an inventory of every available room and building on campus had been made, and every chair had been rented from every church in town.

The task of developing the conference schedule, finding speakers and panelists, and organizing the general flow of the meeting fell to the program committee. They combined "core issues" suggested by the National IWY Commission — topics like employment, the ERA, the double burdens of age and race, and recognizing the contributions of homemakers — with suggestions made by women throughout the state. According to Elaine Latourell, they denied no workshop requests unless the suggested topics were not related to women's issues, were presented by organizations, or had religious content. It was for this latter reason that the Coalition on Women and Religion, which wanted to conduct a workshop featuring issues like sexist language in the church and ordaining women as ministers, had to be refused.

Ethel Mitchell and her workshop sub-committee solicited the names of informed and active women to serve on panels, selected panel moderators, and sent them prioritized lists of suggested panelists to encourage panels balanced in perspectives, disciplines, ages, and racial, ethnic and economic backgrounds. The program committee developed a meeting flow to educate participants, allow them to raise issues, and finally to vote on recommendations to resolve these problems. They planned the substantive plenary sessions for Saturday and Sunday, so that participants could first experience focusing on issues of concern to them in smaller groups.

Dorothy Hollingsworth stated early in the conference planning that her overriding concern was "...inclusiveness — for all women, of course, but especially for minority women and poor women." The outreach committee was most responsible for the "inclusiveness of all women". Working under the direction of Lilly Aguilar, who was named after the original outreach chair had to resign due to poor health, the committee worked to notify organizations and, through them, women who might be interested in the conference. The outreach committee identified women who could not afford the \$44 conference fee and, by the time the conference began, had given out more than 500 scholarships to women from all backgrounds ranging in age from 17 to 86. The scholarships were paid with funds the coordinating committee had set aside from the grant and \$10,000 in contributions raised by the fundraising committee from major corporations. Weyerhaeuser, for example, donated \$1,500 to the state scholarship fund, agreed to send one person to the national conference, and prepared and printed the state conference program. Jayne Howard Anderson, who was appointed to the committee in March, directed the fundraising effort. Ms. Anderson had run for Lieutenant Governor in 1972, had initiated a successful Constitutional amendment regarding Indian

voting rights, and had held state and local offices in AAUW and the Women's Political Caucus.

Minority members of the Coordinating Committee worked very diligently to attract women from a variety of racial/ethnic backgrounds to the conference. For example, Black women who played key roles in their communities were contacted and invited to luncheon meetings in six cities around the state. Response to these meetings was, according to one organizer, "tremendous." They generated an expressed desire of Black women to participate in all aspects of the conference. Thelma Jackson, who with Ms. Hollingsworth, directed this effort, said, "We decided early on that our concerns would not be addressed unless we were there to address them *ourselves*. We realized that we could no longer afford to sit idly by and have other groups speak for us." More than 350 Black women attended the conference.

Asian and Pacific women made a similar decision. A small caucus made up of Asian women from throughout the state was formed to identify the issues of Asian women and develop strategies to deal with these concerns. Dolores Sibonga, a committee member who worked with Rita Elway, explained that issues like employment, immigration, health care, education, and social services were "...particularly crucial concerns to immigrant women and Asian wives of servicemen."

In addition to her duties as chair of the outreach committee, Lilly Aguilar worked to attract Hispanic women to the conference. She met with women individually or held group meetings at which she emphasized the importance of the conference. Often, she spoke to women who, as employees of social service agencies, provided services to Hispanics. She believes that many Hispanics who could not otherwise have afforded to come to the conference applied for scholarships. In any case, it is estimated that about 100 Hispanic women attended the conference.

In addition to focusing on attracting minority women to the conference, the committee assigned one or more of the state's counties to area coordinators. From Spokane to Seattle, key outreach coordinators (who were usually, but not always Coordinating Committee members) worked to distribute 1,200 packets to women's organizations, social agencies, and individuals who helped get the word out. In Spokane, for example, the YWCA Women's Resource Center was chosen as a central location from which to dispense information. In Whitman County, the Washington Cooperative Extension Service received 200 copies of a colorful IWY flyer; these were shared with women co-workers. The conference was announced at meetings of women's groups throughout the Seattle-King County area, and all over the state, many women sported free IWY buttons that bore the conference date and the IWY dove.

According to Lilly Aguilar, the far northwest part of the state was the hardest to cover. "We basically relied on colleges and well-established women's organizations there," she said.

Given the fact that by June 1 registration in the eastern part of the state was equal to that west of the Cascades where two-thirds of the state's population resides, it is obvious that outreach east of the mountains was successful. This was particularly true in the Tri-Cities area. In addition to her Coordinating Committee activities, Beverly Jacobson is editor of the "Desert Living" section of the *Tri-City Herald*. (The main newspaper in southwestern Washington, the *Herald* serves 44,000 homes in and around Pasco, Kennewick, and Richland.) Ms. Jacobson was responsible for 15 articles about the conference which were published between early January and the beginning of the conference in early July. Representatives of two major conventions — a County Extension Service Convention for homemakers and a Business and Professional Women's Convention — received numerous flyers and requested more. "Off the top of my head, I would estimate that 1,000 flyers and posters went up in the Tri-Cities area. I saw them myself in places like grocery stores and libraries," Ms. Jacobson remembers. In addition, Dorothy Hollingsworth traveled to Tri-Cities to appear on television. "By the time we were almost ready for the conference," says Ms. Jacobson, "I was being congratulated because the Tri-Cities had the best publicity of any area in the state."

In addition to large outreach committee mailings, another significant mailing sent by the Coordinating Committee was an 800 piece mailing sent to women's organizations and individuals throughout the state by Joan Whinihan. Ms. Whinihan, Communications Director of the Washington State Nurses' Association and immediate past president of the Seattle Professional Chapter of Women in Communications, Inc., joined the Coordinating Committee as publicity chair in February and immediately set about raising the group's low profile. The large mailing sent essential conference materials to a highly diverse cross-section of women's groups and, according to Ms. Whinihan, laid the foundation for publicity about the conference.* Press conferences, TV interviews with Coordinating Committee members, and public service announcements featuring actress Jean Stapleton were aired. News releases were issued at almost every opportunity and sent to every newspaper and radio and television station in the state. "I'm not sure that the media used everything we sent them," Ms. Whinihan says. "We had some difficulty giving them local 'news hooks' on which to hang their stories, and there was some confusion resulting from several women's conferences that were all held in the spring and early summer." Nevertheless, a press clipping service

*Organizations receiving this mailing included chapters of BPW, American Association of University Women, the Junior League, American Businesswomen's Association, auxiliaries of medical and dental societies, nurses association chapters, dental assistants associations, the PTA, university faculty women's clubs, other women's education groups, women's programs at universities, adult education programs, county Democratic women's organizations, the Washington State Federation of Republican Women, ethnic women's groups, the Soroptomists, Rape Relief, church women's groups, senior citizens' groups and programs, Girl Scout, Campfire Girl, and 4-H leaders, art groups, the Washington State Women's Political Caucus, the YWCA, the ACLU, and members of the State Legislature.

gathered more than 90 pre-conference stories from daily and weekly newspaper and speciality publications — "an undoubtedly incomplete record," according to Ms. Whinihan. Broadcast coverage was almost impossible to log. When registration seemed to be lagging in the west, the Coordinating Committee resorted to quarter-page ads that ran in both daily Seattle newspapers.

In April, the Coordinating Committee had appointed Elsie Schrader as "Plenary Planner," and she worked to devise the procedures for the Sunday plenary session at which recommendations would be voted on. To recruit facilitators to help with this effort, she sent letters to nearly 100 persons. By June, the committee had asked Judith Lonnquist, General Counsel for the Washington Education Association, and Beverly Smith, Executive Director of Washington State Nurse's Association, to serve as presiding officers of the conference. They were selected because of past experience as presiding officers for groups of 1,000 or more and because members of the committee personally knew their capabilities. Ms. Smith had served as president of the Seattle School Board, President of the Seattle Council of Parent Teachers Associations, Vice President of the Washington Conference of Parents and Teachers, and as parliamentary consultant to a number of organizations. Ms. Lonnquist had been law clerk to the chair of the National Labor Relations Board, Legal Vice-President of the National Organization for Women, had appeared in the U.S. Supreme Court and argued before seven of the 11 courts of appeals, and had been an intern to Senator Paul Douglas. Ms. Smith chose a registered parliamentarian, Lura-Belle Powell of Seattle, to serve for the duration of the conference. Ms. Powell had served as a parliamentarian for 13 years for organizations such as the Girl Scouts and the Medical Record Librarians. She also taught parliamentary law and had never been active in politics or women's issues.

Although it was suggested that the nominating committee be appointed at the initial coordinating committee meeting, Washington's committee was not elected until May; Mary Ellen McCaffree, who had been the Budget Officer, was selected to chair nominating. Charged by the federal register to prepare and present a balanced list of nominees for delegates to the National Women's Conference, Ms. McCaffree and her committee immediately set about soliciting the names of interested women. Press releases went out to every newspaper and television and radio station in the state, as did a 20-second radio public service announcement. Coordinating Committee members also spread the word.

By the June 10 deadline, 125 names had been submitted. From this number, the committee culled 48 — twice the number of state delegates to be elected. The committee carefully determined that the nominees presented the broadest range of age, income, occupational and educational levels, and race and ethnic diversity required by the public law; the part of the state in which potential candidates lived was also considered. When it was determined that some ethnic populations, age groups, and income levels were under-represented, committee members

made a concerted effort to solicit nominees from these groups. By June 28th (the required date for the names to be presented to the Coordinating Committee), these problems had been overcome and a slate of 49 nominees was presented. The nominees ranged in age from 17 to 68, represented seven racial groups, worked in a wide variety of occupations and community activities, represented most of the world's major religions, and came from all areas of the state. Letters were sent to all persons who were not selected, advising them that they could still be nominated from the floor during the conference.

Meanwhile, the process by which 24 nominees would be elected as delegates was being developed by Karen Fraser and her elections committee. They had to determine how to identify the voters, how to order names on the ballot, where to locate the polls, how to secure the ballots, who should be official observers, when, where, and how the results should be announced, and how to deal with computer malfunction. In addition, Ms. Fraser visited the conference site and conferred with the facilities personnel of the Conference Center. They agreed, for example, that collecting and tallying the ballots would be the responsibility of the Conference Center. They also agreed that, while participants were waiting to vote, they would be allowed inside the Nicholson Pavillion Fieldhouse (a gym in which plenary sessions and voting would be held). This latter decision had to be reversed when, one-and-one-half weeks before the conference, the Conference Center tripled the price of a gym floor covering. The result was that the polls had to be relocated to the lobby of the fieldhouse; voting lines could only stretch outside the building along the sidewalk.

Credentialing conference participants to ensure that they were Washington State residents over 16 years of age was a part of the conference planning not addressed until mid-June. Then, the committee's primary concern was for persons such as the elderly or minority women who might not have acceptable identification (that is, a piece of identification that displayed the person's picture and a Washington address, or a piece of identification with a picture and another with a Washington address). For this reason, the committee decided that a credentials or notarizing table would provide a needed service.

Around the state, workshop chairs were choosing their panelists. Most selected panelists from the Coordinating Committee's lists, but others used some combination of colleagues and committee selections. Some were asked to chair panels as late as one week before the conference due to last-minute complications, making some panel selections and planning rushed. At any rate, the credentials of the scores of panelists finally selected were impressive. Included were doctors, lawyers, politicians, mothers, social workers, affirmative action officers, college instructors and professors, teachers, engineers, military officers, reporters, managers, executives, homemakers, welders and mechanics. Some women had years of expertise in their fields, others had significant city, state, regional, and national

responsibilities. In controversial issues such as the ERA and Reproductive Decisions, pro and con speakers were among the panelists.

Meanwhile, at the Ellensburg campus of Central Washington State College, Alice Yee had been working closely with the college's Conference Center and Scheduling Center in planning the conference. The IWY conference was unusual in the experience of the Conference Center because pre-registrants were slow. When only 1,200 people had registered by June 1, Ms. Yee had difficulty trying to convince Conference Center personnel that at least 3,000 people would probably attend. "It was difficult to convince them to gear up enough," she says, "I believe part of the problem was an inability to understand the legal responsibility of the Coordinating Committee in putting on the conference."

On the other hand, scheduling employees at the college were extremely helpful. The physical plant (lights, chairs, and public address system) was coordinated well, though the hours of the conference were extreme. Donna Pace of the Scheduling Center met with committee members from out-of-town on evenings and weekends.

Ms. Yee's local volunteers also worked industriously. Carrying out an early Coordinating Committee decision that quality child care should be provided free to all participants, volunteer Mary James spent weeks attending to the details of contracting with day care centers, day care mothers, and recreational leaders. Liability insurance, space requirements, and age distribution of children were also her concern. Coordinating Committee member Christine Marston was primarily responsible for identifying the needs of children eight through 14 and coordinating a recreational program for them.

Kathleen Adams, an Anthropology professor, had volunteered to take on the task of planning the registration process. Working with Alice Yee, she and her committee invested hours in planning a way to, according to Ms. Yee, "...get people through the doors, collect their fees, and credential them swiftly." They spent two days in the SUB, drawing diagrams and assigning volunteers and agreed with the Conference Center personnel about how registration would work. It was agreed also that people who had paid in full before the conference would go directly to their dorms, have their credentials checked, and pick up their conference materials there. "Our plan was that the 1,200 pre-registrants would not have to go through registration lines at all," says Ms. Yee.

In 19 key cities around the state, buses from four companies had been hired by Judy Fortier and her transportation committee to bring participants to the conference. The \$4 round trip fare required a subsidy by the Coordinating Committee, but was, according to Ms.

Fortier, part of the committee's policy to help women — especially those on scholarships, poor women, senior citizens, handicapped women, and women with small children — attend the conference. Early on Friday, July 8 (the day the conference was to begin), 13 buses were scheduled to depart from all corners of the state. They would arrive in Ellensburg in late afternoon and early evening, allowing their riders time to register, eat dinner, and attend the welcoming ceremonies at the opening plenary session.

As the conference date drew closer, members of the Coordinating Committee began to hear accounts from other states that large numbers of conservative women had attended IWY conferences there, often appearing unregistered in large numbers on the opening day. Some heard that a similar occurrence might happen in Washington. Alice Yee began to think about contingency plans for housing. Conference Center records showed that dormitories were filled, and local motels were full, so she made arrangements with public school officials to use the high school gym for housing. Some churches also volunteered space, as did a number of individual local homeowners. She received newspaper clippings about conflicts at conferences in other states and showed them to Conference Center personnel, suggesting that they hire extra personnel, just in case. "Apparently, the possibility that there might be a confrontation was difficult for them to comprehend," she says. In any case, no additional staff was hired until it was too late.

According to a Coordinating Committee member, the full committee did not meet together often enough in the last few days before the beginning of the Conference to be able to deal with unexpected events. Each was far too busy making final preparations and some were too exhausted to consider the prospect. "I had been going full speed on this thing for months," said one, "and I was just eager for it to happen and be done with."

Conference Political Planning

The rumors Coordinating Committee members were hearing, set the stage for a Washington State IWY Conference that witnessed a conflict between two forces of women. One of these political forces was made up of women who, in their view, work to advance the rights of women; they support proposals like equal pay for women, increased availability of child care, abortion, and the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. The other force was composed of women who support the traditional family, traditional roles for women, and Judeo-Christian beliefs about sexuality; they oppose abortion, ratification of the ERA, and what they consider to be the intrusion of big government into their lives. The former will be called feminists, the latter conservative women.* Certainly, many

*It is duly noted that women in both groups object to the labels "feminist" and "conservative" and that many women feel they do not fit into the stereotypes each label conjures up. The range of women's opinions within each group is also noted, as is the fact that individual opinions extend beyond any confining label.

of these women would not individually consider themselves political; to many, the label itself would be no less than abhorrent. And, certainly, neither side was a monolith of programmed group action without factionalization.

Yet, when they came together, these women of Ellensburg, they created a women's political event unprecedented in Washington State.

Much of the politics of Ellensburg, can be understood in the activities of two organizations — the Blue and White Coalition and the Friends of Equal Rights.

Both the Blue and White Coalition and Friends of Equal Rights were born out of an initiative filed early in 1977 to rescind Washington State's ratification of the federal Equal Rights Amendment. The initiative was formally titled, "Shall an initiative be adopted urging all state legislatures to reject or rescind approval of the federal Equal Rights Amendment?" This initiative would have required that more than 127,000 signatures be collected by the initiators before it could be submitted to a vote by the people in November, 1977. Although an inadequate number of signatures was collected, this was not definitely determined until July 8 — ironically the date the Washington conference began.

The Blue and White Coalition (or the "Kennewick Chapter of Women", as it was called before the conference), was organized by Dolores Gilmore and Dolores Glesener. Both had been moving forces behind the rescission movement and, because of contacts with conservative organizations in other states, had been aware of the IWY conference since early in the year. Mrs. Glesener, in her capacity as state chair of the rescission movement, and Mrs. Gilmore, as state chair of Citizens for Youth, had been encouraging conservative women to attend since early spring. In addition, a packet of information about the conference was sent to Mrs. Gilmore as part of a large-scale Coordinating Committee mailing in March.

Also, at the end of June, Mrs. Gilmore received something that seemed to serve as a catalyst in the decision of many conservative women to attend the conference. It was a tape recording from an Oklahoma member of Eagle Forum, Phyllis Schlafly's "Alternative to Women's Lib." On this tape, a woman introduced as Diane Edmondson of Broken Arrow, Arizona, encouraged "Christian women" to attend their state IWY conferences in order to oppose "the women's lib movement." The hour-long tape explained how the women who were running these conferences "...planned to abolish the family...prohibit discrimination against gays...and encourage federal control over every aspect of our lives." She cited the rising rates of juvenile crime, suicide, and drug addiction as evidence of the effect that the "women's lib movement" was having on the American family by encouraging women to work outside the home.

Mrs. Edmondson stressed that, "There's no stopping the women's movement" unless people who believe in "God,

family and country" attend the IWY conferences. Referring to the Oklahoma conference, she encouraged men and women to "be there before noon on Friday" because IWY officials were going to cut off registration to keep people of their "point of view" out.

Within a day after hearing the tape, Mrs. Gilmore had called a meeting of a dozen women at which it was determined that conservative women would try to attend the Washington conference in large numbers. In addition to Mesdames Gilmore and Glesener, were Cathy Potter, who became chair of the group's telephoning committee, and LaRaine Job, who headed the housing committee. One woman who did not attend that meeting was Susan Roylance, Vice-Chairwoman of the Benton County Republican Central Committee, who later was asked to be issues chair for the newly formed organization.

All of these women set about the task of encouraging conservative women to attend, providing for their housing and food, and soliciting the names of individuals to nominate as delegates for the National Women's Conference in Houston. In addition to calling personal contacts from Citizens for Youth, the rescission movement, and other conservative organizations all over the state and asking them to "get the word out," the Kennewick Chapter of Women sent two young women to Western Washington with copies of the Oklahoma tape. There, it was played at meetings in half a dozen locations, such as Tacoma, Burien, Bellevue, Gig Harbor and Edmonds. As many as 100 people attended some of these meetings. The tape was also played four times on the Baptist radio station in Pasco (KOLU), and a copy was dispatched to Moses Lake. Wherever the tape was played, it seemed to have an impact on its listeners. Dolores Glesener said that, after she had heard it, she decided she'd "better get busy and prepare. . ." Lynn Dyer of Gig Harbor noted that the tape was her "impetus to go" to the Ellensburg conference.

Meanwhile, the Mormon church, which had taken a public stand against the ERA in 1976, selected Washington as one of 10 states to receive packets of information. These packets were mailed after the Utah conference June 24-25 and contained information about how IWY conferences worked, the registration and voting procedure, the importance of Roberts Rules of Order, and the need to attend workshops. The church's position on women, the ERA, abortion and birth control, and homosexuality were included, as were articles and editorials in which women voiced their concern about these and other issues.

Leaders in each state's Relief Society received one. Many of the meetings at which the Oklahoma tape was played had been called by Relief Society presidents and, in a few cases, the position of the church authorities on the issues were also read. Mormon women were encouraged to attend the conference to learn about the issues and express their opinions. According to one Mormon woman, a request of this kind was, in her opinion, "...tantamount to a commandment."

By July 4, Mesdames Gilmore and Glesener realized that there would be many conservative women at the conference

and decided that some identification would be needed. Since both women are Catholics and blue and white are the colors of the Blessed Mother, they suggested to the group that they call themselves "The Blue and White Coalition" and wear blue and white ribbons for identification. These suggestions were voted on and adopted.

The work of the Blue and White nominating committee, which had been formed on July 1, continued at a frantic pace. Mrs. Glesener called around the state, inquiring about women who would be willing to represent the Blue and White Coalition. She used her contacts from the rescission movement as primary resources and asked for information about nominees' experience and abilities in regard to jobs, family, and volunteer work. At that time, she was not aware that delegates' air fare to the national conference in Houston and accommodations would be paid by the state Coordinating Committee and so was requesting the names of individuals who could afford the time and expense of going on their own.

Other members of the coalition used their contacts in the Mormon Church, Citizens for Youth, Fascinating Womanhood, and other organizations they identified as "Christian-oriented" to encourage conservative women to attend and to solicit candidates for the Blue and White slate. Their primary criteria for nominees were that the candidates be willing and able to serve as delegates and that they represent what was described as "the pro-life, pro-family viewpoint." An attempt was also made to secure representation from a variety of age groups, racial minorities, geographical locations, and areas of experience as mandated by the Public Law. By the first day of the conference, they had just barely been able to assemble a list of 24 candidates.

Susan Roylance, who had been asked by Dolores Gilmore to be issues leader, identified 12 issues that Blue and Whites felt were of most concern to them. These were:

1. Lesbian Rights
2. Family Life
3. Education
4. Alcohol and Drugs
5. Child Care
6. Health
7. Reproductive Decisions
8. Equal Rights Amendment
9. Media and the Image of Women
10. Sexual Violence
11. Rural Women
12. Arts and Humanities.

The list was more extensive than in other states where abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, and homosexuality were designated of primary concern.

Eleven women were selected by Mrs. Roylance to study an issue, develop a resolution, and go to that workshop at the conference. Several of these women, contacted just a few days before the conference, had no previous knowledge of the issues on which they were selected to work, but they spent two or three days "cramming" on their allotted issue

— reading books and, in some cases, speaking with professionals or visiting agencies to acquaint themselves with the situation.

Others did have expertise about their assigned issues. The education issue leader, for instance, was a school board member, while the woman working on the issue of health was a nursing student married to a physician. According to Mrs. Roylance, other Blue and White issue leaders included a woman active in PTA at the national level, a media specialist, a children's speech pathologist, and a woman who spoke regularly to teenagers about reproductive decisions. Dr. Kathleen Skrinar, who was selected by the Coordinating Committee to present the anti-ERA viewpoint on the ERA informational panel, also worked with the group.

After completing their research, the issue leaders, along with other members of the group, wrote up 10 issue papers, stating their point of view. Later, at the conference, five stacks of these papers were set out at Blue and White headquarters. People coming to the headquarters were asked to select papers from one of the five stacks and to sign up for the workshops they planned to attend. They were asked to confer with issues leaders about making statements at speak-outs and to learn about their chosen issues.

On the night before the conference, the Auburn, Federal Way, Puyallup, Buckley, and Enumclaw Relief Societies held meetings at which women decided the workshops they would attend. They also discussed parliamentary procedure, something many women were unfamiliar with.

The Friends of Equal Rights was a campaign committee of feminist and other women's organizations which began organizing in May to defeat the initiative to rescind Washington State's ratification of the federal Equal Rights Amendment. Members of this committee represented a broad-based range of women's organizations.* Jeanette Williams, a member of the IWY Coordinating Committee, was elected temporary chairperson of the group at one of the four Friends meetings held before the Ellensburg Conference.

Although the conference was mentioned at early Friends meetings, it was, at first, not the focal point of the group's discussions. Instead, setting up a state-wide campaign organization was the primary concern. This job was made

somewhat easier because many of the women who were involved in this campaign had previously worked together in their respective organizations or in the 1972 statewide campaign to pass Washington State's Equal Rights Amendment. "Our network already existed," one member of Friends pointed out. "All we had to do was set it in motion again."

The state's impending IWY Conference assumed increasing importance with this group toward the middle of June when reports of conflicts began to be received from other states. Feminists in both Nevada and Arizona sent a report to Washington contacts about how they dealt with conservative attempts to take over their conferences. Planned Parenthood, the ACLU, and Chapters of the Women's Political Caucus also sent information to local women. According to one of the women who received such a report and who subsequently announced it at a Friends meeting, "Most of the people weren't too interested at first."

That changed, however, when 10 days before the conference, several women began to hear that conservatives planned to attend the Washington conference. During the last week, as some Friends began to feel increasingly confident that enough signatures would not be collected to place the ERA rescission initiative on the ballot, concern about the conference consumed the group.

Their out-of-state contacts told them that conservatives won some state delegations because they "bullet-voted" while feminists split their votes among two or three pro-ERA slates. "We all began coming to the same conclusion at the same time," one Friend said. "Even if having a slate was less democratic, it was absolutely necessary." During the last week before the conference, Jean-Marie Brough of NOW, Beth Zimmerman of the Women's Political Caucus, and Mickie Pailthorp of the American Civil Liberties Union worked to develop such a slate. They listed groups throughout the state that should be called for suggestions, investigated the existing IWY slate, and set about making phone calls all over the state. Given the short amount of time, the organizations contacted tended to be those whose representatives had attended Friends meetings or who were obviously organizing for the conference, such as the Black caucus. There was also an attempt to consult with all ethnic groups to determine which potential nominees best represented their interests.

The criteria they used were those mandated by the public law (i.e., diversity in age, racial/ethnic background, income level, geographical location, and sphere of interest), as well as their position on the ERA. Since there was a wide field to choose from and the three women involved were strong feminists, they also inquired about the nominees' positions on reproductive choice and other feminist issues. By the Wednesday before the conference, they had tentatively selected 24 pro-ERA candidates. In calling back representatives of groups they had originally contacted, they also invited the groups to send a representative to a meeting that would begin Friday night at 11 after

*Organizations making up Friends included:

American Association of University Women, National Organization for Women, Washington State ERA Coalition, Washington State Women's Political Caucus, Business and Professional Women, Coalition of Labor Union Women, League of Women Voters, Common Cause, YWCA, Washington Women Lawyers, National Council of Jewish Women, Seattle Women's Commission, Washington State Women's Council, Washington Education Association, American Civil Liberties Union, and unaffiliated individuals.

individual groups had caucused. "It was evident that, to win the delegate vote, we had to have the solid support of all pro-ERA organizations," Ms. Pailthorp said.

Though the committee had attempted to get a broad representation of pro-ERA nominees on the slate, the Friday night meeting would indicate that some representatives of Lesbian and other groups felt they were not represented.

A "creative" subcommittee of Friends was also meeting during this time. This group, led by Jane Addams and Shelley Roberts, developed items like a hot-pink sticker to be placed in bathroom stalls which said "Washington has had an Equal Rights Amendment for five years. Do you see any men in your bathroom?" A pro-ERA coloring book was designed and printed. "We also raised the question of whether the pro-ERA forces wanted to be polite or to win," one of the leaders remembers. That question was not addressed at formal Friends meetings and the formation of a "dirty tricks" squad, which was discussed at a "creative" group meeting, never occurred.

Through the organizations that formed the committee, Friends put out the word that conservative women were coming to the conference. Groups not affiliated with Friends heard about this and also contacted their members. An unknown number of pro-ERA women who had not previously planned to attend changed their minds. This network seems to have worked particularly well in western Washington, where Friends was based.

It should be noted that among the pro-ERA supporters who were encouraging other women to come to the conference were several members of the Coordinating Committee. One, when asked if she saw a conflict between the impartiality of her role on the committee and her obvious pro-ERA posture, said, "No, in my official capacity, I *was* being fair, I *was* being impartial. My personal politics were something apart from that." Another said bluntly, "I had worked too hard for too many years on women's issues to let it all go down the drain at Ellensburg."

A meeting to determine the Friends' floor strategy in conference plenary sessions was held on the Wednesday before the conference. Unfortunately, the participants were, to quote one, "...working in the dark. Nobody had the schedule, and nobody knew the rules of the conference." As a result, the need for a floor strategy was never resolved; it was simultaneously planned and executed at the Sunday plenary.

By the Thursday before the conference, both the Friends of Equal Rights and the Blue and White Coalition were as prepared as they could be. But, because neither could project their strength accurately, neither could predict the outcome.

At least a part of the unknown were the numbers of unaffiliated women who would attend the conference. Many of these women were not expecting such a political event. Said one: "I planned to go to some workshops,

maybe get to know some interesting women, sit in the sun with my friends." Some of these women had never been to a conference before. Many would resent the organized coalitions "...directing me around like they were God and I was a mindless robot." Some would leave Ellensburg disgusted in the middle of the conference. Others would, immediately after their arrival, begin to ask, "What do we have to do?" Almost all would wonder, at one time or another, "What is going on?" But no one of them would leave Ellensburg untouched.

