

**OUTREACH**

**TALKING POINTS**

**FUNDING**

**PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION**

**PUBLIC OUTREACH**

**POST-CONFERENCE IMPLEMENTATION**

**UNITED NATIONS FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN**

Outreach

\* OUTREACH \*

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### **Talking Points**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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US Platform

THE FOURTH UN WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN  
AND NGO FORUM '95

The Fourth World Conference on Women comes ten years after the close of the UN's Decade for Women, a decade dedicated to advancing the status of women under the broad goals of **equality, development and peace**. Following International Women's Year and mid-decade world conferences in Mexico City and Copenhagen, the decade closed at a third conference with the adoption of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies, a plan of action for the years 1985 to 2000 that was designed to achieve the goals.

In calling for a Fourth World Conference in Beijing in 1995, the General Assembly recognized that "the pace of implementation of the Forward-Looking Strategies must be improved in the crucial last decade of the 20th century."

As with the first three conferences, the UN Commission on the Status of Women is the preparatory body for the Beijing conference. At its 1993 annual session it adopted **five goals for the Beijing conference**:

- to share power equally;
- to ensure full access to the means of development;
- to overcome poverty;
- to promote peace and defend women's human rights;
- to inspire a new generation of women and men working together for equality.

The conference and its goals fit within a continuum of world conferences being held in the 1990s that have steadily been advancing an equitable social and economic agenda for all peoples of the world. It is **an agenda that many American non-governmental organizations, among them those that make up the contemporary women's rights movement, have worked for and espouse.**

The main business of the official government conference at Beijing, in contrast with the NGO Forum, is to adopt a **Platform of Action** to accelerate implementation of the Forward Looking Strategies based on assessment of what has been accomplished and what obstacles to women's progress must be overcome. The CSW has committed itself to produce a "how to" document that is a short, concise handbook for action.

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-- The importance of education and training, especially **universal primary education of the girl-child**, is gaining in acceptance around the world. After 30 years of development experience, here is a place where idealistic rhetoric and good will are now joined by concrete evidence: women make the difference. Educating the girl-child is the most transforming investment a country can make -- whether the issue is child survival or child rearing, the size of a family's or nation's population, sustainable development and the environment, in short the whole socioeconomic development process. The US wants to come out of Beijing with a world commitment to primary education for girls and a commitment to invest in education and training for women and girls.

-- It is without question that for the past 150 years the advancement of the status of women in the United States has been brought about by women themselves, usually acting through **non-governmental organizations**. Society and government have only responded to this pressure coming from the grassroots. This being demonstrably the case for such a long period here, the United States is in a secure position to advocate the recognition of the importance of NGOs and the commitment to ensure their participation in social and economic development.

-- Women work in all societies and, in fact, they do the bulk of the world's work. They do not get paid as much as men and often do not get paid at all, much of their work going unvalued, unpaid and uncounted, and without benefits. Where women are concerned the economic transitions that all countries are undergoing are often affecting them negatively and disproportionately so. Women face increasing marginalization in the work force, and sometimes are forced off the margins and out of the paid workforce entirely. This situation cross-cuts the developing and developed world, emerging democratic market economies and our own. We want to make sure the conference and the platform of action recognize this situation, deal with the need to redefine work, and outline actions to improve the situation, and commit to them.

#### **NGO Forums**

These UN conferences represent 20 years of bringing women together, women from all circumstances, religions, ethnic groups, nations and from all levels of their own societies. The real impact of these events must be read between the lines. The conferences, reports, resolutions, preparatory meetings, and consultations have served as both markers and springboards for the real work of this period -- the work women have been doing at the local and national levels when the conference halls are empty.

## Preparations

We have held several informal briefings of NGOs here at the State Department; from time to time we have met with individual or groups of NGOs at their or our request; we have attended meetings and conferences organized by NGOs at local, regional and national levels; and have now held the first two of ten regional meetings sponsored jointly by State and Labor

We especially need the involvement of NGOs in the preparation of two critical documents, the national report on the status of women in the USA and the US input into the Platform for Action -- both the Beijing Platform, and the ECE regional platform that is expected to be adopted at the regional preparatory meeting in Vienna in October.

## National Report(s)

Governments are requested to submit their reports to the Secretary-General on the status of women, concentrating on advancements since 1985 and identifying obstacles to progress. The reports are requested six months before their regional preparatory conference, which in our case is in Vienna in October. We expect to distribute our report for intergovernmental clearance and NGO comment by late May or early June and to the UN and Congress in July.

However, we think of this report as a preliminary document that will meet our requirement to the UN and serve as the basis for a more comprehensive, less statistical and more informational and analytical report on the progress, setbacks and new problems and concerns American women have experienced over the past ten years. We hope funding and staffing will be forthcoming to ensure a well-written and designed report that will focus more extensively on NGO activity. We do not have the resources -- of staff, time, and money -- to do it here as we currently exist. It would require additional staff or a contract arrangement.

## Draft Platform

The CSW and the Conference Secretariat are the drafting bodies for the Platform, with input from the working sessions of the CSW where, meeting as a committee of the whole, all UN member nations may participate. The US regional meetings sponsored by State and DOL are intended to provide us with a means of involving American women in the process -- identifying their issues of concern and their recommendations for action to be included in the platform. However, this is just one means. We have been receiving similar input from other meetings we attend, and from NGOs and individuals who simply have sent contributions in through the mail or fax, or have handed their papers to us in person, as many did at the CSW session in March. We are now exploring ways to establish expert working groups to consult on the areas identified in the critical areas of concern and to perhaps add other areas.

If tradition is any indicator, the NGO Forum '95 will be a good place to see the results of the past 20 years. From the fractious, divided, accusatory beginning at Mexico City in 1975, to the growing sense of partnership and painful confrontation mitigated by compromise that characterized the Nairobi Forum the forums have been a mirror and microcosm of the international women's movement.

Called the world's largest consciousness-raising sessions, the forums are an international bazaar of workshops, cultural events and displays, and speak outs. They provide a place for information exchange, networking, confrontation and debate, and the development of new organizations and leadership.

These are volatile and dynamic occasions, but for all the emotional stimulation, that is nothing compared to the intellectual stimulation, as any American woman who has been there will attest, . This is where the cutting edge of feminism, and social, political and economic awareness come together.

In the course of the past 20 years, as women have been organizing and uniting over the problems that victimize them and keep their condition oppressed and their status inferior, this very process of UN conferences and forums has had a profound effect on them.. They have been moving increasingly from a passive to active role, and Forum '95 will probably, hopefully, be the place where the world will see women as agents of change, claiming and displaying their role as full citizens.

#### **American NGOs**

We want to encourage American women to participate in both the Forum and, as observers through their accredited NGOs, in the governmental conference. On a practical level, this will entail providing them with the most thorough and clear information possible concerning what they must do to get to Beijing and what constraints they may face. We are in the process now of obtaining instructions and clarifications from the Conference Secretariat and from the Chinese government. There may well be problems and obstacles and we are already urging NGOs to alert us to difficulties they encounter in obtaining credentials.

In a very real sense, of course, the conference has already begun. As Boutros Boutros Ghali has said, the conference itself is somewhat anti-climactic. The work is in the preparations. And it is in the preparations that the role of the NGOs is crucial. This process has already begun. However, we want to increase and intensify it.

May 31, 1995

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**Talking Points For US Participation in  
UN Fourth World Conference on Women**

US Goals for the Conference

- o Our message focuses on women as active participants in meeting the challenges of today and the next century.
- o We approach this Conference seeking partnerships with other countries and with American NGOs in developing a strong, consensus UN Plan of Action.
- o We have held extensive meetings throughout the country to get the input of all Americans.
- o Our overall priority is to promote the advancement and empowerment of women and to build on the commitments made at other important UN Conferences: the 1985 Women's Conference in Nairobi, the 1992 Environment and Development Conference in Rio, the 1993 Vienna Human Rights Conference, the 1994 Cairo Population and Development Conference (ICPD) and the 1995 Copenhagen Social Summit (WSSD).
- o The US will provide leadership on:
  - o Human rights of women, including actions to end violence against women
  - o A lifespan approach to health and education
  - o Efforts to balance work and family responsibilities of both women and men
  - o Economic security
  - o The importance of NGOs as partners in building communities -- locally, nationally and internationally
  - o The full participation of women in political and economic decision-making
- o The World Conference is important to Americans because the successes and challenges women experience are similar all over the world. Women everywhere want: strong families, economic security, basic and better education and health care, participation in decision-making, personal safety, and legal rights. This Conference is designed to explore and understand these challenges and to promote an action agenda to achieve these goals.

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What Came out of New York Prepcom

- o The final preparatory committee negotiating session or "Prepcom" concluded its pre-conference work in New York on April 7, 1995. The meeting was extended by three days to allow for negotiations on all proposed sections of the document. During the three-week session, delegates discussed all sections of the Platform for Action, incorporated a section on the girl-child and a Declaration and submitted corrections to the proposed draft to the UN Conference Secretariat.
- o The current draft of the Platform for Action contains distinct elements that reflect a developing consensus around the world -- a consensus that did not exist ten years ago at the Nairobi Conference. This consensus is that the only way to bring about equality, development and peace is to empower women by integrating them into the mainstream where they can work in partnership with men in all levels and structures of society.

Background and Context

- o This Conference is about women and girls and not about China.
- o The Conference is convening in China because it is Asia's turn to host such a conference. When the UN decision was made in 1992 to hold the meeting, China was the only country in the region to offer to host it.
- o At the Conference and the associated NGO Forum, approximately 45,000 people from around the world will be openly discussing a variety of issues. Aside from the importance to the world's women, this conference cannot help but have reverberations within China. In fact, we are hearing already that women in China have begun to use the Conference as a means to form groups and establish regular contacts with the world community.
- o U.S. participation in the Conference will ensure that American women and men will have a voice in an international forum on issues affecting the lives of women.
- o In a series of UN meetings on sustainable human development, the U.S. has played a leadership role in preparing the Conference documents, not only to promote policies consistent with our interests, but also to ensure agreements reached at these UN Meetings reflect U.S. goals and democratic values.
- o The Conference ensures a platform to promote U.S. interests on such important issues as democracy and human rights.

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#### NGOs Accreditation and Access

- o This Administration has actively promoted the important role of NGOs in policy development and program implementation. Our delegations to the recent ICPD and WSSD included American NGOs from grassroot organizations as well as those with international partners. We will continue to demonstrate our commitment to NGO participation by including NGOs on our delegation to the Women's Conference.
- o Vice President Gore, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, and Ambassador Madeleine Albright have publicly and privately endorsed the full participation of NGOs in UN conferences.
- o At senior levels, we urged the UN Secretariat to follow open and fair credentialling procedures for NGOs seeking to attend the Conference and ensured the procedures were strengthened through a new resolution adopted at the recent Preparatory Committee for the Conference.
- o That resolution was recently approved by the General Assembly and will allow those NGOs not included on the UN Secretariat's original accreditation list an opportunity to submit further information concerning their qualifications for accreditation to the Secretariat.
- o The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) will make the final accreditation determination at its July session based upon revised recommendations from the UN Secretariat.
- o We have also encouraged the Chinese Government to meet its obligations as the host country for the Women's Conference by applying fair and transparent visa procedures to all who are accredited to attend the Conference.
- o We and the UN have asked the Chinese Government to follow the example of the Egyptian Government in its approach to the ICPD, that is, to allow freedom of expression at the conference and associated NGO forum sites. Nevertheless, Chinese law applies throughout China, and acts of civil disobedience or other public expressions away from those sites, or any other actions deemed illegal by the Chinese, could result in detentions or other responses by the Chinese. Visitors to the conference or forum should keep that in mind.

