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REMARKS PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION ELIZABETH HANFORD DOLE
GLAMOUR MAGAZINE TENTH ANNIVERSARY TRIBUTE TO WORKING WOMEN NEW YORK, NEW YORK
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What a joy it is to be here in New York. The "Big Apple" and the "Capital City" are two of the most famous cities in the world and I am delighted you asked me to represent Washington today.

I've long since accepted the wisdom of Franklin Roosevelt's three cardinal rules for the public speaker..."Be brief, be sincere, be seated." This afternoon is no exception. But of course, I could hardly say no when Ruth Whitney invited me to share in this ceremony. First, Glamour has taken a leading role in moving women's magazines into a new age marked by a new attitude toward the working woman. And, second, as a working woman myself, I'm always glad to welcome new members to the fold, or pay tribute to colleagues who have themselves advanced the cause of social and economic justice. At the start of this eventful century, Freud proclaimed without qualification that "anatomy is destiny." Later, photographer Edward Steichen referred to women as "the greatest undeveloped natural resource in the world today." But consider the last decade, as symbolized by the pioneering entrepreneurs whom we honor this afternoon.

Since 1974, Glamour has highlighted 100 women of outstanding achievement. Many have held "breakthrough" jobs. Like Florence Jones, who is with us today, an Assistant Vice President and tax investment specialist with Merrill Lynch and the first woman to be hired as an account executive in the State of Virginia; and Michele Hughes, the very first woman to join the executive search consulting firm of Ward Howell, and today a partner and director of that firm.

So I am truly honored to be here today among such a distinguished group of natural allies in what I like to call America's "quiet revolution," the tidal wave of

qualified and talented women who have entered our work force in record numbers over the past three decades. The impact of this change has been tremendous. Recently, the Census Bureau reported that between 1947 and 1980, the number of women in the labor force increased 173 percent.

Some say there is strength in numbers. But even with this influx, it's been difficult for many women to break into occupational fields traditionally thought of as "men's domain." Dr. Barbara McClintock won the 1983 Nobel Prize in Medicine for work she did four decades ago, work that went unrecognized for years by her professional — mostly male — peers. I was delighted to read her reaction in Glamour's January issue. She said, "It might seem unfair to reward a person for having so much pleasure over the years."

I suspect that a similar type of commitment to career goals is typical of the 10 women we honor today. They represent the wide range of professions women are entering and excelling in: government, law, media, theater, advertising, finance, and the executive suite. I was especially pleased to note that Rosemary Bryant Mariner, a Lt. Commander in the Navy, one of the first women to train in jetfighters, was the first female aviator to be assigned to an aircraft carrier. For sometimes I feel as if I've found my own footnote in history: I am the first woman to head a branch of the Armed Services --the U.S. Coast Guard, which is under my Department's jurisdiction. Along with the current satisfactions, however, I remember barriers on the way. When I entered Harvard Law School, in 1962, I was one of 25 women in a class of 550. I'll never forget being accosted on my very first day at Harvard by a male classmate who demanded to know what I was doing there.

"Don't you realize," he said, " there are men who'd give their right arm to be in this law school? Men who would use their legal education?" Obviously, the inference was that I was taking the place of a man. And come to think of it, some may have felt that way when I became Secretary of Transportation.

One of the honorees here today -- Donna Ecton, a Vice President for Campbell Soup Company -- was recently elected President of the Harvard Business School Alumni Association's Executive Council, the first woman to hold that position. To which I can only say: Amen! For I remember feeling, back in my own law school days that many colleagues at Harvard seemed to have forgotten that the figure of Justice was a woman. They seemed oblivious to the psychological barriers they erected, ignorant of the fears they inspired or the doubts they nurtured.

Today, the Harvard law class is almost 40 percent female. Patricia Campbell Bobb, on the dais today and a noted trial attorney, represents the women who are entering the legal profession in record numbers. And during the last decade alone, the number of women receiving masters in business administration has soared by nearly 800 percent. Today, we can look to women of achievement in business like Jane Evans -- Vice President for General Mills --where she oversees a \$650 million multidivisional consumer products group -- and Elizabeth Nickles, a Senior Vice President of D'Arcy-MacManus & Masius and winner of numerous awards for advertising, including the CLIO.