Thursday: The Day Before the Conference

The Coordinating Committee held its final planning meeting on Thursday afternoon, July 7, the day before the conference began. In addition to committee members and other interested people, Susan Roylance, spokesman for the Blue and White Coalition, attended. She had been told about this meeting by Dorothy Hollingsworth whom she had telephoned on July 4. Ms. Hollingsworth had, in turn, told Alice Yee that she thought some additional women would be attending. (At that point, Ms. Hollingsworth did not know how many. It was only when she called the Seattle media on Wednesday asking if they planned to attend that she found out that 1,000 to 2,000 additional women were expected by the Blue and White Coalition. At that point, she attempted to call all the Coordinating Committee members.)

Ms. Roylance, on being invited to address the group, announced that she represented 2,000 women whom she identified as "Christian women." In her words, they had not heard about the conference — and, thus were not registered — but they would be attending. She said she realized that so many unregistered participants would create problems for the conference planners. She also announced her intention to file a minority report about the conference.

The announcement — and the prospect of 2,000 unregistered people — stunned the Coordinating Committee. "We can't deal with that many extra people without any warning," a member said. Somebody grumbled under her breath. "They're here to get us." One of the Coordinating Committee members who had worked especially hard said forcefully that she believed waiting until the last minute to advise the committee was "not only a political tactic but extremely inconsiderate." She was particularly concerned that sufficient conference materials could not be provided in such a short time and proposed posting them in conspicuous places around the campus. Another argued that the conference must be "open, not cliquish." One member said that she was afraid the Blue and Whites might be tossed out.

Friday: The First Day of the Conference

After a few moments of reacting to the announcement, members began a calmer discussion that ultimately resulted in the majority voting to accommodate all comers and to try to provide materials for all. During this discussion, Mrs. Roylance volunteered that the newcomers would bring their own food and provide their own housing. She also offered to print sufficient materials, but the committee decided that it was their responsibility to provide these.

In response to this announcement, Elsie Schrader stepped up her efforts to recruit volunteers to serve as facilitators at the workshops and plenary sessions. However, now that it was clear that this was to be a highly political conference, there were those who did not want to commit themselves to a task that might take them away from the scene of the action.

Proper security was a concern of Ms. Hollingsworth, who had heard about disruptions at other IWY Conferences. After a meeting with the chief of campus security, the Coordinating Committee agreed to add extra security from the city police force. The Committee also requested that officers not be in uniform and not make themselves conspicuous and that women on the force be used as much as possible. (The performance of the officers — described by one person as “polite, but firm” — later won accolades from several Coordinating Committee members.)

After the meeting, the leaders of the Blue and White Coalition secured housing in private homes, at local Baptist and Mormon churches and in the high school gym. A nearby campground was used by some, and a triumphant few even secured motel rooms. Alice Yee’s contingency housing was used by other women.

A half-dozen Coordinating Committee members focused on providing essential conference materials to the registrants. Meeting at Ms. Yee’s house, the group discussed the problem: What were the essential materials? Which were extra? How could they get the materials printed? And in time? They worked until 4 a.m., and a printer they engaged stayed up all night with his presses running. Some of the staff at the college’s business office worked their duplicating machines. The next morning, volunteers from the Blue and Whites helped committee members stuff the registration packets. Unfortunately, this task could not be completed because one document was coming from Seattle in a volunteer’s car. In the crush to register that followed, some new registrants did not get all materials, and this so concerned a couple of committee members that they decided to sit in the Student Union Building where registration took place until 2 a.m. the following morning. At the end of this, Alice Yee said with confidence that “. . . every person who registered at least had access to all essential conference materials.”

Friday morning at 6:30, Karen Fraser woke to the ring of her telephone. A friend phoned her in Lacey and told her that 2,000 more women than expected would be registering for the conference. For Ms. Fraser as for other committee members, that news presaged a weekend of frantic work. She called her committee together and recruited more volunteers. All day Friday and Saturday, the committee worked to secure additional ballots and pencils and print extra voting instructions. She also tried to change the location of the polls back inside the fieldhouse but was informed that it was too late.

In Ellensburg, Marilyn Ward, who had finally gotten to bed at 4 o’clock Friday morning, slept only three hours. She got up early to help Alice Yee and the other committee members. Before the morning was out, the Coordinating Committee had learned that the committee member who had been assigned to credentials could not attend the conference, and Ms. Ward was asked to take on that task. Though, in her own words, she “. . . did not know at that time what needed credentialing,” she managed to draw up some guidelines and enlisted the help of other committee members and volunteers. She needed a notary public to certify the registrants’ identification and, fortunately, discovered that Lilly Aguilar was a notary public. Ms. Aguilar designed a credentials form and had it copied almost as registration began.

By noon, a line of unregistered women had begun to form in the large courtyard outside the SUB. Registration was not scheduled to begin until 2, but Marilyn Ward and her committee felt the pressure of the patient women standing beyond the glass doors in the July heat.

Alice Yee knew they were lining up, too. As she hurried to make other preparations for the day, she decided that the extra 2,000 women would tax the registration system that had been devised but, she thought, probably not break it.

Ms. Yee was unable to check registration until 2:30. When she did, she was “. . . horrified. The process agreed to by the Conference Center had been ignored. There were long delays for each line, and people had to cross lines, which interrupted the flow of traffic and completely upset the credentialing process. Worst of all, it was a half-hour after registration had been set to begin and the doors were not yet opened.”

It was 2:45 before registration began, and it moved slowly for both pre-registrants and unregistered women. In front of the glass doors, a line of unregistered women held the edge of the courtyard and, inside this line, pre-registrants were coiled into three alphabetical files. The pre-registered women somehow fit into the courtyard, but the line of unregistered women extended across the lawn almost into the parking lot about 100 yards away. Women sat on their



suitcases; if they tried to walk around, they stumbled over other people's cases. It was an awesome sight.

Registration was a frustrating experience for all. Most women did not know what was happening. Some who had read newspaper accounts of the 2,000 extra women wondered who "we" were and who "they" were. They tried to decipher people's dress into assumptions about their political philosophies. The neat ones with styled hair wearing dresses were assumed to be conservative women; women in jeans and T-shirts were obviously feminists. It was assumed that "Black women *couldn't* be Mormons." Like many such superficial analyses, these were often faulty.

Inside the SUB, Alice Yee wondered if people were actually getting registered. She sent two members of the Coordinating Committee to walk through registration and was soon assured that, though the process was confusing, women *were* getting registered. Seeing how slowly things were going, she ordered 15 gallons of lemonade from a nearby fast-food store, paid for it herself, and dispatched it on a cart sent round the courtyard with volunteers. Senior citizens, women with small children, and pregnant women were moved inside first. "That was about all we could do under the circumstances," she says.

Meanwhile, Marilyn Ward was experiencing problems that extended beyond confusing crossed lines at registration tables and too few people to credential participants. The system set up to allow pre-registrants to go directly to their dormitories to pick up their registration packets was not working. These packets had apparently been poorly sorted, with the result that women had to walk back and forth over the campus looking for their materials.

In addition, despite Alice Yee's earlier agreement with the Conference Center, the volunteers acting as dormitory

hostesses were not permitted to credential anyone; this had to be done in the midst of the registration chaos.

To attend the conference, one had to be a state resident at least 16 years old. As proof of this during credentialing, a Washington driver's license was acceptable, as was identification with a photograph and an address, or a photo identification without address but with two other pieces of ID. As the notary public, Ms. Aguilar asked women who did not have proper ID to have someone they knew attest to their age and residency, or to show anything that had their name and address. Late in the afternoon, several women presented Utah student cards and driver's licenses; they stated they had only recently moved to Washington. After seeing quite a few of these, Ms. Aguilar commented "We sure have a lot of people moving to Washington from Utah all of a sudden." She began to worry: were these individuals Washington residents or not? She stopped notarizing and, after checking with Coordinating Committee leaders, she called the national IWY attorney who told her that, since she was notarizing the signature of the attestor (in this case, the friend of the person with out-of-state ID) and not the person being attested to, she could continue notarizations. There were, however, no further incidents involving Utah ID.

Finally, there were problems with the badges that identified participants. As the wind rose, many badges flew out of their plastic envelopes. A more fundamental concern about the badges was that the computerized list of pre-registrants was very inaccurate. For example, if one woman wrote asking for accommodations for herself and five friends, her name was entered six times on the list, even though no deposit had been received. Then, as each woman in the six reserved her space, her name was added. Numbers on the badges were based on this inaccurate list, which resulted in nobody knowing how many people had registered at any point in time. When it was learned that the capacity of the

Nicholson Pavilion, where the plenary sessions would be held was 4,300, it was decided that, when 4,300 people had been registered, badges would be slashed. The participants with badges so marked would not be allowed in the Pavillion until seating became available; they would, however, see the ceremonies on closed circuit TV, and their votes be counted. These cumulative problems made Ms. Ward realize that there was no way she could attest to the legitimacy of the credentialing. "I knew then we'd have to do it all over again before people voted," she remembers.

Announcements (including some about the 4,300 figure) were periodically made to the women in the courtyard by Ms. Ward. Other, self-appointed spokespeople may have also made other announcements. In any case, rumors ran through the packed crowd. One of the most prevalent was that, at 4,300 no one else would be allowed to register. Conservative leaders contend that some unregistered women left because they thought they would not be allowed to participate in the conference. Some charge that enough conservatives may have left to tip the delegate vote.

As registration dragged into early evening, busloads of women from Tacoma, Pasco, Spokane, Seattle, and Pullman arrived. Ms. Ward entered several buses as they arrived and directed women who had already registered to their dorms in the hopes of saving them the long wait.

The training of facilitators and workshop leaders went on concurrently with registration. Individuals who volunteered to be facilitators at workshops and plenary sessions represented all political persuasions. They were given an orientation to the Ellensburg campus, instructed as to the rules of the conference, and assigned a specific task. Identifying sashes were given to them and they were instructed to stay calm, remain firm but pleasant if questioned, and to notify security in case of trouble.

Two training sessions were held for people who would be leading the Saturday sessions. Techniques for facilitating discussion groups and working toward making recommendations were discussed. The meeting flow, guidelines, how the recorders should take notes, and other procedural matters were also explained in both sessions.

Not everyone who needed this information was able to attend either session. Some did not arrive at the conference until Friday night or Saturday morning; others were caught in the Friday afternoon registration tangle. Packets containing information and instructions for the chairs were therefore given to people who would be working with the missing chairs or, as a last resort, delivered to the chairs before sessions began Saturday morning.

A welcoming plenary began to a full house, opened by an anthem to International Women's Year written and sung by Maggie Savage.

Registration continued, with some Coordinating Committee members feeling compelled to follow the rules absolutely and treat everyone fairly. "The program said registration would be open until 11:30 Friday night and it was. The

program said registration would close at noon on Saturday and it did. They were watching us very closely."

Just as Friday night meant registration for some and entertainment for others, for still other women, it was a time to organize and strategize about the next two days of the conference. Notices were posted throughout the Student Union Building announcing the place and time numerous caucuses of every size and description would meet. Because Black women had been organizing for months, their caucus meeting was one of the largest. Caucus leader Thelma Jackson estimated that 350 women were in attendance. "The room was supposed to hold 300, and there were women spilling out the doors and down the halls," she explained. Their primary concerns were how to participate in the workshops and plenary sessions, which issues to address and in what order and, finally, to decide on delegates to represent them in Houston.

In another room, a similar meeting was taking place among Lesbian activists from around the state. They were upset that the pro-ERA slate selected by Friends did not include any open Lesbians. Also, they had heard that some of those on the slate had made anti-gay statements. They, therefore, decided to call for the addition (or substitution) of three open Lesbians to the pro-ERA slate, as well as a concession from all the feminists nominees that they would vote pro-gay in Houston. They had received a copy of an anti-homosexual Blue and White resolution to be presented in the Saturday workshops and so were involved in planning workshop strategy as well.

Some of the other caucuses were those of the Hispanic women, women in health, and City of Seattle women employees, who were meeting for the first time.

At 11 p.m., the Friends of Equal Rights meeting of caucus representatives began as planned. Since most of the individual caucuses had not begun their meetings until 9 or 10, some had not concluded by the time the coalition caucus began. For the most part, the individual caucuses elected to send their liaisons to the Friends meeting while their own meetings were still in session.

It was immediately obvious that the meeting was not to be the small, tightly organized working session of caucus representatives that had originally been planned. In addition to the 30-odd caucus liaisons who had originally been invited, there were over 100 other women packing the small meeting room. A number of these were unaffiliated with any group and, in the words of one, "... simply wanted to know what was happening at this conference."

Jane Noland, a Seattle lawyer who was chairing the meeting was determined to make the most of the situation. She explained the necessity of having a unified slate of 24 nominees and read the list that had been compiled beforehand by three members of Friends. The meeting was then thrown open to discussion, and various special interest groups expressed their desire for representation on the

slate. The Lesbian caucus called for three women who openly admitted being Lesbians on the slate, as well as a pro-gay statement from all nominees. Health care professionals proposed the names of their nominees, as did Jewish women, Asian/Pacific women, and others.

Emotions ran high and, at times, the meeting threatened to break down completely. "However," stresses one Friends leader, "all the time that women kept saying, 'I want such-and-such on the slate, they also were saying, 'but I'll support it even if she's not.'" After some discussion and a vote on the gay rights question and reproductive choice, the list of nominees was read, and credentials and biographical information supplied for each. Each designated caucus liaison was allowed to vote by secret ballot for 24 individuals.

At 3 a.m., the meeting was concluded. Some members of Friends stayed up to count the ballots, write an explanation explaining the importance of voting for a unified state of 24 and type up the list for duplication the following morning. Some caucus liaisons left dissatisfied. Because some of their organizations were newly formed, they had not felt comfortable voting on issues that had not been discussed in the individual caucus meetings held earlier. Some caucus members who had not attended the Friends meeting and others — among them a nominee on the official IWY slate — who did not even hear about the meeting, felt that they had been disenfranchised. However, one participant at the late night meeting felt she had witnessed "... democracy in action. Everyone was heard, some concessions were made all around and, in the end, we had a really diverse and representative slate that all of the pro-ERA caucuses were willing to support," she said. "What more could anyone ask?"

While the Blue and White Coalition was indeed a coalition of sorts, representing conservative women from a variety of religious and organizational backgrounds, it was not made up of specific special interest groups or organized caucuses as was the pro-ERA coalition. Therefore, their first meeting, held late Friday afternoon, was primarily an orientation presented by the issues chair. Susan Roylance explained what the Blue and White Coalition had been doing over the past week, told the audience what to expect at the conference, explained some points of Roberts Rules of Order, gave directions as to where to find the statements about the workshops issues that had been researched, told the group how to locate housing, etc. She called for unity, explaining that, while the men and women assembled might not be of one church or organization, they were "of one mind."

At this meeting, a decision was made to hold a second meeting solely for the purpose of determining the final conservative slate. This second meeting was set for 10 p.m., and only those who had already filled out official IWY nomination forms were to be admitted. According to two conservative women, 4,000 copies of a slate of 24 had

already been typed and printed by this time, and Mrs. Roylance was telling newcomers that it was too late to be considered as a nominee.

Like the Friends meeting, the second Blue and White Coalition meeting was somewhat stormy. Those individuals who felt that they had been overlooked during the original selection of nominees filled out nomination forms at the door so that they could be admitted. The coalition leadership, which had already researched and printed a slate of nominees was loath to open up the slate to latecomers. However, during the next several hours, names were added and deleted. The process used was largely self-selection. All of those who wanted to be nominees stood in front of the room and, one by one, those who felt less qualified sat down.

According to Dolores Glesener, nominations chair for the group, they were trying to find the best possible candidates: those who were articulate and had a good grasp of IWY goals. By 1 or 2 a.m., the list was down to 29 and the meeting adjourned. Several members of the Blue and White Coalition stayed up all night typing the new slate for reproduction and distribution the next day. Then that second slate had to be scrapped when it was learned on Saturday morning that the pro-ERA faction had selected 24 nominees. At that point, the Blue and White leaders arbitrarily cut their slate to 24.

Saturday: The Second Day

For many conference participants, Saturday was to be a very significant day. Women concerned about issues would have an opportunity to discuss them in workshops. And women concerned about choosing delegates would see the participants' choices made before this day was done.

The Workshop Experience

The information panels that began early Saturday morning were designed to provide an overview of the issues in order to help the women at the Conference identify barriers to equality and make recommendations for change. There were 25 major or "core" issues to be discussed, some of which were so broad that several panels, each covering a sub-issue, were held. The panels were planned so that



women would have an opportunity of gaining a basic understanding of one or two issues by listening to a group of four or five expert panelists. Each information panel was presented twice in succession so that each conference participant could attend two panels. It was noted, however, that in a few cases people sat through the same panel twice. Most of these information panel sessions consisted of each panelist speaking for five or ten minutes, followed by an open question-and-answer period. A few varied from this model. For instance, the issue of "Volunteerism" was opened up for general discussion from the start of the session. In this way, the expertise of those in attendance, many of whom *were* volunteers, was utilized rather than that of a panel of experts. The morning session on "Effective Citizen Action" was also unique in that brainstorming ideas from the audience was the process used.

Meeting Flow

Saturday

Early and Mid-Morning

Information Panels on Core Issue Areas (e.g. Education, Employment)

Each panel will present overview of problem area twice in succession.

Late Morning

Speakouts on Core Issue Areas

For one hour or more, individuals and organizations may each present two minutes' testimony of support data, suggested recommendations, and/or new issues in core area that need to be addressed.

All Recommendations Emerging From Morning Sessions Will Be Taken Into

Mid-Afternoon

Action Workshops

All recommendations on topic area will be listed and discussed, workshops votes on recommendations will be put forward, and priority recommendations for Conference plenary on Sunday morning will be summarized.

Late Evening

Action Workshop Wrap-Up

If necessary, workshop chairs and recorders will meet as core issue group to combine recommendations for final typing and to turn in all supporting data for final report (to be completed within 30 days after conference).

Sunday All Day

Conference Plenary Session to Adopt Conference Recommendations

Moving through the list of core issue areas alphabetically summaries of action workshop priority recommendations will be voted on first to ensure adoption of a State Plan of Action. Remaining workshop recommendations will be voted on in time remaining.

While there were other deviations from the panel presentation format, especially in those sessions in which attendance was light, most panels concentrated on presenting as much information as possible in an hour and 15 minutes. Because discussion was limited in these sessions, many conservative women thought the panelists' perspectives were given an unfair advantage. One Blue and White woman expressed the opinion that "We found things rammed down our throats."

Participants worksheets were available to all those attending the information panel sessions. On these forms, people could write down ideas they thought should be brought up in addition to the panelists' remarks. Recorders were assigned to every panel session to take notes on issues raised for later use in the action workshops.

Immediately following the information panels, speak-outs were held for each of the 25 major issues. Because conference planners realized that the information panels were too brief to completely cover any topic, these gatherings were specifically planned to provide an opportunity for people to present facts or raise issues not expressed during the panel sessions. Generally, people signed up to speak for or against an issue. Many had already prepared statements on their participant worksheets or had other written statements. Others simply signed up to speak and spoke extemporaneously. In accordance with nationally dictated conference rules, each speaker was limited to two minutes. In cases where a controversial issue polarized participants, "pro" and "con" speakers were alternated.

Most of the speak-outs served the purpose for which they were intended — to allow everyone to have a chance to add information or viewpoints not expressed by the panelists. Women who had never spoken to large groups before did so there, as did many women who had expertise and public speaking experience. Issues which attracted small numbers of speakers were open to general discussion and, in many speak-outs, ideas for recommendations to be developed in the afternoon began to take shape. Recorders again took notes on the issues raised, and participants' worksheets and other written statements were collected.

Speak-outs on some of the highly controversial subjects became emotion-charged debates. The "right-to-life" versus the "right-to-choose"; "the ERA will rob women of their rights" versus "the ERA is necessary to assure women of their rights"; "Lesbian women are humans whose rights should be protected" versus "Lesbians are against God and should go straight" — such were the opinions expressed.

The action workshops which took up most of the afternoon were intended to be discussion groups of about 30 people each in which participants would work on developing a state plan of action to remove what the Public Law called the "barriers which prevent women from participating fully and equally in all aspects of national life." If more than 30 people wanted to work on an issue, subdivisions were to be made in order to have manageable discussion groups. Some core issues were divided into sub-issues, and an action

workshop was held in each sub-issue. Other core issues were not divided. At each action workshop, people would discuss and list all recommendations in their topic area, including those emerging from the information panels and speak-outs, vote on recommendations to be put forward, and summarize priority recommendations for the participants to vote on at the conference plenary on Sunday.

Because the program committee did not anticipate the sheer numbers of participants or the extreme degree of controversy that was to occur, some logistical problems arose with this design. Alice Yee and Elaine Latourell, working with the rooms available for conference use, had assigned locations based on the estimated number of conference participants and the usual amount of interest in each subject. When it became clear that many more than the expected number would attend some action workshops, larger rooms were found for them. Room changes were posted in a location announced during the speak-outs, but there was still some confusion and a few late starts due to problems finding the new locations.

The number of issues and the limitations on rooms available to the conference necessitated having workshops spread out all over the campus. As a result, some that were held far away from the busier sites did not attract many attendees. Another example of the kinds of logistical problems that arose was that older women long active in the "Women for Peace" movement had to climb three flights of stairs to attend the workshop on their issue, International Independence. Problems like these arise at any large meeting, and it is not surprising that the unexpected attendance of 2,000 additional people created still more problems.

Once workshops got started, there were not always enough leaders available to break up into manageable discussion groups as had been intended. The program committee had planned to have parliamentarians only in the largest, most controversial workshops, i.e., the ERA, Lesbian Rights, Child Care and Reproductive Decisions. At a few action workshops, people were selected on the spot to serve as parliamentarians. In some cases, the workshop chairs had been unable to attend either of the Friday training sessions and were confused about specific procedures and where to get help.

The fact that voting on recommendations for all the issues occurred simultaneously raised problems for one of the political groups. Conservative forces were concentrating on relatively few controversial issues, while feminists were at first attending dozens of workshops. The Friends of Equal Rights attempted to organize women to counteract the heavy conservative attendance at crucial workshops. They modeled their effort after one used at the Arizona IWY Conference. Their strategy, announced at a Saturday noon caucus meeting, was to have four women wearing green hard hats circulate among the workshop areas. Workshops that were "in trouble" were reported to those four women who, in turn, reported to a woman in the Friends caucus room. These workshops were then listed on a blackboard and feminists entering the room went to them. The green

hat system lacked effectiveness due to the wide spatial separation between workshops and due to the relatively few women entering the caucus room, so a number of Friends announced the situation over a microphone in the SUB (a central gathering area). People were requested to attend the ERA workshop; then, as that workshop gained a feminist majority, they were asked to go to the Reproductive Decisions, Lesbian Rights legislation, and Child Care workshops. Women were also asked by Friends to leave the Gay Parenting workshop, which was overwhelmingly attended by conservatives, in order to concentrate on salvaging the Lesbian Rights workshop. Although the Lesbian Rights issue had often aroused controversy within the women's movement, several feminists noted that in Ellensburg, Lesbian and other women worked together to protect what they saw as women's rights.

Although highly controversial issues generated a lot of anger in some workshops, a great deal of serious work was accomplished in more than 50 of the action workshops that were held Saturday afternoon. This can be seen in the kinds of recommendations that came out of these workshops. Positive comments about the leaders and the cooperation achieved in many workshops abounded, and consensus on recommendations was achieved in (among others) the Women and Poverty, Volunteerism, Classroom Setting, Older Women, Grant-Writing, and Single Parenting workshops, even though women of various political views were present.

Though some workshops were battlefields, others were a meeting place where people worked together to identify the barriers to women in this state and country and make recommendations for change.

Opinions expressed in the Child Care workshop were diverse, ranging from those of people who wanted no federal or state funding for any type of child care, to those of people wanting 24-hour-a-day free child care for all. Votes were very close and emotional values related to what was called the "rightful" place of women, and the sexual preferences of child care workers' created tension. But, in finalizing the whole group's recommendations, the chair, Donna Hanson, emphasized areas of agreement. As a result, four recommendations and a policy statement representing a compromise went to the plenary session. This policy statement, one of the few to be acted on Sunday, was approved.

Blue and White women attending the Classroom Setting panel in the Education Core issue had "...expected to be harangued at" and "...told that all women should be truck drivers," according to one of that group. When the panelists spoke in a calm, nondefensive manner about subjects including the denigration of the housewife in schools, the disadvantages of the "unisex" concept of education, and other subjects demonstrating potential areas of agreement among people of apparent opposite political beliefs, a spirit of cooperation developed which carried through the action workshop on this issue, where attendance was 90% Blue and White. Participants in the workshop agreed to hold a committee of the whole rather than strictly follow parliamentary procedure. The chair, Betty Kersh, listed

statements that everyone could agree on, then changes in wording were discussed and checked out with the original authors.

The degree of cooperation achieved was evidenced by the fact that issues raised at the action workshop by Blue and Whites who had not attended the morning information panel were addressed by Blue and Whites who had. This workshop's efforts were mentioned later in the plenary on Sunday when, after several education recommendations were defeated, the Classroom Setting chair reminded the voting body of the hard work and mutual cooperation that had gone into the resulting recommendations which were then about to be voted upon. This time they passed. The agreement reached around the issue of education is significant in that, as Ms. Kersh remarked to Susan Roylance at the plenary, "Five years ago, we couldn't even have talked about this."

The topics discussed under the Reproductive Decisions core issue were also emotion-laden. The chair of this workshop, Joan Smith, had been informed by the national Planned Parenthood-World Population organization of the controversy arising between "right-to-life" and "right-to-choose" elements at other state women's conferences. Therefore, she had prepared to an unusual extent to deal calmly with the situation. For instance, she had a written agenda for each session and had planned how to respond in an unbiased manner to whatever happened. With hundreds of people in attendance, she kept order by emphasizing the need for speed and cooperation and by requiring that people write, read, and hand in recommendations one at a time. Since she also requested that similar recommendations be consolidated, people were kept busy and relatively quiet working in groups on their proposals. Proposals were voted on by secret ballots counted by volunteers from both factions after the workshop was over. Women on both sides of the abortion issue later commented on the chair's cool handling of the crowd.

The Equal Rights Amendment issue was important to most of those attending the conference. The workshop on the ERA was the first to which the Friends of Equal Rights sent people and was targeted by the Blue and Whites as well. A majority of the hundreds of people in attendance were pro-ERA but, with large groups representing both sides of the question, the atmosphere was hostile. A Blue and White woman claimed that "her people were not allowed to enter the room." Doors were sealed during voting so accurate counts could be taken.

The action workshop on Lesbian Rights legislation was one of the most heated sessions of the conference. Some anti-Lesbians in attendance accused pro-Lesbians of stalling by picking apart their own resolutions, and believed the chairing was biased. They thought that discussion was allowed to go on too long, and that, when one anti-Lesbian recommendation did get to the floor, the pro-Lesbians moved to amend it by substituting a word which changed its meaning. They said the chair's consultations with her parliamentarian were unnecessarily lengthy, that rules were

changed mid-stream to favor Lesbians, and that doors were opened to let in pro but not anti-Lesbians. When no resolutions came out of this workshop, due to the stalling tactics, Lesbians, said one conservative, "... screeched for joy." "Cooperation was impossible with the utter disdain shown by the chair to those of another viewpoint," said one conservative woman later.

Pro-lesbians saw it differently. Anti-lesbians, they said, used arguments showing their inattention to facts that had been presented earlier. When a vote on one motion showed pro-Lesbians to be out-numbered three-to-one by anti-Lesbians, a stalling tactic initiated by a pro-Lesbian knowledgeable in parliamentary procedure caught on and was used to prevent anti-Lesbian resolutions from being passed. Pro-Lesbians saw the chair as extremely fair, particularly in view of hostile remarks they alleged were directed at Lesbians, such as labeling Lesbians "garbage" and "shrieking that they ought to be exterminated".

The chair, Kathy Boyle, stated that she was so fair as to call her own lover out of order and to read a resolution that used very disparaging language about Lesbians some 14 times without displaying rancor. She alleged after the action workshop some 200 Blue and White women commended her on her fairness while only one asked where she could file a complaint. Ms. Boyle perceived that about a third of the time delays were caused by pro-Lesbian stalling tactics and two-thirds by Blue and Whites "constantly calling for points of order." Both sides, she said, were "hysterical" about keeping the doors closed during voting. She noted that a very well-known feminist and the people accompanying her were barred from entering along with everyone else. The parliamentarian evidently was asked to help at the last minute and, according to Ms. Boyle, apologized for not being an expert. Whether the workshop participants thought it was fairly run or not, the Lesbian Rights workshop was emotionally exhausting for all concerned.