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#### NGO Forum Site

- o On March 30, China announced that it was moving the site of the NGO Forum associated with the World Conference from the Worker's Stadium, because of "structural problems" there. China proposed a new site, at Huairou, approximately 33 kilometers northeast of the Beijing International Convention Center.
- o In mid-April, NGO Forum Convener Supatra Masdit and Executive Director Irene Santiago visited the Huairou site. Their report indicated serious deficiencies in the Huairou site: lack of a Plenary meeting venue, rudimentary telecommunications facilities, no disabled access, and shortage of hotel rooms were cited in addition to the logistical and transportation problems inherent in the more distant site.
- o On May 10, Masdit sent a letter to UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali, outlining these concerns and asking that he take a personal role in assuring the success of the NGO Forum.
- o On May 22, the China Organizing Committee sent a letter to the NGO Facilitating Committee, indicating that the choice of the Huairou site was not subject to review or change.
- o As of May 25, Boutros-Ghali had not responded formally to this request by the NGO Forum. However, in a press statement released that day, Santiago noted that Boutros-Ghali had been engaged for several weeks in quiet diplomacy to try to find a solution.
- o We are monitoring the situation and awaiting the decision of the NGO Facilitating Committee with respect to the Forum site.
- o Traditionally, there is a working relationship between NGOs and government delegations at World Conferences. In the past, the proximity of the NGO Forum to the official conference site has facilitated dialogue among all participants and strengthened the action plans adopted by the conferences.
- o During a plenary session at the Preparatory Committee meeting in New York in March, 1995, the US delegation signalled its concern over the proposed relocation of the NGO Forum to Huairou.

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- o On May 24, Ambassador Madeleine Albright, US Permanent Representative to the United Nations said that the NGO Forum must have appropriate facilities to meet its needs as an integral part of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women.
- o Albright said the United States will continue to act through appropriate diplomatic channels to encourage China to meet its host country obligations, including facilitating the participation of NGOs.

#### Gender

- o On May 15, the U.S. participated in the first meeting of the Gender Contact Group, established to resolve questions regarding the use of the word "gender" that arose during the final hours of the preparatory meeting for the Fourth World Conference on Women.
- o Chaired by Selma Ashipala of Namibia, the meeting was attended by about 60 representatives of interested nations. The Chair presented an overview of the use and understanding of the word "gender" within the context of UN documents and meetings.
- o There was widespread support for the U.S. proposal for the group to adopt a Chairman's statement reflecting the group's understanding of the usage of the term. Such a statement would most probably be a separate paper of the Conference.
- o Several countries, Guatemala, Benin and Argentina preferred that the Contact Group define gender and include the definition in a footnote to the Platform for Action.
- o Responding to the near consensus for the Chairman's Statement, the Chair will develop a draft statement to be discussed at the next meeting, currently scheduled for May 31.

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#### US Delegation and Preparations

- o First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is the delegation's honorary chair. Although no decision has been made about her attendance at the Conference, the First Lady's willingness to accept this position reflects her strong interest in and commitment to effective U.S. participation in the Conference.
- o Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright, U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, is the head of delegation and the Honorable Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, former member of Congress, is deputy head of delegation and its director.
- o Other members of the delegation include Veronica Biggins of Atlanta, Lynn Cutler of Washington, DC, Arthenia Joyner of Florida, Dorothy Lamm of Colorado, and Linda Tarr-Whelan of Washington, DC.
- o The White House is expected to name the full delegation by early summer.
- o Overall coordination of US preparations and follow-up for the conference is the responsibility of the US Department of State. Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs Timothy Wirth has established a conference secretariat to coordinate preparations for the conference. Theresa Loar, a Foreign Service Officer is the Director of this office.
- o The Global Conference Secretariat sponsors monthly public meetings in Washington, DC to provide updates on the Conference planning and to listen to NGO input.

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For Further Information

- o Global Conference Secretariat, 2201 C St., NW, Room 1318, Department of State, Washington, DC 20520. Phone (202) 647-3129, Fax (202) 647-4787. A hotline has been established to provide information on public meetings and any other special events. The number is (202) 663-3070 or TDD (202) 647-3750. Individuals with special needs are encouraged to contact the office several weeks prior to scheduled events so that reasonable accomodation can be made.
- o UN Secretariat of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Division for the Advancement of Women, DC2-1234, Two United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Phone (212) 963-8385, Fax (212) 963-3463. Ms. Getrude Mongella of Tanzania is the Secretary General of the Conference.
- o NGO Forum on Women, Beijing '95, 211 E. 43rd St., Suite 1500, New York, NY 10017. Phone (212) 922-9267 or 922-9268, Fax (212) 922-9269. Ms. Supatra Masdit is the Convenor.

607 SEC3

Drafted:G/CS:TLoar/KHendrix/JAMeer *LA for*  
607 SEC3 5/23/95

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*Melanie*

BELDEN & RUSSONELLO  
RESEARCH AND COMMUNICATIONS

MEMO

TO: Gracia Hillman, Kathy Bonk, and others

FROM: Nancy Belden, Kate Stewart, Rose Jamison

RE: Preliminary assessment of what existing opinion research can contribute to message development, Women's Conference 1995

DATE: January 26, 1995

The objective and limitations

Our objective is to identify themes for the United States' position for the international agenda on women. To be useful, these themes must: express Administration policy and find acceptance and hopefully salience among American voters.

Our limitation is the lack of existing data directly related. The following points are based on survey (ours and many others) and focus group (ours) research -- but many of the key public opinion questions related to this conference have not been addressed adequately.

Our domestic prism

- Generally, the American public believes we have a way to go yet on the rights and status of women.

## The foreign aid prism: the rat hole problem v. providing political-moral support

- Involvements overseas are tricky for public opinion. Our research regarding foreign aid has shown it is all too often unpopular and associated with waste -- so when we try to transfer support for women's rights, issues, or needs in the U.S. to the international scene, we must consider how to avoid the reluctance and negatives associated with foreign aid and international commitments.

The public's perception that foreign aid is money "down a rat hole" contaminates possibilities of gaining public support for programs.

We might consider the possibility of casting U.S. message for the women's conference **in terms of shared values and providing political-moral support, avoiding aid issues.**

## The research review

As a way to organize our examination of existing research, we divided our inquiry into selected topics from both the "Critical Areas of Concern" from the Regional Prep Cons and "Considerations" from Gracia's "DRAFT".

Principal documents used were our survey and focus group research for the Pew Global Stewardship Initiative, International Women's Health Coalition, Rockefeller Foundation, OCD and InterAction; Women's Voices from Center for Policy Alternatives and Ms. Foundation; Working Women Count from the U.S. Department of Labor; Times Mirror; Gallup; UNICEF; and other sources.

## Public opinion reactions to selected topic areas

### Poverty

In the U.S.:

not a high visibility, volunteered problem

Internationally:

alleviating suffering most compelling

but successfully dealing with poverty or causes of poverty may appear so intractable as to be useless

Verdict: not highly useful

### Economic issues; jobs

In the U.S.:

economy is top the list of concerns among the general public

we but have a way to go on equality and opportunity for women

Internationally:

improving status of women (if we interpret to mean economic status) is a middle tier, acceptable goal

but strikes few hearts

suffers from rat hole implications

Verdict: not especially compelling

### **Balancing work and family**

In the U.S.:

recognizable issues by important audiences of working women

rings true

but potential ambivalence about working mothers

Internationally:

some target audiences may relate well to it

but probably suffers from ineffectiveness fears if involves aid

and may lack tangibility

Verdict: research is needed here.

### **Education**

In the U.S.:

fundamentally important though not top tier always

target audiences have internalize the value of equal education

Internationally:

instantly recognizable as a good value

implies multiple benefits: increased options -- social and economic, employability, wise childbearing and parenting, improved sanitation and health, ultimate self-satisfaction

empowering and promotes self-sufficiency

little fear of cultural-toe-stepping/seen as appropriate activity for the U.S.

perhaps boring

Verdict: an excellent theme from goodness point of view; perhaps dull

### **Human rights and legal rights**

In the U.S.:

violence against women recognizable problem

Internationally:

since it is China, spotlight will be on human rights

public sensitive to and aware of China's population control practices

difficult area: possible sense of inability to help? cultural toe stepping?

Verdict: more research needed here.

### **In control: Agents of change v. victimization**

In the U.S.:

some way still to go for women to be as much in control as would be good for the country

support for women to assume more political power

equity in the workplace needs improvement, but generally on track

Internationally:

power to make decisions for selves understood and lauded among liberal audiences as key to improvement

importance of having political and economic influence recognized

easy to agree with, but too ill-defined an area for some

again, education may be better hook for some of the same ideas

Verdict: needs more research and definition to be useful hook

**Health**

In the U.S.:

has been high on the concern list

women (liberals?) articulate reproductive health care and comprehensive health care as critical underpinnings for other goals -- for themselves and thus ...

Internationally:

it is easy to recognize the critical nature of decent, appropriate health services

suffers less from rat hole because any health care delivered is a good thing

Verdict: would find some acceptance

Madeleine - Chair of the  
Delegation

Deputy Chair - 3m

Vice chairs - Dole / Carla Hills  
Veronica Biggers

Public member -

3 + Linda Tam-  
maria B.