And they, in turn, can regard themselves as a vanguard, preparing the way for many more in their wake. Ten years ago, says the Census Bureau, 7 percent of all students receiving a law degree were female; today the number is 33 percent. Fewer than a tenth of medical school graduates were women then; the most recent group included 25 percent women. In the short space of a decade, the percentage of women studying veterinary medicine has quadrupled — those studying theology increased

eightfold --those preparing for a career in dentistry soared by 1500 percent. The overall ranks of women professionals grew from 4.5 million in 1972 to 7.6 million 10 years later. Isn't that good news?

The numbers themselves speak eloquently of progress. But who among us can argue the complete disappearance of discrimination, or the banishment of that insidious brand of prejudice -- what I call the tyranny of perfection.

Social critic Marya Mannes put it best, I think, when she wrote: "Nobody objects to a woman being a good writer or sculptor or geneticist if, at the same time, she manages to be a good wife, a good mother, good-looking, good-tempered, well-dressed, well-groomed and unaggressive."

In other words, you, too, can be treated the same as a man -- so long as you outperform him. Nor are such perceptions the only roadblocks that yet remain on the path to prosperity and job satisfaction. Much of society continues to perceive women as consumers instead of producers. Too many employers regard working women as pursuers of pin money and pay them accordingly, about 3/5ths on the average, of a man's salary, despite identical educational and professional backgrounds.

When I finished law school in 1965, only 30 percent of women were in the workforce. Today, just 19 years later, some 52 percent are working. I was amazed to discover that 64 percent of women with children between the ages of 6 and 17 work outside the home. The increased divorce rate means a growing number of working mothers raise their children alone. In the last decade, there was an increase of 51 percent in single heads of households, most of them women.

The impact of this tidal wave of women entering the workforce has not yet been fully perceived. For the quiet revolution has created a whole new set of problems which would face any President sitting in the Oval Office today. Call it the gender gap, women's issues, the fairness question. Whatever its label, it is largely a result of this revolution.

At the American Enterprise Institute, an analysis of 500 polls conducted since 1948 identified a clear divergence between men and women that developed in the late '70s which helps explain the Gender Gap. Women have less faith in our institutions. Women are more skeptical about the future of our country and government's ability to handle problems. And it is no wonder. The median income of the woman raising her two children alone is just \$11,000.

Because of the growing divorce rate, older women are one of the fastest growing groups of poor in America today. When you look back at the recession and combine that with the phenomenon of last hired, first fired, it is not surprising that women feel insecure about their futures. The President recognized these enormous changes in American society. Six months before I left the White House he asked me to chair a Coordinating Council on Women to look at issues of particular concern to women. For the first time, six assistants to the President met on a regular basis to advise the President regarding the most effective way to address these concerns. There were immediate results.

We have sponsored legislation to strengthen governmental action against fathers who fail to pay court-ordered child support. These new efforts should help to bring nearly \$4 billion in delinquent payments to the millions of mothers who are trying to raise their children alone.

We are addressing the needs of the older woman, the woman who has devoted herself entirely to the role of mother and homemaker -- perhaps the most ambitious and important of careers -- the same woman who finds her income meager in retirement. We helped to change social security laws to equalize benefits for widows and widowers; our proposals for pension reform if enacted into law, guarantee that women who are dependent on their spouse's pension to ensure adequate retirement income will no longer be surprised by its termination; a husband cannot waive pension rights without the wife's agreement in writing. Doesn't that seem reasonable to you? Under the same proposal, courts may order some of the pension rights to go to a divorced homemaker, a provision similar to that already signed into law by the President for spouses of the military. And for those now entering the workforce, pension participation may begin at age 21 instead of 25, to compensate for the fact that women begin working at an earlier age than men. The pension proposal we introduced allows mothers to return to work after a year's maternity leave without losing their accumulated benefits.

We are supporting women's rights in court case after court case -- winning the largest recovery ever -- \$2.7 million -- in an anti-discrimination complaint against a public employer. We are arguing that law firms must consider women for partnerships on an equal basis with the men. We have filed against one of the largest consumer loan companies in America, for alleged sex discrimination in the granting of credit. We have filed suit against the tenth largest police force in the nation for its alleged refusal to recruit, hire, assign, and promote blacks, Hispanics, and women on an equal basis with white Anglo men (U.S. v. Suffolk County, New York). And we are pressing the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to secure back pay for victims of discrimination.