Sandra Schuster, chair of the Gay Parenting issue, was not expecting the mass of anti-gay people who attended the sessions. She listened to what she called "tirades" from "venomous people" at the speakout, people who were, according to her, saying things like "all homosexuals should wear 'H's" and "we hope you fine women are discovered by a nice man and settle down." Ms. Schuster decided, she said, that, after the morning sessions, there was "... no room left for sharing," that people at the action workshop were there only to vote down recommendations supporting gay parent's needs. She then asked a Blue and White woman who had been active during the information panel session to take over for her. The new chair reiterated throughout the session that she was not experienced but the workshop attendants encouraged her to continue. A major discussion ensued on the definition of the word "family." When a vote was eventually taken, the tally showed about 250 voting against gay parents' rights and only nine for.

One Blue and White woman expressed indignation that the Gay Parenting panel had been all pro-gay parenting. The same woman nonetheless stated that Ms. Schuster had been "scrupulously honest and fair" during the information

panels and the speakout and that her resignation was "a genuine loss."

When asked why she thought Lesbian women's issues were the most explosive at the conference, Ms. Schuster stated that Blue and Whites believed allowing Lesbians to have rights would lead to the destruction of the family and that they did not consider a Lesbian mother and her children to be a family.

In the Volunteering workshop, the perspectives of those who could afford to volunteer their time for free and those who couldn't conflicted at first. By the end, however, consensus was reached on a long list of recommendations. The workshop on Alcohol and Drugs reached agreement on a number of major concerns, even though the question of marijuana was hotly debated. Divisiveness over that sub-issue did not prevent cooperation on others. Washington was evidently the only state to hold a conference workshop on Disabled Women. Those attending that workshop found little disagreement over the needs expressed there and wrote strong and specific recommendations for change that were later passed by the plenary.

In the Single Parenting workshop, four Blue and Whites were among those who unanimously supported a recommendation for 24-hour child care. The workshop on Older Women was run by consensus, then the selected recommendations were prioritized by voting. Reporting a

good response to the issues in the Sexual Violence area, the chair of that workshop was pleased with the cooperative efforts she saw. Rural Women was attended by fewer than 20 persons, allowing an informal discussion which was none the less spirited due to the range of problems discussed, and those attending the Housing workshop were proud of their mutually agreed upon recommendations (which were unfortunately lost in the shuffle somewhere between the recorder and the typists). Comparable Worth was also mentioned as being successful.

A few "specialty" workshops were held at the same time as the action workshops. Basic skills of self-defense, how to run a self-help health clinic, information on female sexuality, and a participatory workshop on woman and movement were offered.

Throughout the day, the pro-ERA faction had been passing out copies of their delegate slate. In fact, a total of close to 7,000 copies were made and distributed. Since most conference participants had been in workshops all day, the major distribution effort was made late in the afternoon after workshops had adjourned as participants were making their way across campus to the nominating plenary.

Because of the last minute changes in their slate, the Blue and White list was not available until Saturday afternoon.



While they printed a similar number of delegate lists, Mrs. Roylance reported that there were many left over after the conference. There was some confusion among women from both camps due to the fact that both slates were printed on yellow paper.

By this time a number of women in the pro-ERA faction told of seeing a blue van with Utah plates in the parking lot. Several said neatly dressed young men were instructing the conservative women about political tactics from this van. Such men had been reported in several workshops and would be seen again in the Sunday plenary. However, no blue van with Utah plates could be tracked down. It should be noted that a trailer home -- which was not blue and had Washington license plates -- was used as Blue and White headquarters. Women sat at card tables under the awning distributing materials such as copies of Blue and White issue papers, signed attendees up for workshops, and provided food.

The second session of the conference was a nominating plenary late Saturday afternoon in the Nicholson Pavilion. An hour and 15 minutes had been allotted for nominations from the floor to supplement the official list of 49 nominees. Mary Ellen McCaffree, chair of the nominations committee, read the names and a brief statement about the background of each of the 49 official IWY nominees. The chair then called for nominations from the floor.

A total of 40 women were nominated. Then, starting with Jill Ruckelshaus, 10 women from the official IWY list withdrew their names from the ballot in support of the unified pro-ERA slate. A great cheer went up from the pro-women's rights crowd in response to these withdrawals.

Clearly, the women making political choices were the heroes of the day.

However, some women felt they could not in good conscience withdraw their names. Jan Cate of Bellevue, for example, had spent a number of years working for the cause of world peace. She had been asked to represent the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and was one of the few women in Ellensburg who had attended the 1975 International Women's Conference in Mexico City. According to Ms. Cate, the global focus was not represented on the pro-ERA slate of 24, and she felt committed to try to present this point of view in Houston.

Donna Hanson, chair of the Child Care workshop and a member of the Coordinating Committee, felt that, if she withdrew from the ballot she would define herself as a member of the pro-ERA faction, thereby compromising her neutrality and possibly jeopardizing her chances for getting the recommendations on child care passed in the plenary session the following day. According to Mrs. Hanson, there were some women, herself included, who felt they "could not wear the ribbons of either side."

The nominating plenary was concluded at 6:00 p.m. so that conference participants could have dinner, attend a "candidates fair", where candidates would answer questions or join a pro-ERA rally prior to the 8 o'clock opening of

the polls. However, following the nominating plenary, most of the conservative forces began to line up in front of the Nicholson Pavilion. Pro-ERA women went first to dinner and then to a rally.

The rally, according to Rita Shaw of Seattle NOW, was organized in response to the feelings of confusion and frustration expressed by women's rights proponents who were not aware of what the Friends of Equal Rights and the pro-ERA caucuses had been doing. It was an effort to provide information and build spirit and unity among all those in favor of women's rights. As noted by a number of Friends organizers, the rally was significant in "bringing unaffiliated women into the pro-ERA camp." For those who were already committed to feminist goals, Ms. Shaw felt that the rally helped carry them through the long hours of voting and on to the Sunday plenary. Otherwise, she feels, some may have become disheartened by the events of the workshops and left.

Following a short speech by Ms. Shaw and a song by Maggie Savage, Shelley Roberts of Friends ended the rally by introducing a chant: "Split the Ticket, you're Voting Mormon!" Close to a thousand women marched in a snake-like procession. A number who felt uncomfortable shouting this chant spontaneously changed it to "ERA - All the Way".

Voting: The Second Long Wait

When the marchers arrived at Nicholson Pavilion at about 8 o'clock, they were met with an awesome sight -- that of nearly 1,500 men, women and children already lined up in front of the pavilion lobby where voting was to take place. By this time, the wind was beginning to pick up and many of those in line had sleeping bags wrapped around them like cocoons to protect them from the cold.

Polls were supposed to open at 8 p.m., but due to the time required for printing the official candidates' list following the afternoon plenary, there was a slight delay. In order to ensure fairness, the list was alphabetized, starting with a letter picked from a container by a member of the elections committee, as suggested by IWY regulations.

The decision to re-credential voters made during registration was now reinforced by a formal complaint challenging the validity of the original registration process registered by the Seattle and South Snohomish chapters of the National Organization for Women with the Coordinating Committee.

Therefore, a voting process already complicated by inadequate space for the size of the voting body and a candidate list of 78 people was further hampered by the need to once again check for people's names on the computer list, asked for Washington I.D., and send those without proper I.D. to a special credentials table.

As a further safeguard, official observers from both major factions, the League of Women Voters, and some candidates were on hand to insure the integrity of each step

of the voting process. Stationary observers were posted at the ballot table, credentials table, and computer center. Two official observers including one from the Blue and White Coalition were allowed to roam. According to Marilyn Ward, security was so tight that even she was challenged by security officers when she tried to move from one location to another within the designated voting area. Those at the credentials table were able to challenge the validity of any ballot if they felt the voter was either not a resident of the state or not the person she identified herself as being. An example of the thoroughness of this procedure is the fact that the ballot of Lilly Aguilar, a member of the Coordinating Committee, was challenged. By the end of the voting process, a total of 79 ballots had been challenged and another was found on the floor.

The elderly, the handicapped, and pregnant and nursing mothers were allowed to vote first. It was suggested by the elections chair that voters should space themselves out between the voting hours of 8 and 12, but due to a rumor that the polls would close at 12, people bunched up thousands deep in front of the pavilion. In an attempt to make people more comfortable, a system was devised to allow sections of the line to wait in the fieldhouse where the Co-Respondents, a women's theatre group, was performing. They were then called by facilitators when it was time to vote.

There was no attempt to cut off voting. The original elections procedure had been to allow anyone in line at 12 midnight to vote. The polls did not actually close until 1 am. However, for those who did not know that they could wait inside, or for those who believed the rumor, it was a long wait in the cold and wind. About midnight, a woman in the pavilion had a seizure and, for 15 minutes, everything stopped until she was safely on her way to the hospital.

Meanwhile, in the computer center, the tallying process was beginning. Completed ballots were delivered each hour by election committee officials and official observers to the computer center. Because of the number of candidates, two punch cards were needed for each paper ballot. Then the original ballot was checked against the punch cards by each of the official observers present. It was only after this tedious process was completed that the punch cards could be read by the computer. It was because of the complex key punch process and the attempt to have each step verified by all observers that the selection of delegates was not known at the Sunday plenary. In fact, the delegates were not finally announced until Monday morning.

As noted in the conference program, time was reserved between 10 and 11 Saturday night for workshop chairs and recorders from each core issue to meet, if necessary, to "combine recommendations for final typing and to turn in all supporting data for the final report." In some cases, summary policy statements that had not been completed in the work-shops were written or reworded during this wrap-up. This had to be done because the plenary session would only deal with summaries of recommendations in

each core area. For example, under the core issue of Education, a summary policy statement was written with input from the summaries from the Classroom Setting, Athletics, Affirmative Action, Community Action, and Employment in Education action workshops. In fact, 11 of the 25 core issues involved more than one action workshop, so quite a few final policy statements could not be finalized until the wrap-ups.

At the Reproductive Decisions Action Workshop, there had not been time either to prioritize recommendations or write a policy statement, so those attending the workshop voted to accept the results of the wrap-up, which any registrant could attend. Pro-choice women were in the majority at the wrap-up and the final policy statement reflected the recommendations that had been passed by the workshop without being explicitly anti-abortion.

A Mormon man, the Blue and White woman who led the Gay Parenting Action Workshop, and four other women, including the leaders of the Single Parenting and Displaced Homemaker workshops, attended the Family Life Wrap-up. Sandra Schuster, who resigned at the Gay Parenting Action Workshop and turned leadership over to a Blue and White woman, attended briefly to announce her dissociation from the results of that workshop. Others at the wrap-up agreed not to include any gay parenting issues in the Family Life policy statement they prepared, a decision which one Blue and White woman later termed "grossly unfair."

The Racial/Ethnic Minorities policy statement was written by a group of several representatives from the Black, Asian/Pacific, Hispanic and Native American workshops. They wrote a paragraph that summarized common desires, then listed a few priority recommendations from each group.

After all the committees were completed, typists hired by Alice Yee began typing of recommendations -- a job that takes about 16 person hours. These were finally completed and taken to the printer at 1 a.m. Sunday morning. Although he had worked Friday night and Saturday morning printing materials for the extra registrants, he ran his presses until 9 am Sunday. "He was working as fast as he could, but there were just too many to finish by 8:30," Alice Yee said. As a result, Sunday's plenary began without them.

Sunday: The Third Day

The plenary was called to order by Judith Lonquist at 8:55 Sunday morning. She explained that the body would first address the policy statements passed by workshops in each core issue printed in the program. These issues would be dealt with alphabetically, and any remaining time could be devoted to additional issues of interest to the voting body. Unfortunately, the recommendations had not yet made it inside the hall. A man dispatched from the printer

was delivering box after box to tables outside the pavilion. They came as fast as the printer finished and were distributed in the order delivered. It was not the order in which they were being considered.

Using a draft from the workshop chair, the presiding officer attempted to open consideration of the Arts and Humanities recommendation. The copies arrived and were different than the statement read by the chair.

On this thoroughly confusing note, the long Sunday plenary session began. The first three hours were spent debating the first policy statement and passing a procedural motion to limit debate on each issue to 15 minutes. Numerous amendments were made to change the policy statement in both major and minor ways. Pro and con speakers made their statements. A number of individuals asked for clarification of the wording used. While the chair attempted to speed up the process by calling the votes visually, Blue and White coalition leaders appealed the ruling of the chair and called for a head count vote. Each head count took approximately 20 minutes. Recounts were called for, and questions were raised about the number of sections, the number of participants required for a quorum, and other procedural matters.



Blue and White Coalition leaders have since charged that the pro-ERA forces were using parliamentary maneuvers to keep them from introducing a series of "Minority Resolutions" as an alternative to the workshop recommendations. Radical Women have charged that they were stalling so that the ERA, covered in the first sentence of the Policy Statement on Employment (and sixth on the agenda) would not be voted down. While some pro-ERA organizers state that they were not stalling, but rather "assessing their strength," others indicate that there was in fact an attempt to keep negative resolutions from being passed. Beverly Smith, one of the presiding officers, felt

that the early tedium was merely the result of confusion about procedures of operation. She says that, in her experience with other groups of this size, she's found it takes awhile for everyone to get the hang of it.

Following the passage (with minor changes) of the Arts and Humanities Policy Statement, a child care resolution calling for the strengthening of family units, support for women's options to work outside of the home or within the home, and the increased availability of locally controlled quality child care carried by an overwhelming vote taken visually.

Gretchen Hessel, acting chair of the Disabled Women's workshop, then moved to adopt the policy statement from that workshop which called for "the same high quality medical services and job opportunities. . . that other women are demanding." Susan Roylance attempted to "amend" the disabled women's policy statement by replacing all of the policy statements submitted by the workshops with the "Minority Resolutions." She was ruled out of order by the chair who advised her that these issues could be addressed under new business on the agenda. After some debate on the disabled women policy statement, Mary Coors from Utopia, Washington appealed the ruling of the chair in regard to Susan Roylance's "amendment". The chair reiterated her earlier statement and repeated the agenda for the plenary session as printed in the conference program. After parliamentary consultation Ms. Lonquist repeated the reasons for calling Mrs. Roylance out of order and advised her that there was a provision for minority reports to be submitted to the National IWY Commission as part of the work of the conference.

Following some debate and one minor change in the policy statement, the disabled women's resolution was passed by a standing vote.

During the debate on the economic independence policy statement, an amendment was made to "boycott the products of all institutions and organizations which seek to abridge women's independence and equal rights." While this amendment failed, another calling for women's "access to jobs through affirmative action," "equal pay for comparable work," and "pregnancy leave without loss of benefits, seniority, or job classification status" passed. The policy statement containing provisions for improving women's access to social security pensions, inheritance, credits and insurance also carried.

At this point, Mrs. Roylance decided that the Blue and White Coalition should vote "no" on everything. As she explained it, there were three reasons for this move: (1) They had "lost a couple of important points" on the economic independence issue; (2) The policy statements and amendments were "going by so fast that our delegation didn't understand what was going on"; and (3) They wanted to conclude discussion on the policy statements so that their "Minority Resolutions" could be adopted.

When the policy statement on Education was introduced, the Blue and White Coalition did, in fact, vote it down. Betty Kersh, chair of the Classroom Setting Information

Panel and Action Workshop, conferred with Blue and White Coalition leaders in order to get them to support an alternative policy statement which had been a product of compromise and consensus in her workshop. Ms. Kersh was able to get a five-minute extension to debate the education issue further. The policy statement from the Classroom Setting Workshop was presented as an alternative to the original core issue statement. Several impassioned statements were made in favor of the recommendation, and the body finally passed it unanimously.

The Final Vote

During the debate on Education, Carolyn Patton of Tacoma had moved to suspend the rules in order to consider the resolution of the Ethnic Women of Color. The chair had advised her to wait until the debate on Education was concluded.

Throughout the long hours of the Sunday plenary, the women of the various racial and ethnic minorities were wondering whether their concerns would be addressed at the Washington State Women's Conference. For many of these women who had spent months planning and preparing for this conference, the idea that the recommendations they had developed would not even be presented to the body was intolerable. By 3:20, the plenary session had dealt with only five policy statements. There was 21st on the agenda, and the session was to end at 4:30.

Therefore, they elected to suspend the rules and move directly to the Ethnic Women of Color policy statement. According to Thelma Jackson, up until that time the pro-ERA forces had been deadlocked fighting a diversionary battle with the Blue and White Coalition. "For the first time, when the Ethnic Women of Color resolution was introduced, the pro-women's rights forces took the offensive," she said.

Carolyn Patton again moved to suspend the rules. Her motion was seconded by representatives from the Asian/Pacific and Hispanic women's caucuses. Since the Blue and White Coalition also wished to suspend the rules for the consideration of their Minority Resolutions, the necessary two-thirds vote was easily obtained.

However, when it became clear that the Ethnic Minority Women's statement included opposition to the Right to Work Law, the Bakke decision, the Eilberg Law, Rodino Bill, Ku Klux Klan, National States Rights Parties and National Socialist White People's Party as well as support for reproductive choice, Indian treaties, affirmative action, farmworker's rights, amnesty for undocumented workers and the Equal Rights Amendment, the conservative women were thrown into a quandry.

Several ethnic women of color spoke eloquently of their concerns. Members of the Blue and White Coalition stated their support for the ethnic women's resolution, except for the ERA. Carolyn Patton stated: "It is imperative that we go away from this conference knowing that the last section of this resolution is important! Without it, we are saying

that we don't want our rights. If this resolution is voted down because people do not want to vote for the ERA, that also says something about how they feel about racial equality in this country!"

The pro-ERA forces later stated that if the Blue and White Coalition had wanted to vote for the Ethnic Women of Color statement, but not for the ERA, they could have moved to delete or moved to separate the question. Several con speakers had the mike but evidently did not know how to do this or did not wish to do so.

Aline Carroll, a Blue and White Coalition member from Edmonds had been standing in line, waiting to strike the ERA from the policy statement. She was recognized on a point of parliamentary inquiry that did not allow her to make an amendment. As she walked back to her chair, she "felt the tears coming."

The yeas were called for and, in addition to the pro-ERA women, three or four conservative women stood up, trembling and crying. A cheer ran through the pro-ERA supporters, and women pointed in astonishment. A Black woman hugged one of the standing women. Susan Roylance attempted to speak at the microphones but, after the chair consulted with the parliamentarian, she was ruled out of order because a vote was being taken.

The no's were called for, and the majority of the Blues and Whites rose.

And finally, Aline Carroll's moment had come. She had not voted yes and she had not voted no. There was but one alternative left. Abstentions were called for, and she and her friend stood together, both in tears. Immediately, they were surrounded by Black women who thanked them and hugged them. When news photographers moved in to record the tearful embraces, the Black women formed a protective wall between the photographers and the crying anti-ERA women. "I felt like, even though I disagreed with them, they knew how I felt and they didn't blame me," Mrs. Carroll says of that special, painful moment.

Both the vote and the plenary were over. The vote was 1,201 for and 1,306 against, with 108 abstentions. As the gavel sounded, many women were weeping, but the mood of others was becoming angry. Maggie Savage and Judy Fogelquist of the Co-Respondents went to the microphone on the dais and began singing "We Shall Overcome". The pro-ERA women linked arms and sang, while the Blue and White women slowly filed out of the hall.

In the bitterness that followed, it was charged by the Blue and White Coalition that the chairing had been biased, particularly since they were unable to address their "Minority Resolutions" or speak during the final vote. Some question was also raised about a number of early votes which the chair called in favor of the pro-ERA forces.

However, the parliamentarian at the conference and a second registered parliamentarian hired briefly by the report staff who did not attend the conference concurred in the opinion that the chairing was generally fair and unbiased. This opinion was based on the following evidence: (1) attempts were made repeatedly to explain all procedures to the voting body and answer any parliamentary questions raised; (2) all speakers were limited to two minutes on any one item, after which the microphone was turned off; (3) pro and con statements were alternated; (4) microphone order was carefully regulated by two women at the dias; (5) the chair admonished the body several times to give courtesy to speakers (both pro and con); (6) whenever the presiding officers were in doubt, they asked for parliamentary assistance and (7) votes were called visually for both Blue/White and pro-ERA forces and head counts were made whenever requested.

In response to votes that were called incorrectly, Judith Lonquist, who presided during most of the Sunday plenary session, explained that the votes on the main floor were very difficult to call because it was not always possible to see those sitting down during a division of the house.

Ms. Lonquist reported that she was attempting to speed things up during the early hours of the plenary by calling votes visually, but when it became clear how close the votes were and that she would be challenged anyway, she elected to call most votes on a head count basis. In regard to her position as a nominee on the pro-ERA slate, Ms. Lonquist stated that she had refrained from chairing until the Sunday plenary session after the election was over so that she would not have an unfair advantage during the election. She admitted that she had very definite views about the issues that were being discussed, but felt that in her attempts to be fair she was often harder on the pro-ERA women than the Blue and Whites.

Nonetheless, it was only natural for persons on all sides of the political spectrum to react with frustration and bitterness over the final outcome of the plenary. No one had really gotten what they wanted. While there was consensus on several issues of importance to all women, neither pro-ERA nor Blue and White women felt that the issues of major importance to them had been addressed. Given the numbers involved, the pro-ERA forces had been strategically successful but at the closing of the plenary; they were exhausted from the delays and frustrations. The Blue and White Coalition, on the other hand, felt that they had been tricked and manipulated. As usual, many unaffiliated women felt totally lost in the shuffle.

Immediately following the close of the plenary session, which was the official end of the women's conference, a press conference was held by the Friends of Equal Rights. At this point, it was believed that the delegate slate had been won by the Blue and White Coalition slate. After all, they had been in the majority in the workshops they attended, and they had dominated the plenary session as well. The speakers, Jeanette Williams for Friends and Thelma Jackson for Ethnic Women of Color expressed the

general theme — that, due to the last-minute arrival of almost 2,000 conservative women, the conference had been subverted. Ms. Williams said that the delegate slate, which she assumed would be conservative, could be challenged on the basis that it lacked the diversity called for in the law. Ms. Jackson commented that "... racism is alive and well in the state of Washington." Kathy Boyle, chair of the Lesbian caucus added that her group also felt that they had been denied the opportunity to identify the barriers to their full and equal participation in life and that, in fact, a concerted effort had been made to pass resolutions designed to deprive them of their basic civil rights.



Kay Regan, a conservative member of the Coordinating Committee, arrived at the press conference believing that it had been called by the Coordinating Committee. "I was told in no uncertain terms that I was not welcome there and was literally thrown out of the room by two unidentified women," she says.

Following the press conference, children were picked up at child care centers, IWY buses assembled in the parking lot and then departed for their destinations around the state. Campers and trailers filtered out of the campus parking areas and headed home.

A few women stayed until evening to see if there was any news of election results, then, discouraged, they too left for home. And the campus was prepared to meet a new group of conferees. A convention of cheerleaders became the new women of Ellensburg.

At 4:15 Monday morning, more than 24 hours after the polls had closed, the elections committee posted the unofficial results on the door of the Student Union Building of Central Washington State College and gave the results to the wire services and the college's information office. All election records and ballots were put in sealed boxes. The keys were placed in sealed envelopes. These election materials were then delivered to presiding officer,

Beverly Smith, who transferred them to the Brink's Armored Car Service, where they have remained most of the time since.

The Delegate Controversy

Despite the quietness that surrounded its announcement on campus, the delegate slate that had been selected was a surprise to almost everyone. All 24 delegates were pro-ERA. And the votes were so close that the 80 challenged ballots might overturn the election.

At a meeting of the elections and credentials committee a week after the conference, it was decided that those individuals whose ballots had been challenged would be sent registered letters with return receipt requested. The letters were sent to the Washington address given at the time of voting. Those whose conference registration was in question were asked to submit further documentation. Observers, committee members, and the 100 other people attending all agreed that, if the letters were returned and the signatures matched those on voting records, the ballot would be counted. Otherwise, they would not.

Susan Roylance brought up the question of voting irregularities and the possibility of a recount. It was agreed that these questions, as well as the final disposition of the challenged ballots, would be discussed at a second meeting on July 30.

During the interim, Karen Fraser received a number of letters complaining about elections procedures. According to Ms. Fraser, some said they had been asked to write the letters, while others called to make sure that their letters arrived "in time." The questions raised most often were in regard to whether or not a cardboard box had been used for collecting ballots.

A claim was made that 17 of these letters were prepared cooperatively during the July 13 meeting. Mrs. Roylance explains that the "...17 letters were composed in order to satisfy the request of the elections chair for more information about cardboard boxes being used for collecting ballots." In her words, "There was no attempt whatsoever to compare notes or devise similar descriptions."

The allegations have not been supported by elections officials or observers from both major caucuses who were on duty during the entire voting process. A letter to the elections committee from Judith Clark Turpin of Federal Way objected to the fact that complaints about balloting procedures were made after, rather than before, the unofficial elections results were known.

The July 30 meeting to count the challenged ballots was held at the Seattle School District Administration Building.

Of the 80 challenged ballots, 76 were accepted. A tally changed only one name on the slate: Kay Regan, a conservative political activist replaced Bea Farrell, a nun from Spokane, as the 24th delegate. The five alternates were all from the Blue and White coalition. Thus the 24 delegates are:

Lilly Aguilar: Sunnyside, member IWY Coordinating Committee, Chicano, Minority caucus, National Consultive Team, U.S. Department of Labor, low income project, *Pro-ERA*.

Francis Scott: Spokane, black, age 55, teacher and law student, member Spokane Coalition for Human Rights and Washington Democratic Council, *Pro-ERA*.

Lupe Alvarez: Chicano, member of Mexicans and Friends Association, food service worker, Girl Scouts and Grange, *Pro-ERA*.

Dorothy Hollingsworth: Seattle, Black, IWY Coordinating Committee, Member Seattle School Board, Director Seattle Child Care Service Project, age 56, *Pro-ERA*.

Judith Lonquist: Seattle, general counsel for Washington Education Association, past National NOW Legal Vice President, *Pro-ERA*.

Carrie Washburn: Gig Harbor, teacher, YWCA, Comm. Mental Health Center Board, age 35, *Pro-ERA*.

Christine Marsten: Seattle, low income, Director Infant Day Care, Welfare Specialist, Neighborhood House, single parent, *Pro-ERA*.

Elaine Latourell: Seattle, architect, U of W faculty, National NOW Legislative Vice President, age 38, *Pro-ERA*.

Thelma Jackson: Olympia, Black, age 31, Project Director Work Options for Women YWCA, Washington State Advisory Council for Vocational Education, *Pro-ERA*.

Tina Cohen: Mercer Island, 30, Washington State Public Affairs, Chair, National Council of Jewish Women, homemaker, white collar worker, *Pro-ERA*.

Elsie Schrader: Centralia, Chair of Women's Advisory Committee of Washington State Labor Council, Staff of Washington Federation of State Employees, Board Member Olympia YWCA, NOW, *Pro-ERA*.

Patricia Benevidez: Kirkland, Hispanic, former teacher, political activist, member National Organization for Women, and Women's Political Caucus, *Pro-ERA*.

Rita Elway: Seattle, age 25, communications researcher, past Chair Washington State Women's Caucus, Council member of Asian Women's Caucus, *Pro-ERA*.

Marianne Craft Norton: Mercer Island, 40, Executive Director Washington State Women's Commission, President Washington State American Association of University Women, *Pro-ERA*.

Rita Duran: Pullman, project director YWCA, student, *Pro-ERA*.

Marion Ballantine: Spokane, member of National Coalition on Nursing Homes, Gray Panthers, age 60, low income, *Pro-ERA*.

Linda Black: Bellingham, nurse practitioner, planned parenthood, Washington Environmental Council, age 30, *Pro-ERA*.

Delores Groce: Pasco, Black, President Shindana Women's Club, Council on Aging, age 47, *Pro-ERA*.

Kathy Boyle: Seattle, member University YWCA, staff of Lesbian Resource Center, *Pro-ERA*.

Jackie Delahunt: Tumwater/Olympia, Native American activist, low income, member YWCA, *Pro-ERA*.

April West: Ollala, Filipino, Acting Director Asian-American Alliance, member of Asian Women's Caucus, *Pro-ERA*.

Michele Pailthorp: Seattle, ACLU lobbyist, political activist, member Friends of Equal Rights, *Pro-ERA*.

Audrey Gruger: Seattle, member Washington State House of Representatives, Board of Directors, Seattle League of Women Voters, age 47, *Pro-ERA*.

Kay Regan: Homemaker, Seattle Women's Commission, Catholic Charities, Republican Activist, *Anti-ERA*.

The alternate delegates are:

Sharla Grover: Member of Latter Day Saints, thespian, active in 4-H, and gymnastics, *Anti-ERA*.

Glenda Bowyer: Homemaker, free lance teacher on Fascinating Womanhood, Retarded Children Group, *Anti-ERA*.

Susan Roylance: Homemaker, community activist, represents Moral Arts and Humanities and needs of mothers and homemakers, *Anti-ERA*.

Carla Robinson: Indian, teacher, high income, opposed to ERA and abortion, represents traditional, conservative, American women, *Anti-ERA*.