Chairman

Godschalk  
Senior  
Officials  
Briefing

Other members -  
Honorary Chair

*Melanne*

BELDEN & RUSSONELLO  
RESEARCH AND COMMUNICATIONS

**Preliminary Tables**  
**From Existing Survey Research Data**  
  
**for**  
**Developing a Message about**  
**Women's Global Issues**

**January 26, 1995**

Table 1

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I'm going to read you some more statements on a different topic. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements ...Women should return to their traditional roles in society. (Times Mirror, July 1994, N=3800 adults)

|                     |     |               |
|---------------------|-----|---------------|
| Completely agree    | 12% |               |
| Mostly agree        | 18  | } 30% agree   |
| Mostly disagree     | 27  |               |
| Completely disagree | 40  | } 67 disagree |
| Don't know          | 3   |               |

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Table 2a

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What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today? (Times Mirror, July 1994, N=3800 adults)

|                                               |          |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------|
| Crime/Gangs/Justice system                    | 26%      |
| Health care (cost/accessibility)              | 14       |
| Unemployment/Lack of jobs                     | 12       |
| Morality/Ethics/Family values                 | 9        |
| Deficit/National debt/Balanced budget         | 5        |
| Economy (general)                             | 4        |
| Dissatisfaction with government/Politics      | 4        |
| Homeless                                      | 4        |
| <b>Poverty</b>                                | <b>3</b> |
| Drugs/Alcohol                                 | 3        |
| Education                                     | 3        |
| Taxes                                         | 2        |
| Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs      | 2        |
| Welfare abuse                                 | 2        |
| Too much foreign aid/Spend money at home      | 2        |
| Racism                                        | 1        |
| Environment/Pollution                         | 1        |
| AIDS                                          | 1        |
| Issues related to elderly/Other social issues | *        |

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Table 2a

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What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today? (Times Mirror, July 1994, N=3800 adults)

|                                               |          |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------|
| Crime/Gangs/Justice system                    | 26%      |
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| Morality/Ethics/Family values                 | 9        |
| Deficit/National debt/Balanced budget         | 5        |
| Economy (general)                             | 4        |
| Dissatisfaction with government/Politics      | 4        |
| Homeless                                      | 4        |
| <b>Poverty</b>                                | <b>3</b> |
| Drugs/Alcohol                                 | 3        |
| Education                                     | 3        |
| Taxes                                         | 2        |
| Inflation/Difference between wages/Costs      | 2        |
| Welfare abuse                                 | 2        |
| Too much foreign aid/Spend money at home      | 2        |
| Racism                                        | 1        |
| Environment/Pollution                         | 1        |
| AIDS                                          | 1        |
| Issues related to elderly/Other social issues | *        |

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Table 3

Using a scale of one to 10 where one means something is not a problem at all, and 10 means it is a very serious problem, please tell me how big a problem you think each of the following is for the United States right now: (Belden & Russonello, February 1994, N=2080 voters)

|                              | Mean       | Percent rating<br>8, 9, or 10 |
|------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| Crime                        | 8.8        | 82%                           |
| Gun violence                 | 8.3        | 72%                           |
| Government spending          | 8.3        | 71%                           |
| Cost of health care          | 7.6        | 59%                           |
| Our education system         | 7.4        | 54%                           |
| <b>Poverty</b>               | <b>7.2</b> | <b>49%</b>                    |
| The economy                  | 6.9        | 43%                           |
| Immigration                  | 6.6        | 41%                           |
| Race Relations               | 6.5        | 35%                           |
| Environmental threats        | 6.4        | 34%                           |
| Overconsumption of resources | 6.4        | 34%                           |

Table 4

Thinking about where you would like to see the U.S. use its resources, here are some possible goals for U.S. government assistance programs to developing countries. Using a scale where 1 means lowest priority and 10 means top priority, please rate these goals for U.S. government assistance overseas: the first one is... (Belden & Russonello, February 1994, N=2080 voters)

|                                                                            | Mean       | Percent rating<br>8, 9, or 10 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| Relieving human suffering brought about by civil war and natural disasters | 7.1        | 50%                           |
| Protecting the global environment                                          | 7.0        | 47%                           |
| Promoting democracy                                                        | 6.9        | 46%                           |
| Promoting human rights                                                     | 6.5        | 40%                           |
| <b>Improving the status of women</b>                                       | <b>6.3</b> | <b>38%</b>                    |
| Helping countries slow their rate of population growth                     | 5.9        | 33%                           |
| <b>Improving <u>economic</u> conditions in developing countries</b>        | <b>5.8</b> | <b>27%</b>                    |
| Preventing civil wars and regional conflicts                               | 5.7        | 29%                           |
| Giving military support to governments friendly to us                      | 5.5        | 27%                           |

Table 5 (combines Tables 2a and 2b)

Using a scale of one to 10 where one means something is not a problem at all, and 10 means it is a very serious problem, please tell me how big a problem you think each of the following is for the United States/of these international issues is:  
(Belden & Russonello, February 1994, N=2080 voters)

|                                                                          | Mean       | Percent rating<br>8, 9, or 10 |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| Crime                                                                    | 8.8        | 82%                           |
| Gun violence                                                             | 8.3        | 72                            |
| Government spending                                                      | 8.3        | 71                            |
| Cost of health care                                                      | 7.6        | 59                            |
| <i>Disease/hunger in other countries</i>                                 | 7.7        | 60                            |
| Our education system                                                     | 7.4        | 54                            |
| <b>Poverty</b>                                                           | <b>7.2</b> | <b>49</b>                     |
| <i>Rapid population growth</i>                                           | 7.1        | 48                            |
| <i>Spread of nuclear weapons</i>                                         | 7.1        | 46                            |
| The economy                                                              | 6.9        | 43                            |
| <i>The threat of civil wars and<br/>international regional conflicts</i> | 6.9        | 46                            |
| <i>Threats to global environment</i>                                     | 6.9        | 42                            |
| Immigration                                                              | 6.6        | 41                            |
| Race relations                                                           | 6.5        | 35                            |
| Environmental threats                                                    | 6.4        | 34                            |
| Overconsumption of resources                                             | 6.4        | 34                            |

*Italicized: Question on seriousness of international issues.*

Non-italicized: Question on seriousness of problems in the U.S.

Table 6

Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. ...Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed. (Times Mirror, July 1994, N=3800 adults)

|                     |     |              |
|---------------------|-----|--------------|
| Completely agree    | 52% |              |
| Mostly agree        | 39  | } 91% agree  |
| Mostly disagree     | 6   |              |
| Completely disagree | 2   | } 8 disagree |
| Don't know          | 1   |              |

Table 7

Q5. Now, thinking specifically about women and work, what would you say is the biggest problem facing women today in their work? (Women's Voices, June 1992, N=1400 women)

|                                                   |     |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Unequal pay/don't get same pay for equal work     | 16% |
| Equality                                          | 14  |
| Discrimination because of sex                     | 9   |
| Combining work and family                         | 8   |
| Sexual harassment                                 | 8   |
| Job placement/lack of promotions because of sex   | 8   |
| Low salary/lower wages                            | 8   |
| Its a mans world/treated as second class citizens | 6   |
| Child care/daycare                                | 5   |
| Finding a job/not enough jobs for women           | 3   |

Table 8

Q79. Have you or anyone you know been paid less because they're a woman? [IF YES] Would that be you, someone else or both? (Women's Voices, June 1992, N=1400 women)

|                   |     |            |
|-------------------|-----|------------|
| <b>Yes</b>        |     | <b>44%</b> |
| self              | 11% |            |
| someone I know    | 22  |            |
| both              | 11  |            |
| <b>No</b>         |     | <b>51</b>  |
| <b>Don't know</b> |     | <b>5</b>   |

Table 9

Q80. And would you say that women being paid less than men because they are women, is a major problem, somewhat of a problem, a minor problem, or not really a problem for women today? (Women's Voices, June 1992, N=1400 women)

|                       |     |                    |
|-----------------------|-----|--------------------|
| Major problem         | 38% |                    |
| Somewhat of a problem | 43  | } 81% problem      |
| Minor problem         | 7   |                    |
| Not a problem         | 8   | } 15 not a problem |
| Don't know            | 5   |                    |

Table 10

---

Q4. What would you say is the most important problem facing women today?  
(Women's Voices, June 1992, N=1400 women)

**Family**

|                                                   |     |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Career vs. family/combining work and family       | 14% |
| Child care                                        | 6   |
| Family not making enough/trying to make ends meet | 4   |
| Women forced to work when you have children       | 2   |

**Work**

|                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Job equality                        | 8 |
| Equal pay for equal work/pay equity | 8 |
| Equal rights/equal opportunity      | 7 |
| Not enough jobs for women           | 4 |
| Discrimination                      | 4 |
| Sexual harassment                   | 2 |

**Abortion rights**

|                                                              |   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| Having abortions (pro-life)                                  | 6 |
| Losing rights to abortion/not being able to have an abortion | 2 |

**Miscellaneous**

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| Rape/violence    | 7 |
| Health care      | 3 |
| Respect          | 2 |
| Men/men in power | 2 |

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Table 11

Q7. In thinking about your immediate family, would you say that you spend more than enough time, about the right amount, too little time, or far too little time with your immediate family? (Women's Voices, June 1992, N=1400 women)

|                        |     |                 |
|------------------------|-----|-----------------|
| More than enough time  | 19% |                 |
| About the right amount | 49  | } 68% enough    |
| Too little time        | 21  |                 |
| Far too little time    | 7   | } 28 too little |
| Not relevant/no family | 3   |                 |
| Don't know             | 1   |                 |

Table 12

Q9. Which of the following would most help to improve your family life: (Women's Voices, June 1992, N=1400 women)

|                                                                       |     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Shorter or more flexible work hours while keeping my current benefits | 23% |
| A job that pays more                                                  | 19  |
| More help with family responsibilities                                | 12  |
| More help with housework                                              | 12  |
| More time for my religion, my faith                                   | 7   |
| Fewer outside activities that take my time                            | 5   |
| Reliable day care                                                     | 5   |
| None                                                                  | 13  |
| Don't know                                                            | 5   |

Table 13

---

Q39. There has been some talk lately about encouraging businesses to offer more flexible working hours, where you could, for example, start work at 7 and leave by 3 in the afternoon. If you had a choice, and if benefits like health care would remain the same or in proportion with your level of work as what you have, would you prefer to work in a flexible arrangement like that, or work regular full time hours, work part-time, work at home, or not be employed at all? (Women's Voices, June 1992, N=1400 women)

|                         |     |
|-------------------------|-----|
| Flexible arrangement    | 58% |
| Regular full-time hours | 13  |
| Work part-time          | 6   |
| Work at home            | 6   |
| Not be employed         | 11  |
| Don't know              | 6   |

---

Table 14

Now I'd like your opinion of some groups and organizations. (First,) would you say your overall opinion of... is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly Unfavorable, or very unfavorable? (Times Mirror, July 1994, N=3800 adults)

|                    | <b>Women's<br/>movement<br/>(N=1899)</b> | <b>Feminist<br/>movement<br/>(N=1901)</b> |
|--------------------|------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Very favorable     | 20%                                      | 11%                                       |
| Mostly favorable   | 48    } 68% favorable                    | 44    } 55% favorable                     |
| Mostly unfavorable | 19                                       | 26                                        |
| Very unfavorable   | 9    } 28 unfavorable                    | 11    } 37 unfavorable                    |
| Never heard of     | *                                        | 2                                         |
| Don't know         | 4                                        | 6                                         |
|                    | <b>Republican<br/>Party<br/>(N=3800)</b> | <b>Democratic<br/>Party<br/>(N=3800)</b>  |
| Very favorable     | 12%                                      | 13%                                       |
| Mostly favorable   | 51    } 63% favorable                    | 49    } 62% favorable                     |
| Mostly unfavorable | 25                                       | 27                                        |
| Very unfavorable   | 8    } 33 unfavorable                    | 7    } 34 unfavorable                     |
| Never heard of     | *                                        | *                                         |
| Don't know         | 4                                        | 4                                         |

Table 15

Now I'm going to read you some different groups in American society. Please tell me if you think each has TOO MUCH say in the way the government in Washington is run, NOT ENOUGH say, or about the RIGHT AMOUNT of say in the way the government is run? (Times Mirror, July 1994, N=3800 adults)

|                      | <b>Too<br/>Much</b> | <b>Not<br/>Enough</b> | <b>Right<br/>Amount</b> | <b>Don't<br/>Know</b> |
|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Women                | 11%                 | 46                    | 41                      | 2                     |
| Blacks               | 11%                 | 47                    | 39                      | 3                     |
| Hispanics            | 10%                 | 47                    | 35                      | 8                     |
| Gays and lesbians    | 41%                 | 25                    | 30                      | 4                     |
| Religious leaders    | 30%                 | 29                    | 38                      | 3                     |
| Middle income voters | 3%                  | 68                    | 27                      | 2                     |
| White males          | 37%                 | 13                    | 47                      | 3                     |