President Reagan is responsible for the 50 states project, designed to work with the Governors to identify and correct vestiges of discrimination in state laws and regulations. He set up the Project on Legal Equity for Women to complete the task of ridding federal laws, policies and regulations of provisions which discriminate or unfairly differentiate on the basis of gender. Numerous other proposals to clean up the Federal code have already been introduced in the Senate -- with the President's wholehearted backing -- by the senior Senator from Kansas, who takes a pretty active part himself in the fight for a sex-blind, color-blind society.

We also struck hard at the so-called "marriage tax" that unfairly penalized working women. As a result, two wage earner families with a combined income of \$30,000 can expect to keep an extra \$375 this year alone. Business owners who are married women, composing two thirds of the three million female entrepreneurs, can reap even greater benefits from this change. Since most of their businesses pay personal, rather than corporate taxes, they have more money to invest or save.

Millions of women stand to gain from the virtual elimination of the estate tax, permitting for the first time a spouse to keep a farm or small business instead of having to sell it to pay the taxes. Women also stand to benefit from improved IRA accounts for homemakers and from substantial increases in tax credits for child care expenses targeted to benefit low and middle income familities the most. Starting this year, the 1040A short tax form contains an additional line for deducting child care costs, making it easier than ever before for lower and middle income parents to claim those deductions. In addition, this Administration is working hard to encourage employers in the private sector to provide more child care services for working mothers.

There is not a person here today who does not recognize that our own commitment -- our vision of the future -- must begin where we are. When I arrived at the Department, I asked how many women employees we had. I was told 19 percent.

Then I asked, how many women were at DOT when it was established in 1967? The answer: 18.5 percent. What's more, only I percent of the upper grade positions were filled by women. It didn't take long for us to design a program to change all that -- or for the President personally to lend his backing when I presented my proposal to the Cabinet. Now we are helping women to enter our workforce, and we're preparing more women than ever before to assume managerial responsibilities and to broaden existing skills --for example, to become air traffic controllers and move into higher paying jobs.

The public sector should do all in its power to make ours an economy blind to sex as well as race. Ever since my days on the Federal Trade Commission, I've been keeping one hand on the pulse of the private sector, and measuring the slow but steady growth in female recruitment and utilization.

Now, it is clear to me we must increasingly focus on how to maximize the female half of the human resource ledger. We hear much about programs for women to teach them the rules of the game. We hear much less about removing factors that cause managers to misuse or overlook female talent.

This can't continue for long, if only because market forces have doomed the old ways of doing business. In the years just ahead, America must awaken to the fact that the very interpersonal skills of consensus building, mediating, moderating, and dealing effectively with people -- skills that studies and surveys have historically identified as long being predominant in women -- are the building blocks of a post industrial society. It's the management of people and not the management of machinery or material that will be crucial. It's interesting to flip through the American Management Association's catalog of continuing education and note the number of courses in interpersonal skills being offered to today's managers, most of whom are male.

And with the large numbers of women now entering the work force, managers are, I believe, starting to grasp what we have always known: that we share with men the need for personal success, even the taste for power.

The women on this dais personify this potential: Carrie Robbins, a Tony Nominee and Drama Desk Award Winner in costume design; Monica Kaufman, a television news anchor in Atlanta and award-winning reporter; and Betty Diener, the Secretary of Commerce and Resources for the State of Virginia, where she administers 26 agencies, 52 boards and commissions, 4,000 employees and a \$940 million budget.

People like you have helped pave the way for millions of other women who even now are working their way up in corporations, in government and in their professions. The going will be difficult, especially for mothers of young children. But the challenge is unavoidable. It cannot be ignored or minimized; only surmounted.

And as I think of the challenges ahead, I frequently think of a woman, one who lived quietly and who never fit a conventional mold. One of our country's greatest poets, she never left her home in Amherst, Massachusetts. She never worked in an office, never raised a family, never won a headline. The only power she wielded lay in her poetry. But her artistry and her vision have inspired millions.

"We-dwell in possibility," Emily Dickinson wrote nearly 150 years ago.

For most women, success today still is achieved by dwelling in the improbable, by challenging the odds and overcoming the conventional wisdom. If we, different as any roomful of Americans are, can be said to have a single common bond, it is in our

aspiration to hasten the day when the improbable becomes the probable, and possibility dwells equally in every American.

Thank you very much.

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