Judy Quinton: Homemaker, business woman, active in Relief Society, Latter Day Saints, *Anti-ERA*

The elections chair decided against a recount because (1) the tallying process had been certified at each step by representatives of all interested parties, (2) most of the complaints would not be remedied by a recount because they did not relate to the tallying process, (3) the elections committee was not empowered to call for a recount on closeness of vote, (4) the minimum cost of a recount would be \$600, (5) time required would make it too late to lodge

a formal complaint in time for an August deadline, and (6) delaying the official election results would publicly cloud the issue even more.

Judith Lonnquist has been named chair of the delegation; Rita Duran is vice chair. At the national conference in Houston, delegates will pay homage to the achievements of women in this country, assess their present roles in U.S. society, identify barriers that prevent them from achieving equality in all aspects of our national life, and develop proposals and a timetable to remove these barriers.

Alternates are empowered to attend plenary sessions and to serve as delegates in the event of the absence or incapacity of an elected delegate. While their expenses are not paid, the same accommodations, child care services, and access to cultural events are available to them as to the delegates.

Within a month after the conference, the "Concerned Women's Coalition," comprised of Lynn Dyer, Dr. Kathleen Skrinar, and Wanda Rasmussen, charged that Washington State's conference had "deprived (them) of political rights to the value of at least \$10,000" based on the following evidence: 1) approximately 3,174 votes were cast, while it was announced that 4,275 persons registered for the conference, 2) slightly more than 150 votes separated the candidate receiving the highest number of votes and the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes, and 3) voting irregularities allegedly took place in securing ballots, controlling for multiple votes, credentialing methods, and tallying procedures.

An initial motion for a temporary restraining order to impound all registration and election documents was denied with attorneys for both parties agreeing to maintain the documents under the custody of Brinks Armored Car Service. Depositions were taken in preparation for the civil suit and, on October 18, the plaintiffs called for a "summary judgment" to block the contested slate of delegates from participating at the Houston conference. Some of the reasons cited were allegations that election officials were able to distinguish conservative participants by their blue and white ribbons and "mode of dress" and were thus able to selectively determine which persons to allow to vote more than once and which ballots to deposit in "cardboard boxes" rather than in the official metal ballot boxes. The plaintiffs also charged that the views of a large number of Washington women were not represented on the elected slate, particularly in regard to "Christian morality" and "the preservation of the family." Elizabeth Ossenbaugh, local attorney for the defendants, has stated that she feels that it is unlikely that any evidence of fraud will be demonstrated. At press time, the matter was still in litigation.

The National IWY Commission has, nonetheless, denied the delegate challenges in Washington and more than 30 other states, since the only basis on which challenges may be allowed is through fraud. By late August, the process of credentialing delegates to the Houston conference was begun.

Conclusions

Unlike the previous sections of "The Story of Ellensburg," the following conclusions reflect the opinions of the staff and management. They are based on three months of research which, we feel, give us as comprehensive and dispassionate a view of the conference as is possible to obtain.

We do acknowledge, however, that it is impossible to know every detail of the events leading up to and during the conference and state that our conclusions are accurate only insofar as our research was complete. We also realize that some of our statements are very controversial and that the issues they raise may never be completely settled.

Nevertheless, we feel an obligation to draw upon our knowledge, answer some important questions about the conference, and thus assist our readers in arriving at their own conclusions about this most complex and controversial event.

Was the federal government reasonable in expecting a committee of volunteers to put on a conference of this magnitude?

Though many of the planners took on the task eagerly, there were fundamental problems with this expectation.

Many appointed committee members were already committed to other activities and were unable or unwilling to take on another large project. Those who did usually had full-time commitments elsewhere and thus exhausted themselves. More than one active committee member said that her conference responsibility was a "full-time job." Low-income women could not have afforded to give up paid labor to volunteer as committee members. There are indications that the College's Conference Center personnel were reluctant to accept the legal authority of a group of volunteers. Most of the volunteers did not have professional conference planning skills. Thus, plans for such crucial items as credentialing, which would probably have been done early by professional planners, were left until quite late in the planning process.

Did the Coordinating Committee genuinely try to encourage attendance at the conference?

It appears that the policies of the Coordinating Committee — cheap transportation, free child care, scholarships, a moderately priced site — were directed at making it easy for women to attend the conference. These policies especially benefitted women usually excluded from such events: the elderly, the poor, single mothers, the disabled.

Were the Coordinating Committee's efforts to inform women about the conference successful?

Generally, very much so.

Efforts by minority women who were members of the Coordinating Committee to bring other minority women to the conference were highly successful. Black, Asian/Pacific, and Hispanic Coordinating Committee were conference organizers. They developed minority women's organizations concerned about women's rights (in some cases for the first time), participated as liaisons between their groups and the committee, defined issues that spoke to their concerns, and played a highly visible role at the conference. Their efforts may have resulted in the emergence of an ethnic women's movement unprecedented in the state.

Outreach and publicity was thorough in certain geographical areas, especially in the Tri-cities area. Given the fact that pre-registration of participants from Eastern Washington (which has approximately one-third of the state's residents) was about equal to that from Western Washington, which has almost two-thirds of the population, it seems apparent that outreach was more successful east of the mountains.

Did the Coordinating Committee operate as a feminist organization?

While the majority of Coordinating Committee members had worked actively in many different ways for a wide

range of women's issues, it appears that a conscious political bent was never a part of the committee's plan. Rather, the committee seems to have operated toward the task of putting on the conference. It can be assumed, however, that the general pro-women's rights orientation of those members who participated actively on the committee had some influence on the range of decisions, as did the stated purpose of the conference.

Why weren't conservative women involved in the Coordinating Committee?

Members of the Coordinating Committee were appointed by the IWY National Commission, which, basing its decision on the criteria enumerated in Public Law 94-167, selected women who "worked to advance the rights of women." This tended to exclude women of some political persuasions because 1) before the conference there were few conservative women's groups organized around the issues of women in society, and 2) conservative women were therefore not identifiable as leaders of established women's rights-oriented organizations. Additionally, some of the more conservative women among the range of women who *were* appointed to the committee chose not to participate actively in conference planning.

The most conservative woman who did work on the Coordinating Committee was assigned to chair the rules committee. Since the rules of the conference had been issued by the national IWY commission, her position was one in name only. She was, however, involved as a Coordinating Committee member throughout the planning of the conference.

Why didn't conservative women insist on being included in planning before the conference?

In Washington, many conservative women had been involved in various political activities before the conference, but they did not coalesce as a political unit organized against issues promoted by feminists before the conference. Thus they did not attempt to contribute input into Washington's conference.

Were the conservative women really able to organize all those women in just a week?

Yes, we believe so.

While it is clear that politically active conservative women were aware of the conference from about January and that others had heard of the conferences from friends and relatives in other states, we believe that the majority of conservative women who attended the conference had not seriously planned to go until the week before.

We believe the conservatives were able to assemble a group of this size in such a short period of time because of these three factors. First, an established communications network already existed between women and/or organizations of "traditional values" (i.e.: church groups, the ERA rescission drive, STOP-ERA, the Eagle Forum, Fascinating Womanhood). Second, the wide exposure of the Oklahoma

tape convinced many conservative women that their very way of life was under attack as a result of the IWY conferences and motivated them to go. Third, a statewide mailing by the Mormon Church, informing church women of the importance of the conference and advising them of the issues and procedures, further motivated these women and activated their extensive communications network.

While it has been alleged by a number of individuals that the arrival of such a large contingent of like-minded individuals at the last minute was obviously a political tactic, we were unable to substantiate these allegations to our satisfaction.

Did the Mormon Church organize to take over the conference?

It is obvious from our research that Mormon attendance at the IWY conference was actively encouraged by the church. However, we cannot substantiate the claim that the Church of Latter Day Saints planned to "take over" the conference.

Much of the church's concern about the IWY conference results from its opposition to the ratification of the federal Equal Rights Amendment. On October 30, 1976, Spencer Kimball, President of the church, issued an official statement against the Equal Rights Amendment in the church-owned *Deseret News*. In his words: "We recognize men and women as equally important before the Lord, but with differences biologically, emotionally, and in other ways. The ERA, we believe, does not recognize these differences. There are better means for giving women, and men, the rights they deserve." Since that time top church officials have spoken against the ERA in a number of locations across the country. For example, Boyd Packer, a member of the church's Council of Twelve, spoke in Pocatello, Idaho, on January 7 as part of a successful drive to rescind that state's ratification of the federal ERA.

In regard to charges that the church has been operating as a political organization through such appearances by church leaders and by encouraging members to write letters against the ERA, Jeffrey Cahill, director of press relations for the church, stated that "The Church will speak out as a Church on issues which we define as moral issues."

It is not clear exactly when the LDS Church became aware of the International Women's Year Conferences, but according to women's rights organizers contacted by phone in Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Florida, and Montana, there was a strong Mormon presence at the state IWY conferences in each of these states. These meetings took place between May 21 (Idaho) and July 15 (Florida).

Reports of conferences in several of these states sound remarkably similar to the Ellensburg meeting. For example, Eleanor Pratt of Helena, Montana, reports that Mormon women at their conference reported that they "... had just learned about the conference and made a personal choice to come and protect women in the family." These women arrived with prepared resolutions and wore yellow tags for easy identification. A number of cars and campers with

Utah plates were observed by conference participants. According to Ms. Pratt, they had heard rumors three to four weeks before the conference that "Mormons were going to take over the conference," but no one believed it.

In a July 12 Associated Press wire release Don LeFevre, Associate Director of Public Relations for the Mormon Church, stated that the church had sent letters to leaders of the church's Relief Society in the District of Columbia and these 10 states: Utah, Alabama, Florida, Hawaii, Indiana, Kansas, Mississippi, Montana, New York, and Washington. "The first prophet and president of the church, Joseph Smith, said it is our duty to concentrate all our influence to make popular that which is sound and unpopular that which is unsound," he said. "That is precisely what the church and its members have been doing in regards to the International Women's Year meetings."

In an attempt to get an official confirmation or denial of the part played by the Church of Latter Day Saints in Washington's and other state IWY conferences, the IWY report staff members had the following phone conversation with Mr. LeFevre on October 20, 1977. The conversation is reproduced so that readers may draw their own conclusions.

IWY Staff: We have been told that 10 states were chosen by the church and that Relief Society leaders in these states were sent packets of information from the church in Utah. We would like to know when these packets were sent and what was in them.

Don LeFevre: *I'd be happy to send you a packet. Let me see if I can remember what was in it. . .*

Staff: When were those letters sent?

LeFevre: *I don't remember, I'd have to look that up. It was after the Utah conference (June 24, 25).*

Staff: A Mormon woman in Montana has alleged that at least two weeks before the conference she received a telephone call from a Mormon leader in Utah and asked to "get the word out and not worry about money." Has the LDS church been involved in financing Mormon participation at these conferences?

LeFevre: *I don't know about that call — that would have been very inappropriate. The church did not supply any money.*

Staff: What about help with transportation and housing?

LeFevre: *Individual members of the church may have helped pay registration or helped with transportation and housing, but the LDS church itself would not have financed these ladies in any way — that would be very inappropriate.*

Staff: In Idaho, it has been charged that an anti-IWY petition was circulated at a Relief Society meeting. Is there any official or unofficial relationship between the church and the Citizen's Review Committee for IWY?

LeFevre: *If there was a petition circulated in Idaho – and I don't know about that . . . you would have to check with the local people there – they used very bad judgment. That should not have been done if it was. What is the Citizen's Review Committee? We have no officials ties with them.*

Staff: The Citizen's Review Committee for IWY is an outgrowth of Phyllis Schlafly's anti-ERA group. They have been reviewing the conduct, etc., of the conferences.

LeFevre: *Oh! I wasn't aware of that title. Well, I'm sure any anti-ERA group would have contacted the Relief Society members as well as other women's organizations. I can confirm that for you, but I am sure they would have contacted Relief Society leaders.*

Staff: In Montana and Washington, it has been alleged that male missionaries from the LDS Church were directing women where to go and telling them what to say. Do you have any comments?

LeFevre: *I'm not aware of that happening, if it did it would be very improper, wholly improper. Both those states' missionaries would be under direction of their mission presidents. You might check with them.*

Staff: Could you explain a bit about the nature of a "request" from the church. We have heard from several Mormon women that a request from the church is not of the same nature as a request from the PTA, for example.

LeFevre: *Well, yes, it is. That's a good example. The church encourages members to be involved in getting proper people into office, to become informed about the issues, to vote, to make sure people with correct ideas get elected, to be aware and good citizens. These concerns certainly apply to this type of meeting, and members were encouraged to go to support proper principles and get proper people chosen.*

Staff: Let's get into this more. . . one woman told us that a request from the LDS Church was tantamount to a command.

LeFevre: *No, no, not at all. Now we do have many faithful and active ladies who feel that, when they are asked by a church leader to do something, that it is their duty. You must remember that they have been taught from childhood to support correct principles and when they are asked by a leader that they consider. . . well, they are eager to respond, and if a leader asks them to do something, they feel it must be important. But a commandment – no, definitely not. One of the tenants of the LDS Church is free choice, free agency.*

In Utah, the IWY Committee came and asked for the support of the Relief Society.

Staff: Did they contact the church, directly?

LeFevre: *I don't imagine so. They talked to Relief Society groups to inform them about the conference and get their cooperation. Of course, the women were more than happy to do that. It was after that the church got involved.*

Staff: We understand that the Constitution is considered to be divinely inspired. Is this true? Does that mean it is considered wrong for the Constitution to be changed?

LeFevre: *Well, yes, it is considered by Mormons to be divinely inspired, although the Constitution itself allows for amendments and the church isn't against all amendments. We have taken an official stand against the ERA, of course. Some amendments are good, but we don't feel that way about the ERA, and have taken an official stand on that.*

Staff: Is civic duty considered a religious duty?

LeFevre: *No, that is not a part of our theology. Of course, it is important for LDS people to support correct principles.*

Staff: There were striking similarities between the Montana Women's Conference and the Washington conference. They were that 1) large numbers of women, many of whom identified themselves as Mormon, arrived at the last minute, saying that they had just heard about the conference a few days before. 2) They had arranged their own transportation, food, and housing. 3) All wore identifying labels. 4) They all voted as a bloc and came with pre-prepared resolutions. Did the church suggest possible resolutions for the good of the family? Did it make any suggestions about church members registering late, or any other tactical suggestions.

LeFevre: *As I recall – and I'd have to see the packet – the women were encouraged to participate, were given an IWY outline of the issues, and a statement of the church's formal position on three items, the ERA, abortion and. . . let me see. . . I think the third one had something to do with homosexuality. But there weren't any prepared resolutions. We did include clippings from the Utah paper on how to register, which had been developed by the IWY, about technical procedures.*

Staff: You can't think of any reason for these similarities?

LeFevre: *No, each state operated independently. Of course, the LDS Church is so well-organized, and it is natural for these women to get together.*

In your state say, Spokane women would have all decided to come together – that is a perfectly natural thing to do. And the same mailings went to all 10 states but the women were not given strategy or anything like that.

Staff: There were large numbers of Utah license plates at the conference in Washington and Montana. To your knowledge, were there any members of the church from Utah there to help the local women out – give them advice, etc.

LeFevre: *How many license plates?*

Staff: We're not sure. . . we think 40 or 50. Quite a few.

LeFevre: *Must have been vacationers. The church in Utah didn't send anyone. And they couldn't vote of course, so*

there would be no reason for them to be there. The women in each state could organize themselves; they didn't need help from us.

Staff: Vera Glaser of Knight News Service has charged that LDS members came to the conferences to disrupt the meetings. Could you please comment on this?

LeFevre: *The LDS church, of course, did not send anyone to the meetings to disrupt them. And if any Mormon women disrupted any meetings, it would be highly improper, and they should be very ashamed of themselves.*

Given the outreach and publicity efforts by the Coordinating Committee, is it possible that conservative women really didn't hear about the conference more than a few days ahead of time?

The Coordinating Committee sent the message, but it seems clear that conservative women didn't hear the invitation.

Outreach and publicity in Eastern Washington, especially in the Tri-Cities area, where conservative women first organized, was very good. The statement that the conference was to "convene all the women of Washington" was on all the conference brochures. However, few conservative women responded to this publicity, even though several active conservative women were trying to publicize the conference and, several months in advance of the conference, were urging conservatives to attend.

Part of the reason may be that, like other people, they might not choose to go to an out-of-town conference unless their friends were going or unless they were extremely interested in the event. This would be especially true of women who previously had not been involved in women's issues. Also, many said they did not feel welcome at the conference.

At any rate, most conservatives did not plan to attend until an organized effort was made to get them there as a group. At that point, they were motivated not by any act of the Coordinating Committee but probably by 1) a mailing from the Mormon Church that was received by all the Mormon Relief Society leaders in the state urging attendance at the conference, 2) the Oklahoma tape which dramatized the potential threat to conservative values posed by the conference and was heard throughout the state, 3) the Kennewick Chapter of Women who were working very hard to get people to the conference, or 4) their knowledge during the last week that a sizeable contingent of conservative women was being organized to go.

It should be noted, however, that despite announcements to the contrary by conservative leaders on the day before the conference began, at least one of their number had in fact received notice of the conference through a Coordinating Committee mailing.

If the Coordinating Committee members were not trying to keep conservative women away from the conference, why did some of them react negatively when it was announced at the Thursday meeting before the conference that 2,000 extra conservative women would be attending?

It appears that there were several motivations for negative comments.

One was concern that an additional 2,000 people would put an impossible strain on arrangements made for food and housing, program printing, registration, workshop rooms, and voting.

Second was the belief of some Coordinating Committee members that the last-minute appearance of large numbers of conservative women — an incident that had occurred at several other state conferences — was a deliberate political strategy. Many were unwilling to believe that, after all the outreach and publicity efforts on the part of the committee, these 2,000 women had not heard of the conference until a few days before, as they claimed.

Third was concern that the conference would be predominated by conservative women who would send anti-women's rights recommendations and delegates to the national IWY conference.

In response to the task of preparing for the additional 2,000 women, were the members of the Coordinating Committee fair?

In our opinion, they were quite fair. Most seemed to have focused on making the conference work though it had to bear the strain of 2,000 extra participants.

Despite the difficulties inherent in providing services for an additional 2,000 people on one day's notice, the majority voted to accommodate all comers. Coordinating Committee members stayed up most of two consecutive nights printing additional programs, providing conference materials for those who were missing essential printed information, etc., in order to insure the full participation of all those who registered before the noon deadline, Saturday, July 9. They also attempted to provide information to conference participants about the physical layout of the college, times and places of events, and, in general, make all feel welcome. Participants of all political persuasions have complimented many of the Coordinating Committee members on their fairness.

Why wasn't the Coordinating Committee prepared for the controversy?

While 37 people were appointed to the Coordinating Committee, not all of these individuals devoted the necessary time to helping prepare for the conference. Also, the positions were voluntary (and thus, unpaid) which resulted in active members, who had many other commitments, being able to work only part-time.

Especially in the last week before the conference, all the active members were overworked. Until only a few days before the conference, they were located all over the state, working on separate tasks. They did not meet to discuss possibilities such as the occurrence of so much controversy.

Why were the registration and credentialing processes problematic?

One reason was the unexpected mass arrival of 2,000 people who had not preregistered.

Additionally, because most of the Coordinating Committee did not have previous experience planning for large conferences, those responsible underestimated the significance of carefully detailing the credentialing process.

Thirdly, Coordinating Committee members did not have access to the computer printout of the registration list before the conference. Duplications on this list were responsible for an inflated count of registrants. This resulted in unnecessary announcements about badges being slashed and unfounded rumors that registration would be closed.

What was the impact of registration on the conference?

The long lines and slow registration process not only were uncomfortable and aggravating to both pre-registrants and unregistered women but, as the participants' first contact with the conference and with each other, registration helped set the tone of the conference. To those participants who knew possible registrants had doubled overnight, it divided the crowd into "us" and "them."

Did the program committee perform effectively, impartially, and in compliance with the law?

Yes. Public Law 94-167 specifies that the conference shall be composed of:

1. Representatives of local, state, regional and national institutions, agencies, organizations, unions, associations, publications and other groups which work to advance the rights of women; and
2. Members of the general public, with special emphasis on the representation of low-income women, members of diverse racial, ethnic and religious groups, and women of all ages.

This compliance with the law resulted in a selection which was much more feminist than the Blue and White Coalition considered fair. Selection of panelists and workshop leaders was based on an extensive search to find people knowledgeable in all issue areas. We did not find any first-hand accounts of conservative women who wished to help the program committee or the rest of the Coordinating Committee and who were turned away, although charges have been made that this occurred.

Why did the Blue and White Coalition members want to go to the workshops if they were not interested in learning from the information or positions of the panelists?

Many were encouraged to attend specific workshops by the Blue and White Coalition in order to contribute their input on the issues and to present recommendations for consideration at the action workshops. Some undoubtedly wanted to express the views contained in packets mailed to Mormon Church officials throughout the state by the Utah L.D.S. headquarters.

Others chose to attend information panels to contribute their individual viewpoints or because they felt curious. Many, for instance, had "never seen a Lesbian before."

What was the experience in most of the workshops?

Aside from the targeted and highly controversial ones, the workshops were for the most part more cooperative than the atmosphere of the conference might suggest. Polarization was less likely as more individual expression was possible, and deeper discussion of issues took place than could possibly occur in mass activities such as the conference plenary.

Comments about the fairness of workshop leaders were overwhelmingly positive. Some workshops Blue and White Coalition members attended unanimously passed recommendations supporting so-called "feminist" opinions, while at others, many feminists agreed with some concerns expressed by conservative women.

Did the IWY nominations slate represent the diversity of women in this state?

The 49 nominees selected by the Washington State IWY nominating committee ranged in age from 17 to 68, represented seven racial/ethnic groups, worked in a wide variety of occupations and community activities, represented most of the world's major religions, and came from all areas of the state (at least five from each congressional district).

Members of the Blue and White Coalition have since charged that conservative women were not represented on this slate. Mary Ellen McCaffree, nominations chair, explained that she had no way of knowing candidate's political orientation during the selection process except in cases where they listed political party membership. She and her committee members were concerned primarily that candidates satisfy the requirements for diversity required by law in terms of income-level, racial/ethnic background, religion, age, geographical location, and sphere of influence, as well as representing "local, state, regional, and national institutions, agencies, organizations, unions, associations, publications, and other groups which work to advance the rights of women." Candidates were at no time asked their positions on political issues.

If women representing the viewpoints of Blue and White Coalition members were not included, the most likely reasons would be: 1) not enough women of their political persuasion applied; 2) they were not aware of the

conference soon enough to meet the June 10 deadline; or 3) they did not meet the criteria defined in the enabling legislation.

Was there diversity on the Friends of Equal Rights and the Blue and White Coalition slates?

The Friends slate was made up of women from 18 to 68, represented six racial/ethnic groups, worked for organizations ranging from the Girl Scouts to the Gray Panthers (an activist group for senior citizens). They came from all corners of the state, although Seattle was over-represented. Nominees' occupations included homemakers, lawyers, teachers, students, social activists, and an architect, and income levels varied significantly. Because of the criteria used to determine the Friends slate (pro-ERA, pro-abortion, and general feminist values), they represented a more limited political spectrum than the original IWY slate, though still diverse.

Members of the Blue and White slate were almost all mothers, although many pursued careers as well and at least two-thirds represented the Church of Latter Day Saints. While they ranged in age from 19 to 65 and came from many areas of the state, most were white and middle-class (one woman on the slate was Indian, another was low income). Due to the one-issue focus of the coalition ("traditional values") the political spectrum represented is the narrowest of the three.

What impact did the early lining up of Blue and White participants have on voting?

Following the nominating plenary on Saturday afternoon, during the two-hour break set aside for dinner, Blue and White participants chose to immediately line up in front of the polls. Perhaps they felt that that was the only way they could be assured of casting their ballots.

Whatever the reason, the sight of more than 1,000 people lined up in front of the doors was an intimidating sight — both to election officials who were finishing up last-minute voting arrangements and to the unaffiliated or pro-ERA voters who came later.

What impact did the pro-ERA rally have?

The pro-ERA rally was a crucial link between the nominating plenary, dinner and voting. By scheduling the rally after dinner, Friends of Equal Rights effectively unified women during what could have been "dead time" and moved them as a body toward the most significant political event of the conference — voting for delegates to the national conference.

The rally also informed feminists and unaffiliated women about the importance of voting for the slate and helped them endure the long hours waiting to vote.

Some members of the Blue and White Coalition reported that they were frightened by the force and size of the marching, chanting group of women.

What impact did the wait to vote have on the participants?

Like registration, the wait during voting had a polarizing effect on many of the conference participants. The Blue and White Coalition lined up and voted first, while the pro-ERA forces, who arrived later, followed behind. While the conservative women probably blamed the Coordinating Committee for the long wait, the pro-ERA forces focused on the "extra people" as the source of their discomfort.

Other participants expressed that the "cold and wind brought... them together." They report that real communication took place between people of opposing views during the long wait to vote.

Given the votes of the Sunday plenary, how could the pro-ERA slate have been elected?

Due to the fact that this question is presently under litigation, it would be improper to definitively state the answer to this question. However, in reviewing the information available, the following theories suggest themselves.

As a result of reports received from feminists in other states, Friends was aware of the political importance of electing a delegate slate representing their views. They had learned that delegates were not bound by recommendations passed in the plenary session, and so placed their primary emphasis on the election. Feminists who could only come for one day were urged to attend on Saturday, so that they could register and vote.

A number of feminists have said that they were discouraged by the degree of polarization at the conference, as well as by the long lines for registration, voting, and food. While the rally served to keep their spirits up long enough to vote, these women say it was not enough to keep them at the conference. Others stated that when they originally planned to attend the conference (prior to the knowledge that it would be such a political event), they had elected to go on Saturday to "hear about the issues" rather than "sitting through a convention" on Sunday.

Members of the Blue and White Coalition have commented that they felt the same sense of responsibility about staying until the end of the conference that they felt about attending the conference in the first place.

While pro-ERA supporters who had pre-registered had accommodations and food for the duration of the conference and Blue and White organizers had provided alternative housing and food for their contingent, a number of feminists who came at the last minute, when they heard that conservatives would be attending in force, had neither accommodations nor food. Many, having left home unprepared, were also short of cash. Therefore, staying for the Sunday plenary was not even a reasonable option for them.

When considering these possibilities, it should be kept in mind that while 3,174 votes were cast for delegates Saturday night, only 2,615 votes were recorded for the last issue considered by the plenary session, a difference of almost 560 women.

What was the importance of political sophistication at the Sunday plenary?

It is obvious that the political experience of some feminists aided them during the plenary session. As a matter of fact, even before the plenary, this sophistication was evidenced by the selection of a unified slate of 24 delegates and the adoption of some pro-women's rights proposals during some workshop sections that had been selected by the Blue and White Coalition.

The pro-ERA forces began the plenary session with three strikes against them: they had no floor strategy, they had no idea of how many pro-ERA voters were in the hall, and they did not have copies of the recommendations to be considered. However, despite these odds, their leaders were able to devise and implement strategy on the spot. The feminists who were making these decisions had been involved in feminist political battles for years.

While many of the women there who were pro-women's rights could not have been described as politically astute, there was a relatively successful communication system developed which aided them in understanding what was happening. Most realized that they had to present a unified front in response to what was perceived as a large and organized opposition.

In contrast, many of the conservative women had not been politically active. Therefore, when faced with the situation in Ellensburg, they seemed unable to translate it into political terms. Their leaders were thoroughly experienced in politics, but were fewer in numbers than the leaders of the pro-ERA forces, which represented a coalition of many pro-women's rights caucuses. Therefore, the Blue and White contingent was often ineffective politically, despite superior numbers. The fine points of parliamentary procedure also provided a stumbling block for many conservative women.

Evidence for this conclusion comes from a number of points: First, the floor leader for the Blue and White Coalition attempted to introduce a series of alternative resolutions representing the conservative viewpoint as an amendment to the Disabled Women's Policy Statement and was therefore out of order. Second, when the Ethnic Women of Color introduced a resolution calling for racial and ethnic equality, and a number of highly controversial recommendations (including the ERA), the conservative women who spoke against the recommendation did not move to delete the offensive sections of the resolution. They were then forced into the predicament of voting against racial equality if they wished to remain true to their political convictions. The fact that several conservative women voted for the recommendation and more than 100 abstained indicates the difficult choice they were forced to make.

What was the significance of caucuses to the pro-ERA forces during the plenary?

Caucus liaisons contacted by Friends of Equal Rights to provide input in selecting a unified slate of nominees proved to be invaluable during the chaotic plenary session.

Most of the liaisons — one from each major caucus represented in the pro-ERA group — had worked together in the past and thus were able to coordinate their efforts despite the lack of any formal strategies. Even groups that in more complacent times had disagreed on many issues united.

Many of the liaisons tended to be more politically experienced than their peers and were able to explain the significance of strategies like voting as a bloc in an acceptable way.

What was the significance of conference participants voting on the Ethnic Women of Color Resolution at the plenary?