Table 16

Q54. If half the leadership positions in this country were held by women leaders, do you think the country would be much better off, somewhat better off, somewhat worse off, or much worse off? (Women's Voices, June 1992, N=1400 women)

|                     |     |                  |
|---------------------|-----|------------------|
| Much better off     | 27% |                  |
| Somewhat better off | 47  | } 74% better off |
| Somewhat worse off  | 5   |                  |
| Much worse off      | 2   | } 7 worse off    |
| No difference       | 12  |                  |
| Don't know          | 7   |                  |

Table 17

---

Q1. Now I am going to read you a list of concerns that some people have. Please tell me which one of these you personally worry about the most -- (Women's Voices, June 1992, N=1400 women)

|                      |     |
|----------------------|-----|
| The economy and jobs | 26% |
| Health care          | 14  |
| Education            | 12  |
| Crime                | 12  |
| Drugs                | 11  |
| Abortion             | 7   |
| Government spending  | 6   |
| The environment      | 4   |
| Taxes                | 3   |
| Rape                 | 2   |
| Don't know           | 4   |

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Table 18

Q40-45. I am going to read you a list of things that government might do. For each one tell me, even if it means increased taxes, should it be a top priority for government, very important, somewhat important, or not at all important.  
(Women's Voices, June 1992, N=1400 women)

|                                                                                                                                        | Top<br>priority | Very<br>imp. | Smwht<br>imp. | Not at<br>all imp. | Don't<br>know |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Guarantee health insurance<br>for everyone, even if<br>they can't afford it                                                            | 49%             | 37           | 8             | 3                  | 2             |
| Pass laws to require that<br>men and women be paid the<br>same for jobs with similar<br>skills, even if the jobs<br>are very different | 30%             | 48           | 15            | 4                  | 3             |
| Help parents pay for<br>day care if they can't<br>afford it                                                                            | 25%             | 44           | 24            | 6                  | 2             |
| Provide funding for<br>programs to prevent<br>violence and for hotlines                                                                | 24%             | 44           | 27            | 3                  | 2             |
| Increase funding for<br>college grants and loans<br>for continuing education<br>for women who are<br>returning to school               | 23%             | 45           | 26            | 5                  | 2             |
| Provide a tax credit for<br>mothers who don't work<br>outside the home                                                                 | 16%             | 32           | 30            | 15                 | 8             |

Table 19

---

Now I am going to read you another series of statements on some different topics. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. ...We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country. (Times Mirror, July 1994, N=3800 adults)

|                     |     |               |
|---------------------|-----|---------------|
| Completely agree    | 21% |               |
| Mostly agree        | 27  | } 48% agree   |
| Mostly disagree     | 28  |               |
| Completely disagree | 22  | } 50 disagree |
| Don't know          | 2   |               |

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## **Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker**

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### **Public Outreach**

Divider Title: \_\_\_\_\_

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## OUTREACH PLAN FOR FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

Speaker's Bureau-Linda Tarr-Whelan is working to secure the funding for Lynn Cutler's idea of a speaker's bureau. This will be run out of the Communications Consortium with Amy Sobel as the coordinator. This will ensure that internal State Department events and external related efforts (Center for Policy Alternatives, Ms. Foundation, etc.) are coordinated. Lycia is coordinating with Amy, and is keeping the internal State Department calendar.

### I. Events

We are plugging into a number of events that are already planned around the country, as well as trying to generate some additional events.

#### A. Speaking engagements already scheduled (see attached calendar)

- Miami, Fla.: Conference of Mayors
- Philadelphia: NGO Group, American Jewish Congress
- Seattle: General Federation of Women's Clubs
- Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh
- California: Southern California Women in Business Conference, U.N. 50th Anniv. in San Fran.
- Kansas City, Missouri: Univ. of Miss.
- Nashville, Tennessee: Nat. Women's Pol. Caucus
- Atlanta: CPA Grassroots Forum
- Delaware: DOS Town Meeting
- Milwaukee: Nat. Conf. of State Leg.
- DC: CPA Grassroots Forum
- New York: NGO briefing, Ms. Foundation Forums
- Denver: Women's Economic Summit

#### B. Events we have commitments for but not definite dates

- Rochester/Seneca Falls: 75th Anniv
- Boston: Wand and NGO Group
- St. Louis
- San Francisco: CPA/Ms. Foundation Grassroots Forum
- Minneapolis: CPA/Ms. Foundation Grassroots Forum
- Sacramento, Ca.: Maeley Tom
- San Antonio, Texas (Maria B.)
- Connecticut (DeLauro-MMM)
- Baltimore: National Association of Commissions for Women Convention

#### C. Additional states, cities, and events we are targeting

- California
- Ohio-Colombus (NOW Convention)
- Tampa, Fla. (Arthenia Joyner)
- Oregon
- Minnesota (MTC)
- Michigan
- Seattle: NGO Boot Camp

- Chicago:CPA/Ms. Foundation Grassroots Forum
- Boston:Amnesty International Meeting
- Kentucky(LC)

D. Post Conference events(Lynn Cutler)

- Univ. of Missouri:NGO Forum, youth event
- Mayors, legislators(Lynn Cutler is asking state officials to do follow-up events in their districts)
- Michigan:Planned Parenthood
- DC:Wand Dinners
- Iowa (Stanley, Des moines - LC)
- Tacoma, WA (Women of Vision)
- AAUW (Philadelphia, New Jersey, Delaware)

II. Press

Amy is coordinating Conference Sec. activities with PA(internal) and Communications Consortium(external).

A. Internal

- Regular message memos(updates) to delegation and anyone who may be speaking publicly about conference, so we are all coordinated.
- Message:One-size-fits-all
- coordinate with USUN press office on regional reporter list.
- Coordinate outreach events with PA for ad-ons, etc.

B. External(Communications Consortium-K. Bonk)

- Identify outlets and interest in cities we are going to.
- Press kit(finalized in next 2 weeks)
- op-ed placement

C. International

- USIA:Iris Burnett

III. Mailings(Nancy Carter-Foster & Lycia Sibilla)

A. 2 smaller mailings(in-house)

- G/CS list added to G data base(approx. 5,000)
- June, July

B. President's Report to Women(as large as possible)

- August
- Lynn Cutler is working to raise funds for publication production and mailing cost.
- This will most likely have to be done outside of DOS because of size restrictions and ban on unsolicited mailings.

C. We are working to identify groups with newsletters who would include our stuff.

## Proposal For Public Outreach Strategy

This strategy document is a compilation of numerous meetings and discussions over the last year, and outreach memos, documents, and ideas from Lynn Cutler, Linda Tarr-Wheelan, Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, Kathy Bonk, Kathie Hendrix, Gracia Hillman, and Nancy Carter-Foster.

There will hopefully be funding to do one or more mailings before the conference. We can use mailing lists from the Conference Secretariat and the Department of Labor.(possible funding streams for mailings other than private sources-State Department Public Affairs, Department of Labor, others?). Lynn also suggested we encourage every agency to do their own mailing on WCW to their regular mailing lists. In addition, we should send NGO's materials and articles for their existing newsletters.

Lynn Cutler has been talking with the NEA about developing a curriculum on the WCW to be distributed to high schools around the country.

Lynn is working on getting us onto internet.

The Center for Policy Alternatives and the Communications Consortium are working together on message development for outreach efforts, CPA will commission a series of focus groups for this purpose. In addition CPA is planning at least three one-half day grassroots forums, chaired by CPA and the Ms. Foundation, around the country(coordinate with general outreach plan and calendar).

We hope to do a number of town meetings and NGO outreach speeches around the country. This of course will be dependent on funds we raise or what regional groups are willing to finance in their area. In addition, we should be trying to find out where meetings are being held around the country on WCW and try to put speakers from the USDEL in those meetings. State Department officials or those from other agencies who are involved in the conference should be provided talking points about WCW and encouraged to speak about it when they are traveling and speaking around the country. Kathie Hendrix suggests that the United Nations Association chapters in various cities might finance some travel and expense of meetings, they also have membership of individuals who tend to belong to several organizations and might be helpful in building and broadening audiences.

Possible locations for town meetings speeches, and press tour:

SENECA FALLS/ROCHESTER

There has been discussion about making Seneca Falls the site of the first stop on a nationwide public outreach tour. It would be great if the kick-off included the First Lady and Ambassador Albright.

NEW YORK/NEW JERSEY

In the New York-New Jersey area, both cities have large, well organized delegations. Mary Murphree, Vivian Fox, Marilyn Flood, Camille Murphy are good contacts. In addition, we should contact Wendy Skladel, program director for the New York Commission on the Status of Women. They have been playing a coordinating role among the groups from the area that are going to Beijing.

PHILADELPHIA/DELEWARE/SOUTH JERSEY

Philadelphia may be a good spot. There would be very little expense. We have already met with some of the NGO's there. They would love to gather a large group. They would work with other NGO's in the area, especially those from Delaware and New Jersey (if South Jersey NGO's feel more comfortable going to Philadelphia rather than New York). Camille Murphy, Augusta Clarke and Tahiya Nyahuma are some of the contacts. MMM has good press and women's group contacts in the area.

NORTH CAROLINA

The North Carolina Council for Women are sending a good size delegation. There is a lot of interest in the area. It may be a good place to stop. The prep meeting in Louisville attracted some 500 women. It is thought a follow-up in the Southeastern region would be a good idea. There was just a meeting in Atlanta, as you know, but the enthusiasm is still very much alive. Delores Crockett and Juanita Bryant are the initial contacts.

DETROIT

The chairman of the Detroit City Council is very interest in our coming to her city to inform NGO's and other women who are interested in the conference. She says we will get a large turn-out. Other women in the region who could help are Alice Dans and Joyce Love. In addition, Arvonne spoke to the Women's Economic Club in this area, we could use their membership list and possible assistance with an event(contact:Gerry Barrons)

WISCONSIN

Contacts:Ellen Bravo, founder of 9-5, Sarah Harder, Gene Boyer and Eileen Merhart are some of the key folk we can begin with.

#### TEXAS

Since there was no prep meeting in Texas, that may be a place for us to go. I have spoken with Maria Berriozabal and she enthusiastically supports the idea and feels she could pull it together with ease. In addition, our regional director in Dallas (UNIFEM) would love to have a meeting there. We could do two in a one day. Bea Cunningham says the Dallas Women's Coalition (made up of 50 women's organizations) might be very helpful. Possible event in Houston, the site of the 1977 National Women's Conference (possible bi-partisan involvement from-Liz Carpenter, Ladybird Johnson, Ann Richards, and Anne Armstrong).

#### MISSOURI

The University of Missouri has funding for two more meetings before Beijing & one following the conference. They have planned a meeting on June 27th but are willing to work with our schedule, if we are interested. The meeting is for NGO's who have been accredited to the conference.

The second meeting there is for young people (16-24) who will be attending as part of their youth delegation. We should work Ashley Maddox into this somehow. Rose Kamp is our primary contact now. They also have funding for a follow-up event after the conference.