When, at a mid-day strategy session of pro-ERA caucus liaisons during the Sunday plenary, the Ethnic Women of Color suggested that the rules be suspended so that their resolution could be considered, other feminist leaders supported this decision. Since the involvement of racial/ethnic women in the women's movement is a relatively recent phenomenon, this action was significant indeed.

Also, the move to consider the Ethnic Women of Color resolution was the first time during the plenary session that the pro-ERA forces had taken the offensive.

Whether or not suspending the rules and voting on this recommendation was intended to discredit the opposition, that is, in fact, what happened. The conservative women were forced to either vote for the Equal Rights Amendment (and a host of other controversial proposals) or vote against racial equality.

Was polarization an inevitable outcome of conservative participation in the conference?

We believe that the events leading up to Ellensburg virtually precluded any chance for a conference that was not characterized by conflict and polarization.

Since Washington was one of the last IWY conferences, information about conferences in other states became available to both feminists and conservative women. Political contacts in other states and women's rights publications depicted conservative forces as monolithic, well-funded, and well-organized. They urged feminists to mobilize to prevent a conservative take-over and, in some cases, warned them never to give their enemies an even break. Similarly, conservative women were alerted by friends and relatives in other states and read warnings in such publications as Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum newsletter and the Cardinal Mindzentsky Review. Press coverage also tended to focus on controversy at women's conferences across the country. The Oklahoma tape, which was played to audiences of conservative women around the state, had a strong divisive tone.

Thus, when a spokesman for the Blue and White Coalition announced to the Coordinating Committee that unregistered women would be attending the conference, the polarization was set in motion. It heightened as the word

went out across the state that 2,000 conservatives were coming to the conference.

When conservative women arrived en masse to register at the conference, they not only presented an awesome sight, but the arrival of such a large contingent all at once resulted in long hours of waiting to register — just the kind of thing the conservative women had been warned to expect from the Coordinating Committee. Feminists arriving at the conference after hearing rumors about a conservative take-over were met with the sight of a huge line of people waiting to register. Many blamed the conservatives for the hours it took them to register. The separate headquarters of the Blue and White Coalition and their identifying ribbons served to further set them apart. Each subsequent event — targeted workshops, the long voting line, the Sunday plenary — played out the scenario.

Was Ellensburg only a political event?

Without doubt, the Ellensburg conference was a highly political gathering. However, it must be reiterated that many women attended the conference with few political motivations in mind. The controversial workshops were packed not just because of actions by the political coalitions but because these topics were of interest to many independent individuals. Many women have commented that they felt uncomfortable about aligning themselves with either of the two groups. As one said, "I was somewhere in

between what the Blue and Whites thought feminists were or what feminists thought Blue and Whites were."

Women came in contact with viewpoints to which they had not previously been exposed. Urban women heard some of the problems of rural women, races and religions intermingled, and political philosophies clashed and sometimes found common ground.

What were some of the effects of the conference?

The conference served as a catalyst for political involvement by conservatives, for the unification of feminists of many diverse viewpoints, and for the formation of ongoing caucuses such as those of Black and Asian/Pacific women.

The conference was also instrumental in refocusing interest on women's issues throughout the state. Conference events and their implications were a topic of public discussion for months after their occurrence.

The conference posed many questions about the future of the women's movement. Who will define the issues of women now that conservative women are more involved? Can areas of agreement between conservatives and feminists be found? Should they work together, or is that impossible? And how will this conflict affect the ongoing pursuit of equality?



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Part II.

Issues of Women in Washington State

Topics Discussed Within Issues, Presented Alphabetically

Abortion
Affirmative action
Alcohol and drugs
Arts and Humanities
Asian/Pacific women
Athletics
Battered women
Black women
Child care
Community property
Comparable worth
Contraception
Credit law
Disabled women
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Economic independence
Education
Employment
Equal Rights Amendment
Female offenders
Female sexuality
Gay parenting
Grant-writing
Health
Hispanic women
Housing
International interdependence
Legal status of women in Washington State
Lesbian rights and lifestyle
Media image of women
Native American women
Non-traditional employment
Older women
Positions of influence
Poverty and women
Rape
Rural women
Single parents
Strategies for change
Violence against women
Volunteerism

Employment

Working Women: The Controversy and The Reality

There is much controversy about the work women can or should be allowed to do, or even if women should work at all. Much of this controversy is based on the assumption that the average working woman is a middle-class mother with children whose decision to work deprives a male breadwinner of a job. The facts do not support this, however. Accurate information sheds quite a different light on the American working woman.

- More than half of all women 18 to 64 years of age are workers.
- Nine out of 10 girls will work at some time in their lives.

The more education a woman has, the greater the likelihood she will seek paid employment. Seven out of 10 women 45 to 54 years of age with four or more years of college are in the labor force.

- The number of working mothers (women with children under 18) has increased ninefold since 1940. They now number 13.6 million, an increase of 4.1 million in the last decade.
- Women do not rob men of jobs. In 1973, when there were 2.5 million unemployed males, married American women held 19.8 million jobs, a great number of which were secretarial, teaching, or nursing jobs few men are trained to fill. If all those women had stayed home, more than 17 million jobs would have been unfilled.
- Women workers are concentrated in low-paying, dead end jobs. About half work in jobs like secretaries, typists, cashiers, waitresses, bookkeepers, retail saleswoman, etc. As a result, the average woman worker earns less than three-fifths of a man's salary, even when both work full time year round.
- Fully employed women high school graduates (with no college) have less income on the average than fully employed men who have not completed elementary school.
- A majority of women work because of economic need.
- About three-fifths of all women workers are single, divorced, widowed, or separated, or have husbands whose earnings are less than \$7,000 per year.
- It is frequently the wife's earnings that raise a family out of poverty. In husband-wife families, 15% have incomes below \$5,000 if the wife does not work, and only 4% when she does work.

Improving the financial rewards of jobs held by women workers is currently focused in two directions: moving women into jobs traditionally held by men, and further developing the concept of comparable worth (that people receive equal pay not just for identical jobs but for jobs of equal worth).

Comparable Worth

The Washington State Study

Comparable worth is a concept which implies that traditional women's jobs are low-paying, not because they are worth little, but because they have been devalued. A survey conducted for the State of Washington strongly supports comparable worth and disputes assumptions that women's jobs are paid less than men's jobs because they are worth less. By evaluating the jobs of 800 state employees in components (knowledge and skills, mental demands and accountability, and working conditions), a consultant rated 121 classified staff positions in the Higher Education Personnel System and the State Department of Personnel System. This audit showed clearly that people in "women's jobs" (70% of the people holding these positions were female) had to work harder and take on more responsibility to make wages equal to those paid in jobs held predominantly by men. According to the points assigned by the study, the average pay for women's jobs was about 70% of the pay for men's jobs of comparable worth. Clearly, two separate pay systems were operating. Because state salaries are based on current marketplace value determined by surveys of community salaries, it can safely be assumed that the situation is probably the same elsewhere.

The Cost of Comparable Worth

Though comparable worth has been supported by both the past and present governors of the state, implementation of the comparable worth system of pay is sure to be expensive and controversial. It goes against the traditional practice of devaluing work done by women, and implementing the findings of the state study may require freezing the salaries of some men's jobs while raising salaries for many women's jobs until the salaries are comparable.

Nontraditional Employment for Women

Another Route to Better-Paying Jobs

Women may move into higher income jobs by seeking employment in fields like professional, managerial, technical, trades, and skilled crafts — fields traditionally dominated by men. (Professional trends of today's college women are discussed in the Higher Education Section of this report; this section will emphasize the latter categories.)

Why Women Hold Few Nontraditional Jobs

The reasons women still hold only a small percentage of nontraditional jobs result both from the subtleties of women's training in American society and from very obvious problems women who want these jobs face each day. Schoolage girls are generally not exposed to fields like trades and crafts; they're not encouraged to become competent in such fields; some are ridiculed for attempting to learn these skills. Few women, therefore, make the

decision to enter such non-traditional fields until after leaving high school and, as a result, miss a valuable chance to educate themselves in these fields.

While this conditioning does not lead a high percentage of women to choose nontraditional jobs, Mechanica, a Seattle group which helps place women in the trades, reports that they have 10 clients wanting to get into a trade for every one they place. The fact that only 2.6% of enrollees in apprenticeship programs are female further suggests that barriers exist for women in these programs. This situation may change since, in January, 1977, a group of women's organizations successfully petitioned the Washington State Apprenticeship Council to include women in their state affirmative action plans. Washington thus became the second state to have such a plan.

Although federal laws prohibit discrimination against women in employment, federal contractors frequently have not complied with these laws, and studies have found both the U.S. Departments of Housing, Education, and Welfare and Labor to be lax in enforcing anti-discrimination laws.

Unions control access to jobs in construction and manufacturing, especially in Washington, the third most unionized state in the country. According to Mechanica, women who have tried to join unions have met with negative reactions ranging from passive resistance to active attempts to block their entry. Women who have managed to get on the job have frequently needed support to overcome the loneliness of being the only woman in sight or to withstand the harassment that sometimes comes from those men who do not believe it is normal for women to work in the trades or do not welcome female coworkers for other reasons.

Efforts to Help Women Enter Trades

Despite such resistance by employers and unions, more women are becoming interested in entering skilled trades and crafts — not only because many of these jobs pay well, but also because they like the work. Feminist groups are working to assist women who do want to enter trades. Mechanica suggests that women create informational and advocacy services; form citizen's action groups to pressure employers, unions, and apprenticeship committees to let women into the trades; expose boys and girls to the idea that women can work in the trades, and encourage girls to take shop courses; and require that community colleges and vocational-technical schools actively recruit women. Work Options for Women (WOW), which operates out of the Olympia YWCA, works to help low-income, under-employed, and unemployed women get started in nontraditional jobs. WOW offers information, vocational counseling, and other support. They also work with employers and the community to develop nontraditional job openings and strongly advocate changes that will incorporate more women into apprenticeship training in unions.

Women who are already members of unions are, in increasing numbers, addressing themselves to issues like child care, pregnancy benefits, extending protective

legislation to men, supporting both affirmative action and seniority gains, etc.

Other Washington State groups providing support and assistance to women working in nontraditional jobs include Women in Trades (Seattle), Nontraditional Job Opportunities (Longview), the Bellingham YWCA, and others.

Military Women

Another nontraditional area opening to women is military service. Most legal barriers have been overcome. Female service members now receive all allowances in their own right, even when married to another service member. They are also entitled to full pay and allowances during maternity leave, even as a single parent.

Training is available in almost all military career fields, as 98% of job specialties in the Air Force and 92% of job specialties in the Army are open to women. The only jobs denied females at this time are those directly related to combat. In the Navy and Air Force, this denial is based upon laws which are currently being challenged in the courts. According to First Lieutenant Kathleen D. Paini, of the U.S. Air Force (McChord), females have successfully completed pilot training and are being utilized in all but combat-oriented aircraft.

The attitude toward women in a predominantly male environment has been identified as a problem. According to First Lieutenant Lynda Joyce, U.S. Army (Ft. Lewis), the women have discovered the best way to overcome an attitude problem is to be as competent and proficient as possible.

Problems in logistics have also been identified, because items such as field gear have been designed solely for men. In response to this situation, women are contributing significantly to the design and testing of new items such as load-wearing equipment and flight suits.

Lt. Joyce indicates the Army recently conducted a test to determine the maximum number of women that could be assigned to a unit without impairing that unit's proficiency. The results of the test have yet to be published.

Women's Views Concerning Employment

Conservative women have expressed concern that women may expose themselves to possible dangers when they take on jobs they are physically unsuited to perform. Conservative women have also stated that a working woman who is not a primary bread winner should not replace a working man with a family to support. In addition, they want to encourage a society that is favorable to mothers who wish to be homemakers at the same time women who are the primary support of a family are also assisted in finding employment.

Affirmative Action

"Affirmative Action" refers to the concept that discrimination can be eliminated if employers go beyond

providing equal opportunity to women and minorities by taking positive steps to identify and change barriers to equality. "Affirmative Action" also refers to state and federal requirements mandating that government contractors overcome discrimination. This is done in part by setting hiring goals or targets that attempt to estimate what the work force would look like if there had been no illegal discrimination. Goals are not quotas. Quotas are illegal because they exclude people. Affirmative action does not compel hiring or promotion of unqualified people.

Feminists support affirmative action. Conservative women believe it goes too far, involves too much bureaucracy, and is unnecessary to eliminate discrimination.

Agencies that Enforce Nondiscrimination

Washington State Human Rights Commission

The Washington State Human Rights Commission works to eliminate discrimination on many counts from race to age. The commission handles charges of sex discrimination by employers having eight or more employees, except for HEW or the federal government.

Seattle Office of Women's Rights

The Seattle Office of Women's Rights enforces legislation and executive orders such as Seattle's Fair Employment Practices and Open Housing Ordinances. The office is also the affirmative action monitor for city government jobs and reviews city contractors' affirmative action plans and employment rates.

U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau

The U.S. Department of Labor Women's Bureau is interested in reducing sex stereotypes which restrict women from applying or being accepted for nontraditional positions while recognizing the need to upgrade the positions of women choosing to hold traditional jobs. The bureau works to make women aware of their rights, as well as reminding employers of their legal responsibilities.

Other Federal Agencies

Laws and executive orders at the federal level cover every aspect of working conditions and prohibit sex discrimination. Jurisdiction for enforcement of laws prohibiting discrimination is divided among 10 federal agencies.

Education

The Laws and Their Implementation

House Bill 413

In 1975, Washington became the first state to enact a comprehensive law banning sex discrimination against public school teachers and students. House Bill 413 outlawed discrimination on the basis of sex for any student in grades K-12. It also required that the Superintendent of Public Instruction develop regulations and guidelines to eliminate sex discrimination in public school employment, counseling, and guidance services to students, recreational and athletic activities for students, access to course offerings, and textbooks and instructional materials used by students. The Superintendent additionally declared it unlawful for any public school district to discriminate on the basis of sex with regard to any activity conducted by or on behalf of a school district.

While funds for implementing the law were not specifically allocated by the legislature, the State Office of Equal Education has provided extensive technical assistance regarding the preparation of affirmative action programs required of school districts by 1976. Some school districts, however, have been slow in taking advantage of workshops and consultants available to them. The Washington regulations created by House Bill 413 include grievance procedures that may be utilized at the local, district, or state level when regulations are not followed.

Title IX

Title IX of the Federal Education Amendments of 1972 states that "no person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal Financial assistance." The federally funded General Assistance Center located at Portland State University provides free Title IX training to public schools.

Sex Equity for Students

Athletic Opportunities

In the past, nearly 100% of sex segregation in physical space in schools occurred during recess and physical education classes, according to one educator. Boys were developing cooperative teamwork skills while girls were developing social skills. P.E. classes are now required by law to be co-ed (with some exceptions), while casual social groupings are not regulated.

Athletic opportunities for girls have traditionally been limited. Through the mid-1970's, high schools spent about 5% of their athletic budgets on females; colleges spent about 1%. In the late 1960's, one Washington university spent more on the telephone budget for men's athletics than for the entire women's program. Today, a tour of the men's athletic facilities at the University of Washington takes about an hour-and-a-half; the women's facilities can be seen in 15 minutes.

Athletics and the Laws

H.B. 413, Title IX, and the State Equal Rights Amendment provide some legal tools to overcome discrimination in athletics. Physical education classes (required) and intramural athletic activities (voluntary) provided by a school district are required to be co-ed with few exceptions, while competitive athletics may include separate teams for boys and girls selected on the basis on skill, or in different equivalent sports, provided equal opportunity genuinely exists. Equipment, facilities, quality of competition, skill, and compensation of coaching staffs, budgets, and uniforms must be comparable.

Impediments to Sex Equity in Athletics

Unfortunately, the laws are difficult to enforce. In this era of declining enrollments and failing levies, legislative funding is needed if women's opportunities and facilities are to be improved without impairment to men's athletic programs.

Monetary barriers are not the only impediment, however. Women's social and cultural conditioning has discouraged them from active participation in sports. Athletic competence and the competitive spirit have been equated with masculinity and, until recently, life-long, traditionally co-ed activities such as tennis, golfing, and jogging have taken a back seat to traditionally male team events like football and basketball. In re-evaluating the role of "women's" sports, questions are also being raised about the traditional emphasis on training a few top-notch athletes versus the value of participation by more students in healthy activities that build self-discipline, physical fitness, and are pleasurable throughout life.

Women's Views About Athletics

Conservative women have expressed support for equal opportunity for both sexes to participate in athletics and have stated that school programs should be provided equally if enough students wish to participate. These women stipulate that, if any athletic program might result in bodily harm, it should not be sex-integrated. Conservative women prefer local control and want Title IX abolished.

Feminists at the conference supported Title IX and H.B. 413. They want funds allocated for enforcement and for assistance in educating professionals about how to responsibly apply the laws to educational programs.

Textbooks and Instructional Materials

Washington State's H.B. 413 corrected a major exclusion in the federal law, Title IX, by including textbooks and audio-visual and reference materials in the ban on sex bias. To ensure equitable representation of the sexes in the curriculum, all types of roles for women — as homemakers, working women, historical and political figures, and more — would be respectfully and realistically represented.

Math Ability

Difference in math abilities is of great concern to many women because math is used as a screening filter for

careers. Four years of high school math is necessary for 75% of the professional fields. Differences in math ability are related to training (i.e., if differences in early training are controlled, differences between the sexes in ability disappear). Math ability is related to spatial ability which can be taught, and the earlier it is taught, the better.

One study showed that preference patterns in mathematics of men and women are very similar. It suggests that, though male students don't like math any better than female students, they are more likely to take math classes because they are aware that such courses are prerequisites to the kinds of future occupations they envision for themselves.

Counseling and Guidance

Sex-role stereotyping by school guidance personnel has had a significant effect on the choice of and preparation for future occupations by male and female students. The state law now requires school counselors to present both nontraditional and traditional vocational choices to both boys and girls. The success of a non-sex-biased guidance program rests, first, on schools obtaining testing instruments and career choice materials that are bias-free and, second, on school personnel who recognize the effect of traditional job choice counseling on students, schools, and the nation.

Students in Higher Education

University of Washington and Washington State University graduate school enrollments show that females are continuing to study in fields marked by high unemployment and lower pay (arts and humanities, education, nursing, social work, etc.). Dr. Dee Boersma, Assistant Professor of Ornithology at the university, believes this picture is even worse at the undergraduate level. "I have women students who wait until their senior year to take any science classes to fulfill graduation requirements because they thought they would be too hard. Then they discover it's not so bad," she says. Dr. Boersma also believes many females respond to the notion that science is a man's field by quitting science classes if they receive a C, while males are likely to continue even after receiving C's and D's in technical subjects.

State professional schools nonetheless do show a large increase in female enrollments. At the University of Washington Law School, one-third of 1977-78 enrollees are women as compared to 22% five years ago and only 5% ten years ago. At the UW Medical School, almost one-fourth of the medical students are women, compared to about 12% five years ago; 20% of the Dental School enrollees are women and almost 33% of Washington State University veterinary medicine students.

Women Employed in Education

Elementary and Secondary School Employment

The current status of women in education is striking in comparison with earlier times. In the late 19th and 20th centuries, all positions were predominated by females. As recently as 1948, 55% of elementary principals were women. In Washington State today, only 8% of elementary

and 2% of secondary principals are female; less than 40% of secondary teachers are women, but 70% of elementary teachers and almost all kindergarten teachers are female.

Why are women underutilized as administrators? A common belief is that there is not a sufficient number of qualified women to fill administrative positions. According to statistics available from the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the difference between the number of available qualified women and the number holding principal and superintendent positions is not justified on this basis.

One study cites six reasons for the inequitable employment situation in education.

1. Outright discrimination in promotion practices.
2. Informal preference by school boards for males based on the belief that more men are needed at the elementary level and that only men can exert discipline required of principals.
3. Overreaction on the part of school boards to criticism that the elementary schools lack male role models and authority figures. (Lack of female role models at the secondary level is evidently not a concern.)
4. Colleges' and universities' use of financial aid and recruitment practices do not indicate concern for sex imbalance in principalships.
5. A drop in the proportion of women pursuing principalships due to lack of support and/or encouragement.
6. Increased prestige and higher salaries of administrative positions since World War II, adding to the myth of male superiority in these positions.

The same study shows that, on the average, the caliber of performance of both students and teachers was of *higher* quality in schools administered by women than in those managed by men and that no significant differences in morale exists in schools administered by women or men.

Hiring Administrators

There are strong indications that criteria other than competence and qualifications have been important in the selection of administrators. For example, research indicates that eight out of 10 superintendents have a background in coaching and that the only constant factor found in selection of administrators has been sex. Age, types of positions previously held, length of experience, background, etc., have had no correlation with the hiring process, though military experience was also valued.

What seems to be occurring is that employers will bend requirements for males but claim that women don't fit the requirements.

Salaries of Women in Public Education

The census bureau shows that, in 1970, the average salary of female administrators was \$5,000 a year less than that of male administrators. There were two reasons: Women were more often administrators in small districts that did not pay as well, and women were also paid lower salaries in the same districts in which male administrators were paid more.

There has been no significant difference in hiring and promotion in Washington since 1970, although there is now one female superintendent in a small school district and four assistant superintendents in larger districts. There are five female secondary principals and eight female elementary principals in the State of Washington. Virtually all school secretaries and classroom aides are still women, and food service workers are predominantly women. Higher paying, supervisory positions continue to be filled primarily by men.

Male teachers also tend to be paid more for extracurricular activities. The Washington Education Association is currently suing school districts in the state for failure to compensate male and female coaches equitably.

Barriers to Affirmative Action in Public School Employment

There are still many barriers to affirmative action. Many believe that reverse discrimination occurs and that unqualified women are being hired over qualified men, but the supervisor for the State Office of Equal Education states that this is not so. Like many, she believes the true purpose of affirmative action — to force examination of hiring procedures and the promotion process in order to insure non-discriminatory policies and practices are utilized — has been distorted by those who oppose it.

Overcoming current discrepancies would involve providing more encouragement and support to women both before and after they acquire administrative positions, changing and defining hiring criteria, and enforcing laws that currently exist. It is essential that members of the public become aware of what is happening in their own districts.

A problem that arises when women and minorities are hired according to affirmative action guidelines is that the most recently hired are the first to be laid off when levies fail. Creativity will be needed to devise policies that are fair to educators with seniority and, at the same time, do not undermine affirmative action gains.

Employment in Higher Education

Recent studies have shown that women and minorities have yet to achieve equality in employment at colleges and universities. Findings of a Ford Foundation study of 18,000 administrators at more than 1,000 institutions of higher education include the following:

- Women are paid about four-fifths of what men with the same job titles at the same institutions are paid.

- Almost 80% of key administrators are white males, 14% are white women, 5% minority men, and 2% minority women.
- The only administrative positions in which both women and men have a sizeable representation is affirmative action officer. Even in that position, women are paid less than men.

At the University of Washington, only eight out of the 95 department chairs are women, and most of these are in the Nursing or Home Economics Departments. In other key administrative positions at the U.W., from president to assistant dean, only nine of the 66 posts are held by women. Even these percentages are higher than in the past.

Community Involvement in Schools

Parental concerns vary from prescribing total control of who teaches their children to having community use of educational facilities during hours when school is not in session. Community pressure on school boards and teachers has long been established as an effective means of change. It is important that parents become educated about the state and federal laws pertaining to their concern, as their school board may be incorrectly applying or not applying a pertinent law.

Women's and minorities' desires for more equal education can be effective when they are organized. In Seattle, the parent community was successful in establishing Alternative Elementary No. 1 eight years ago, and such concern has led to other alternative schools, including a new K-12 program opened at Summit School in 1977.

In the 1960's, demands for increased community involvement were largely made by members of the radical left. Today, many minority people and conservatives desire increased local control of their children's education. A great number of people are expressing their concern that antithetical values not be taught to their children, and are asserting their rights as consumers. Many feel that all federally funded education programs should allow for community involvement at the local level, and many would like federal funding to accomplish this.

Women's Views of Education

Feminist concerns about education focus on several areas. These women express interest in eliminating sex-role stereotypes from textbooks and instructional materials. They also support training for teachers, administrators, and counselors regarding ways to eliminate sex bias and implement affirmative action laws. Career development information for staff *and* students is another area of concern, as is increasing opportunities for athletic activities for females.

Conservative women object to the federal government pre-empting states rights and the decisions of local school districts. They also express concern that the role of homemaker, wife, and mother not be eliminated or devalued. They support educational activities based on

individual student preferences and fear that identical education will be forced on their sons and daughters and will destroy traditional male and female roles. They are not opposed to women seeking careers but do not want to pay taxes for career training unless financial aid is proven to be necessary. They also support women seeking election to school boards and state that discrimination in top-level positions in schools should end.

Child Care

The Need for Child Care

While debate continues over whether mothers should work outside the home, millions of women, nevertheless, continue to do so. Of the 40% of all Washington women who were working in 1970, one-third had children under age 12. Seventy percent of these who were the sole support of their families had children between the ages of 6 and 17. More than half of the families headed by women with children under age 17 had incomes which ranged from below poverty level to only 25% above it, and the average salary for female family heads was \$6,308 — more than \$5,000 below the average salary of a Washington State family. Fifteen percent of children under 18 — almost 175,000 — had one parent at home or no parents at all.

These statistics make the need for child care apparent and the issue of child care a women's issue. This is true not just because mothers work outside the home, but because women's low salaries make paying for child care difficult.

For single parents receiving Aid to Dependent Children, the federal government provides some assistance with child care. Under Title XX amendments to the federal Social Security Act, child care is paid for women for up to two years while they are in an approved training program. Some people believe that four years of training is necessary for women to get an education that will lead to a good-paying job and are pushing to receive child care for the additional two years.

For women who work but receive less than poverty wages, Title IV-A covers child care. As a result of women's efforts to correct the state's failure to comply with federal regulations, work expenses, including child care costs, are now deducted from income in computing a women's eligibility for Title IV-A funds.

Possibilities for federal funding of child care are much greater than the State of Washington has taken advantage of. Title XX allows states to provide free services to some families and services on a sliding scale to others with higher incomes. Yet, the state has restricted eligibility for free day care services within much narrower guidelines and has no sliding scale at all. A recent Washington Department of Social and Health Services director publicly stated that government-funded day care should have a low priority and indeed, state income standards for determining eligibility for day care assistance have decreased significantly in the last 10 years.

Low-income women are obviously not the only ones whose children need day care. Middle-class families are finding that two incomes are needed to meet modern

economic pressures, but few jobs are designed to encourage family involvement. The inflexible hours, long commutes, and virtual non-existence of paid leave to care for sick children point to the need for help. Part-time jobs may be one answer, but they generally pay so little that they barely cover child care costs.

Even a mother who chooses to work at home may need substitute care at times. She may be separated from her own family and thus may not be able to seek counsel or help with babysitting. Her children may have little exposure to adults other than their parents.

The Quality of Child Care

Paid child care is provided by day care centers (public and private), family day care homes, group day care homes, in-home babysitters, nursery schools, and parent cooperatives. Less formal arrangements, such as leaving older siblings in charge of younger ones, letting children take care of themselves, or checking on children over the telephone also abound. In the City of Seattle, the Department of Human Resources estimates that there are only half as many slots in licensed facilities as there are children in need of them. Day care for children under two-and-one-half years of age is especially difficult to find.

The state government sets licensing standards for day care centers and family day care homes. Federal requirements apply to Title XX-funded facilities, although the staff/child ratio recommended by the federal government is in abeyance while being reviewed by the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. Although federal requirements recognize the need to have high standards set for good care, staff/child ratio is considered an inadequate criteria for quality by many, and the recommended ratio is considered too expensive by some centers. Low salaries mean that day care workers rarely receive salaries over the minimum wage, even if they hold degrees in early childhood education. As a result, few trained workers can afford to make a career of child care. It can be argued that child care workers are in fact subsidizing day care by accepting such low wages.

Parents who pay for privately operated programs cannot afford to pay much more for their children's care. When the well-being of children is considered, aside from whether child care is getting people off the welfare rolls or the parents are already self-sufficient, anything more than custodial care is essential but expensive.

Conservatives sometimes argue that day care is breaking up the family by encouraging mothers to work and that public funds should not be contributed to this situation. They also cite early studies of the Israeli kibbutz, showing negative effects on children living away from parents. Feminists cite other studies that have shown that child care children develop basically the same way they would at home, except that day care children are less inhibited around unfamiliar children than those reared at home.

What's Being Done

The Child and Family Services Act was introduced in Congress in 1975 but is getting nowhere. This

comprehensive federal legislation would provide for voluntary, direct participation by parents in operating community child care programs, support for establishing and maintaining child care in homes or other facilities, after-school programs, information and referral services, prenatal care, programs to meet special needs of racial and ethnic minorities, and food/nutrition services. It is evidently too broad to gain support from a majority. Carter's welfare reform plan, which has not yet been introduced, is expected to include some provision for child care.

Legislation that *has* passed includes the Tax Reform Act of 1976 giving tax credits for child care to working parents, and the Child Day Care Services Act allocating an additional \$240 million in Title XX monies to help upgrade current facilities and programs.

Referral services such as King County Day Care Referral Service help in locating and evaluating care. Using vacant school space and operating centers through local schools are being considered in Seattle, and parents are pushing for more involvement in programs and better training in their own parenting skills.

There are many citizen groups interested in the day care problem, but some have floundered after efforts to create change have been frustrated. A range of solutions to child care have been proposed, but most of them require more money, more trained staff, better programs, and better access to families who need them.

Opinions as to who should pay for child care outside the home and who should receive public help in paying for child care vary. But conservatives and feminists alike see a need for more local control, better use of existing resources, and quality child care for all children, whether or not their parents work.

Racial/Ethnic Minorities

Asian/Pacific Women

Two Types of Needs: Native Born and Immigrant Women

In addressing the issues of Asian/Pacific women, one must be aware of the differences between those who are second- or third-generation Americans and those who are foreign born.

Native-born Asian women face the same problems as other American women and, in addition, experience cultural conflicts as a result of the differences between the expectations placed upon them as members of traditional Asian families and those placed upon them as members of contemporary American society. Traditional Asian women are expected to be subservient and silent, and to please others. At the same time, contemporary American society demands that one be aggressive, highly verbal, and individualistic in order to succeed.

Asian women who are recent immigrants frequently do not know English, have no information about their legal rights, are unaware of social services for which they might be eligible, and live in constant fear of deportation. They are, in short, primarily concerned with the basic survival issues of life.

Plight of Immigrant Women

In the Fort Lewis area near Tacoma, there are 200-500 Asian women presently married to American servicemen. Another 1,500-2,000 Asian women have been deserted or divorced by their husbands. These women have often been physically abused by their husbands, have no financial support, and lack the basic skills necessary to live and work in this country.

Immigrant women who are not service wives also fear deportation and have no knowledge about their legal rights; thus they are easy prey for unscrupulous employers. These women are often employed in unskilled and low-paying jobs (such as farm labor and the garment industry) where their lack of language skills does not pose a problem. The poor conditions in which they work often give rise to such diseases as tuberculosis. Even those Asian-born women who are trained as professionals (lawyers, accountants, etc.) are often barred from appropriate employment because of licensing or accreditation requirements.

Problems of Native-Born Women

Despite the fact that many Asian/Pacific women born in the United States have been educated beyond the national average, most are relegated to clerical and service-related jobs like waitress or maid. Asian/Pacific women feel that the "Lotus Blossom" image of Asian women as domestic, obedient, quiet, passive, and intellectually uninspired is responsible for much job stereotyping. In addition, job counseling based on the rigidly defined standards of success of white males and the traditionally low cultural expectations for Asian women also play a role in keeping these women in positions below their skill level.

For Asian/Pacific women as for other groups, discrimination in employment has its roots in discrimination in education. Asian/Pacific women have traditionally been channeled into fields such as fine art, health sciences, or technical research, rather than into disciplines requiring aggressive verbal behavior. Thus, they are under-represented in administrative positions, and few have been elected to political office. In addition, neither Asian history nor the Asian-American experience are adequately taught in American schools.

Some Proposed Solutions

While native-born Asian/Pacific women are able to identify with the issues of the women's movement, foreign-born women are primarily concerned with the physical survival of themselves and their families. Asian/Pacific women call for rigorous enforcement of affirmative action programs, the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, increased availability of child care, more Asian women administrators in educational institutions, and greater numbers of Asian

women in political positions. Foreign-born women particularly need bilingual job training and special legal and social services.

All Asian women need community-centered bicultural and bilingual health education in family planning, pap smears, breast exams, and other health services. Mental health services are also needed, particularly for immigrant women and service wives. In addition, more specific research about the special needs of Asian/Pacific women is also needed.

Black Women

A Newly Organized Political Force

Like other minority women, Black women see themselves as Blacks first and women second. However, in Washington state, they have come to the conclusion that, despite some concern that the women's movement is too white and middle-class, the women's movement can provide an effective forum for them. As a result, Black women have begun organizing as women and forming tenuous relationships with the existing women's organizations. Education, employment, child care, political awareness and involvement, reproductive decisions, and affirmative action are the primary concerns of Black women's groups.

Poverty is the Economic Reality

Although there is a general belief that most Blacks have reached middle-class status as a result of the civil rights legislation of the 1960's, this is only true for the young, educated Blacks. The social and economic reality for the majority of Black people is still poverty.

During the upswing of the 60's, unemployment for Blacks dropped from 10.2% to 6.4% and the median income rose from \$3,233 to \$6,191. Upward mobility became possible for the young and educated during this period, but other Blacks — women heads of households, the elderly, and teenagers — were largely bypassed. The 1969 recession and the economic problems of the 1970's halted or reversed economic progress for Black Americans. Female-headed households were especially hard hit. For example, while one out of three poor Black families were headed by women in 1960, by 1972 this number had risen to nearly two out of three.

Employment and Educational Disadvantages

Since 1960, the percentage of Blacks in unskilled occupations has dropped from 58% to 37.8%, but they still hold a disproportionate number of low-paying, dead-end jobs. Also, most of those Blacks who do hold semi-skilled or professional positions are at the beginning steps of career ladders and the bottom of seniority lists; in an economic crunch, they are often the first to be laid off.

While educational attainment has risen dramatically among younger Blacks since 1962, middle-aged and older Blacks remain greatly under-educated in comparison with both their white counterparts and young Blacks.

Survival Problems of Black Women

Black women in particular face severe economic, educational, and employment problems. One out of three Black families is headed by a woman because of the high incidence of teenage pregnancy, the prolonged incarceration of Black males, the high mortality rate of minority men, and the structure of present welfare laws. The lack of quality day care facilities and an inadequate level of education force many of these women into marginal, part-time jobs such as household services. Even those families in which both parents are present depend on the female adult for almost 50% of the family income. Therefore, the economic hardships of Black women pose serious problems for the survival of Black families as a whole.

Some Proposed Solutions

In order to overcome these problems, Black women feel that strong affirmative action programs are needed in employment and education and that increasing attention must be paid to the child care needs of working mothers.

Of immediate concern is the Bakke case, in which the California Supreme Court ruled that Allan Bakke, a 37-year-old white civil engineer, had been a victim of "reverse discrimination" when he was denied entrance to University of California at Davis medical school in 1973 and 1974. The University of California appeal is now before the U.S. Supreme Court. According to Black women and other minorities, a Supreme Court decision concurring with that of the California court could set affirmative action programs throughout the country back 10 years.

While education is seen as the primary means to upward mobility and job security for minority peoples, Black women feel that existing educational institutions do not respond to the needs of Black students. Therefore, they want more control over curriculum, teacher training, and staff development in order to eliminate sex and race bias and encourage ethnic pride.

Black women are also concerned about the epidemic proportions of pregnancy among Black teenagers and about the sterilization of Black mothers on welfare. They recommend community-based, Black-run reproductive counseling centers and sex education classes for parents, so that the parents themselves can instruct their children accurately and confidently.

Finally, in order to effect these changes, Black women believe they must become politically aware and active so that they can begin to fill elected and appointed positions at all levels of government and influence those persons already holding these positions.

Hispanic Women

Inequities Suffered by Hispanic People

Women of Spanish origin include Cubans, Central and South Americans, Spaniards, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans.

These women feel that their concerns as members of these unique groups take precedence over their concerns as women. This is due to the fact that most of the inequalities they face are community-wide and affect Hispanic peoples as a whole.

In general, the concerns of Hispanic peoples are low pay, high unemployment, few marketable skills, language barriers, and hostility, misunderstanding, or mistrust from members of the dominant culture.

Employment and Education Problems

While the average income for white families in 1974 was \$13,359, the median income for those of Spanish origin was \$3,800 less. In 1973, one of every five persons of Spanish descent had an income below the poverty level, while over half of those living in households headed by Hispanic women were classified as poor.

During the third quarter of 1975, the unemployment rate for Hispanic women 20 years of age and older was 11.2%, compared to 7.7% for white women. Teenagers of Spanish origin reported an unemployment rate of more than 26% during the same period.

Most people of Spanish descent who were employed worked as laborers, clerical workers, craftsmen, service workers, and operators (sewers and stitchers, assemblers, packers and wrappers, transport equipment workers, etc.). Only slightly more than 5% were employed in managerial or administrative positions; another 6.4% worked in professional or technical capacities; and another 4.8% were salespersons.

The average level of educational attainment for persons of Spanish origin is generally low. Among those 25 and older in 1974, the average number of years of schooling completed was 9.9 (three years less than the American population as a whole). Furthermore, one out of every five persons of Spanish origin lacked the five years of schooling thought necessary for basic literacy.

The employment and education problems of Hispanic peoples are caused primarily by the fact that the majority of people of Spanish origin in this country are relatively recent immigrants. As a result, in addition to the problems mentioned above, they must confront language and cultural differences.

Immigration Policies

Immigration policies are of particular concern to Hispanic peoples. They feel that the American government imports Mexican workers when there is a need for cheap labor and then sends them back when the situation changes. These Mexican nationals take jobs that most American citizens refuse to do and yet suffer constant raids from immigration officials searching for undocumented workers. The Hispanic women's caucus feels that these practices, as well as the Rodino Bill (which would require all Hispanic peoples to carry special passcards when applying for jobs) and the Eilberg Law (which does not allow Mexican nationals to bring children under 21 into the country with them), pose serious problems for all Hispanic people in this country.

The Need to Unionize Farmworkers

A related problem is that of farmworkers who are primarily Hispanics. While the majority of skilled and semi-skilled workers in this country are unionized and fall well within the American middle income range, farmworkers, who live barely above subsistence level and often lack basic health and social services, are threatened with Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act when they attempt to unionize. Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act allows for the enactment of state "right-to-work" laws, which forbid labor unions from requiring union membership as a condition of employment.

The Media Image

In regard to the media, people of Spanish origin are rarely portrayed on television. Those who do appear are normally found in stereotyped or token roles, such as the Mexican bandit or the "lazy, slovenly Chicano." Members of the Hispanic community call for more responsible portrayal of Spanish Americans, as well as bilingual broadcasting and journalism.

The Most Significant Issues

Therefore, the issues of primary importance to Hispanic women are: 1) the need for quality bilingual and bicultural education; 2) the rights of farmworkers to unionize for better wages; 3) the legal status of workers in migrant labor camps; 4) the need for continuing affirmative action programs; 5) the threat to civil liberties posed by such legislation as the Rodino Bill; 6) the need for political representation by Hispanic peoples; 7) the lack of adequate child care services for Spanish women; 8) the right of Hispanic women to reproductive choice, including protection from sterilization as an adjunct of welfare services; and 9) the need for bilingual media and an improved media image for Hispanic peoples.

Native American Women

Native American women identify themselves primarily in terms of their racial/ethnic heritage and only secondarily in terms of their position as women. In the first place, traditional Native American societies in this area were largely matrilineal, and women held high status in these societies. Secondly, Native American women feel that the major barriers to their full and equal participation in society are a result of discrimination against Indian peoples as a whole rather than against them as women.

Therefore, their primary concerns are in relation to treaty rights, education, the separation of Native American children from their families, the sterilization of Indian women by the Indian Health Service, alcoholism, and the concept of tribal sovereignty.

The Issue of Treaty Rights

The question of treaty rights is one that is hotly debated both in and out of the courts. Washington, in particular, is the scene of a great deal of controversy. In the case of fishing rights, Washington Indians fought the state government for 20 years before Judge George Boldt of the

Federal District Court declared in 1974 that treaty tribes must be allowed the opportunity to harvest 50% of the allowable catch of salmon and steelhead. He based his decision on the provisions of the Stevens Treaties of 1854 and 1855. There has been a great deal of opposition from sports and commercial fishermen since 1974, and the ruling has not been carried out by the state agencies concerned. As a result, Judge Boldt has recently issued a "Memorandum Order and Preliminary Injunction" withdrawing specified amounts of fish from state jurisdiction and placing this amount under the jurisdiction of the federal court.

Other areas of conflict at this time include control over water and energy resources, land taxation, and civil criminal jurisdiction within reservation boundaries.

Education: A Difference in Value Systems

Native Americans' concerns in regard to education stem from the fact that most Bureau of Indian Affairs and public schools support value systems radically different from those of their traditional cultures. Indian spokeswomen point out that the dominant society supports competition rather than cooperation, thoughtless chatter rather than introspection, and thrift rather than generosity. Therefore, they believe, the classroom becomes a battleground for the mind of the child.

Washington Native Americans have been very active in the area of education. A Native American alternative school established at Frank's Landing by a Puyallup tribeswoman provides Indian culture-based curriculum for preschool children through sixth grade. American Heritage High School in Seattle offers a similar program for Washington Indians of high school age.

Title IV funds (provided by the Indian Education Act of 1972) have made it possible for school districts throughout the state to establish special Indian education programs. For example, the Olympia school district has a multi-faceted program providing counseling and tutoring services for Native Americans, as well as cultural enrichment activities.

Finally, the United Indians of all Tribes are involved in developing Indian curriculum and providing a high school equivalency program for Indian adults.

Threats to the Family

Indian Children in Foster Homes

At some time during their lives, between 25% and 35% of Indian children are removed from their families and placed in foster homes, adoptive homes, or institutions. According to Native Americans, this is due to the fact that social workers do not understand Indian culture and, in many cases, consider poverty, poor housing, lack of modern plumbing, and overcrowding to be evidence of parental neglect. While the Department of Social and Health Services has adopted new regulations over the past three years which give priority to the placement of Indian children within their own tribe or culture group, Native Americans feel that

these regulations are not working well. They cite unnecessarily strict qualifications for foster parents as a major cause for the lack of success.

Sterilization of Native American Women

Large numbers of Indian women are being sterilized by Indian Health Service doctors. While statistics are not available for Washington State, studies conducted by the U.S. General Accounting Office in four of the 12 areas serviced by the IHS demonstrated that almost 3,500 Indian women had been sterilized between 1973 and 1976. Of these, 36 were under 21 years of age. One woman was told that her recurring headaches resulted from a fear of pregnancy and was encouraged to undergo sterilization. She later learned that her headaches were the result of a brain tumor. Dr. Connie Uri, a Choktaw and Cherokee Indian who practices medicine in Los Angeles, does not believe that these operations result from a conscious attempt to exterminate the Indian people, but rather are due to the mistaken belief on the part of many doctors that "to have a good life you must be born into a middle-class standard of living."

Alcoholism

It has been estimated that one-third of the adult Indian population has a drinking problem and that alcohol is the number one killer of the Indian people. The director of the Seattle Indian Alcoholism program estimates that more than 90% of Native Americans in penal institutions are there as a result of alcohol-related convictions.

While there is a special program for Indian alcoholics in Seattle, as well as a halfway house, similar services do not exist in other areas of the state and are sorely needed.

Tribal Sovereignty

The recent report of the American Indian Policy Review Commission supports the concept of "tribal sovereignty." In their words: "the ultimate objective of federal Indian policy must be directed toward aiding the tribes in the achievement of fully functioning governments, exercising primary governmental authority within the reservation." Congressman Lloyd Meeds (D-Wa.), Vice-Chair of the Commission, in a voluminous "Dissent to the Findings," stated that "the doctrine of inherent tribal sovereignty...ignores the historical reality that American Indian tribes lost their sovereignty through discovery, conquest, cession, treaties, statutes, and history." Indians point to the fact that they were granted such status in their treaties, the "Supreme Law of the Land," and that this status has been upheld in a series of court decisions stretching back to the 19th century. Obviously, the state governments, which are still required to provide services to Native Americans, do not relish the idea of losing any right of taxation or civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indian reservations. Non-Indians living on reservations cry "taxation without representation."

However, one must keep in mind that the Indian peoples *were* the first Americans, and that the country has become rich on the land taken from them. Meanwhile, Native

Americans have become the poorest, least educated, most prone to illness and, until recently, the least conspicuous of national minorities. They number no more than a million people at this time. Two hundred years of attempts to assimilate them into the mainstream of American social fabric have obviously been unsuccessful. Indian spokespeople believe that it is time to recognize that American Indians deserve a chance to reclaim the identity, dignity, pride and esteem that have too often been taken from them.

Legal Status of Women

The Equal Rights Amendment

Provisions and History of the ERA

The main article proposed as the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution states:

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

Other articles of the proposed amendment give Congress the power to enforce the provisions of this article and state that the amendment will take effect two years after the date it is ratified. The ERA, which was first introduced in Congress in 1923, was approved by the U.S. House of Representatives on October 21, 1971, by a vote of 354 to 23 and by the Senate March 22, 1972, by a vote of 84 to 8.

The Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the State of Washington, similar in wording to the federal ERA — the major difference is that "and responsibility" follows the word "rights" — was approved by Washington voters in November, 1972. Washington is now one of 15 states having a state ERA in its constitution.

In 1973, Washington became the 30th state to ratify the federal ERA. Twenty-two states had ratified it in 1972, in 1973, eight more states ratified it. In 1974, the trend towards speedy ratification changed, with only three states ratifying that year; one ratified in 1975, none in 1976, and one so far in 1977. Thirty-five states have now ratified the ERA; thirty-eight must ratify it by March 22, 1979, for the ERA to become part of the U.S. Constitution, although pro-ERA people are attempting to have this deadline postponed. Three states have ratified, then rescinded the ERA. The validity of these states' ratifications may have to be resolved by Congress.

If approved, the Equal Rights Amendment would be part of the United States Constitution and, thus, a permanent legal statement prohibiting sex discrimination. Its status would be significantly different from that of laws such as the equal employment legislation of the 1960's, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, and the Equal Credit Act

of 1975 because, as laws, the latter are subject to change according to political and economic fluctuations.

Some Arguments For and Against the Federal ERA

CON

The rash of legislation of the 1960's and 1970's prohibiting discrimination against women in employment, education, credit, and other fields adequately protects women's rights.

The federal ERA pre-empts the power of the states. The federal government already has too much power and cannot be depended upon to use this power wisely.

The ERA is too vague and opens the door to too many possibilities for eliminating rights women now have.

Labor laws that protect women would be eliminated. Women would either have to do work they don't want to do or find very difficult to do or they would lose their jobs.

If there is a draft, both men and women who meet physical and other requirements will be subject to conscriptions. Mothers could be off fighting while fathers are left home with the children.

The ERA will permit no exceptions to the non-discrimination rule for the military. Women will serve in all kinds of units, and they will be eligible for combat duty, where they could not avoid the possibility of physical harm.

The ERA would prohibit dictating roles for men and women on the basis of sex. Traditional role models would be destroyed.

Under the ERA, women would lose their right to be supported financially by their husbands within marriage.

Wives and mothers would not be awarded alimony or child support after marital dissolution.

The ERA would cause homemaker wives and widows to lose present eligibility for Social Security benefits based on their husbands' coverage, and husbands would have to pay additional taxes to keep such coverage for their wives.

The ERA would not permit rape and prostitution laws because they are sex discriminatory by nature.

Rights of privacy would be infringed. Prison cells, barracks, and bathrooms would be integrated, as one sex could not be excluded.

PRO

The ERA is needed to provide a permanent, well-known remedy for eliminating sex discrimination. The U.S. Supreme Court has never articulated a general principle in this area, but has treated cases of gender discrimination inconsistently.

States would retain the rights to decide policies and make statutes consistent with the goals of the ERA. States would have two years to revise and implement their laws.

In Washington, which has a state ERA, none of the ill effects forecasted by opponents of the federal ERA have occurred.

Laws that provide protection would be extended to include men, while those which are discriminatory and restrictive would be eliminated. Laws would be rewritten in terms of function and role rather than sex.

It is possible to draft women now without the ERA. Parents could determine which partner was responsible for child care and have that spouse deferred while the other would be liable for service.

Military policy based on combat effectiveness determines who is eligible for combat. Brutalizing young men is as undesirable as brutalizing young women. Women soldiers deserve equal opportunity for training, advancement, and benefits.

The ERA would affect government actions, not social or personal relations. Couples would be free to allocate privileges and responsibilities between themselves.

Support within marriage is a matter of custom, has never been guaranteed by law, and would be unaffected by the ERA.

In Washington, which has a state ERA, many factors including ability to earn a living are considered in determining dissolution settlements.

The ERA would extend social security benefits to husbands and widowers and would not affect husbands contributions to Social Security for wives.

Rape laws will be justified as deriving their sex bias from physical realities. Prostitution laws could be extended equally to men.

The Supreme Court has ruled that there is a constitutional right to privacy while disrobing, sleeping, performing bodily functions, and in many other situations.

CON

Homosexuals would be allowed to marry under the ERA and to adopt children.

The ERA is too vague and not tested sufficiently by the courts. The meaning is unclear, and it is impossible to predict how it will be interpreted until it becomes part of the U.S. Constitution. By then, it may be too late.

PRO

The ERA deals with issues related to gender discrimination, not sexual behavior. Laws prohibiting homosexual marriage would not be affected as long as the same laws affect both men and women.

"Legislative precedent" already exists for interpreting the ERA. Governors in 15 states that have an ERA have assessed the impact of this legislation; they agree that in no state have women lost any rights because of state ERA's.

Legal Status of Women in Washington State

A number of laws concern themselves with the legal status of women in Washington State. These include:

Community Property

A fundamental principle of Washington's community property law is that a husband and wife make equal contributions to their marital community when one works outside the home and the other maintains the home and cares for the children. Property acquired before marriage is separate; property acquired during marriage is community property.

Widowhood

At death, debate over what is separate and what is community property can be avoided if the husband and wife have entered into a community property agreement. If there is no will, the surviving spouse receives the deceased partner's share of community property; she/he will receive the decedent's separate property only if there are no other surviving immediate family members. Half of the community property is subject to federal estate and inheritance taxes; if up to one-half of the deceased spouse's separate property passes to the surviving spouse, that portion will not be taxed.

Women of various political leanings have recommended that taxation on all transfers of property between husband and wife at death be eliminated. Federal law was revised in 1976 to allow the surviving spouse to inherit without tax \$250,000 or one-half the estate, whichever is greater. Tax credits are allowed such that, by 1981, \$425,625 will be exempt.

Dissolution

In 1975, 58 divorces occurred in Washington State for every 100 marriages. Washington has no-fault divorce and, if both partners agree on property settlements the courts do not interfere.

If the courts do get involved, property is divided after considering such factors as the duration of the marriage, the economic circumstances of each spouse (including who will have custody of children), the nature and extent of community and separate property, the ability of the spouse to support him or herself, and the ability of the spouse from whom maintenance is sought to provide it.

A problem encountered after dissolution is that women frequently have difficulty collecting child support even after it is awarded.

Credit

As of June 1, 1977, Washington state creditors must report accounts to the credit bureau in such a manner as to reflect the participation of both spouses if both spouses are contractually liable for their account or if both are permitted to use the account. This regulation helps overcome a frequent problem that was experienced by many a Washington state woman who was denied credit because her credit history was in her husband's name.

Other State Laws

Other Washington state laws directly affecting women are discussed in these sections of this report: Family Life, Economic Independence, Violence Against Women, Education, Employment, Child Care, Reproductive Decisions, Rural Women, Racial/Ethnic Minorities, and Poverty and Women.

Violence Against Women

Battered Women

The Emerging Problem: Violence Against Women at Home

In the last few years, Americans have become increasingly aware of violence inside the home — violence overwhelmingly perpetrated against women. A 1976 study of 2,143 American families showed that, during the year of the study, one out of every six couples experienced a violent episode, including slapping, kicking, or throwing things. Almost 4% of spouses interviewed used a knife or gun to attack their partners. The victims of these attacks were almost always women.

The researchers stated that their figures probably underestimated the amount of violence taking place in American homes. The former director of Seattle's Shelter for Battered Women believes that some form of abuse occurs in one out of two relationships and sees women who feel trapped in such situations turning to tranquilizers or suicide as the way out.

Profile of an Abused Woman

A woman involved in a relationship in which she is being abused by a husband or a lover is much more likely than other women to have been raised in a violent home and may be unwilling to accept the possibility that she does, in fact, have other options. She may further be deterred from leaving when the male abuser becomes genuinely remorseful and promises never to hurt her again. When the situation does become intolerable, the woman is hampered from leaving by both her conditioning and by reality. She may believe that she is unable to be independent. If she has children, she may have nowhere to go for more than a few days. She may have no car and no job skills, or she may be unable to work and pay the high cost of child care. (National figures show that only one-fourth of divorced women having custody of children regularly collect child support).

The women who do file criminal charges by asking police to come to their homes during a battering episode find that police officers can do little except diffuse the situation and remove the male unless she presses charges. Evergreen Legal Services Battered Women's Project in Seattle has documented evidence that police are inclined to see the assault as a domestic dispute. Of 357 battered women calling Legal Service for help, over 300 had called the police at least once for protection.

Problems in the Legal Process

The months that pass between a woman filing charges and action being taken against her abuser greatly concerns battered women. Men arrested for assault against their wives or lovers are frequently released on their own recognizance — and freed to possibly attack these women again. Four months may pass between the incident and the trial; if a guilty verdict is appealed, another 12 months may pass. A court order restraining a man from seeing the woman during this period is usually inadequate. Though violating such an order is a criminal offense, many women have learned that a piece of paper will not stop some men.

During a trial, other legal problems arise. The victim's testimony must be backed up by evidence such as photographs and/or medical testimony of her bodily injury. In addition, the intent of the accused must be proved. Witnesses may be few or unwilling to testify, and the public prosecutor in municipal court has little time to prepare cases.

The Shelter Solution

More than having their assailants punished, battered women need a safe place to go to escape further violence. They need adequate police protection and secrecy as to their whereabouts, as well as a physical shelter for themselves and their children.

Shelters for battered women are just beginning to take shape in several cities throughout Washington. Concerned groups in Olympia, Auburn, Yakima, Walla Walla, Everett, Vancouver, Tacoma, and Seattle provide some form of housing assistance to abused women. In Seattle, a building capable of housing 10 women and children has grown out

of a need that was initially recognized by the Seattle Office of Women's Rights. For adequate service in all reaches of the state, a stable network of shelters must be developed statewide.

Ongoing funding for shelters for battered women has been very difficult to obtain. Recently, CETA program funding has helped staff at least one shelter, and the U.S. Congress has so far allocated about \$1.5 million in Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) funds for shelters.

Education and Laws

Laws concerning battered women need to be enforced rather than changed. Since the attitudes and behavior of police and judges are shaped by public opinion, public education is vital to create a climate in which assaulting women is unacceptable. One way in which the City of Seattle has responded to interest in battered women has been to train Community Service officers to respond to cases of domestic violence and deal with them effectively.

Rape

The Fastest Rising Crime

Rape is the fastest rising crime in the United States. More than 56,000 rapes were *reported* in 1975, but it is estimated that only one out of 10 rapes are reported. In the city of Seattle, the incidence of rape has increased over 400% in the last 10 years, and at the Harborview Sexual Assault Center 86 rape cases were treated in the month of August, 1977, alone. Even in areas of the state which have previously been considered safe, women now are afraid to venture out alone at night.

Fighting the Problem

A speak-out on rape attended by many women was held at the University of Washington five years ago. As a result of that speak-out, eight Seattle women who were concerned about the problem of rape formed a committee that studied the problem and began a rape crisis clinic that operated on weekends. In September, 1972, these women joined with the local YWCA and, with support from city government, became the first rape program to receive funds from the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA). With their four-year grant, they established the Seattle Rape Reduction Project. Then, as now, Rape Reduction had three branches: the administrative arm that worked on legislative lobbying and a funding search; Rape Relief, which operated a crisis phone line 24 hours a day, provided counseling to victims of sexual assault, and did outreach (public speeches, public housing project organizing, etc.) to encourage victims to report rapes and seek help and teach police how to handle sexual assault victims; and the Harborview Sexual Assault Center, which specialized in sensitive and legally helpful methods of treating the rape victims who are referred there from every hospital in the city. This rape reduction program has been a source of ideas and experience used by numerous other cities around the country. In Washington state alone, there are today about 15 sexual assault programs.

Government Funding

On-going support of rape reduction programs is being sought at several levels of government. At the federal level, new legislation dealing directly with funding for such programs is being instigated (in the Senate) and an amendment to include sexual assault victims as recipients of crime victim compensation is also being proposed in the Senate. In Washington State, the Department of Social and Health Services is supporting attempts to get Title XX funds allocated for sexual assault programs, and Substitute House Bill 820 proposes a statewide plan of education and consultation of rape and sexual assault. At the city level, Seattle's mayor has included a \$180,000 allocation for Rape Reduction in his proposed city budget for calendar year 1978.

Washington's Rape Law

In September, 1975, a new state law regarding rape was adopted. In it, the definition of forcible sexual intercourse was expanded to include vaginal, anal, or oral intrusion of the penis or anal or vaginal intrusion by an object without the consent of the victim. Corroboration of the victim's testimony is no longer required for conviction, and "forcible compulsion" now includes the threat of harm as well as actual physical force. The past history of the victim is inadmissible as evidence, unless it includes sex with the accused. Sentences are based on the age of the victim and the rapist, the type or degree of physical harm or threat, and whether deadly weapons were involved.