#### COLORADO

We have a commitment from the Womens Foundation of Colorado to do an event in Denver on July 26th that will focus on economic security for women. Contact:Dottie Lamm.make in that area.

#### ARIZONA

The Arizona Governor's office would probably be intersted in doing an event on WCW. Possible contacts:Harriet 'Hank' Barnes, Rita Kelly, Rose Newsome and Lynda Crowell.

#### CALIFORNIA

In the Bay area there are lots of folks who would like to help us out. Kalima Rose and Luz Alvarez Martinez are two who have expressed initial interest. There are plans to do a large event in this area on June 21-24 commemorating the 50th anniversary of the United Nations(BBG will be there) perhaps we can dovetail with this-possible event for Ambassador Albright(who may already be scheduled to attend). We have a number of lists from speaking engagements people have done in the area.

In Los Angeles, Billie Heller, Jane Jaquette, Margaret Prescod, Lily Chen, Laila Al Marayati and Maeley Tom could give a hand. Kathie Hendrix spoke there in April, there was a large turnout. Other interested groups-The Trusteeship(the LA affiliate to National Women's Forum), HWPC, USC and UCLA types.

5

Another suggestion is the San Diego area-Jenny Craig lives there, has a foundation, and might be interested in sponsoring an event (especially considering recent PR/legal problems and disgruntled customers--would we want to have them as a sponsor?)

SEATTLE

Seattle wanted a regional meeting very badly. The wife of the Mayor of Seattle might be able to help us out. Her name is Constance Rice. MMM has been invited to speak out there on June 2 at the General Federation of Women's Clubs annual convention (Contact: Sally Kranz). Gracia has spoken out there already at the North-West International Women's Conference, we could use this list.

MIAMI

There is a tremendous interest in the Dade County area and a coalition has formed of County and City Commissions, local business organizations, and academics. They have formed a NGO coalition for Beijing. (Kathie Hendrix has contact names)

OTHER SUGGESTED LOCATIONS: Boston, MA and Atlanta, GA. (follow-up to CNN event with HRC and G. Mongella there)

Draft by Linda  
Tau-Whele  
9/14/94

## The Road to Beijing:

### United States Women and the Fourth World Conference

#### Executive Summary -- Maximizing the domestic potential of Beijing

The United States faces an opportunity to show world-class leadership on women's equality issues as it prepares for the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China in September, 1995 and the predecessor regional world conference in Vienna, Austria in October, 1994.

What I have to offer is on the domestic political impact -- not the State Department or international ramifications. In recent months preparations have moved ahead rapidly in the Department of State and Department of Labor. In the circles where I travel, women are pleased with the statements that preparations for Beijing will parallel those for Cairo -- which have been very impressive.

However, the Clinton Administration and women leaders in this country will miss a terrific opportunity -- and potentially be very embarrassed -- if we fail to use these events as a catalyst to move the domestic agenda for women.

Based on my personal experiences in the White House, a two week stint as one of two U.S. public delegates to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women in March, 1994, and some major speaking engagements on the topic around the country, here are some thoughts on maximizing the positive domestic impact of the road to Beijing. This is a terrific opportunity for the White House to seize to capture the attention of American women and move a domestic agenda for women. The spotlight and media attention will be there --

- ✓ 1. **Preparing for Beijing is not a bureaucratic exercise but a political opportunity and/or liability with critical timing for the Clinton Administration. A publicly visible Cabinet-level working group is essential with key White House presence.** The Administration should draw on key women leaders to work regularly with this group (similar to the Cairo effort). Incidentally, I get a strong response when identifying Bill Clinton as our first "pro-women President."
2. **Start now to appoint fully balanced U.S. delegations and accompanying experts to Vienna and Beijing -- before all the political jockeying begins and to assure a full deliberative and policy process to lead up to the conferences.** America needs high level governmental women, women of color, elected women, hopefully with a mix that includes a significant portion of NGO leaders. It is particularly useful politically to

include women who are recognized in the women's community in prominent positions in the planning and representing of our country.

3. **Beijing is as important (I would argue more important) to political and economic equality for women as Cairo.** It is critically important that the public commitments made that the two conferences will be handled in a similar fashion are kept. This will be difficult due to the lack of foundation support but a visibly different amount of government attention and resources (money, staff and visibility) is a problem which needs to end immediately after Cairo.
- ✓ 4. **Preparing for Beijing means building networking connections -- perhaps through the NII -- to elected women in Congress and at the state and local level as well as grassroots and national women's groups.** CPA has proposed a "campaign" for a Women's Economic Agenda effort to accomplish this (see attached.) We believe this should be a public/private/non-profit partnership.
5. **It will be a very tough fight to pass the U. N. Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women as promised by the Administration.** The Christian Right and their conservative supporters will raise all of the arguments used against state and federal ERAs. We cannot afford to lose.
6. **There will be mounting pressure to create permanent machinery to assure progress such as a "Women's Commission" or Advisory Group to the President.** While this is very controversial even among women leaders on the question of whether women should be mainstreamed or separate, it will become a popular issue which must be addressed.
7. **Beijing offers the potential of shared partnerships to move policy solutions and/or educational opportunities with corporations, the media, the foundation community and a raft of women's groups well beyond the few identified by the press as the "women's movement".** This will take careful coordination and effort but the rewards can be seen in the Cairo prototype.
8. **Count on major media interest and a focus by women voters on how America is perceived and the Clinton Administration's role by the time of the Beijing Conference.** The Nairobi conference -- in a less global communications environment -- drew 40,000 women (estimates of the number of American women range upward from 16,000) -- and was covered widely. Every U.S. woman (from aunts to interns to legislators) who have heard that I went to the U.N. prep meeting are very interested.

#### **The Timing is Critical -- for Domestic Political Reasons**

The timing of this conference in September, 1995 -- and the world spotlight which will

*Draft*

fall on it -- are critically important to a women's agenda and vote in the United States. It provides us with a time focus and a political imperative which can move policy forward. Women's voices will be heard on the world stage and it is essential that they be heard first here at home.

8 In 1985 Maureen Reagan headed the U.S. delegation; in 1995 it is widely expected that First Lady Hillary Clinton will do so. Expectations among American women who pay attention to such issues are high and, at this point, largely unmet. I have just returned from speaking at the Denver regional meeting which drew 400 women on a Sunday in August for Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah and Colorado.

It is only a matter of time before the expectations and interest among most American women will be high. The hype is already building and will build more. Since completing my U.N. assignment my mail has been filled with requests to speak or questions about how to be involved in the process. Ordinary American women voters will want our country to play a positive leadership role.

#### **How Far Have We Come? Not Very Far Yet.**

But it won't just happen. So far, America's official involvement in the process -- spearheaded by Arvonne Fraser in the State Department and Karen Nussbaum in the DOL Women's Bureau on extraordinarily low budgets -- is simply dwarfed by the actions of other nations to use the Beijing Conference to organize and connect women and move a policy agenda for women. Across the world governments and NGO's are convening highly-publicized hearings, national commissions and working groups, developing advisory councils, and passing legislation.

The Clinton Administration **must** play a significant role. With a strong program on women's issues, a highly-visible and capable woman Ambassador to the United Nations, Madeleine Albright, representing the United States, leading women in powerful cabinet positions and a formal Administration position of support for ratification of the long-languishing U.N. Convention of Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the past record is clear.

The contrast between a Clinton Administration, elected with a significant working women's gender gap, and the Reagan era could not be more stark. Beijing is a major opportunity to win some key economic issues in the Congress and to showcase women leaders who represent the "face of America." Both a legislative agenda and a message starting with the State of the Union address could build well through 1995 and then continue in 1996. The story must be developed and then told -- even I was amazed to hear the latest figures on appointments of women. If I don't know this important fact is also lost to many others.

#### **Importance to Domestic and Foreign Policy Goals --**

From Rio to Cairo to Copenhagen to Beijing -- the continuum of women's leadership in

*Draft*

all sectors is apparent and important to building a new domestic consensus for policies in the environmental, development, social and population and foreign policy realms. It is also important that each of these venues be a way to move the agenda for women's equality and participation in the United States.

### **Who Are The Players?**

So far there are five major groupings of non-governmental players in the preparations for Beijing. None of them have a very long reach. Lately Irene Natividad and Ellie Smeal have begun to organize as well. I think it is fair to say that none of them are particularly happy about the U.S. progress to date to prepare. It is also fair to say that these are relatively small groups -- the majority of women have certainly not wakened to the set of issues presented in this report.

The first, largest, and most influential is the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) with Bella Abzug as the U.S. Co-Chair. It had a very effective caucus at the U.N. PrepComm meeting in New York and has a track record at a number of international conferences. Lest we forget, Bella was also the head of our Commission on Women under President Carter.

Second is a group of international organizations which focus on women's development and are based in the U.S. but do their work in the developing countries. Interaction plays the key convener role.

Third is the group of senior (certainly by age) women who have been in international affairs for a long time as "official" non-governmental organizations. Some of the key women are Mary Purcell (former head of the AAUW), Margaret Adams (senior editor at Good Housekeeping) and Jan Peterson (National Council of Neighborhood Women).

Fourth is the National Women's Conference Committee headed by Sarah Harder (a former AAUW President and activist in the President's Council of Women's Organizations.) Their recent letter to the President which is circulating is attached.

Fifth is Eleanor Smeal and the Feminist Majority which sees this whole sequence of activities as an organizing tool and is positioning to be the leader of a public effort on CEDAW as the "daughter-of" ERA. She operates totally as an outsider -- ran the "Anybody But Carter" campaign in 1980 when she didn't see the White House doing ERA the way she wanted.

### **Where Do We Go From Here?**

As is apparent from my recommendations there is need for an integrated approach based on policy, politics, networking and public education to make the most of the opportunity provided to us through the Beijing Fourth World Conference for Women. Time is of the essence to plan and implement a strategy which will catalyze support for domestic and foreign policy

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goals and showcase American women.

## **OUTCOMES OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE WOMEN'S ECONOMIC AGENDA:**

This multi-faceted campaign would begin in the fall of 1994 and continue until the fall of 1998. It would stretch over four years of legislative sessions (January 1995, 1996, 1997 and 1998). The major outcomes based on a \$1.6 million budget over four years would be:

### **1. A Movement**

A visible, supported and positive women's economic agenda movement built from the bottom-up and connected to the full range of women leaders.

### **2. Policies that Work**

"State of the States" survey/report card for the Women's Economic Agenda will be developed and published in alternate years.

"The Women's Economic Policy Agenda" of effective model bills on women's needs related to work, family, and health will be published in alternate years.

### **3. A Women's Economic Infrastructure**

A National Women's Economic Agenda Commission (advisory group) and an "inside-outside" network of 2000 women leaders from every sector and state.

A joint state and national elected women's committee to share strategy for simultaneous solutions at both levels.

A mapping, resource directory and database of all of the local, state and national constituents of the women's economic agenda.

The national network of women's grassroots agenda projects would: be connected through a newsletter, telecommunications network and convenings (dependent upon resources -- could be regional, national or through video conferencing), have shared legislative options and agreements to move bills simultaneously.

#### 4. **Media and Political Visibility**

Two "Women's Economic Leaders Roundtables" per year to bring the parts of this movement together with elected women around a particular topic.

Women's Economic Summit every two years; 1996 should be large and covered extensively by the media.