This model rape law, which was applauded by those who've worked on the problem of rape, has made more convictions of rapists possible. However, an average prison stay for men convicted of second-degree rape is only 18 months, a fact that is discouraging to rape victims. And in Washington a woman still cannot charge her husband with rape, even if she is separated and has filed for dissolution of the marriage.

Changing Attitudes

In society, the myth that women are somehow responsible for rape — that men can't and shouldn't be expected to control themselves and that women provoke rape by their behaviour or dress — is not dead. This was pointed up again in a recent, highly publicized, case in which a judge used these very myths as a basis for his light sentencing of a teenage rapist. It is equally notable, however, that the public, though a decisive recall vote, refused to allow the judge to operate with this myth. Changing attitudes among police and prosecutors, along with changing laws, mean that victims are now less likely to be accused of being responsible for the crime committed against them. Further public education is still needed to increase this kind of awareness of the facts about rape and to teach women basic skills for defending themselves against attempted rape.

Roots of Violence Against Women

Stereotypes Encourage A Grim Reality

The stereotype of the male aggressor and the willing female is reinforced from early childhood throughout life. In at

least some measure, this stereotype can be assumed to play a part in the incidence of violence against women.

Lessons from Textbooks

A 1973 study of 134 elementary school textbooks showed, for example, that girls are conditioned to be passive, dependent on males, and ridiculed as inferior — characteristics which make it difficult for a battered woman to fight back or walk out on an abusive husband and begin an independent existence.

Some of the depictions of girls and boys identified by the study were:

- Girls won games half as often as boys, after being allowed to compete only half often.
- Boys were shown in positions of power, bestowing rewards, prestige, and jobs, and setting norms for acceptable behavior.
- Girls exhibited mild, soft, spiritless behavior six times as often as boys.
- Females were subordinate to males, depending on them even to do things the girls could already do.
- Girls were demeaned and humiliated by boys as members of an inferior group (yuck, a girl).

The Perverse Lessons of Television

According to Dr. Ronald G. Slaby of the University of Washington, television teaches perverse lessons about violence. It is rampant. It works. It is often justifiable. It is clean. It is often funny. It is often done just for the fun of it. It is sometimes done in new and unique ways. *And, violence is more appropriate for males than for females.* In addition, a broad base of research shows that TV violence can and often does cause the viewer to be more aggressive or violent.

New Twists to an Old Lesson

In addition to television, movies, and magazines — media that have long depicted violence against women — record promotions have become a new, hard-to-control vehicle exploiting violence against women. A billboard advertising the Rolling Stones' "Black and Blue" album portrayed a bruised, smiling woman with legs tied open and arms bound above her head. The caption read, "I'm black and blue from the Rolling Stones and I love it." The Ohio Players' "Pleasure" album shows a woman whose hands are chained over her head. A recent Montrose album pictures a woman's pubis and the title, "Jump On It."

Women's Response to Teaching Violence

Using preventive measures and protest actions, feminists have begun to combat the teaching that violence is acceptable against women. Textbooks that include "girl-baiting" stereotypes have been identified, and in-service training for teachers to help them avoid perpetuating the male-aggressor/female-victim stereotypes

has been provided. In addition, women in Los Angeles recently formed an organization called Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAC) which has mounted campaigns boycotting recording companies (such as Warner/Elektra/Atlantic) and protesting offensive billboard displays.

Conservative women believe violence against women is at least partially a result of increased sexual freedom. As a solution, they encourage that sex education in schools be controlled by parents and that schools teach that sex is sacred.

Economic Independence

Women's Conditioning and Today's Changes

Many of today's women were conditioned from early childhood to be wives and mothers. However, changes in woman's role in American society, women's increased longevity, and changes in marriage patterns require that more women learn how to be economically independent than ever before. Marriage rates are currently at their lowest point since the Depression, many people are delaying marriage or cohabiting instead, and one out of every two marriages ends in divorce. In addition, a wife has a 75% chance of outliving her husband by at least seven years. Clearly, whether or not women choose to be single, at some time in their lives, most of them will be faced with the responsibility of supporting themselves and possibly their dependents.

The Problems of Divorced or Widowed Women

The problems faced by divorced or widowed women are significant because these women have usually had little experience in financial matters and are unaccustomed to taking control over their own lives. Without a thorough knowledge of the community property law or the advice of a good lawyer, a woman may not gain a fair settlement at the dissolution of her marriage. Only 14% of divorced wives are awarded alimony, and only about half of this number collect regularly. Only 44% of divorced mothers are awarded child support payments; less than half collect these regularly. Given these facts and the lack of marketable skills these displaced homemakers have, their situation can be grim indeed.

Widows are entitled to one-half of their community property upon the death of a spouse but also must pay any outstanding debts, as well as inheritance tax on the other half of the property. Social Security benefits are available to the widow only if she has accrued benefits in her own name, if she has dependent children, or if she is over 60. Most pension plans are only available to a widow if the decedent spouse has so provided through an optional survivor annuity plan. The Equal Credit Opportunity Act

provides protection against discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status, but many women are uninformed about their rights and enforcement is still unevenly administered.

The Need for Financial Skills

To help women develop the skills necessary to gain financial control over their lives, feminists urge that financial training be included in the regular school curriculum starting at the grade school level. In particular, they feel that women need to learn how to set financial goals, plan, and implement a spending plan, compute net worth, establish credit ratings and secure loans, and plan for retirement. The Seattle-King County Chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) has begun to train women in these necessary skills.

Other Problems Related to Economic Independence

In addition to the economic concerns of individual women are those of women in business. Only about 1% of the gross receipts from businesses are from those owned by women, and studies show that women get less than a proportional amount of support from financial institutions (United Way, the Ford Foundation, etc.). Undoubtedly, these situations are due in part to women's lack of expertise in financial matters and grant writing. However, it is also clear that subjectivity on the part of some commercial loan officers and the poor representation of women on the governing boards of financial institutions may effect a woman's chances to start her own business. Furthermore, there is a need for women to form some type of information network so that successful grants may be written and loans secured.

Finally, any discussion of economic independence for women must acknowledge that women earn less than \$3 for every \$5 earned by men in this country. Women working for Washington state government, for example, are paid \$310 a month less than men doing comparable work. Certainly, as long as this remains true, women's attempts to be economically independent will be severely hampered.

Reproductive Decisions

Abortion

The Controversy Over Terminating Pregnancy

In Washington State, a woman may have an abortion throughout the 20th week of pregnancy with the only medical and legal controls being those that would protect her health. Since abortion was legalized by state referendum in 1970 and a 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision, professionals have been more able to openly share their expertise, and pregnancy termination by suction in

the first trimester has become statistically 10 times safer than having a baby.

Feminists, who generally support abortion, point out that prior to the legalization of abortion in the United States, infected abortions were a common sight in hospital emergency rooms. Knitting needles and caustic solutions injected into the uterus resulted in complications leading to major surgery and death. They say that the lack of legal abortion was no deterrent to the occurrence of abortions. They stress that, since legalization, there has been a tremendous decrease in death related to abortion and that infected abortions are rarely seen. They refer to polls showing that the majority of Americans favor legal abortion and emphasize that a woman should have the right to control her own body by choosing whether to allow her pregnancy to continue.

Conservative women argue that, in supporting legal abortion, our culture is demonstrating a trend toward the devaluation of life. They also support the right of the embryo or fetus to life.

For pregnant women who choose not to abort, both conservative women and feminists agree that prenatal care and education are needed to decrease infant mortality and birth defects. Conservative women would also like to see more governmental support shown to women who choose adoption as an alternative to abortion.

Government Funds for Abortion

In June, 1977, the Supreme Court ruled that states are not obligated to pay for abortions for the poor and hospitals are not obligated to offer abortion services. Though the State of Washington continues to include abortion coverage in its medical welfare plan, Congress is currently debating whether federal funds should be used to pay for abortions and, if so, under what circumstances. As of this writing, the House has approved federal funding of abortions only when the life of the mother is endangered by the pregnancy, while the Senate wishes to cover other circumstances, including rape and incest, or where doctor's deem an abortion to be medically necessary.

Feminists argue that poor women who need federal assistance for abortions are being discriminated against because of economic status and will be forced to resort to cheap, incompetent abortionists or to dangerous, self-induced abortions. Those opposing federal funds for abortions are generally anti-abortion. Period.

Contraception

The Need for More Research

In Washington State, there are almost 770,000 women of child-bearing age. Although a high percentage of these women use some form of fertility control, the most modern and effective contraceptives are safe for only a limited number. The demand for safer methods of fertility control

is obvious, yet, less than 2% of the total expenditures of the National Institutes for Health go toward development of new techniques of regulating fertility.

Additional funding is needed to support promising research such as that directed to developing a vaccine to prevent pregnancy, or a male pill that will suppress the formation of sperm. Women tend to favor some of these new but feasible ideas because they could help males assume more responsibility for birth control.

Controversy Over Teenage Contraception

Availability of contraceptives to teenagers is a highly controversial issue. The facts are that, of more than 50,000 births in Washington State during 1975, a sixth were born to teenagers and 2,400 of these were born to single teenage mothers. One in every 10 female teenagers becomes pregnant every year. Yet, teenagers' access to and information about birth control is limited. Three-fourths of so-called "comprehensive" health programs for teenagers offer no contraceptive services or abortion counseling, and many school sex education programs are inept and exclude birth control as a topic. Federal regulations require that any women of childbearing age have access to family planning services, but some agencies in Washington have regulations preventing access to programs without parental consent. Attempts to pass state laws which would change this situation have failed. Much of the federal assistance available to teenagers is limited to certain family income levels.

Feminist women support services such as Planned Parenthood, which are working to provide new, specifically designed programs to increase access to family planning services for teenagers.

Conservative women believe that sex education is a family matter to be dealt with between parents and children. They say that teenagers should not be allowed to seek family planning services without their parents' knowledge and consent.

The Need for Parent Sexual Education

To assist their children in making moral decisions about reproduction, parents often need more than just facts about sex. They need information that will prepare them to discuss the options for sexual behavior and the ramifications of various ethical matters with their teenagers.

Conservative women and feminists alike agree that:

- Funding should be provided to train parents to be effective sex educators.
- The public school curriculum should include courses on decision-making by at least the junior high level.
- Sex education should be available to all students on a voluntary basis. (To this, conservatives add "with parental consent").

Family Life

Fundamental Changes in the American Family

Among the most significant changes in American life in the last two decades has been the change in families. The 1950's was the most family-oriented period in a hundred years with a 96% marriage rate, the youngest marriages on record, and a baby boom that did not end until the 1960's. By contrast, the family of the 1970's is much changed. The current birthrate is the lowest in U.S. history and one-half the 1950 rate. Marriage rates are the lowest since the Depression. Many people are delaying marriage, and divorce has come to be more accepted as a way out of a relationship that isn't working. The number of couples cohabitating without marriage has doubled since 1960, creating a new category of family. And, during this same period, there has also been a vast increase in the number of single-parent families.

These changes have impacted the lives of women and children in fundamental ways and require that shifting family patterns be recognized and examined.

Rights of Homemakers

In the past, a woman often described herself as "just a housewife." Her hard work to keep the family functioning was unpaid and, as a result, undervalued. Today, both conservative women and feminists are demanding that the genuine value of the job of homemaker be recognized. Feminists are, in addition, proposing that part-time jobs or shared jobs be available if homemakers choose outside employment and that homemakers receive points toward civil service jobs similar to the point system veterans receive. Conservative women especially believe that the right of a woman to choose to remain at home should be respected and recognized as an intelligent and creative one.

Single Parents

Due to the fact that 95% of single parents are single mothers, single parenthood is largely a woman's issue. Almost 25% of U.S. families are headed by single mothers. Of all the poor families in the country, more than 44% are headed by women. This situation has resulted in many problems for both these women and their children. Some of the problems are overt: Women need jobs with adequate income to support their families or the assurance that child care support payments will be made; without one or the other, they are often forced onto welfare. Children need child care while their mothers are working, or they become "latch key" children who, every day after school, go home to a silent house or are left to entertain themselves. Single mothers are the highest risk group in this society for serious depression as a result of overwhelming life stress factors.

According to feminists, single mothers and their children need neighborhood family resource centers to provide

services like child care, counseling, support groups, referral services, and education programs. It is proposed that child care be available 24 hours a day for children up to age 18 with payment on a sliding scale. Child support legislation should be vigorously enforced and medical and dental care made available to all children without penalty to their parents. It is proposed that sick leave be expanded to include family illness, that tax exemptions be granted to single parents, and that discount privileges be granted to single parents similar to those granted to senior citizens. Developing an extensive aid-to-education program using a model comparable to the G.I. bill is also proposed.

Displaced Homemakers

One of the most unfortunate by-products of the rapidly rising divorce rate has been the special hardship it has imposed on women over 35. These divorced women, together with others whose husbands have died, make up a group — almost a class of women — called "displaced homemakers." Their numbers are estimated at between three and six million women.

These women are uniquely unprepared for single life in the 1970's. Most accepted the women-should-stay-home edicts of the late 40's and 50's. Because their contributions as homemakers were not recognized as having economic value, they are ineligible for unemployment benefits, worker's compensation, or pensions. Many are too young to qualify for Social Security, and their children are frequently too old for them to qualify for welfare. The displaced homemaker has almost always been out of work for a number of years and lacks marketable skills and recent job experience. She must often contend with age, as well as sex, discrimination. In Washington State, community property statutes do not provide for awarding alimony per se.

Legislation has been introduced at both state and federal levels to establish displaced homemakers centers that will offer training, counseling, and other support services for these women. In addition, it is proposed that Social Security System regulations be changed to make these benefits community property so that both spouses would have equal claim to benefits accrued during marriage. Employers and labor unions should be made aware of the reliability and stability of displaced homemakers to aid in their being considered for employment. School age women should be encouraged to plan for an entire lifespan so that the 25 years women are statistically shown to be employed will be spent productively.

Lesbian Rights & Lifestyle

Lesbianism: Always in Existence, Rarely Accepted

According to the director of the Kinsey Institute for Sex Research, almost 10% of the American population is predominantly homosexual in its sexual and emotional

orientation. Anthropological data further reveals that homosexuality occurs in all types of societies in their various stages of development; it is, in fact, found in almost all mammals. Despite some opinions to the contrary, social scientists indicate that homosexuality is not statistically correlated with geographical, historical, or evolutionary factors, or with societal decadence.

Despite the fact that homosexuality exists in all societies, however, it is not necessarily accepted in these societies. In a study of 193 societies conducted by Hoch and Zuben in 1949, it was found that Lesbianism was accepted in 10% of the societies, rejected in 11%, and partially accepted in 79%. Our own society, for example, generally defines homosexuality as "abnormal" because: 1) homosexual unions do not produce children, 2) the males and females involved do not accept traditional male/female roles, and 3) some people believe that homosexuals must be "over-sexed" to desire sexual activity that is not related to procreation and so, in their opinion, is "biologically unnatural".

The Lesbian Issue as Lesbians See It

According to Lesbians, perceptions like these in a society that generally rejects and/or fears them makes the question of homosexuality a matter of survival. They point out that unless they feign heterosexuality, their jobs are insecure, especially if they care for or teach children. Secondly, if their Lesbianism is even suspected, they may have problems renting or buying homes or obtaining credit. Finally, they are often denied custody or even reasonable access to their own children if they are open about their sexual orientation. To a Lesbian woman, being "open" about one's sexual orientation in a primarily heterosexual world merely means that she does not pretend to have heterosexual relationships. Many women who do not profess heterosexual relationships or respond to heterosexual approaches are at least suspected of being Lesbians.

Also, while critics claim that Lesbians choose their sexual orientation, studies indicate that sexual preference is established early in life, so that, by adulthood, "choice" becomes a matter of accepting one's orientation or for all practical purposes becoming sexually neutral.

Lesbian Women as Seen by Feminists

Feminists are frequently concerned about the same issues as Lesbians; choosing whether or not to marry or bear children; being free from what they see as restrictive female role definitions; and being able to express their own sexuality as they see fit.

Feminists also see the Lesbian issue more broadly as a human rights issue. While opponents claim that society must be protected from the influences of such "abnormal" people, Lesbians feel that to deny an individual the right to a job, house, or child on the basis of something they do in their private life is in fact an abridgement of basic human rights.

Lesbians as Conservative Women View Them

Conservative women feel that any acceptance of homosexuality is a threat to what they see as the "essential family unit of mother, father and children" — a sacred institution to them. These women support traditional roles for women and do not feel that their children or any children should be exposed to homosexuals, their way of life, or their values. Some feel that nearly all of the civil rights of Lesbians should be denied because these women are "abominations" who need help with their "affliction" to "return to the fold."

In general, conservative women see Lesbian rights as a moral issue and feel that someone must stand up for what is right and wrong, even if it is unpopular. Many are shocked to find that others do not see homosexuality as abnormal.

Currently, there seems to be little chance of feminists and conservative women agreeing on this issue. Conservative women base their objectives to Lesbianism on moral grounds they feel cannot be compromised. In their view, they are not denying the human rights of other people; rather, they are protecting their own rights to maintain their lifestyle and their values.

On the other hand, Lesbian women believe that their very existence is in question. For this reason, they are unlikely to stop fighting for the right to live where they want, to work at jobs for which they are qualified, or to raise their own children. They point out that most Americans consider these rights basic to all human beings and further challenge their opponents to explain how a Lesbian lifestyle threatens the rights of others.

Health of Women

Women and Health: A Range of Concerns

Women's concerns about their health cover a broad range from diseases specific to women, to research about these diseases, to drugs and alcoholism, and problems about doctors and insurance. These concerns frequently point to the necessity for women becoming better educated about their health.

The Diseases of Women

There is some evidence that finding cures for diseases associated primarily or completely with women has little priority among medical researchers. Breast cancer is the leading cause of death among women aged 30 to 50. While early detection can cut the death rate in half, there has been no significant reduction in the mortality rate for this disease in the past 35 years. Similarly, early diagnosis of diabetes — a disease primarily affecting women — is important in controlling the disease, yet 1.6 million Americans, two-thirds of them women, are diabetic and don't know it. Overlooked or neglected, diabetes leads to serious health problems. It is, for example, the second most common cause of blindness in the U.S.

Women, Their Doctors, and Insurance Companies

Women are the largest users of health care; they make 5.6 visits to doctors for every 4.3 visits made by men. Yet, some women have expressed concern about the quality of medical care they receive and suggest that the comparatively high number of women's visits are actually attempts to gain satisfaction. The concerns of some of these women can be documented.

Though little is understood about menopause, physicians repeatedly prescribe estrogen despite the unproven benefits and proven dangers related to cancer, thrombophlebitis, and strokes of this fifth most prescribed drug in the U.S. Even more alarming are statistics about hysterectomies. Hysterectomies are the second most frequently performed surgery in the country and, in 1976, American surgeons grossed over \$400 million in fees for this operation. Hysterectomies in the U.S. are performed two and one-half times more frequently than in England and four times more frequently than in Sweden.

Women also express concern about rates charged women by insurance companies and inadequate coverage frequently offered women.

Perhaps no single female health matter exemplifies women's concerns with the medical establishment more than pregnancy. Often, women are not covered for pregnancy in health insurance policies and, despite the fact that 99% of births took place in hospitals last year, many women are shunning hospitals in favor of at-home births because of the exorbitant cost and objectionable birthing techniques. Some are aware that the U.S. ranks 15th in infant mortality. A study done by Columbia University of Public Health showed that more than 51% of infant deaths in some New York hospitals could have been prevented by proper pre-natal care. Yet, one-third of the women giving birth in public hospitals receive no such care.

Alcohol and Drug Abuse

Alcohol and drug abuse are increasing health problems among women. More women are drinking at a younger age. Whereas in 1958, 45% of adult women drank, a 1974 poll showed that 61% of adult women, 73% of college women, and 69% of high school women used alcohol. Women often turn to alcohol as a response to pressure, boredom, or loneliness. To many women who are overburdened, alcohol seems a solution to insoluble problems.

Because of society's stigma against the alcoholic woman, many go without any treatment. About 40% of the nation's alcoholics are women, though only 23% of the membership of Alcoholic Anonymous are women. Treatment programs for alcoholic women must be geared to the needs of women. Many women suffer self-esteem problems because of the way women have been seen in our society, and treatment must deal with these instilled feelings of inadequacy.

Drugs commonly abused by women are usually legal, prescribed drugs like tranquilizers. Valium, the drug most frequently prescribed for women, is addictive and can mask other problems. Tranquilizers and sleeping pills are often prescribed instead of dealing with the underlying difficulties that bring a woman to her doctor. Doctors also prescribe "speed" for weight problems, despite its well-known addictive nature and profound side effects.

Washington State Alcoholism Programs

The Washington State Office of Alcoholism recently established objectives in a statewide plan that refer specifically to women. They hope to familiarize alcoholic women and the community-at-large with the services that are available and to increase the level of services for alcoholic women. They will review the need for special residential alcoholic services and facilities for women and establish these services if it is shown to be necessary and practicable. A task force on women and alcohol has recently been organized to examine these issues and make recommendations. Specifically, the task force will look at women alcoholics in the family: How can a woman arrange for child care while she is getting treatment? What treatment resources should be made available? What are the problems a woman will have to face when she re-enters society?

Women's Solutions to Health Concerns

In response to women's concerns about health care, women have worked to change the medical establishment and to establish alternative care.

In 1962, 150 women began an effort at Group Health Cooperative to share complaints and make proposals that would sensitize doctors to women's problems. They also had a goal of putting more women on the Cooperative's board and lowering contraceptive and abortion costs. Although their complaints were dealt with insensitively at first, many of their demands have since been met.

Aradia Clinic in Seattle opened in March of 1972, the first federally funded health clinic. Aradia offers an alternative to the established medical system and educates women about their bodies and the medical procedures that are used on them. When the government asked the clinic for non-medical information in 1976 and the patient's anonymity would no longer be guaranteed, Aradia would not accept the grant terms and lost their funding. Aradia has been surviving without federal support since.

Alternative health care and the establishment joined in 1974 when the first paramedic (originally trained for clinics such as Aradia and the Fremont Health Clinic) was accepted into Harborview Hospital in Seattle. Women's health care specialists, some of them medically untrained at the beginning, now can insert IUD's, give pelvic exams, breast exams, treat vaginitis, detect venereal disease, and counsel other women about birth control, sexuality problems, and menopause.

Poverty & Women

The Poorest People

The poorest people in this nation are women. The poorest woman in American society is the older woman of color; her poverty is followed by that of her white sister. A 1974 California study shows that the poverty rate among women is increasing dramatically as more women become single heads of households. Twenty-six percent of Washington's welfare families are single parent families, and the vast majority of them are headed by women. Although Washington ranks 10th in the nation in the amount of welfare grants, the grants of these families are well below the poverty level. A welfare mother with three children receives about \$4,000 a year at the same time the Bureau of Labor Statistics establishes an income of \$10,209 for a family of four and sets the poverty level at \$5,500 in Washington.

Housing: A Woman's Issue

Even if a female head of household has a decent income, housing will be a critical problem for her. Landlords of rental properties discriminate against children, and banks, real estate brokers, and mortgage lenders have traditionally discriminated against women who want to buy their own homes. In her search for low-rent housing, a woman will find herself surrounded by other poor women and their children, perhaps in one of the female ghettos forming in this country like the High Point Housing Project in Seattle. Since units in better federally assigned public housing projects often have long waiting lists, poor women must frequently resort to marginally livable public units or a condemned house or apartment building. These old and poorly insulated homes are both drafty and dirty, usually have poor wiring and worse plumbing, and often have appliances and heating systems that fail. As a result of such a stark living environment, many women become resigned and give up.

Problems with the Welfare System

While the non-farm poverty income level in Washington has increased more than 50% since 1970, the public assistance grant has increased by only 10%. The welfare mother with three children receives approximately \$350 a month. This money goes directly into the economy to pay grocers, clothing stores, landlords, etc; taxes are paid through sales tax on these items. She may not have enough money left after paying rent and utilities to buy the foodstamps for which she is eligible; if not, she and her children will suffer the effects of an inadequate diet.

Welfare today actually encourages the break-up of the family. If a welfare mother is deserted by her husband, her income increases — even though there is one less mouth to feed. When a woman goes on welfare, she is harassed by bureaucratic demands that often seem meaningless. For example, one program demands that each participant report

twice weekly in person to register for work, but the program provides no staff to assist in finding a job. A welfare registrant must fill out forms if she receives a gift or finds a short-term job, and a high proportion of such monies are deducted from her grant.

If she attempts to work, she will probably not find herself better off. She has probably been out of the labor force for many years and will face tedious work and low pay. If she has children, her child care costs will eat up a substantial part of her income.

Proposed Solutions

Eliminating poverty for women — admittedly a long-range goal — could possibly be accomplished through methods like a higher minimum wage, nontraditional job opportunities, day care, and an end to discrimination in housing. While this is being accomplished, the welfare system must become less bureaucratic and more supportive of the welfare mother's need to work, educate herself, and free her family from the cyclical nature of poverty.

Women in Positions of Public Influence

A Contradiction in Terms

Women and positions of influence is almost a contradiction. Though Washington State has a number of women legislators and local government officials, the proportion of women currently holding elective or appointive office remains pitifully small. Women hold only 210 of well over 2,000 judgeships and mayor and council positions of 265 cities in Washington. Only seven of the 49 state senators and 15 of the 98 state representatives are women. Five of the 111 County Superior Court judges are women; no woman sits on the State Supreme Court.

The reasons for this are both obvious and complex. Women have traditionally not held positions of power and, thus, there are few role models of women as leaders. This is reinforced by a continuing image of females as lacking power — an image that follows every girl through school and into adult life. Women who have attempted to break out of the stereotype by running for political office have often discovered that a female candidate is not taken seriously. This, in turn, has hampered fundraising efforts and the willingness of other women to run for office. A lack of support among women for women candidates has provided further discouragement. In other aspects of public life, as members of boards and commissions or as appointees to top-level positions in government, women are often not seriously considered, even though affirmative action is technically in effect.

To overcome these barriers to women moving into positions of influence, women have set forth several proposals. Some require formal or legal action; others are informal actions individual women can take. To overcome the perception of women as powerless individuals, women propose that federal Title VII regulations prohibiting sex discrimination in public schools be implemented. Enforcement efforts of affirmative action and sex equality should be adequately funded so that the intent of the law can be carried out. Women's agencies and the offices of public executives (such as mayors or the governor) should establish and encourage the use of clearinghouses and be particularly vigilant that women be appointed from geographical areas that traditionally have been underrepresented. Public financing of campaigns would particularly assist women candidates. Women's organizations should actively promote visible role models of women in positions of influence. Individual women must encourage and financially support women candidates for office and political appointments. An informal network among women would make the availability of possible opportunities known.

Strategies for Change

Starting a Municipal Women's Commission

Advantages of a Women's Commission

One way women as a group can have an effective voice in their cities and towns is through the formation of a municipal women's commission. An on-going group representing the viewpoints and expertise of female citizens can, by its accessibility and credibility, exert great influence on the Mayor and City Council and have a measurable impact on events of concern to women. The Seattle Women's Commission, which was established as the advisory arm of city government's Office of Women's Rights, played a vital role in eliminating separate job listing for males and females in Seattle daily newspapers, worked to get more women appointed to city boards and commissions, was responsible for Washington State's 1973 model rape law, and lobbied the state legislature that passed anti-discriminatory credit laws.

The Commission continues to work on issues such as affirmative action, the Equal Rights Amendment, equal pay, impacting the business community, and improving nontraditional vocational-education opportunities for women.

Method for Establishing a Commission

Setting up a commission requires organizing a dedicated group of women who will press the issue until they are successful. They'll need to work with responsible public officials at the local level to write and pass an ordinance legitimizing their status. Funding can be a problem: Although appointees to the Seattle Women's Commission receive no pay, child care, transportation, and similar expenses need to be covered, particularly if low-income women are to be represented as members. In Seattle, it was

particularly difficult to arrange for the Office of Women's Rights and thus the Commission to report directly to the Mayor.

Effective Citizen Participation

Many women who have or could develop valuable skills that could be used to involve them in women's issues censor themselves before they become involved. Some suffer from a low self-image that causes them to doubt their abilities. Other are isolated from other women. Some are afraid of losing male approval and feel that women's concerns are not taken seriously even by other women. Family interests often conflict with other activities.

Groups of women expressing these concerns have found that an effective way to approach these basic concerns is to adopt a problem-solving approach. Focusing on the barriers to involvement individual women experience is an excellent place to begin.

In a group, each woman can propose what she perceives the problem to be. Then, without being judgmental about any suggestion, the group categorizes the proposals into topic groupings. (Topics might be "Problems with Family Responsibilities," "Concerns About Myself," etc.) Small groups can then be formed to work on solutions and, after these are discussed in each group, they are combined as the larger group meets again. This method of working not only encourages women to come up with proposals themselves, it also demonstrates the "town meeting" method of carrying out the very type of work they had initially expressed difficulty in accomplishing.

Informal women's discussion groups can provide support, encourage a better self-image, increase women's awareness about issues, and perhaps lead to individual women choosing to work for greater recognition of women's problems and even developing solutions to these problems.

Rural Women

Problems Aggravated by Isolation

Rural women experience needs similar to those of all women, but meeting these needs can be more of a problem for rural than for urban women. Distance hinders support from other women and access to community services. In Washington State, rural service agencies characteristically cannot afford to provide the range of services available from urban agencies. Added to these problems are the lack of opportunities for employment and adult education and limited access to child care facilities and family planning clinics.

At the same time that support services are lacking in rural areas, isolation and loneliness increase the need for these services. The high rate of alcoholism and abuse of prescription drugs among rural and small town women indicates a "solution" too many have found.

One County's Solution

In Lincoln County in the center of eastern Washington's rural expanse, community services has begun a program of support groups for women. The groups work on skills and concerns of their choice such as improving self-esteem, problem-solving, and coping with stress. These highly successful groups have led to ongoing support groups throughout the county that provide companionship and support among women experiencing similar problems.

Economic Stress

According to members of W.I.F.E. (Women in Farm Economics), farm prices are so critically low that all but the largest farms are losing money. Even with women family members working in the fields or at outside jobs for extra income, family farms are in trouble. In some areas of Washington, drought problems have made an already bad situation worse. If farms have to be sold, a lot of rural women will be moving to cities to try to find urban jobs for which they have no training.

Financial problems increase when husbands die. Even with Washington's community property laws, widows who have worked side by side with their spouses to build up their farms find that, when their husbands die, they have to pay inheritance taxes on a large portion of the deceased's share of the property. Although the farm may be worth a lot of money, that money is not available unless property is sold.

Some Proposals

Raising farm prices is one obvious solution supported by rural women. Increased training in legal and financial management skills would also be useful to women who are co-managing farms.

Legal remedies are needed for the problem of inheritance taxes. Although the amount exempt from taxation is increasing, many believe women should not have to pay any such taxes on property which is as much their's as their husband's.

Female Offenders

The Problems of "Forgotten Offenders"

In the past, women in prison were often referred to as "the forgotten offender." A low proportion of prisoners were women. Those who were incarcerated did not protest about their concerns.

Both the numbers of women incarcerated and their protests are increasing. The FBI reports that, between 1960 and 1975, the arrest rate for women rose more than 100% faster than did the rate for men. Female prisoners are also becoming more vocal about their concerns. In 1976,

inmates of the Seattle-King County women's jail attracted the attention of the media when they complained of sex discrimination in recreation facilities (men had a volleyball court, women a 10-foot square furnished room) and commissary items (male-oriented magazines, cigars, and tobacco were in abundance while women-oriented items were scarce.) They also complained of inadequate health care, including lack of sympathy and respect from medical personnel. Anyone who was not in good shape when they went to jail, they said, was in trouble.

Women's Prison Facilities

Because of the small proportion of female prisoners, female facilities are not as well-equipped as male prisons. In Washington, for example, the three men's prisons have six, 12, and 13 vocational programs respectively, while Purdy, the women's prison, teaches clerical skills, sewing, food service, and keypunching. Health care also is inadequate. Pregnant women, for example, do not have access to prenatal education or nutritional diets. Recreational and exercise facilities are extremely limited. The fact that only 11 of 172 managers in Washington's Adult Corrections Division are women may be related to the situation in the state's women's prison.

A problem unique to female prisoners is that many have children and are single parents. When they are sentenced to prison and no one is left at home to keep the family intact, these women often fear that they will lose touch with their children altogether.

Alternatives to Incarceration in Prison

The Women's Community Center in Seattle is one alternative to Purdy for non-violent women offenders who do not have alcohol or drug problems. Twenty-four women and up to eight children can be housed in the facility while the women receive vocational and personal counseling, are introduced to community resources and activities that help facilitate their re-entry into the community and, at the same time, are able to maintain family ties. More programs like this one are needed if female offenders' issues are to be addressed.

Older Women

Old Age: The Greatest Change for Women

The greatest change in women's lives in the last 30 years has been that most are living into old age, a result of medical advances in birth techniques, disease prevention, etc. Provisions for this 64% of the population have not kept pace with their long lives, however. Thus, women over 55 years of age — and especially those over 65 — are often the poorest and usually the loneliest people in this country.

Poverty, Loneliness, and Crime

Of the 48% of American women who work, employed women between the ages 55-59 earn only an average of \$3,600 per year. These women can rarely expect to make more because, as a woman grows older, she has less chance of being promoted. An older woman can expect, instead, that her meager income will diminish. By age 65, the average income will have dropped to \$2,200 and, by 70, to \$1,600.

When an older woman retires, as is arbitrarily required at 65, her retirement benefits will be lower than those of her male counterpart because she has spent her working life in positions of lower status that paid less. Because her life expectancy is greater, her monthly benefits are lower. (In fact, only 16% of women live to 75; nevertheless, the rates for the other 84% are figured at the maximum.)

During the 10 years most women live after retirement, they often feel like prisoners in their homes. Their meager incomes allow for little relief. They are almost always alone (at age 70, there are 150 women to 100 men). And, they fear crime — with good reason. While the average citizen has one chance in 146 of being a victim, the elderly woman has one chance in 24.

Other Concerns

The woman who marries to achieve security frequently is not better off than her single sister. Three-quarters of marriages in America end in divorce and, unless the marriage has lasted 20 years, a woman gets no Social Security benefits from her husband's account. If she is widowed, the inheritance laws assume that her husband owns everything if he paid for it, and she pays taxes on property in which she has certainly invested. (In Washington, she pays inheritance on half of the community property).

The most poverty-stricken member of our society is the older minority woman. Not only is the divorce rate higher and life expectancy lower among minorities, but this woman is also the most economically disadvantaged in our society. Her poverty increases with her age.

Medical care is the largest single expense of the elderly and one of the greatest concerns. Preventive medical care and good medical treatment during menopause are particular problems, as are operations involving sexual organs. There is some evidence that doctors are less reluctant to perform radical mastectomies and hysterectomies on a woman over 40 than when they treat younger women.

Positive Approches to Problems

Many women are taking positive approaches to the problems of aging. They are trying to upgrade the media image of the older woman, which seldom shows an attractive or sexual woman over the age of 40. They are

trying to reform Social Security laws, inheritance laws, and retirement benefits. They are providing support for one another through older women's groups, educating themselves about medical care, and finding ways to continue their contributions to society after their families are grown or they themselves are in retirement. There seems to be agreement between feminists and conservative women that the problems of the older women are severe enough to require a unified effort on the part of all women.

Image of Women in the Media

Television

The Importance of Television

Television plays the dominant role in the mass communication of ideas in the United States today. In 1975, there were 112 million television sets in use in 97% of all American homes. These millions of television sets were turned on an average of six hours and 49 minutes a day. At this rate, an average person would watch nine full years of television between the ages of two and 65.

Americans not only watch a lot of TV, but they also place a higher value on television as a source of information and entertainment than any other medium. Thus, those individuals or groups who are portrayed on television are given status in the eyes of the viewers, and the ways in which they are portrayed affect perceptions about what is right and natural. Therefore, the extent to which women are portrayed is of major importance, as are the types of women's roles in dramatic series, on network news, and in advertisements.

TV Dramas: Woman as Sex Object, Victim, or "Dumb Broad"

In a study conducted by the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania from 1969 to 1974, it was found that nearly three-fourths of all characters in television dramas were male. These men were portrayed as being middle-class or wealthy, single, divorced, or widowed, and employed in prestigious occupations. In contrast, women were most often portrayed as sex objects, as victims of violence in action-adventure series, or as "dumb broads" in situation comedies.

More recently, there has been an attempt to include women characters with professional lives and real problems; a few have even been portrayed without husbands. In particular, television producer Norman Lear has attempted to deal realistically with controversial issues pertinent to woman, although much remains to be done.

News Coverage: Woman as Victim or Opinionless Being

News coverage is not much better. A 1974 survey conducted by the American Association of University Women showed that, of 4,353 straight news stories sampled, only 523 were about women. In these stories,

women were portrayed as "helpless victims of kidnaps, rapes, murders, and natural disasters. . . or as opinionless, supportive wives and mothers." These findings were confirmed by a survey conducted by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights between March, 1974 and February, 1975.

TV Ads: The Obsessive, Dumb Woman

Women in TV advertisements are often portrayed as being obsessive about shiny floors, clean ovens, good-tasting coffee, and sparkling laundry. Frequently, they seem too dumb to cope with everyday household chores without the help of children, men, or supernatural male symbols.

The Need for Professional TV Woman

It seems unlikely that women will see homemakers portrayed with dignity or that strong, independent women will be depicted in any profession until women are significantly involved in all aspects of television production, advertising, and newscasting. This is not the case today. In 1975, the Federal Communications Commission found that only about one-fourth of the positions in TV and radio were held by women and, of these, barely 13% were in the top four categories (managers, professionals, sales people, and technicians). In their 1974-75 survey, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found 11.7% of newscasters to be women. While the FCC has adopted formal regulations designed to rectify this situation, it has failed to adopt the guidelines necessary for the enforcement. Thus, women who feel that they are locked into low-paying jobs with little responsibility in radio or television have few recourses.

Women's Actions to Change TV

Feminists are concerned that adults as well as children will be influenced by the stereotyped portrayal of women in degrading roles, either as victims, sex objects, or "dumb broads". They have conducted surveys, publicized the problem, and challenged the license renewal of several TV stations, both in regard to programming content and on the basis of discriminatory hiring and promotion practices.

While conservative women are not particularly concerned about whether or not professional women or women in nontraditional occupations are portrayed on TV, they do support equal employment opportunities for women in the broadcast media and *are* concerned about sex object advertising. They also concur in the concern that women be presented with dignity, although they prefer that social problems be de-emphasized in favor of "success models" (people who are making positive adjustments to contemporary society). Finally, they feel that the media should be supportive of "stable family life."

Newspapers

The Historical Situation: Woman as Stereotype

In the past, like other mass media, newspapers did not reflect the contributions of women to American society or the diverse roles women have played. "Women's news" was frequently presented in only one section of newspapers,

rather than being reported side-by-side with genuine (read: men's) news. Women reporters were often limited to writing only about women in a stepchild department that frequently did not receive a full allocation of financial or staff resources. Very few women worked in management positions. Advertisements often featured cheesecake illustrations of women, and gratuitous terms (such as "dimpled blonde," "mother of six," and "attractive divorcee") were used to describe women when similar descriptions would never have been considered for men. Job want ads were rigidly segregated by sex. All in all, newspapers reflected that women in American society were defined by their sex, whereas men were defined by their interests.

The Changes: A Broader, More Realistic Look At Issues

Because newspapers, like other media, influence the way we perceive the world rather than simply report what is happening in it, feminists have pressured newspapers to change practices that stereotype and limit women. Many papers have dropped sex-segregated want ads and have begun listing jobs alphabetically. Sexist advertising is more closely scrutinized. Descriptions of women by the physical or family associations have largely been dispensed with, and, in addition, many newspapers have stopped using courtesy titles for women (e.g., Mrs. Jones) on second reference.

Reporting of women's issues has improved substantially. Social issues like rape, battered women, or child abuse are sometimes treated as human rather than women's issues. In some Washington newspapers, "women's pages" have been discontinued or restructured into the paper's feature section. In one case where such a section was discontinued, news of, about, and for women is now used throughout the newspaper on a random basis. (This situation does require vigilance to assure that the issues and accomplishments of women are not neglected.)

The Future: Women as Policymakers

A much more difficult matter in the newspaper business is opening job opportunities at policymaking levels to women. Few role models of women as decision-makers and managers exist. Women are rarely part of the "old boy" network through which information about jobs or interesting projects are passed, and few newspaperwomen have a mentor to guide them. The problem is not that women are discouraged from moving into management positions. Rather, women are not *encouraged* in the same way and in the same numbers as men.

Arts & the Humanities

The Woman Artist

Throughout history, women have found fairly easy access to the arts. This has been especially true in the performing arts, partially because women's role as a courtesan was frequently joined with the role of actress, singer, dancer, or musician. Women today find, however, that if they choose a career in the creative arts, they earn half the income of

the male artist. In addition, certain fields, such as conducting and composing, are only now beginning to open to women.

A survey conducted by the woman who began one of the best print workshops in the country found that, in 1970-71, male artists received 72-95% of the space in art reviews, 80% of New York exhibitions, and 90% of art museum shows. While half of the Ph.D.'s in art history and half the M.A.'s and M.F.A.'s are held by women, they make up less than one-fourth of the faculties in U.S. institutions of higher education. If crafts are eliminated from consideration and only studio classes in the fine arts (painting, printmaking, and sculpture) considered, the proportion often drops to zero.

The Women Artist on Stage and Screen

Television and films pay the best salaries for actors and actresses. But a 1971 study by the Women's Conference Committee of the Screen Actor's Guild found that, in a typical month on all stations of three major commercial television networks in Los Angeles, almost three-fourths of all roles were male. Public TV discriminates just as blatantly. For example, 90% of the announcers promoting programs over public broadcasting stations are male, and the number of male characters exceed female characters two-to-one in all children's programs.

For the past 150 years, women have had a fair amount of access to roles in the theatre. (Prior to that, the roles of women were played by men.) Some actresses have become famous in theatre and films. The roles of these and other women have frequently been as lover, mother, or, as in Greek drama, the moving force of fate. The narrowness of types of roles offered for women is matched by the relatively small number of roles. An Artist's Equity analysis of 350 plays produced between 1953-72 — a number of which were undoubtedly made into films — showed that only one third of the available parts were for women.

The Dance: A Woman's World

More than 80% of dancers are women. The movement of women's bodies and their flexibility has often been the standard used throughout the dance art form. Men in classical ballet have often been used to imitate or emphasize their female partners' dance movements. Women's bodies have more flexibility for jazz or contemporary dance. Women dancers have provided a window through which women may have increased access to the male-dominated arts.

Women Musicians: On the Rise

In the music world, women have made astonishing strides. In the 1974-75 season, women made up almost one-fourth of the total performers in major orchestras (those with a budget over \$1 million). Ten years before, they made up only about 18%. The primary reason for this gain is that

one-third of all major orchestras hold preliminary auditions behind a screen, and more are incorporating the practice every year. Blind screening was apparently important in the Johann Sebastian Bach International Competition in August, 1975. The judges were separated from the contestants by a seven-foot shadowproof screen, and access to the piano was across a thick rug that dulled footsteps. The judges tallied points in full view of the audience. When the winner was announced, a 31-year-old woman stepped forward. One judge stated:

I am amazed the winner is a woman, because not only did she play with the authority and assurance of a man, but she also demonstrated such a strong intellectual grasp of this architectural and monumental musical masterpiece. . .

Creative Solutions

Women artists are working together to encourage blind auditions and jurying of art shows, to form cooperative galleries, and to pressure the media into integrating women. The tremendous advances made when juries and boards review work without knowledge of the artist's sex shows that women's traditionally minor role in the arts is *not* the result of lack of commitment or talent.

Female Sexuality

The Status of Female Sexuality

During the 1960's, Masters and Johnson proved that the prevailing notion — that women were by nature less sexually responsive than men — was false. They demonstrated, for instance, that the so-called missionary position in sexual intercourse was unlikely to stimulate a large proportion of women to orgasm; that for women all orgasmic response is centered in the clitoris; and that women are capable of experiencing multiple orgasms.

Yet, women's sexual attitudes and behavior today indicate that they are either not aware of these facts or that knowing the facts is now sufficient to overcome sexual problems. Master's and Johnson's figures indicated that only one-third of women enjoyed sex and that the other two-thirds tolerated or avoided it. This was attributed to the fact that women have been conditioned to regulate and block their sexual feelings through adolescence when, because of the double standard, teenage girls who participated in sexual foreplay or intercourse could have their good reputations ruined or become pregnant. Freeing those sexual feelings in adulthood has not always been automatic, as is evidenced by the long waiting lists for sex counseling at clinics such as the Seattle Institute for Sex Therapy, Education, and Research (SISTER), a feminist organization which works with women and their partners to help them "unlearn" such conditioning.

The "Herstory" of Female Sexuality

The recent enlightenment about female sexuality is not unique in herstory. Archeological evidence indicates that patriarchal cultures and religions now predominating were preceded in ancient times (before 4,000 B.C.) by societies that worshipped goddesses. In these matriarchal societies, female sexuality was a sacred and joyous gift from the goddesses to be celebrated. Because inheritance was through females to their children, knowledge of fatherhood was irrelevant, and women enjoyed guiltless polyandry. Creation myths dictated that the world started with a woman who parthenogenically gave birth to a male. When these societies were invaded by patriarchal, warlike nomads, a battle of religions ensued in which female sexuality was the victim. For inheritance from father to son to take place, the father's identity had to be known and the violation of monogamy by females was punished with increasing severity. Creation myths were rewritten until a woman and her carnal desires became responsible for the evils of the world.

Female sexuality and mysticism were linked until the Inquisition of the 1600's, which set out to eliminate witchcraft. Witchcraft supposedly came from woman's insatiable carnal lust and was reputedly responsible for causing male impotence, impeding marriage, and interfering with reproduction.

Eighteenth and nineteenth century literature is filled with great male lovers and properly disinterested females. In the Victorian era, Freud supplied further theories about female sexuality, and male gynecologists, psychologists, authors, husbands, and lovers continued to define female sexuality while women were raised to "endure the burden" of pleasing their husbands and raising children. Even today, fear and suspicion greet the woman who enjoys sex in our society.

International Interdependence

A Foreign Policy of Armament

World affairs — including concerns about food supplies, the quality of the environment, population growth, energy resources, and the threat of global war — are issues that have a major impact on women's lives. A female perspective about these and other global issues could be of invaluable service to this country. However, despite the relative wealth and political significance of American women, U.S. decisions about foreign affairs have largely been left to men. The result has been that more than one-fourth of our national budget is spent on defense, there are three or four commissioned and non-commissioned officers for every enlisted person in the Army and Navy, and the U.S. nuclear stockpile is sufficient to kill every person in the world 12 times.

While the U.S. and other developed countries are spending trillions of dollars on the arms race, an estimated 800 million persons in developing countries suffer from malnutrition. In the poorest countries, life expectancy is almost 30 years less than in the United States, and infant mortality is nearly four times higher. If the present trends continue, the current world population of four billion will double in 40 years, with 85% of this population concentrated in the less developed countries. This becomes particularly significant to Americans who, in the words of Daniel Parker, former AID administrator, recognize that "There are no separate futures for the rich and the poor of the world. Materially, as well as morally, our destinies are inextricably intertwined."

Sexism in U.S. Assistance Programs

U.S. assistance programs to help developing countries have not taken into account the productive capacities of women. For example, in Southern India, men were shown how to transplant the new high-yield rice varieties, although rice transplantation had traditionally been done by women. Strategies for change in U.S. assistance programs around the world have been based on an industrial model emphasizing male employment and urban growth. Not only have women been displaced from traditional economic pursuits, but their families have often been broken up by the migration of men to urban centers for employment. In order to help support their families and guild up their falling social status, women have turned to the one role left to them — motherhood. This has, in turn, added to the population explosion. The fact that the role of women has not been considered in world-wide development programs is further demonstrated by the decrease in literacy rates over the last fifteen years.

Private and Public Roles in World Affairs

The question remains as to what American women can do to remedy this situation. In the first place, as mothers, women can encourage their children to think globally rather than in nationalistic terms. Secondly, many women belong to volunteer organizations that can effectively address the concerns of international interdependence; these women can encourage international projects that might involve consulting with governmental bodies, incorporating lecture series and other educational programs into group activities, and lobbying at all levels of government. Finally, an effort must be made to encourage and train women with global perspective for positions in government and especially in the Foreign Service, where the decisions about American foreign policy are made.

Grant-Writing

Women contribute substantially, both as wage-earners and as wives of wage-earners, to funding sources like United Way. Private non-profit institutions, such as the Ford Foundation, receive tax benefits at the expense of

taxpayers, who include women. Women as taxpayers support public and governmental funding sources for grants for research, scholarships, and programs. However, as funding source administrators and as grant recipients, women are underrepresented relative to their contributions and relative to males. This situation can be rectified by women becoming knowledgeable about available funds and how they may be obtained, and by having an equitable number of women on citizen's boards, commissions, and other bodies that administer the allocation of such monies.

Volunteerism

The Role of the American Volunteer

While women have traditionally made up a large percentage of America's volunteers and have contributed significantly in providing clerical and public services, they have not had the opportunity to work in administrative positions in volunteer organizations. They desire to have the same opportunities as men, to be given more responsibility, to make financial decisions, and to have release time from their paid work duties in order to make their contribution to society.

Many people feel that volunteering is one of the basic responsibilities of the individual in a democracy. Some, however, are concerned that volunteer work exploits women and keeps them out of the work force. These people insist that volunteer activity must benefit the volunteer as well as the organization or client to avoid exploitation.

Benefits of Volunteering

Volunteer work enables the person to learn new skills, develop confidence, and feel self-satisfied; often it has the flexibility unavailable in paid employment. It may also lead to a paid job. But, if information about volunteer work is not weighted in a job search, a woman may achieve managerial positions in a volunteer organization and yet find herself working as a clerk. For both men and women, whether they have chaired United Way drives or served on museum and symphony boards, volunteerism should be weighted as a significant learning contribution.

What Women Volunteers Want

Women, as volunteers, want credit for their volunteer experience, and they want child care and transportation funds to enable them to contribute and benefit from their volunteer experiences.

Disabled Women

The Special Problems of Women

Physically disabled women have needs that are special and different than those faced by the remainder of the disabled population. The sexuality of disabled women, for example, is linked with myths, assumptions, and stereotypes. Many health care professionals are under-informed about which forms of birth control are contraindicated for certain types of disabilities. Architectural barriers to family planning clinics and other health care facilities and inadequate design of mass transit vehicles aggravate these problems.

Stereotypes about the abilities of disabled women are especially hard to overcome when they seek employment. According to one disabled woman who is a rehabilitation specialist, most counselors in the Department of Vocational Rehabilitation are males who have traditional concepts of work roles. Thus, they tend to see women in wheelchairs as potential typists rather than potential lab technicians. Another difficulty is that many disabilities reduce stamina, which makes it difficult for women with these problems to work full-time and raise families.

Some Solutions to Problems of the Disabled

Conservative women and feminists alike can support solutions to these problems. Laws already in effect regarding accessibility to health care facilities should be enforced. Health professionals must be educated to the needs of disabled women. Options for part-time work for disabled women must be increased. Feminists should especially hear the need for inclusion of disabled women in affirmative action recruitment efforts.



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Part III.
Appendices

Minority Report

of the Washington State Lesbian Caucus to the I.W.Y. Conference at Houston, 1977

The caucus of lesbian women attending the 1977 I.W.Y. Conference in the city of Ellensburg, Washington, submits to the national convention the following resolutions for consideration in its proceedings:

1. WHEREAS lesbians are indeed discriminated against in the areas of housing, employment, child custody, service in the military, public accommodation, education and legal representation, and ability to obtain credit; BE IT RESOLVED that this conference endorse and actively support a drive to obtain equal rights and protection under the law for all homosexuals and lesbians in the state of Washington and in the United States as a whole; BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the representatives to the national IWY Conference in Houston actively support the drive for equal rights and protection under federal law, including but not limited to Equal Credit Opportunity Act, 1975, Title VII and Title VIII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments.

2. WHEREAS lesbian women suffer continuous discrimination because of the unfounded myths and statistically non-supportable stereotypes, as demonstrated by the Washington State IWY Conference; BE IT RESOLVED that the publicly funded common schools and institutions of high education be required to take steps to dispel these myths through inclusion of factual, unprejudiced verbal and/or written instructional materials and school curriculums; BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that institutions of higher education which train people for the "helping professions", such as medicine, law, social work and psychology, be required to provide specific instruction relating to the special needs of sexual minority people.

3. WHEREAS lesbian women suffer discrimination when seeking health care and WHEREAS most members of the health care community do not acknowledge the concerns and needs of lesbian women; BE IT RESOLVED that federal monies not be granted any health care institutions or agencies which do not provide sensitizing education for staff on the needs of lesbian women.

This report has been prepared and submitted by the lesbian caucus because of the unanimous feelings of the members of that caucus that the Washington State IWY Conference did not attempt to meet the needs of those women to identify the barriers to their full and equal participation in life and that, in fact, a concerted effort was made on the part of a contingent of conference participants to pass resolutions designed to deprive them of their basic civil rights.

Submitted by: **Kathleen Boyle**

Chair

Karen Bosley
Liaison

Cherry Johnson
Liaison

Minority Report
Women and Health Workshop
Washington State Conference for Women

The purpose of the workshop on Women and Health was to increase the participants' awareness and knowledge of women's health issues for the purpose of protecting, improving and controlling their own health care. To achieve that end the members of the panel presented these issues and topics: gynecological health, drugs and devices, maternal health, mental health, women as health care workers, environmental and occupational health, and health service planning. These subjects discussed by health professionals generated less interest than anticipated if the recommendations which emerged from the action workshops are any index of concern.

The majority of women and men present at the Women and Health Workshop adopted seven recommendations concerning health care. Three of the recommendations are in keeping with the I.W.Y. mandate to identify specific conditions, policies, and practices which adversely affect women's health and to formulate specific recommendations for improving women's health. These recommendations seek improved quality of nursing home care, support for third party payment for nurse practitioners, and decreased federal funding to institutions discriminating against women in administrative and higher level positions.

However, as women and as professionals providing health care to women we disagree with four of the recommendations. These violate human rights and freedom of choice; they are contrary to our philosophies and beliefs.

We disagree with these statements because they increase barriers to women in the pursuit of adequate health care:

1. We believe that only a National Health Program will enable *all* women to receive comprehensive health care. We believe that health care is a right of all women — rich and poor. No woman should be denied health care because of inability to pay.
2. We concur with the recommendation that health care is a basic right of all people and comprehensive services for physical and mental health should be available and accessible to all people on a continuing and coordinated basis. There should be an emphasis on preventive care and health education in all health service programs. However, we strongly believe that health education includes sex education and abortion counseling.
3. There should be federal funding for abortions for those women who haven't other means to finance this procedure. Withholding federal funding for abortion denies poor women freedom of choice. It is discriminatory.
7. Withholding federal funds for health care for minority women is unconstitutional.

We believe that health care is a basic right of all women. Services should be available in an acceptable form and

responsive to the needs and wishes of the women who utilize them. Health care should be comprehensive in assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation. There should be an emphasis on prevention and education in all health service programs.

Submitted by:

Sue Loper-Powers
Chairperson

Nancy Field

C. Ann Ritchie

Julie Schneidmiller



“The International Women’s Year Anthem”

by
Maggie Savage

Maggie Savage started writing songs in 1973. In 1975, the Co-Respondent Reader’s Theatre — a theatre run by women with women actresses which deals with women’s history and concerns — asked her to write for them. Because of this association with a group that has played to audiences throughout the country, Maggie’s songs during the last year and a half have been largely about women.

Ms. Savage has a long history in music. She was a part of the folk movement in the 60’s and plays guitar and piano by ear. As a composer, her ability to understand music intuitively has made it necessary for others to score her music.

She wrote the “The International Women’s Year Anthem” for the Washington State Women’s Conference as a result of an informal request from Gisela Tabor, IWY Regional Coordinator. The song was subsequently selected by the Washington State IWY Coordinating Committee as the official conference song.

Ms. Savage has since been asked to perform with Jude Fogelquist, another musician, at the National IWY Conference to be held in Houston. The Washington State IWY Coordinating Committee is financing their trip. At the national conference, delegates will have an opportunity to decide if “The International Women’s Year Anthem” will be the national IWY song to be sung at the International Conference.

The INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR ANTHEM

c. 1977
Maggie Savage

VERSE

Oh have you seen my sister? I hear she lives in Spain.
From Wash- ing- ton to Georgia From Flo- ri- da to Maine We
Oh, have you seen my sister? South Af- ri- ca's her land. She

Fighting myth and dogma and in such constant pain. She
Keep a con- stant vigil our ri- gh- ts to attain Oh
works as a do- mes- tic at a ma- st- er's command She

bears the face of many the hearts of ten times more and
si- st- ers band to- gether the bat- tle's never done and
sees her fam- il- y once a year for two weeks and a day Sing

She will stand beside us on fre- e- e- dom's shore
we will not be si- lent 'til our ri- gh- ts we have won
loud so she can hear us and join us as we say:

CHORUS:

Like wa- ter- from the well spring our spirits will rise To

join the streams of thousands who march neath other skies No

ri- ver sha- ll con- tain us our num- bers swell and soar and

we will stand uni- ted on fre- e- e- dom's shore

Verse 4: From Russia to Uganda, Saigon to Istanbul
Our voices raise in chorus to echo 'round the world
The many verses yet unsung, the stories yet untold
Come join us in the struggle, our history to unfold.

Credits:

Typists:	Janis Andreas Charles Kuester Barbara Langley Barbara Worrell
Graphics:	Claudia Denney
Typesetting:	Dawn L. Van Ette
Photographers:	Charlan Ashmore Katy Howard