Use of media strategy for all products and events to gain support for women's economic agenda among women and elected officials (especially women) to ensure its prominence in the political debate.

#### 5. **Sustainability**

Develop funding strategies for sustaining the women's economic agenda movement at the state and national level.

Promotion of the women's economic agenda within all stages of United States preparation for Beijing and Beyond: development of the platform, preparation of the delegation, and attention by the White House for US policy change.

Bulletin board for women's economic agenda policy making all reports, policy models and draft bills available to elected women and activists as well as CPA's Policy Alternative Leaders through the Internet.

#### 6. **Collaborations (not in current budget and not discussed with the parties which are named)**

- o Repetition of the "Women's Voices" poll with the Ms. Foundation -- particularly if timed before Beijing.
- o Collaboration with the Institute for Women's Policy Research on a research agenda to support this campaign.
- o Development of a full-scale media campaign with the Communications Consortium (our staff now includes Micheline Kennedy, who just completed her fellowship there).

- o Development of a joint project with the League of Women Voters to have presidential candidates, women governors, members of Congress, legislators and mayors discuss the women's economic agenda.

#### **CPA Organizational Capability:**

The Center for Policy Alternatives is a nonprofit voice for progressive policy. The mission of CPA is connecting people and ideas to build a new economy that supports families and communities. The Center works through progressive federalism spreading ideas from state to state and testing ideas for national change.

Since 1976, we have participated in scores of new policy initiatives on a broad range of issues including environmental protection, energy conservation, alternative agriculture, economic opportunity for poor communities, reproductive choice and sustainable development.

CPA has developed three signature capacities: developing concrete policy alternatives based on ideas that work; building nonpartisan constituency across the 50 states; and generating visibility for those people and ideas.

#### **Key Personnel:**

**Linda Tarr-Whelan**, President and CEO, has 23 years of experience in public policy, including service as deputy assistant to President Carter in the White House, administrative director of the New York Department of Labor, public policy director for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and government relations director for the National Education Association. Ms. Tarr-Whelan has held her present position with the Center since 1985. She recently served as a member of the US Delegation to the 1994 meeting of the UN Commission on the Status of Women. MS, University of Maryland; BSN, Johns Hopkins University.

**Jamie Cooper**, prior to being named Associate Director of the Center, managed CPA's Governance program. In this capacity she focused on increasing democratic participation by those traditionally disenfranchised. She has served as a consultant on issues of corporate and community cooperation for the Atlanta Project, a program of the Carter Center. Her other experiences include serving as a state election coordinator for CBS News' Election Unit, covering a variety of issues on Capitol Hill, including health, trade and immigration, and organizing for several other state and local campaigns. MPA, Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government; AB, Smith College.

**Micheline Kennedy**, Communications Specialist. Micheline joined the CPA staff after completing a fellowship at the Communications Consortium Media Center. Prior to her fellowship she was Coordinating Producer at a Miami-based cable station and a Publicist at Penguin Publishing. She holds a B.S. degree in Communications from The Florida State University.

**Tonya Butler-Truesdale, J.D.**, Coordinator of Women's Economic Justice at CPA, is primarily responsible for the implementation of CPA initiatives related to women and the economy. She is a recent graduate of Howard University School of Law, where her academic interests were centered in Labor and Employment law with specific interest in the progression of rights recognized by women and minorities in the labor market.

**Amy Chamberlain**, Program Associate, concentrates on women's health policy and family support policies that enable workers to combine their work and family responsibilities. To the Center, she brings her experience as a researcher with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union and the consulting firm Managing Work & Family, Inc. BSJ Northwestern University; MA in public policy and women's studies, George Washington University.

### **Conclusion**

The political and media potential of the Fourth World Conference for Women in Beijing in 1995 and the Presidential election process in 1996 provides a special opportunity to move the women's economic agenda.

A four year campaign will visualize and share an agenda for action; link the existing centers of women's organizing together for women; create policy and funding models for real change; deliver our message through the media; build support among women and strive for long-term sustainability.

We hope that you will support this ambitious campaign to seize the moment. In five years we want to celebrate together the women's economic agenda movement.

**1994 - 1998 Budget**  
**The Campaign for the Women's Economic Agenda**  
**Beijing & Beyond**

|                                                                          | Year 1              |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| <b>Personnel:</b>                                                        |                     |
| Linda Tarr-Whelan (25%)                                                  | \$25,000.00         |
| Jamie Cooper (50%)                                                       | \$30,000.00         |
| Program Staff (2)                                                        | \$65,000.00         |
| Field Coordination (50%)                                                 | \$20,000.00         |
| Network Coordination (50%)                                               | \$12,500.00         |
| Interns/Lawfellows                                                       | \$15,000.00         |
| Administrative Staff                                                     | \$25,000.00         |
|                                                                          | <u>\$192,500.00</u> |
| fringe @ 22%                                                             | \$42,350.00         |
|                                                                          | <u>\$234,850.00</u> |
| <b>Direct Costs:</b>                                                     |                     |
| Consultants                                                              | \$15,000.00         |
| Communications/Media                                                     | \$50,000.00         |
| Computers (incl. software/network)                                       | \$12,000.00         |
| Travel: domestic                                                         | \$15,000.00         |
| international                                                            | \$5,000.00          |
| Advisory Committee                                                       | \$8,000.00          |
| Publications (newsletter, directory, annual survey/report)               | \$20,000.00         |
| Conferences (regional/national core support<br>& 2 leader's roundtables) | \$60,000.00         |
| Rent                                                                     | \$13,000.00         |
| Office Supplies                                                          | \$3,500.00          |
| Telecommunications (conference calls, faxing, telephone)                 | \$5,600.00          |
| Accounting & Auditing                                                    | \$2,500.00          |
| Copying                                                                  | \$1,500.00          |
| Indirect Costs                                                           | \$98,110.00         |
|                                                                          | <u>\$344,060.00</u> |

## **1995 Public Education & Communications Plan For The Pew Global Stewardship Initiative**

Tides Foundation and the Communications Consortium Media Center

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## INTRODUCTION

Nineteen ninety-four has brought a new focus, vitality and sense of urgency to the national policy discussion on global population growth. In large part, heightened attention to this issue can be traced to the efforts of the Pew Global Stewardship Initiative (Pew GSI) and its grantees who have worked to educate policymakers, the news media and the public about critical choices facing the global community.

There has been significant progress on several fronts. The U.S. news media have substantially increased the breadth and depth of their coverage of population issues. And, after decades of disagreement, donor and developing countries came together in Cairo to produce a plan to stabilize population growth. The International Conference on Population and Development's (ICPD) World Population Program of Action represents a new approach to population and development issues that is both ethical and effective.

In 1995, we will build on the momentum of these accomplishments. Our challenges for the upcoming year will be threefold:

First, we will work to ensure implementation of the final ICPD recommendations, particularly focusing on the role of the U.S. government and nongovernmental organizations;

Second, we will work to expand and strengthen our public education activities related to world population growth and the need for improved reproductive health and family planning services; and

Third, we will greatly broaden our efforts on issues relating to the over-consumption of resources. We intend to expand the popular definition of "global stewardship" to consistently include a discussion of consumption.

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increasing access for both the public and policymakers to full and accurate information about the ICPD and the issues it addressed;

encouraging and activating Pew GSI target constituencies and others to explain the new thinking on population issues; and

building a constituency among the business community for efforts to implement the ICPD and reduce wasteful consumption.

A failure to advance new population policy directions could have many long-term consequences, including loss of essential U.S. funding for quality programs that can address population issues around the world and a retreat away from the new leadership role demonstrated by the U.S.

The 1995 proposed communications plan builds upon our successful strategies from this past year. An overall objective of the Pew GSI is the creation of a constituency that:

understands the interlocking nature of population growth, the wasteful consumption of resources, and environmental quality;

comprehends the urgent need for action; and

actively supports renewed U.S. leadership in promoting and funding programs to address these problems worldwide.

To that end, our efforts should continue to target environmentalists, internationalists, and those who participate in organized religion. An important product of our 1994 activities was the cluster analysis prepared by the polling team for internal use by the Pew GSI grantees. The cluster analysis added detail to our portrait of the Initiative's three constituencies. It identified several distinct audiences, grouped by their attitudes towards population growth, environmental issues and resource consumption. Data gleaned from the cluster analysis will lend nuance to our media outreach and public education efforts in the coming year.

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rare focus for press, public and policymaker attention, and a unique way to reach and educate the American public through the popular media.

Inevitably, public and media attention to population issues will ebb somewhat from the high-water mark of Cairo. But we have identified a significant corps of working press that is concerned with population and related issues, and will continue to inform and cultivate their interest. We have provided constituency groups with a firm conceptual underpinning for their communications on population, and have established and renewed links among those groups and with the media. Finally, new alliances have been formed with top policymakers. The momentum behind these developments can and must be sustained.

As we work to build on the momentum of population coverage, we will also lay the groundwork for a Pew GSI initiative on wasteful resource consumption. In its 1992 White Paper, Pew GSI identified rapid population growth and unsustainable consumption as two of the greatest threats to the biosphere upon which human health and prosperity depend. But, to date, population growth has received far more attention in the mainstream media. Our challenge will be to document and articulate the problem of wasteful resource consumption patterns in terms that American policymakers, the media, and the general public can understand and act upon.

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stewardship have been echoed by editorialists at major dailies from Boston to San Francisco and Atlanta to Seattle. Publications with elite audiences -- *The Economist*, *Scientific American*, and *Science*, for example -- have joined the debate with major articles that amplify the recommendations of Pew GSI and its grantees.

A series of events funded by Pew GSI has contributed significantly to the prominence of population and related issues. These include: town meetings on population and development conducted under the auspices of the U.S. Network for Cairo '94; media outreach efforts during the ICPD Preparatory Meetings and the Cairo conference itself; special consultations by the Park Ridge Center on world religion and the ICPD; a special religious consultation sponsored jointly by the Center for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) and the National Council of Churches; a forum featuring Vice President Gore, which was broadcast on CNN; and a dinner at the U.S. Department of State for hundreds of top policy makers from the diplomatic, government and media communities at which President Clinton gave the keynote speech.

These activities have helped to increase our understanding and provide important guideposts for the development of a multi-year message and communications strategy. They have also enabled us to communicate regularly to the highest levels of government and to individuals who can turn proposals into policy, and policy into practice. The following pages outline the accomplishments of the last year.

#### **Public Opinion Research and Message Development**

The foundation of our communications work has been based on comprehensive research which began in 1993 and continued throughout 1994. The Communications Consortium Media Center (CCMC) and Douglas Gould & Company (DG&C) were responsible for the development and dissemination strategies of the Pew GSI focus groups and a national public opinion survey.

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CCMC, DG&C and other grantees briefed Undersecretary Tim Wirth and others at the State Department. This briefing resulted in a deeper understanding of public attitudes on stewardship issues by the State Department.

CCMC held ten separate briefings ranging in size from 20 to 200 to targeted constituencies. Included in this series was a small briefing with Secretary Warren Christopher, held by leading NGO experts and Pew grantees.

Over 1,000 copies of the focus group report were distributed to a wide variety of organizations, including foundations, international and domestic population groups, academic institutions and selected journalists.

A select group of grantees received a special, internal-only "cluster analysis." Regression and factor analyses were used to identify significant sets of shared ideas and opinions and to identify distinctive demographic traits. The pollsters identified seven clusters, in order of their likelihood to support population and environmental policies. Polling data were augmented by a report detailing the breakdown of opinions based on religious affiliation.

At a major meeting of 80 grantees, the polling team reported the poll results and described strategies suggested by their findings. The poll was then presented publicly on April 20 at a special forum at PrepCom III which included several dozen representatives of the news media, delegates from around the world, and dozens of NGO representatives. It was also mailed, with a press release, to a newly created population media list of 900 journalists. GREENWIRE, an electronic news service covering the environment, reported the poll in detail.

Throughout 1994, the opinion research effort proved to be invaluable to achieving our short and long-term strategic goals, both in terms of content and delivery of messages in the setting of priorities.

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**How the database was utilized:**

In January, 10,000 media representatives selected from the CCMC database received an introductory letter that outlined population issues and invited them to order more information. Over 1,000 individuals responded to that mailing requesting specific materials from CCMC. This group formed the core population communications list. These contacts were expanded to include an additional 1,000 reporters we targeted to bring the master communications list to 2,000.

Lists of media contacts have been used to promote and disseminate the press kit and research reports, to publicize the town meetings and for monthly mailings by Pew GSI.

Numerous grantees have made use of all or part of the lists for their own purposes. Lists were regularly made available to grantees. We processed 86 requests for lists in 1994 from grantees. Other organizations that used the press lists included Advocates for Youth, the American Association of University Women, Earth Action/Worldview International Foundation, and 36 other organizations that support the goals of Pew GSI.

Douglas Gould & Company, working with CCMC, developed a broadcast fax list of 1,570 including 400 reporters who personally requested information from CCMC, 400 Hispanic reporters, 70 reporters in the New York City area attending briefings at the U.N., 200 reporters from the Washington D.C. area, 140 denominational newsletters, national magazines, TV and radio programs, 100 religion reporters, 100 reporters covering the regional town meetings and other outlets in targeted cities.

The system of dissemination outlined above became the infrastructure for mass communications with reporters, editors, producers and other media decision makers. We regularly cultivated these reporters by making phone calls, sending faxes, mailing press releases and media advisories, coordinating audio press events and distributing radio actualities. Details of these activities are included below.

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journalists including reporters from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and the Associated Press.

Members of the Journalism and Women Symposium, an organization of over 1,000 influential women journalists, have received targeted mailings from Pew GSI. A satellite feed was organized from Cairo to their annual meetings on September 10, attended by 150 journalists from around the United States. The panel of experts on the satellite feed included participants from the National Academy of Sciences event and members of the U.S. delegation.

Outreach to editorial boards and strategic placing of op-eds contributed to the success of the communications plan. For example:

Six special mailings targeted the editorial page editors of 1,800 papers across the country, resulting in 145 individual editorials, op-eds, and nationally syndicated columns by the end of July. All but a few were positive in tone and content. The number of editorials increased dramatically during the ICPD in September to over 800 in a two-week period.

When Undersecretary Wirth traveled to Seattle, Atlanta, Boston and Minneapolis for the town meetings (described below), he joined with local NGOs in visits to editorial boards of the daily newspapers in each city. Those visits, organized by DG&C, generated substantial favorable editorial comment. Later in the summer, editorial board meetings were coordinated in Los Angeles, Chicago and Milwaukee with Wirth and NGO leaders.

CCMC coordinated a publishers' luncheon sponsored by Arthur Sulzberger, Jr., of *The New York Times*. This event included all of the paper's senior editors and decision makers.

CCMC also organized a breakfast session of more than 40 bureau chiefs based in Washington, D.C., hosted by Godfrey Sperling, senior editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*. This one event resulted in more than 35 feature articles written about the ICPD just prior to its opening.

CCMC assisted with editorial board meetings at *The Washington Post* and *USA Today* with background materials and special advance briefings.

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DG&C, with support from CCMC, conducted a series of media-readiness trainings for lead spokespeople including members of the delegation and panelists at the National Academy of Sciences Forum to encourage a "common ground" message. A total of 30 people, including Faith Mitchell, Judith Bruce and John Bongaarts, were coached with on-air camera training for several hours.

During June, dozens of calls were made to identify and research 15 religious TV news and talk shows that would feature guest experts to discuss current events. A second wave of calls was made during early August to the national offices of faith denominations and to radio producers to identify appropriate programming opportunities for religious leaders. Many more calls were made to organizations and national offices of denominations to locate experts who could appear on TV shows.

In addition, a press release responding to Muslim opposition was written for the Religious Consultation and faxed in August to 125 religion news writers and other key members of the press. Special programs on population and the ICPD were proposed to producers and accepted by:

"In Good Faith" TV talk show produced by WCVB-TV in Boston, on the Faith and Values channel via VISN Network. Katherine Hancock Ragsdale, president of the Religious Coalition, was a guest.

"Perspectives: Faith in Our Times" TV talk show produced by Rev. Dr. Dick Nesmith in Boston. He is a former dean at the Boston School of Theology. Gwen Crowley of the Presbyterian Church USA, and the Rev. Alma Faith Crawford.

CBS "World of Religion" six-minute news/feature piece, produced by KMOX in St. Louis, broadcast to CBS Radio Network, AP Radio, and Armed Forces Network. Host Roy Lloyd of Ecumedia (affiliated with the National Council of Churches in NYC) interviewed Nawal Ammar, James Dunn and Maureen Fiedler on August 22 and 23.

WINS-AM religion commentary by Roy Lloyd, airing repeatedly on Sundays. This is one of the biggest news/talk radio stations in New York City.

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*the Los Angeles Times, the Progressive Media Service, Baptist Today and AME Communicator.*

**Special Events**

A series of "Town Meetings" on world population and development were coordinated by the U.S. Network for Cairo '94, a consortium of U.S. NGOs active in the ICPD preparations. Douglas Gould & Company and CCMC provided written materials, participant kits and media outreach support throughout the process. We focused considerable energy on four of the key town meetings in Minneapolis, Seattle, Atlanta and Boston, all of which were attended by Undersecretary of State Tim Wirth. At each of these meetings, the following activities were coordinated:

The development of special media lists of print, radio and television journalists including editorial board members, columnists and key decision makers.

Pre-meeting publicity bookings that included a full-day's schedule of interviews with Wirth, filling in gaps of time between editorial board meetings and long-program tapings with large radio station interviews, usually done by phone.

DG&C produced individual fliers for each city's meeting for community outreach purposes to be used by local groups.

CCMC developed special media kits for each meeting with tailored press releases, background biographies on participants, etc.

Radio actualities were generated for each city and used by about 20 stations per state.

Roughly ten days before each event, DG&C faxed media advisories to 60-160 outlets, depending upon the size of the city.

CCMC worked with the on-site media staff at each of the locations including the Carter Presidential Center in Atlanta, the Hubert Humphrey Institute at the University of Minnesota, the African Meeting House in Boston and the Plymouth Congressional Church in Seattle.

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Our specific organizational activities included:

CCMC coordinated weekly planning meetings to review the roundtable list of speakers, invited VIP guests, members of the audience (the auditorium at the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) holds 650 people) and dinner guests at the Department of State.

CCMC, with J. Gibson and Company, coordinated the written materials for the press kits and the participants' materials including the kits distributed at the State Department dinner and at the NAS forum.

CCMC's media outreach efforts resulted in full participation by nearly all major media outlets. Bureau chiefs, senior reporters and editors attended from each of the outlets listed below. These included:

**NATIONAL WIRE SERVICES:** Associated Press, Reuters, Scripps Howard News Service, Newhouse News Service, and Gannett News Service.

**MAJOR NEWSPAPERS:** *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, *USA Today*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Sun-Times*, *Boston Globe*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Atlanta Constitution*, *Houston Post*, *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, and the *St. Petersburg Times*.

**MAGAZINES:** *Newsweek*, *Time*, *U.S. News and World Report*, the *Economist*, *Business Week*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Working Woman*, *Scientific American*, and *Science*.

**BROADCAST NEWS:** ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Monitor Radio, National Public Radio, UPI Radio Network, and the MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour.

One of the most important products from the forum has been the CNN videotape. Copies were sent to about 75 journalists who could not attend and we continue to receive an additional 10-25 requests per week for copies. The tape was an important tool for reporters planning to attend the Cairo conference who needed to put faces with the names of the world's top population experts. An additional 600 tapes in both VHS and PAL formats were distributed to policymakers, policy experts and interested organizations.

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years that this kind of event is a collegial way to stimulate dialogue and build bridges between the media and public interest groups.

**International Conference on Population and Development**

Months of preparation resulted in a high pitch of activity at the ICPD. CCMC established a system prior to the Cairo conference to identify and contact key U.S. reporters and editors. Reporters received all available advance material and were briefed on logistical and substantive matters.

**While in Cairo:**

CCMC staff set up a media resource operation, within the larger USIS Multimedia Center at the NGO Forum. This center provided reporters and NGO leaders with computer service, fax machines, telephones for local and international calls, copiers, press conference and events listings, and quiet spaces for interviews.

CCMC's print resources library included Pew Global Stewardship Initiative press kits; the "Pop Quiz" posters of *The New York Times* advertisements; packets of newspaper and magazine clippings clustered by subject; and six major religious denominational publications supporting key conclusions in the ICPD Plan of Action, including Judy Mann, George Moffett and Lester Brown;

Our visual media resources included scores of videotapes that were shown on a regular basis to crowds watching Multimedia Center television sets. These included "People Count: The Facts of Life" by Chris Koch, the NAS *Beyond the Numbers* forum video tape and numerous videos by Pew GSI grantees.

On a daily basis, CCMC provided strategic media advice to the U.S. delegation, their press liaison, White House advisors, Members of Congress and NGOs.

The CCMC office also became a reliable source for the elusive daily NGO and conference center schedules as well as for news clippings about conference proceedings, organized by date and available for copying.

CCMC located the key U.S. and non-U.S. reporters at their local addresses and updated our list daily with new arrivals and changes of address and local contact

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Environmental group leaders, united in a firm statement of support for the Plan of Action proposals.

The satellite feed on September 12, linked ICPD principals, including U.S. Undersecretary Timothy Wirth, head of the U.S. official delegation to the ICPD, with more than 150 women journalists attending the annual Journalism and Women's Symposium Convention in Jackson Hole, Wyoming. Wirth and a panel of journalists and other ICPD delegates fielded questions during an hour of substantive discussion.

### Media Tracking and Analysis

As predicted, the ICPD prompted a flood of coverage and commentary on population issues, the volume of which will likely not be repeated in the foreseeable future. The reporting on Cairo was notable for its quality as well as its quantity: every major news outlet, both print and broadcast, covered Cairo in some depth. And they were largely receptive to themes that reflect the new thinking on population issues, in particular, empowering women through increased educational and economic opportunities. This idea was picked up, repeated and amplified in publications large and small, and was even recommended by editorialists who downplayed the significance of the challenge to stabilize population growth in the first place. As the earlier public opinion research showed, there is greater consensus on the solutions to rapid population growth than on the problem itself.

Although a considerable amount of headline space was devoted to the controversies presented by the Vatican's opposition to some of the language in the draft Program of Action, the underlying consensus on the desirability of providing culturally appropriate family planning assistance was well covered. The opinion-leader publications showed remarkable receptiveness to the new thinking on population, and made that a prominent feature of analysis and wrap-up pieces. Although controversy made headlines, the underlying consensus provided a firm intellectual underpinning to the fuller reporting on Cairo. A full

## OVERVIEW OF THE 1995 COMMUNICATIONS PLAN

Our challenges for the upcoming year will be threefold:

First, we will work to ensure implementation of the final ICPD recommendations, particularly focusing on the role of the U.S. government and nongovernmental organizations;

Second, we will work to expand and strengthen our public education activities related to world population growth and the need for improved reproductive health and family planning services; and

Third, we will greatly broaden our efforts on issues relating to the over-consumption of resources. We intend to expand the popular definition of "global stewardship" to consistently include a discussion of consumption.

Several cross-cutting objectives will guide our actions. These include:

Keeping the agenda manageable and understandable by targeting the scope of activity and messages;

Establishing a grounded ethical framework and common set of values from which to build a communications strategy;

Framing domestic issues so that they are recognizable to the U.S. public and tied to concerns for the future well-being of our children and families;

Conducting outreach to the corporate and for-profit sector, which controls capital, ingenuity and access that could work to support stewardship; and

Devising a sustained and creative strategy to convince journalists that stewardship issues are newsworthy and should be covered on an ongoing basis.

Outlined below are the specific activities for 1995 which are based on the collective learning experiences of our effort in 1993-94.

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CCMC staff will provide editorial oversight for the newsletter, *Global Stewardship*, which is currently produced and distributed by the Population Reference Bureau.

CCMC will work with Koch TV, CNN, ABC News, Turner Broadcasting and other major video networks to use the videotapes that have already been produced as educational tools for 1995. We anticipate dubbing approximately 500 tapes for use at meetings, conferences, special presentations and other events on global stewardship.

**Media Working Group:** CCMC and DG&C will establish a Global Stewardship Media Working Group to create a forum for communications professionals in the nation's leading population, environment, religious, international policy and development organizations.

Meeting monthly, the Global Stewardship Media Working Group will enable participants to develop coordinated media strategies. It will also provide an opportunity to create a plan to educate and mobilize the public in support of the Pew GSI policy agenda. Participants will include Pew GSI staff and 15-25 press secretaries and communications directors from a core group of grantees, including the Population Reference Bureau, the National Audubon Society, and Population Action International. The Media Working Group will:

Keep activists on the cutting edge with briefings by experts on a range of important population, consumption and environment issues;

Develop and distribute a regular series of press releases, talking points and op-eds that can be used by interested organizations; and

Monitor differences and minimize overlap on policy strategies among population, environment and other organizations involved with stewardship issues.

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*A conference on consumption issues*, to be held in the spring of 1995 in Washington, D.C. in conjunction with other funding partners. CCMC will assist with media cultivation, outreach and development of the program on an as-needed basis.

*The Social Summit* in Copenhagen in April and the *World Conference on Women* in September in Beijing each provide unique opportunities to advance the messages of global stewardship. CCMC will work in partnership with Pew GSI staff to support the integration of global stewardship issues into the overall agenda and media coverage.

*The United Nations 50th anniversary* in the fall of 1995 can also provide an opportunity to move forward with messages on the global stewardship agenda. CCMC will help Pew GSI develop a plan for this event.

**Media Outreach and Cultivation:** In 1994 our proactive cultivation of reporters, producers, editors and other journalists has proven to be an effective strategy resulting in quality, thoughtful news coverage of the issues. We will build on these contacts for our work in 1995 through the following activities:

*Editorial board meetings* will be arranged for Pew GSI grantees and supporting organizations throughout 1995. We anticipate organizing five to six such meetings at the top 50-100 newspapers. In these meetings, we will forward the messages of ICPD implementation and over-consumption.

*Media mailings* will be done on a regular basis to support cultivation of reporters.

*One-on-one meetings, phone conversations and luncheon sessions* with journalists and Pew GSI grantees will be arranged by CCMC and DG&C. We anticipate an average of three to six such meetings each month.

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*Trend analysis.* A review of media coverage both before and after the implementation of a strategic campaign in order to assess the changes which may reflect the activities of CCMC.

*Content analysis.* A review of the volume and content of media coverage of a particular issue. For instance, the number of newspaper clips on a specific subject over a period of time to identify major themes and perspectives.

*Record of events.* A review of press conferences, media briefings, editorial board appearances, TV news placements, and radio talk show bookings.

*Policy change.* Policymakers' reactions and the policy-related reactions in response to media initiatives, while difficult to quantify, are monitored after long-term strategic media campaigns.

*Institutional capacity.* Improved communication skills of public interest leaders, better use of communications technologies, and integration of communications strategies into the overall institutional plan are also important measures of success.

CCMC also rigorously assesses its technical assistance and training. In formalized training sessions, participant skill level is assessed through written questionnaires submitted before each training. Evaluation forms are circulated at the conclusion of each training and are summarized for staff and funder review. In addition, CCMC training teams solicit feedback from participants at follow-up sessions held at six-month intervals after the workshops.

CCMC recognizes that its evaluation criteria cannot fully acknowledge all factors that might give a complete picture of a project or activity being studied. For instance, in the policy

## BIOGRAPHIES OF KEY STAFF AND CONSULTANTS

CCMC President and Co-Director **Kathy Bonk** has nearly two decades of experience on a wide range of public policy issues on families, health care, women's rights, immigration, and other domestic issues. From 1978 until 1987, she directed the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund's Media Policy Project. She was the Public Information Officer for the International Women's Year and Decade activities at the U.S. Department of State and the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice. Ms. Bonk expanded her international expertise through a Kellogg Foundation Leadership Fellowship which she was awarded in 1989. Her efforts resulted in establishing the first family planning clinics in Moscow, now serving 40,000 women per month. The Pew GSI communications efforts have been coordinated by Ms. Bonk who will continue to direct the project in 1995. CCMC's current projects include, in the area of family policy: child care, family preservation, adoption reform and advocacy for children with disabilities. CCMC also has projects on energy efficiency and health care reform, and is conducting technical assistance and training programs on immigration and refugee issues as well as for participants in the 1995 U.N. Women's Conference. Since many of these projects directly relate to the overall values and policy goals of global stewardship, CCMC will be able to bring new, untapped networks to support our 1995 Pew GSI agenda.

**Laurie Mazur** will join the CCMC staff in January 1995 to work full time on the Pew GSI. Ms. Mazur is a writer with particular expertise in environmental and population issues. She is the editor of *Beyond the Numbers: A Reader on Population, Consumption, and the Environment*, published by Island Press in 1994. She is also the author of *Population and the Environment*, a widely distributed report published in 1992 by the Environmental Grantmakers Association (EGA). Also under the auspices of EGA, Ms. Mazur prepared a briefing packet for foundations about the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. With Michael Jacobson, she coauthored *Marketing Madness*, a study of advertising and the consumer culture, which will be published by Westview Press in 1995. As a consultant, Ms. Mazur's clients have included the Rockefeller Family Fund, the Ford Foundation, and the Natural Resources Defense Council.

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which published several *Newsroom Guides* on family planning, civil rights and immigration issues.

Maria Ibañez, project associate, is a professional media strategist who came to CCMC from National Public Radio. Of Cuban heritage, Ms. Ibañez is bilingual and has been involved in many multicultural activities. She is a strategist on family policy issues and oversees many of CCMC's media training workshops.

Ginger Vanderpool is CCMC's computer systems manager. Before joining CCMC, Ms. Vanderpool worked as a local area network computing specialist for D'Arcy, Masius, Benton and Bowles, an international advertising agency in New York. Prior to that she worked in both the acquisitions and Management Information Systems departments of CBS/Fox Video for several years. She has also worked with nonprofit organizations, including several regional theater groups, and Creative Alternatives, a nonprofit organization based at Mount Sinai Hospital which serves the mentally ill.

Richard W. Boone, a sociologist, became director of the Project for Participatory Democracy of the Tides Foundation in 1988 after more than a decade as acting director, then executive director of the Field Foundation. He has worked with numerous nonprofit organizations in the area of urban youth and economic policy. These have included the Citizens Policy Center, the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial, the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and the Center for Community Change. During the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations, Mr. Boone served both in the White House and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

**BUDGET NARRATIVE:****Consultants:**

|                                        |           |
|----------------------------------------|-----------|
| Communications Consortium Media Center | \$398,550 |
| Douglas Gould & Company                | \$69,000  |
| Richard Boone                          | \$13,095  |
| Richard Harwood                        | \$40,000  |
| Belden & Russonello                    | \$30,000  |

**Printing/Publications:**

We will continue to develop top-quality written materials with a targeted dissemination strategy:

- Reprinting of a revised Pew GSI information kit, with special emphasis on consumption and implementation of the ICPD Program of Action,  
2,500 copies at \$4.00/each \$10,000
- Press releases and media mailing to small groups of journalists and reporters, two mailings/month, b/w \$5,000
- A public opinion brochure with an overview of opinion polls on population and consumption, including Pew GSI poll, 2,000 copies at \$5.00 \$10,000
- Printing of speeches, testimonies; reprints of clips and other written material. Camera-ready artwork, slides and overheads to be made available to grantees and policymakers \$20,000

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**Travel:** \$18,000  
**Postage:** \$38,255

- 2 mailings/month to reporter database of 2,000
- Mailing of public opinion brochure
- GSI information kit
- Shipping for international conference
- Miscellaneous op-eds, speeches, testimonies and other written materials

**Office Supplies:** \$5,000

Assumes day-to-day supplies.

**Tides Fee (5%):** \$39,000

## APPENDIX A

### DEFINITIONS OF KEY GROUPS: CLUSTER ANALYSIS

1. Environmental Connectors  
19% of voters

This group is made up largely of feminist, liberal, Democratic voters. This education is usually limited to high school, and then tend to live in households earning less than \$30,000 per year. The distinguishing attitudinal characteristic of this group is the depth of their commitment to the environment.

2. Good Hearted Population Interventionists  
20% of voters

The Good Hearteds are more often Democratic voters who are well informed, highly educated and upper income. They, too, are a core group of interest. They have a high level of agreement on the desirability of involvement in global population issues, motivated by a desire to help individuals rather than an interest in the environment or population issues.

3. Optimistic Secularists  
10% of voters

The Optimistic Secularists are predominately male, liberal to moderate Republican-leaning group. Its members are well-informed and live in upper-middle class households, earning between \$30,000-\$75,000 a year. This group rates many problems less seriously than do other groups. They are not opposed to action, but see no urgency.

4. America Firsters  
15% of voters

The America-First team is made up of older (most are over age 45), somewhat less well educated, and are Republican-leaning white voters. They are the most likely of any group to call themselves conservatives. They oppose foreign assistance and immigration. They do not consider the environment a high priority.

5. Anti-Planning/Easy Enviros  
17% of voters

This group is largely comprised of women, Democrats, and have a higher proportion of younger voters than do other groups. They are concerned about the environment, but reject population as a part of the problem. They represent the soft, loosely committed environmentalists, who say they think the problems are serious, but they are not doing anything in particular about them.